

The activity in Tiktok of the print media in Spain

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ARTICLE



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Abstract:

The social media platform TikTok presents itself as a predominantly entertainment-focused communication format, not only for younger generations but also for an increasingly captivated audience enticed by recommendation algorithms. In this context, traditional media outlets are formulating their strategies to establish a presence on TikTok, fully aware that the future audiences to be engaged are now on this platform.

This research aims to primarily examine the activity of the major print media outlets in Spain. The objective is to analyze whether the use of TikTok by print media outlets in Spain is significant or not, whether there is a strategic professionalization of their editorial activity, and finally, whether this activity is tailored to the peculiarities of the platform or if it simply involves recycling content from their main medium. To achieve this, the posts published on the social network by the leading national newspapers—El País, El Mundo, ABC, La Vanguardia, and La Razón—will be reviewed in a specific chronological sequence, establishing a comparative analysis of the main interaction milestones provided by the platform.

The main conclusions establish that there is a greater attempt than expected in the activity that print media outlets engage in on TikTok. However, despite this, the activity is not highly professionalized or well-thought-out, as there is no clear pattern of publication, continuity, or specific production. Instead, TikTok serves more as a container where already produced content is poured into.

Keywords: TikTok, Technology, Journalism, Social Networks, Information

Resumen:

La red social TikTok se presenta como un formato de comunicación preponderantemente de entretenimiento no solo para las generaciones más jóvenes, sino para un público cada vez más seducido por los algoritmos de recomendación. En este contexto, los medios de información tradicionales plantean sus estrategias de desembarco en TikTok, conscientes de que en ella están ahora las audiencias futuras a las que poder fidelizar.

Esta investigación tiene como principal objetivo revisar la actividad de los principales medios impresos de España. Se pretende analizar si el uso de TikTok de los medios impresos en España es o no significativo, si existe una profesio-

nalización estratégica de la actividad editorial de estos medios y, finalmente, si esta actividad se realiza *ad hoc*, en función de las peculiaridades de la plataforma o si la dinámica es el reciclado de contenido del medio principal. Para ello, se revisarán los posts publicados en la red social por las principales cabeceras nacionales: El País, El Mundo, ABC, La Vanguardia y La Razón, en una secuencia temporal concreta que establece un análisis comparativo entre los principales hitos de interacción que proporciona dicha red social.

Las principales conclusiones establecen cómo existe un intento mayor de lo esperado en la actividad que los medios impresos plantean en TikTok. Sin embargo, a pesar de ello, es una actividad poco profesionalizada y reflexionada, ya que no existe una pauta clara de publicación, continuidad o producción específica, sino más bien un contenedor más en el que volcar contenido ya producido.

Palabras clave: TikTok, Tecnología, Periodismo, Redes Sociales, Información

1. INTRODUCTION

Far from being a static phenomenon, the development and evolution of social networks are increasingly taking up more and more space in society's communication ecosystem.

Facebook remains one of the most widely used social networks overall, but its influence on journalism is waning as it shifts its focus away from news. It also faces new challenges from established networks such as YouTube and youth-focused networks such as TikTok. The Chinese-owned social network reaches 44% of 18-24-year-olds in different markets and 20% in news (Newman et al., 2023, p.10)

From time to time, new proposals emerge that substantially modify the perception, and with it the study, of what communication networks mean for this field of study:

Social networks have transformed the communication scenario, forcing new media to adapt to their logic (van Dijck

& Poell, 2013) and reformulating the journalistic model (Bell & Owen, 2017) [...] Moreover, media have adapted to the ephemeral dynamics of Instagram (Vázquez-Herrero et al., 2019), experimented with Snapchat to gain new audiences with their news (Lee, 2019), developed strategies on private instant messaging apps such as WhatsApp (Boczek & Koeppers, 2020) and are observing how platforms such as Twitch are renewing ways of consuming streaming content (Bingham, 2020). (Negreira, Vázquez & López, 2022, p.1)

Along the same lines, and despite the lack of academic literature on the subject, there are authors such as Vázquez, Negreira and López (2022), who mention texts such as Lewis et al. (2014) or Xia et al. (2020) to reinforce the increasingly relevant link between the media and the audience, in order to build a reciprocal relationship. This concept is crucial to understanding why traditional media seek to communicate with their audiences through social networks in

what Hill and Bradshaw (2018) call *Social First or Social Only*.

