Beating the Drums!

Journalism, Forum or Platform

Blogs in China and Cuba (2010) through
the Cases of Wang Keqin and Yoani Sánchez

Vicenç Sanclemente García

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Dr. Javier Díaz Noci

DEPARTAMENT DE COMUNICACIÓ

upf. Universitat
Pompeu Fabra
Barcelona

To: Arrate and Itzel

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Abstract

IT IS SAID THAT is impossible to have a fully developed public opinion in authoritarian countries. Jürgen Habermas criticized Internet because of the dispersion of content and the lack of mediators. However, in countries like China, in some recent periods, blogs and micro blogs permitted the introduction of some deliberation spaces, as well as targeting issues for mainstream media. We are studying two states, China and Cuba whose approach to new technologies has been completely different. China decided to push Internet as a tool for development, while trying to control it, and Cuban citizens have lived in a period of extreme difficulty in accessing.

The blog of the Chinese journalist Wang Keqin in China and *Generación Y* from Yoani Sánchez, in Cuba, both bounded in a year of intense production in 2010. We used a triangulation of methods: quantitative and qualitative analysis on the content of posts and commentaries combined with ethnological analysis, adding direct interviews to the players and correspondents. The blog of Wang Keqin, one of the pioneers of investigative journalism in China, supposed to create a window for cases of injustice in the provinces and to move it to nationwide controversy. The journalist became the essential first part of a chain against impunity. Citizens asking for morality and justice collaborate with him, with a sense of engagement and community to resolve cases, which mean that finished went to justice.

Yoani Sánchez work was heavily influenced by the contrast of the lack of Internet access in her country and her extraordinary influence abroad. More than reports, she elaborated opinion articles, editorials, based in her reflection about news or quotidian life. She becomes a speaker of dissent views while defending national dialogue. The enormous number of comments in her blog served to create a forum group, between different types of expatriates. They recognized Sánchez as an unofficial speaker from within.

Keywords: *Deliberation, Forum, Journalism, Justice, Internet, Morality, National Dialogue, Public Opinion.*

Resum

Es diu que és impossible que els països autoritaris tinguin una opinió pública plenament desenvolupada. Jürgen Habermas criticava Internet per la dispersió dels continguts i la manca de mediadors. No obstant això, a països com la Xina, en alguns períodes recents, els blocs i els Micro blocs van permetre introduir alguns espais de deliberació, així conduir casos fins els mitjans de comunicació tradicionals.

Hem estudiat dos estats, Xina i Cuba amb un enfoc completament diferent cap a les noves tecnologies. Xina va decidir empènyer Internet com un mitjà de desenvolupament, a la vegada que el tractava de controlar, i els ciutadans cubans han viscut en un període d'extrema dificultat en l'accés. El bloc del periodista xinès Wang Keqin a la Xina i el de *Generación Y* de Yoani Sánchez a Cuba, van estar especialment actius l'any 2010. Per aquest treball, hem utilitzat una triangulació de mètodes: anàlisi quantitativa i qualitativa sobre el contingut dels posts i dels comentaris, combinat amb l'anàlisi etnològica, entrevistes directes als bloggers i als corresponsals. El bloc de Wang Keqin, un dels

pioners del periodisme d'investigació a la Xina, va suposar crear una finestra per a casos d'injustícia a les províncies fins ampliar la controvèrsia a tot el país. El periodista esdevé la primera part essencial d'una cadena contra la impunitat. Ciutadans que sol·licitaven moralitat i justícia van col·laborar amb ell, amb sentit de compromís i de comunitat, per resoldre cada cas, que significava, que acabessin als tribunals la justícia.

El treball de Yoani Sánchez es va veure influenciat pel contrast entre la manca d'accés a Internet en el seu propi país i la seva extraordinària influència a l'exterior. Ella elaborava, més que reportatges, articles d'opinió, editorials, sobre notícies o vida quotidiana. Va acabar convertint-se en un altaveu dels punts de vista dels dissidents mentre defensava el diàleg nacional. L'enorme quantitat de comentaris al seu bloc va servir per crear un grup de debat entre diferents tipus d'expatriats, que reconeixien Yoani Sánchez com una portaveu no oficial des de dins de l'illa.

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1

Introduction:

Where there was not a Public Sphere

THE REASON FOR THIS THESIS departed from my perceptions as a correspondent in Cuba (1997-2001) just at the beginning of the implementation of Internet in the island, and later on in China (2003-2007) when Internet services were awfully growing. Something new was happening in our work as a journalists and our communication capacity as a citizens and I was sure it deserved to be studied with perspective.