In this constant growth and change of the rules of the game of social networks, most actors strive to integrate profiles into their communication strategies to ensure their presence on social networks (Ekström and Westlund, 2019). However, there is often no clear vision of what, how, when, and why to publish content, despite ambitious attempts. Moreover, it is common to repeat the habit, whose lack of effectiveness has already been demonstrated on several occasions (Galindo, 2012), of reusing content from other media to fill the feeds of these social networks without a defined purpose.

In the same way that each social network can be generally associated with an age group, there is a generational shift in the communicative intention and formal proposal of each social network. Not only because of their technical approach but also because of the purpose for which they are published and consumed.

Their social network logic modifies the processes of media production, distribution, and use (Klinger and Svensson, 2015) so that the media employ the news values and narrative techniques that work best on each platform (Strömbäck, 2008; Welbers and Opgenhaffen, 2019). (Vázquez, Negreira, & López, 2022, p.1719)

Thus, the survival of a pre-existing communicative culture can be observed: the older generations, related to Facebook, use this network in a largely descriptive way, with long texts and a profusion of images. The intention is the permanence of the content. If a new user comes

to another user's profile, they can see what they posted some time ago: trips, celebrations, achievements. They compose something like a life album that needs to be available because the intention is to offer a determined and cumulative overall image of the user (Marcelino, 2015)

On the other hand, social networks that could be considered second generation, such as Snapchat, Instagram (in its Stories aspect), TikTok or, more recently, BeReal, are committed to a communicative ecosystem that is the complete opposite of the previous one. Far from seeking the permanence of content, they seek the ephemeral, the transitory. As such, they do not seem to require too much organization, either in terms of form or content. The excessive, the spontaneous, and the amusing (Lozano, Mira and Gil, 2023). The here and now takes precedence, with no other intention than disposable consumption.

According to the Global Overview Report (Kemp, 2023), 41% of surfers on TikTok are between the ages of 16 and 25, which is why this social network has attracted the interest of many companies who see the platform as a unique opportunity to reach young audiences, particularly those belonging to Generation Z. A generation is defined as "an age group that has shared a unique set of formative experiences that distinguishes it from those that preceded it" (Chirinos, 2009, p. 137). Generation Z is specifically defined as "those individuals born in the digital age who are lifelong users of technology with a sophisticated skill set" (Prensky, 2001 p. 19).

As with social networks, there is a significant difference between the generations in the consumption of general mass media: press, radio, television, and digital media. If the more mature age groups indicate a high consumption of traditional media, inherited from habits before the emergence of the Internet or social networks, it is also significant that younger people are abandoning these media in favor of social networks and streaming platforms for music and video on demand.

Younger groups everywhere show a weaker attachment to news brands' websites and apps, preferring to access news through alternative routes such as social networks, search engines, or mobile aggregators (Newman *et al.*, 2023).

These premises are the starting point of this research, which aims to observe how the Spanish media use the social network TikTok as part of their communication or information strategy. To this end, a comparative analysis of the content published on the TikTok profiles of the main Spanish print media since its creation will be carried out. It will assess the quantity, frequency, format, and content of this activity.

2. MEDIA AND TIKTOK

News media and news professionals are facing a scenario of uncertainty generated by social media and new consumer habits. "Across markets, only about a fifth of respondents (22%) say they prefer to start their news journey with a website or app" (Newman *et al.*, 2023, p. 11).

Over the last few years, they have had to adapt to platforms such as Instagram, Snapchat or

WhatsApp, and now it is time to do the same with TikTok, which "has burst onto the international market with its logic and language" (Negreira-Rey *et al.*, 2022, p. 146). These have made it one of the most popular networks in the world.

The use of images as the primary mode of communication on this platform is not a coincidence. Advancements in technology have led to improved internet connectivity and better camera capabilities, which have contributed to a rise in the creation and consumption of images and videos. So much so that, according to Pellicer (2020, n.p.), "conventional television is taking a back seat and new consumers are switching to this new television, which are channels such as TikTok or Instagram".

TikTok has become an alternative business model for the news media. However, as Clavijo (2021) points out, the characteristics of the medium force journalists to develop a completely different type of content than they have produced on other social networks. Newman *et al.* (2021) point out that the media are faced with the challenge of capturing the attention of TikTok users, who use the platform mainly for entertainment, where personalities have a greater weight and interest than traditional news. This contrasts with other networks, such as Twitter.

When it comes to news, audiences report paying more attention to celebrities, influencers and social media personalities than to journalists on networks such as TikTok, Instagram and Snapchat. This is in stark contrast to Facebook and Twitter, where media

and journalists remain central to the conversation (Newman *et al.*, 2023, p. 10.)

The rise of the platform among young audiences has attracted the attention of the press, which “seeks its place in this emerging platform”(Sidorenko and Herranz, 2020, n.p.). Its content is being adapted by renewing its language. Furthermore, Negreira-Rey *et al.* (2022) point out that the media have realized that TikTok is not a watertight information space and that audiences can be transferred from it to other platforms to expand journalistic content, opening up even more avenues for development. Thus, given the wide range of offerings, the audience and influence that can be generated by any one medium are diluted. For this reason, Brems *et al.* (2017) emphasize that one of the main goals of media is to produce a personal brand to achieve greater visibility and attract new audiences (Newman *et al.*, 2023, p. 10).

2.1. MEDIA PRESENCE IN TIKTOK IN SPAIN

In 2022, for the first time and according to the Association for Media Research (AIMC), television is no longer the medium with the highest consumption. It has shifted to the Internet: 84.3% of the population consumes the Internet, compared to 83.3% for television (Vara *et al.* 2023). This figure confirms the trend of the last few years, which foreshadowed this fact. Social networks are one step behind, but they have already surpassed radio and the traditional press. This is also the case for news, even though:

Trust in the news has declined, across all markets by 2 percentage points in the past year, reversing gains made at

the height of the coronavirus pandemic in many countries. On average, four in ten people in our total sample (40%) say they trust the news most of the time (Newman *et al.*, 2023, p. 11).

In the specific case of Spain, “trust in the news remains at its lowest level since 2015” (Negredo *et al.*, 2021, p. 102).

With a loss of trust most evident in the political polarization expressed in social media posts, the media hope to see TikTok as a new way to engage audiences and gain greater impact. Here:

They embrace the more participatory, enjoyable and personalized options offered through platforms, often looking beyond legacy platforms to new entrants (many of whom generate few references to news and do not prioritize news) (Newman *et al.*, 2023, p. 11).

In fact, most of the media that have made the leap to TikTok in search of a new audience have gained a remarkable number of followers. This social network enjoys great media appeal because, as Sabin-Darget (2022) points out, Spain had 8.8 million monthly active users on TikTok in 2021.

3. RESEARCH

This article presents the results of research carried out in the first half of 2022, consisting of a comparative analysis of the content available on the social network TikTok by the main Spanish media. Due to the spatial limitation of this publication and the interest in the results, this article includes the data related to the activity on TikTok of the main generalist print media,

leaving the rest of the media spectrum for subsequent publications.

3.1. RESEARCH GOALS

- To describe the communicative activity in the field of information in the social network TikTok of the main Spanish print media.
- To evaluate the interaction of the public with the publications of the main Spanish print media on TikTok.
- To analyze the production strategies of specific content for TikTok according to the technical characteristics of this channel.

3.2. HYPOTHESIS

The purpose of the research is to verify the following hypotheses:

H1: The professional use of TikTok accounts by the main Spanish print media is still insignificant and hardly professionalized.

H2: The professional use of TikTok accounts by the main Spanish print media does not adopt publication dynamics driven by the parameters of traditional media editorial activity such as periodicity, thematic organization, or content coherence.

H3: The activity of the TikTok accounts of Spanish print media is not perceived as a strategy that can be defined as developed from the peculiarities of the social network, but rather as a reuse and/or adaptation of already produced material.

3.3. METHODOLOGY

The methodology of this study is based on a comparative analysis of the activity carried out

on the TikTok social network by the most traditional Spanish generalist press media. These are: *El País*, *El Mundo*, *La Vanguardia*, *ABC* and *La Razón*.