We started our Communications Master at the Pompeu Fabra University in October 2010. There were few months when new technologies and popular mobilization started to have a major role in all over the world. During those months we had the opportunity to follow what was happening. That strengthened two assumptions which had already being planned for our study, contradicting two axioms historically accepted.

1)   In political science it was said that authoritarian countries could not have public opinion.

2)   Authors like Jürgen Habermas criticized Internet because of the dispersion of content and the lack of mediators.

The aim of our work was to study if authoritarian countries in transition, in some periods, thanks to blogs and discussions

platforms, permitted the introduction of concrete forum spaces, also targeting issues that later were used by large media. In some cases, in some moments, local injustices became phenomena of national and international scope thanks to certain blogs and micro blogs.

We have studied two cases in two countries in transition with a formal auto defined communist regime, but with an opposite approach to the Net. China was beating for the extension as a way for development, while establishing sophisticated control systems. Meanwhile Cuba, instead, showed a very small capability to Internet access. At first, it was a privilege of some social sectors, rather than a widespread tool for personal use. We have therefore studied two examples: the blog produced by the Chinese journalist Wang Keqin in China and *Generación Y* by Yoani Sánchez, in Cuba. Both were bounded in a year of intense production, 2010.

We were interested in the blog of Wang Keqin, because he was defined as one of the pioneers of investigative journalism in China (Svensson, 2013. P.61). The author mentioned his research about corruption in the taxi sector in 2002 and his involvement in the vaccines scandal in 2010.

At that time, Wang Keqin was working in a government newspaper, China Economic Times, but we wanted to follow how, thanks to his parallel blog, he created a window for cases of injustice in the provinces. Some of the issues became then nationwide controversial cases. We wonder to which extent that work of Wang Keqin as a journalist became the essential first part of a chain against impunity. These polemics were also a way of participation for Internet users. The reactions of his readers were almost unanimously asking for morality and justice.

His blog was a space for demand of responsibilities for provincial officials to go to courts. Also, we wonder whether and to which extent with the help of "bridge blogs" Wang Keqin reports became indispensable for international press.

The study of Yoani Sánchez work was interesting by the contrast of the lack of Internet access in her country and her extraordinary productivity and influence abroad. We wanted to study her reports, the genre, the language, and her objectives. The subjects as well: her posts served to demystify positive stereotypes of the regime, denouncing repression or highlighting the economic difficulties of everyday life. But, while critical, she offers herself for a national dialogue.

If we study the readers' comments, we observe the large number of readers maintained by the Cuban issue abroad. The enormous number of comments in the blog served to create a group spirit, between different types of expatriates, both economical and political. Some authors said that even the extreme polarization of these comments come to mean a principle of dialogue, something that does not exist outside the network. For the first time, in the communist Cuba it was a unofficial speaker from within. A critical voice permitted from inside, who became an opinion leader recognized from outside. We consider to which extent her work was or not a proven source for international correspondents.

2

A State of the Art

Facing a New Era

Besides a theoretical approach, it was essential to observe how researches have studied the importance of the blogs phenomenon in China and Cuba. How states in transition from authoritarian regimes with a propaganda apparatus belonging to a single party have a different approach to the Internet. We present different researches in a chronological order, starting from general considerations to case studies, searching the relation with traditional media, subjects, concepts, and finally, if blogs have been able to mark the agenda. In the current pick up some of the latest articles even predict deadlines for the introduction of democracy. Our state of the art on this topic takes into account literature written mainly after 2000.

We divided our review in four sections:

1) Cyber pessimistic authors.

2) Cyber optimistic authors that believe that, despite the censure, Internet is creating the habit of debate, and this could be the beginning of a certain "public sphere."

3) Researches in case studies, authors who have already worked directly monitoring different blogs in China and Cuba.

4) Research with content analysis, which compares directly subjects and concepts from traditional media and from blogs in China.

In the case of Cuba, we started the chapter with a description of the Cuban situation from a book compilation coordinated by Beatriz Calvo-Peña, then to go a mapping description from Professor Ted Henken which was based on multiple interviews on the island, and from Professor Bert Hoffmannn who dares to suggest that the Internet has served to create a civil society in Cuba.