For this analysis, a quantitative methodology will be utilized to compare various media platforms. The focus will be on the number of followers, frequency of content publication, and engagement metrics such as views, likes, comments, shares, and saves. A sample of ten Tiktoks was randomly selected for this research. The data collected will be used to create a comparative analysis of each media platform using the same list of variables.

This study's sampling period was from June 1 to June 25, 2022. During this time, it was confirmed that all the Spanish generalist press outlets had active profiles on TikTok and consistently posted content. The ten Tiktoks from each media outlet included in the analysis were randomly selected using a simple random sampling tool provided by the WinEpi website.

The formal appearance of the selected tiktoks can be seen in the images in Annex I and can be viewed in the media profiles:

EL PAÍS: <https://www.tiktok.com/@elpais>

EL MUNDO: <https://www.tiktok.com/@elmundo.es?lang=es>

LA VANGUARDIA: <https://www.tiktok.com/@lavanguardia?lang=es>

ABC: <https://www.tiktok.com/@abc.es?lang=es>

LA RAZÓN: <https://www.tiktok.com/@larazon.es?lang=es>

3.4. RESULTS

To present the results, three analyses have been established: the frequency of publication, the productive typology, and the interactions of the users of the profile.

3.4.1 FREQUENCY OF PUBLICATION

El País is the Spanish generalist newspaper with the most daily readers, according to the first wave of EGM 2022. However, it is no longer the most relevant medium in TikTok. *El Mundo* has taken the lead by publishing the most content in the first half of the year, with a total of 255 posts. *La Razón* comes in second with 124 posts, followed by *El País* with 73, *La Vanguardia* with 63, and ABC with 48. In any case, these data must be treated with particular caution, since *La Vanguardia* started its activity in February 2022, *La Razón* in mid-April and ABC only started publishing on 6 June of the same year. Based on Table 1, ABC had the third-highest number of publications in June, despite joining TikTok that same month.

The newspaper *El País*, launched on TikTok on 11 November 2021, has a community of 25,100 followers. In terms of volume and frequency of publication, it can be seen that they do not have a strict criterion of frequency or volume of publications per month. As for the number of videos published, between January and June 2022, *El País* published an average of 11 videos per month. This number gradually increased until reaching a peak in June: 18 videos. During this period, they regularly published tiktoks. Two videos were the maximum amount of content uploaded in one day, and there were never more than five days between one publication and another.

El Mundo, which opened its profile on TikTok on 14 May 2021, had 311,000 followers by June 2022. The number of posts per month made by *El Mundo* between January and June 2022 was 255. The volume of publications is regular and can be considered high. So much so that they publish at least one tiktok every day, and even three videos a day on certain occasions. Such a large number of publications, as well as having been the first general press to have created a TikTok account, make *El Mundo* the Spanish written media with the most followers on the Chinese social network, with more than

Table 1

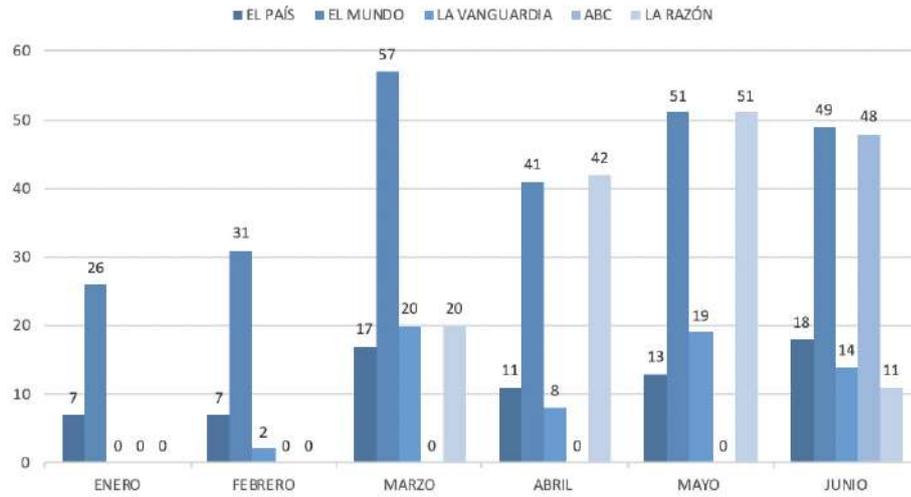
Frequency of Publication

Frequency of Publication							
	Ene-ro	Febre-ro	Mar-zo	Abril	Mayo	Ju-nio	To-tal
El país	7	7	17	11	13	18	73
El mun-do	26	31	57	41	51	49	255
La van-guardia	NO	2	20	8	19	14	63
ABC	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO	48	48
La razón	NO	NO	20	42	51	11	124

Note: Own preparation

Figure 1

Frecuency of Publication



Note: Own preparation

280,000 users in comparison to the second, *El País*.