In recent years, we should highlight the efforts of the Cuban Academy. Researches like professors Milena Recio Silva or Elaine Díaz described in greater depth Cuban blogosphere. Also, they call for a greater connectivity access focusing in the country's development. They have also studied whether what they named as "public sphere" serves as a first step for dialogue and participation, and beyond, there is a recent work from Gretel Ráfuls, regarding if blogs influenced political decision-making.

We separated the case of Cuba from previous sections because implementation of Internet and literature about it, are not comparable with the emergence of research generated by the Internet in China.

1. 'Cyber pessimistic' authors: Authoritarian regimes take advantage of the Internet

In 2001 the impact of the Internet on society was still a very open question. That's why we decided to start mentioning authors like Shanthi A. Kalathil and Taylor Boas. They were convinced that previous studies demonstrated that Internet was not harming authoritarianism. They defined two types of strategy: a reactive one, when states try to limit the Internet use, making access difficult, filtering or blocking content, and

a proactive strategy, when Internet has been developed while trying to consolidate the presence of the government and distributing propaganda through the Net. For them, Cuba and China represented the two extremes, with two very different approaches about access, but both at the same time developing proactive strategies.

China, in principle, was promoting indiscriminate growth, while striving to filter content. There was an emerging social class, financially independent, with active interest in politics, but with little will of exercising opposition. China tried to limit the potential threats with a combination of content filtering, monitoring and promotion of self-censorship. For the authors, it demonstrates that Internet is not defeating the role of the authorities. Although it is believed that Internet is an inherent democratizing technology, in many authoritarian states governments have woven a long and successful history of control over technology and more effective control. The authors argue that they should be continuously adapting their control measures if they wanted to counter the effects of future changes in communication technologies.

The same researcher, Taylor Boas, professor of Political Science at Boston University, two years later, in 2003, presented a paper based on the reality of China and Saudi Arabia. It begins with the premise that the control really exists, it is effective and increasingly sophisticated. These two countries check the entry, the transit and the exit of information with institutional and technological methods. This part contradicts the belief that authoritarian states prevent the spread of the Internet. They extended it at the same time than established effective mechanisms of control. They take advantage of the design of a technology that since its inception was designed to not depend on a central brain, to implement their control measures. Through technology, they have

intervened in TCP IP connections; have reached emails, discussion pages in the web, audios, encrypted files, etc. The author concludes telling that a freer future on the Internet is possible, but he clarifies that this is a desire without formulas.

1.1. Agreement between privileged people and regimes.

One step further, Frank Westhoff and Javier Corrales, from Amherst Institution (2006) compared the use level of Internet in authoritarian regimes with factors such as per capita income, education level of the population and the political freedom index. The relationship between rising standard of living in authoritarian regimes and the demand for Internet use was demonstrated. They analyze and compare briefly the situation in Cuba and China. Somehow, they undo the hypothesis that Internet use leads itself democracy. They dare to say that one part of privileged citizens accepts losses in political leadership in exchange for other privileges granted by the state. According to them, there is an exchange between regimes and some high-income people, an implicit agreement that allowed them to use new technology, leaving aside the political practices. These regimes have obtained a double complicity: from high-income citizens and from multinational companies. The income increase, in recent years, has consolidated authoritarianism.

1.2. Involvement of international companies

The involvement of international firms is the main subject of an article from Professor Surya Deva, from Hong Kong University (2007). He comments that if the Internet was born as a free flow of information, in China was controlled thanks to American companies. He delineates the practices of four

companies: Yahoo, Microsoft, Google and Cisco. In the Yahoo case, he even accuses them of having directly revealed names and addresses of dissidents.

Deva remembered international legal norms which came to be drafted to prevent such kind of practices. He analyzed two regulations: *Global Compact* adopted by the United Nations on 26 July 2000 and signed later by some large companies. Its application had no effective monitoring. The second was the *Freedom Act*, the bill proposed by Republican Christopher Smith, conceived as an extraterritorial law by the American Congress. It was proposed on February 16, 2006, but did not see the light. It was introduced to promote freedom of expression on the Internet and wanted to "protect" American industries coercion in authoritarian regimes.

Even the former two projects were inefficient; author argued that at least the international community and the Congress began to consider how to prevent cooperation between international firms with censorship and repressive practices. His article was published in 2007, so he had not yet seen the light of the controversy between Google and the government of Beijing.

Emily Parker (2014, p. 71) explained the surprise of Chinese blogger Michael Anti (Zhao Jing) that an "American company, - Microsoft-, would remove my entire blog" (...) "In theory western companies were supposed to be transforming China by providing greater access to information. In practice, it appeared to be that they were way around. China was influencing them to play boy local censorship rules. That happened in late 2005. Parker writes that also in 2005, 31-year-old journalist and democracy advocate Shi Tao, received a ten-year prison sentence for according to Chinese authorities "reveal State Secrets". He was sending messages to Democracy

Forum a website in Chinese Language, based in United States. Shi sent this message from a computer at his workplace using his Yahoo email account.

1.3. Control Sophistication

In a much closer date, author born in Belarus, Eugene Morozov, presented the book *The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of the Internet Freedom*, on January 25th, 2011, (this date it's important because it was a coincidence with the demonstrations in Arab countries), presented at the Carnegie Council. His intention was warning about what he calls as "cyber utopianism".

Authoritarian regimes know that the Internet has become the new battleground against their opponents in the West, especially North America and Europe. That will try to use the new media to achieve regime changes. His thesis is a critique of the innocence in Western governments and academies. There is also a part of denunciation. There are Western companies providing authoritarian regimes with the necessary technology to implement the most restrictive legislations. He explains that there are already sufficient tools to permit to recognize all the faces of all persons attending in a rally or demonstration in a photograph. Strangely, technology for that has been investigated in Western universities. But this technology can turn and be a tool against dissidents.

While many articles highlight the democratic usefulness of increasing number of phones, Morozov answered warning that in Belarus, after the protests in a square in Minsk, the government asked to the companies, which individuals were at that time in the square carrying a phone. Occidental firms supply the technology Ericsson, Nokia, and others. The problem, for the author, is that if the authoritarian

government does not fall, at the end, thanks to new technologies, it will have many more data and tools to destroy movements.

1.4. Internet users without connections with traditional social movements

Eugene Morozov mentions China saying that maybe there are many young people involved in virtual campaigns, but, belonging to him, it's a kind opposition that exists only in the Internet, often; it is not translated in the real world. The government may be happy to have the opposition isolated in their digital life without going to the streets. This is the realism that Morozov shows. For him, many of these new media movements, even looking promising, do not connect with the old political movements in some of these countries as Belarus, Egypt, Russia or China. (It is important to note that he wrote these fears when Mubarak had not fallen). Facts would contradict him.

In practice, what Morozov defense is that instead of having leading experts in Internet technology, coming from Silicon Valley, and emphasizing technology, US government might hire experts in each region and with this people's culture, professionals who could understand blogs and Twitter, but also Chinese foreign policy history. For the author, one possible solution would be to design specialized tools to break censorship in specific countries such as China, Iran and Kazakhstan.

In his article "Whither Internet control?", (April 2011), Morozov emphasizes once again the ingenuity of the United States. Even overcoming technological barriers, authoritarian

regimes can put a series of political and sociological barriers against freedom of expression. Technologically, activists may find the ability to connect abroad with others computers and use them as browse. But regimes can also use Internet to repress. He cites as an example the extension of Haystack in Iran, anti-censorship tool during the wave of protests in 2009. The government wanted to monitor dissidents and Internet served them as a tool. Meanwhile in the West they speculated if the country was facing a real Twitter revolution, what happened weeks later, starting the repression, was no longer echoed by the Media. We were more interested in how the green movement had used new technologies, than no in what did the government lather.

Censorship against individuals and organizations is much more sophisticated. A DDoS attack means that you cannot access the content of anywhere. Governments also hire fellow citizens paid over to place comments in favor. China does. Vladimir Putin also supports youth movements who advocate government policy on the Web. There is a process of nationalization of cyberspace. China, Iran and Russia understood that their citizens depended from Internet service operated by US companies. Turkey was the first country to establish a national search engine. Iran imitates them, prohibiting Gmail in February 2010, and announcing its own system. China ordered control of the internet to third parties, forcing companies to act as a police in the web. There are more technological innovations that favor surveillance. Chinese government has installed video cameras in the most problematic cities. In Urumqi there are 47,000 cameras. This expansion could not have been done without Western partners. UCLA scientists with financial support from China, investigated how to conduct researching files and video. Today there are new applications, such as the one which recognizes

faces. Chinese software attack, which did badly in the middle of 2009, analyzed the historical type of activities in which the user was immersed in his visits to the Web, and took a decision about what to block or not.