La Vanguardia has 15,300 followers on TikTok and made the leap to this social network on 25 February 2022, which is why there is no data available for publications in January and only two in February. During the period it has been on the platforms, 63 tiktoks have been published. If we select only the full months that the newspaper has been present on the Asian social network, we obtain an average of fifteen per month. In terms of frequency, *La Vanguardia* does not create content daily; indeed, on many days of the month there is no new content, but they do ensure a minimum of four publications per week. It should also be noted that the maximum number of publications in a single day was two and the maximum time elapsed between one video and another was four days.

The newspaper that took the longest to get on TikTok is ABC. It did so on 6 June 2022, and in less than a month it gained 2,721 followers and published 48 videos, a very significant number that is only surpassed by *El Mundo*, which has

the most followers and has been on the platform the longest. There is not enough data to determine the average number of monthly publications, but we can use the figures from June to assess the frequency and amount of content ABC published on TikTok. On 13 June, six videos were posted, the most ever in a single day. On the other hand, the longest period without a post was six days.

La Razón began its presence on TikTok on 17 March 2022 and by June of the same year, it already had 2859 followers. Since it started its journey on the social network in mid-March, the analysis of periodicity and the average number of monthly publications is less extensive than in some other cases, as there are only two full months (April and May) in which *La Razón's* activity on TikTok was observed. In terms of periodicity, *La Razón* published eleven tiktoks in June, with a maximum of two uploaded on a single day. The longest period between publications was three days.

3.4.2. TYPE OF PUBLICATION ACCORDING TO PRODUCTION ORIGIN

Now, we need to examine whether the content of the articles was produced by taking advantage of the first natural production of the medium, the article in the printed press. The aim is to analyze whether an entry in TikTok is produced based on this journalistic piece. On the other hand, there is the possibility that an ad hoc piece has been produced, considering the peculiarities of the medium.

To differentiate between these entries and compose this table, ad hoc entries are considered to be those in which, either explicitly or with the introduction of a presenter both on- or off-air, new content is generated that cannot be consumed in another medium, such as print or digital derivative. Recycled content, on the other hand, is content that comes from a piece that has already been published in one of the editorial manifestations of the medium.

Table 2

Type of Content according to its productive origin

Tipo de contenido en función de su origen productivo			
	Recicladados	AD-HOC	Nº de los Tiktoks AD-HOC
El país	8	2	2 y 7
El mundo	7	3	1, 5 y 8
La vanguardia	7	3	1, 5 y 10
ABC	5	5	1,2,6,9 y 10
La razón	6	4	5,6,7 y 9

Note: Own preparation

3.4.3. INTERACTIONS

The following sections present the results of the principal forms of interaction with the platform: views, likes, saves, shares, and comments. The complete table with all the data on these usage actions can be found in Annex II.

In a first evaluation, Table 3 shows that the newspaper *El Mundo* is in first place in terms of the number of views, likes, and times its videos have been saved. The second most viewed newspaper is ABC, which is also the medium with the most comments and the most times a video has been shared, but it comes fifth in terms of times a video has been saved and liked. In terms of views, *La Vanguardia* is in third place. It is followed by *El País* and lastly by *La Razón*.

Table 3

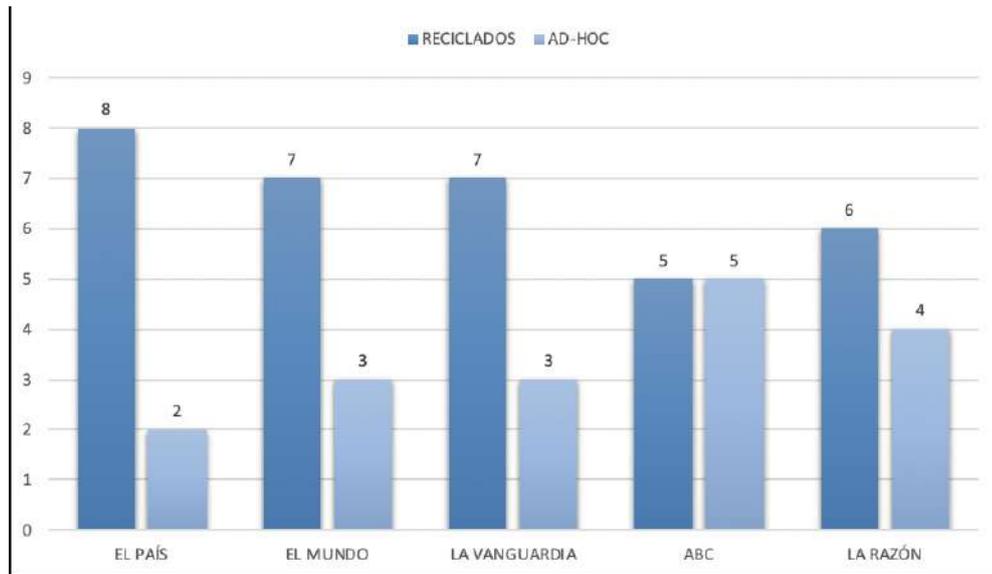
Summary of interactions

Frecuencia de Publicación					
	Visualizaciones/1000	Me gusta /100	Comentarios	Guardado /10	Compartido /10
El país	1.114	388	2.158	193	134
El mundo	1.831	1.184	2.119	423	213
La vanguardia	1.134	760	1.377	255	218
ABC	1.170	299	2.488	135	413
La razón	90	22	5	8,5	14,8

Note: Own preparation

Figure 2

Type of Content according to its productive origin



Note: Own preparation

In terms of the number of likes, *La Vanguardia* is in second place, followed by *El País*, *ABC*, and *La Razón*. From highest to lowest number of comments, after *ABC* in first place, *El País*, *El Mundo*, *La Vanguardia*, and lastly *La Razón*, with only five comments in a total of ten publications.

Furthermore, *La Razón* once again stands out for the low number of times its tiktoks are saved and shared. It is, without a doubt, the newspaper with the worst data in the analysis carried out, without exception in any of the metrics observed.

Figure 3

Summary of interactions



Note: Own preparation

The ranking of the number of times a publication has been saved is completed by *La Vanguardia* in second place, *El País* in third place, and ABC in fourth place, with *El Mundo* in second place and *La Razón* in fourth place.

To conclude the analysis of this table, we can once again observe the huge difference between *La Razón* and the rest of its competitors. The next worst is *El País*, with almost 1,200 more shares of its content. ABC, *La Vanguardia*, *El Mundo*, and *El País* are the best in this order.

3.4.3.1. NUMBER OF VIEWS

The first interaction is the most important. It is the number of times the video was played both in the “for you” section and in the “following” section. This interaction is the one most valued by most of the media themselves, as it comes closest to the usual audience figures of print editions such as the OJD or EGM.

Figure 4

Number of views



Note: Own preparation

The data in this category indicates that the media outlet with the most followers on TikTok is *El Mundo* newspaper, which has been on the platform the longest.

It is striking that the ABC newspaper, which had been active on the platform for less than a month at the time of this research, has already managed to position some of its videos at very high insertion levels in users' profiles; specifically, the number of views of the records analyzed reached 1,170,411. This is more than newspapers such as *El País* or *La Vanguardia*, which have a longer history on the platform. Moreover, this account does not feature a specific video, as in other newspapers, but rather a much more proportionate viewing than other newspapers.

Similarly, there is a wide dispersion of results (see Annex II for details), even among the newspapers themselves, with significant cases such as *El País*, whose maximum number of views is close to one million users, as it is about statements made by the President of the Government, Pedro Sánchez, and the minimum, which barely reaches 800 views and shows an unremarkable event in the United States. The same variations are repeated in all the media, where very high and inconsequential values are reached with the same frequency, except in the aforementioned case of ABC, which has a more homogeneous behavior.