Mozorov referred to Hillary Clinton's speech about Internet (January 21th, 2010) and says that it was ambitious and idealistic. But too ambiguous and contained a trap for United States itself. We could see it a bit lather with the controversy with WikiLeaks. Then, it became clear that much of the US government wanted to establish control over cyberspace, eliminating anonymity. That made appear American administration as hypocritical. For some countries it was surprising the Cold War tone of Hillary Clinton's speech on Internet. For Mozorov it reflects a naive formula: West governments stay in the belief that when young Chinese, Iranians, Russians were online, they would download reports from Human Rights Watch, they would coordinate their protests to the streets and they would make fall the governments. Author warns that may be in these countries most bloggers are more conservative than their governments. Another fallacy would think that dictators cannot grow economically if censor the Internet. They simply can give different access to bankers and investors than political activists.

1.5. 'Cyber optimism.' Despite the censorship, there is debate

Rebecca MacKinnon, ex CNN correspondent in China, founder of the organization *Global Voices,* published a work describing the contribution of blogs on public debate in China. She says bloggers, despite censorship, see a "half full glass". She describes how China extended its network of Internet for

economic reasons. But at the same time, they were sophisticating control methods fearing a "democratic infection" (MacKinnon, 2007: 33). According to her, it didn't become a revolution, but established the habit of discussing public interest facts, through the Internet, although it may be very specific. For her, it was a substitute forum with a participatory process, which didn't cause change for itself.

She was saying that Blogosphere is not a political movement but a generation will grow with the conviction that there is possibility to debate in the network. We are talking about the people living in industrial and coastal cities in the east of the country. Chinese people recognize the value of Internet discussion groups as a platform of specific denounces. It follows that China has more political significance than in any other country because of the absence of other possible speech opportunities and because his popularity among the middle and upper social strata. The author concludes that the Internet in China will not cause a democratic revolution, but a slow and gradual evolution.

2. Reasons for blogging

In 2003, Zizi Papacharissi from the University of Illinois analyzed the contents of 150 English speaking bloggers in the United States and concluded that they were addressed towards friends and family, to fulfill a useful social motivation. Kaye D. Trammell and others (2006) made a content analysis of 358 Polish blogs. They expressed that their motivation was self-expression, followed by social interaction and the third will, fun.

In 2004, American anthropologist Bonnie Nardi interviewed 23 bloggers in California to identify their motivations; Her findings: documenting one life, providing comments and opinions; expressing deep emotions, articulate ideas thanks to write, and to create and maintain a community through a forum.

Later on, Louis Leung (2009) from the University of Hong Kong made a survey of 798 Internet users that had participated in forums and had personal blogs. He wanted to find out what it meant for them to have created a blog and to define what kind of rewards they obtained generating content online. The Internet audience is active and used with goals.

Leung wanted to go further and proposed the concept of psychological empowerment, to make way for civic engagement. Leung prepared a telephone survey and worked with a sample of 798 Internet users between 14 and 70 years. The survey was taken on July 2007.

Over 73% of the respondents were participating in forums; 65.5% participating in blogs; 38.7% were entering regularly in Wikipedia; 26.7% had personal pages; 20.8% often were visiting YouTube.

Figure 1 Participation of 798 Internet users from Hong Kong
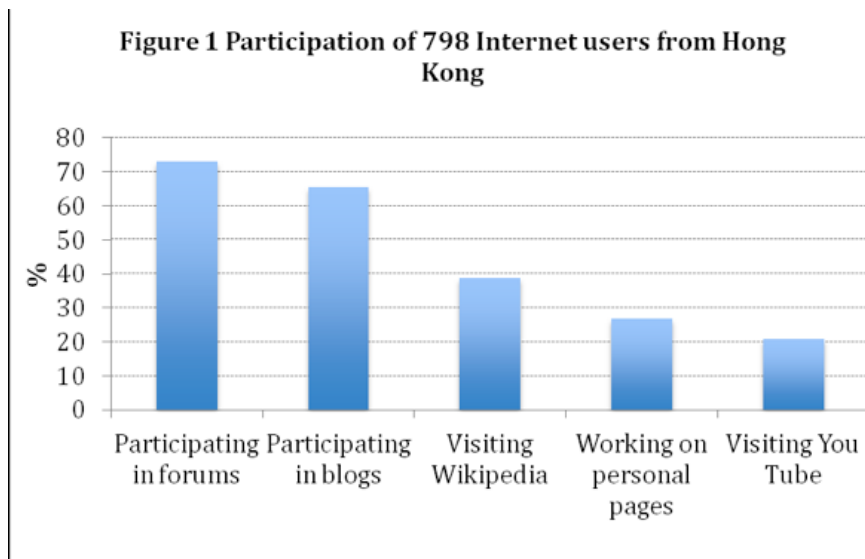
Source: Leung, L. (2009) User generated content on the internet an examination of gratifications, civic engagement and psychological empowerment. *New Media&Society*, 11(8).1327-1347.