3.4.3.2. NUMBER OF LIKES

The second category to be evaluated has to do with the approval of the content by the user, who reacts to the content by clicking on the icon available for this action on the screen.

It is an action that is highly valued by the media, as it shows 'the line to follow'. In a context as unstructured and unruly as TikTok, getting the content creation right is a very relevant source

Figura 5

Número de "Me gusta"



Note: Own preparation

of information when it comes to producing new posts.

The newspaper with the best results in this category is undoubtedly *El Mundo*, with 118,448 Likes for the ten articles analyzed, a very high average not only in terms of attention but also in terms of acceptance, well ahead of the rest of its competitors. Only *La Vanguardia* had more than fifty thousand likes.

Once again, it is striking that the ABC newspaper, with less than a month's presence on TikTok at the time of this analysis, has already achieved such relevant results in this category. Looking at the best-positioned tiktok of this newspaper, political topics again appear as the content of this newspaper. In this case, the tiktok with the most likes on ABC, 9387, corresponds to a video of a citizen insulting the president of the government.

3.4.3.3. NUMBER OF COMMENTS

A second, more engaged level of interaction has to do with the ability to get users not only to view or approve content but also to add to it, thereby extending the reach of the platform. If a user leaves a comment, they can be considered an attentive subject in the sense that they

are spending some time with the publication and are therefore of interest to the medium's business strategies.

Figure 6

Number of comments



Note: Own preparation

On this occasion, there are three media outlets that, proportionally, manage to exceed two thousand comments on the selected sample of TikTok entries. Two of these media, *El País* and *El Mundo*, consolidate this stable trajectory in the social network; the other, *ABC*, is positioned as a benchmark in this category; in fact, it is the one that receives the most comments and, therefore, generates the most social conversation.

Only two entries have more than a thousand comments. The first one is the *El País* entry, which has almost a million views and contains statements made by Spanish Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez. This entry has 2,035 comments. The second entry is from *El Mundo*, and it has 1,088 comments. This particular entry belongs to a special section of the newspaper that provides English advice and asks viewers a question, explaining why it has so many comments.

On the other hand, in the newspaper *La Razón*, only tiktok nº 3, nº 5, and nº 9 receive comments. This interaction causes the remaining selected entries to become orphaned.

3.4.3.4. NUMBER OF TIMES SAVED

To assess the quality and interest of a post or entry not only in TikTok but in any social network, it is considered a good indicator that the subject saves it in the spaces provided for this purpose in the interface of the social network itself, either to consume it at another time when it may have better reception conditions, or because they consider it useful for the near future, or because they want to save it as content to show to their social circle.

Figure 7

Number of times saved



Note: Own preparation

The circumstances of the previous categories are repeated, with *El Mundo* as the leader in this section, doubling the intensity of this interaction with its main competitor, *El País*. *La Razón*, which uses this platform the least, achieves insignificant results due to low activity.

Two entries achieve very high results. Specifically, video no. 7 from *La Vanguardia*, in which a famous singer, Manu Carrasco, surprises a teenage girl suffering from cancer at a concert. This video has garnered 2014 interactions. Another video with a lot of users who decided to save it is an impressive action scene between a primate in captivity and a visitor to the facilities. This video posted by *El Mundo* has been saved 1761 times.

3.4.3.5. NUMBER OF TIMES SHARED

One interaction that is highly desired by both the media and users is the viral spread of content. When an individual's message is shared voluntarily and spontaneously by others, it indicates that the content has something unique that has resonated with people. These dynamics should be considered when producing future posts.

Figure 8

Number of times shared



Note: Own preparation

In this sub-dimension, the ABC newspaper stands out above all others, and despite its short life on the web, it has been able to attract a very active number of followers, who accept, comment on, and share the media's content proposals.

One content, shared 1,981 times, stands out above all others, which once again alludes to political issues and once again involves the President of the Government, Pedro Sánchez, in its argument. It is a video of a pensioner who accuses him of neglecting the *Sierra de la Culebra* region of *Zamora* following the fires of 2022.

Finally, it should be noted that interesting content has the potential to go viral and be shared. On the other hand, if the content lacks interest, the response to it will be very limited or non-ex-

istent. This is the case for almost half of the 50 items analyzed, 23 to be precise, which received fewer than ten comments from users. Thirteen items received zero comments, indicating that there is content that is not relevant to the social network and lacks engagement.

4. CONCLUSIONS

In terms of the analysis of the three hypotheses formulated at the beginning of the study, the data obtained are as follows.

On the one hand, in response to the first hypothesis (H1), regarding the initial idea that the use of TikTok by the main print media in Spain is insignificant, their activity is not as scarce as it might seem, as a result of the initial lack of knowledge that was assumed to exist about these networks, due to the widespread idea that only the younger public uses TikTok.

Although it might seem narrower, data such as the number of views in which all media (except for *La Razón*) exceed one million views altogether, only counting the ten entries analyzed, suggest a similar activity to that of reference media such as USA Today, *La Nación* or Dallas Morning News, all of them similar proposals of printed newspapers that adapt their content to TikTok.

However, the number of views on this social network should be put into perspective, since just appearing in a browsing session, regardless of whether it was maintained long enough to be received, counts as one more interaction. Moreover, these figures are insignificant compared to most of the massive ad hoc journalistic media accounts such as Ac2allity, which often exceeds one million views for each of its posts.

After examining the data, the second hypothesis (H2) appears to have more validity. This is

because there isn't any clear evidence to suggest that there is a strategic editorial agenda at play. Instead, it appears that most media outlets are experimenting with different approaches to see what works, without any predetermined logic. With the exception of serialized content like *La Razón's* "Reasonable Questions," the content of TikToks from other newspapers appears to be random, arbitrary, and lacking in context. There is no macro-discourse with a clear preceding and following, both visually and formally. These dynamics are largely extended from the successful accounts on this social network.

Finally, the third hypothesis (H3), which complements the second, is confirmed in the sense that the production of tiktoks is poorly adapted to the formal and technological premises of the network. Most of the entries analyzed are constructed by collecting content already published on nearby dates in any of the newspaper's media, whether in print or digital format.

In this sense, as with other emerging media and formats, the idea of recycling content and doubling its profitability is a very common dynamic. The cross-media strategy (Erdal, 2009) usually ends up reducing the communicative effectiveness of the project in a unique and complete way.

In short, even though there is more activity on TikTok by the main Spanish print media than expected a priori, this activity is not relevant in terms of communicative effectiveness. It suggests that the medium has not been independently analyzed in depth, but is seen as just another container in which to dump content that has already been produced. This means that these publications are not connected and therefore do not provide a permanent dis-

course with the user, which is one of the most valued assets of this channel.

Similarly, there is a possible idea of getting involved in this network with objectives other than the main objective of the medium, which is information. The type of content that is posted, which sometimes violates delicate boundaries such as clickbait, could indicate that the intention is to achieve high audience figures to substantiate advertising sales arguments.

Finally, on the basis of the research and conclusions, two lines of debate can be identified:

a) Should all media outlets be present on all social media?

It is a fairly widespread idea that it is appropriate to be present on as many social networks as possible in order to be known by all kinds of audiences, especially the younger ones. The concept is to keep individuals informed about current events, even if they may not currently have a need for the information. The hope is that in a few years, when the need arises, the name of the newspaper will be on the top of their mind and they will be more likely to engage with the medium.

In the opinion of the researchers in this study, although this perception is interesting as a behaviorist scheme, the media should bear in mind that the trend of technological evolution, as it is complying with the dictates of Moore's Law, has entered into an exponential process that will not facilitate these dynamics, but rather the opposite. Being in all the networks today is a possible process, but if it is desired as part of consolidated projects and seeking communicative efficiency in each of them, it will generate an effort proportional to the technological advance.

b) In connection with this, should the medium re-use content already produced, or should it produce ad-hoc content for a social network such as TikTok?

Logic seems to go hand in hand with customized production. The logic of TikTok, from its recommendation algorithm to its “non-standards” of design, composition, editing, etc.,

make this medium a cosmos as eclectic as it is entertaining in which, after analyzing numerous accounts, it is perceived that unwritten rules such as capturing interest in the first three seconds (Sidorenko, 2022) or constancy in format, language, tone (McArena, 2022) are essential to the success of these messages.

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