In the results, the first motivation factor defined was "to establish a personal identity", earning respect, building confidence and making public their experience. The second reason was "knowledge needs." The third, "social needs". In the relationship between the results, came out, that "recognition" and "social needs" were two significant reasons. Those who enjoy gratification, when they are recognized, tend to be more active in generating new content on blogs, on YouTube or Wikipedia.

Leung mentioned that there is an obvious relationship between the need of psychological strength and recognition. Obviously, as more active is a person in civic issues, more strong psychologically. Projections indicate how Internet users that come to be recognized, look that their experience

popularized, through forums that begin between family and friends. Those findings coincide with the qualitative study of previously cited Trammell, who in 2004 described motivations of polish bloggers: self-expression, social interaction, and fun, spending time, information and professional advancement.

The author attributes a clear relationship between civic engagement and content generation. To generate Internet contents in personal pages, blogs, or forums, YouTube or Wikipedia can serve as a catalyst for psychological reinforcement and to participate in political life. That conclusion matches with the ones from the book "*We the Media*", from Dan Gillmor (2004), which explains that, for some people it is crucial and means a reinforcement getting the gratification of being recognized and being able to have articulated views, thoughts and experiences through the creation of online content.

According to some other relevant authors, the Internet in China is considered a political opinion tool, but debate it is not allowed in "sensitive" issues. In a final Master project for the University of Troms, Yiyao Zhang (2010) speaks about freedom of expression facing censorship in China. It begins with a theoretical basis paying attention in a survey, which for us it was historical and meaningful.

2.1 Internet the natural channel for expressing political opinions

In 2003, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, CASS, conducted a survey in 12 major Chinese cities, valuing the importance of the network as a framework for political participation. It was part of a more general UCLA World Internet Project. It was a survey organized by the University of California, with the account of citizens from 14 countries.

Chinese results, taken by a Chinese official institution, could be compared with other states, unless a section very characterized. Chinese people living in large cities gave enormous importance to Internet as a way to express them politically, to make opinions, review and question what the governments was doing. In the official results Chinese from big cities doubled the average number of people in other countries saying that the Internet increases their contact with people who share their political interests.[1]

In the second part, Yiyao Zhang examines two very different cases. First, a discussion through the Internet, conducted in 2007 between citizens and authorities in Shaanxi, who had announced the reappearance of a native tiger. Then, people, net citizens coordinated discovered that it was a false montage.

In the second case the author wanted to analyze the coverage of ethnic unrest in the city of Urumqi, capital of the province of Xingjian. He attempted to research how the issue was discussed from the forum Tianyi. But, being a sensitive issue for the central authorities, there was no flow of information. It was censored. So he concludes: There is a forum when there is a local subject, but it doesn't exist when the authorities consider it to be an issue "sensitive" for national security.

3. Research with case studies

3.1. Journalist Lian Yue against an industrial complex

Professor Hai Tang (2010) from the University of Sussex chose a case study focused on the journalist Lian Yue. In his blog, he was denouncing the construction of an industrial

[1]   http://newsroom.ucla.edu/portal/ucla/First-Release-of-Findings-From-4849.aspx

complex in Xiamen, in the province of Shaanxi. The blog helped to publicize the case. But, also, he promoted discussion and public participation. Tang's paper describes the blog activity from March to December 2007. The blogger used to disclose a conflict that official media concealed, and not only this, he encouraged people to upload photos, videos or comments. It served to demonstrate the role of substitution that some blogs were doing in China. At that moment, both, population, the same as administration, central or local, participated in debates generated online. For the author, who we can qualify as "cyber-optimist", new blogs allowed to provoke breaking news, connected the audience and had new sources of information. The author concluded telling that blogs created new conditions of freedom of expression and information "that would be very difficult to control in the future."

There are some other studies on journalists following, pushing and satirizing reality, which have been a model for our own research project. Haiqing Yu, (2011), from the University of New South Wales, Australia, examined three cases of journalists who had blogs, defining J-blogging as a unique amateur experiment. At the end of 2008, China had 298 million Internet users and 162 million of bloggers. After some time, micro-blogging had become a way of life in urban China. The development of new technologies has remained in the dialectic between freedom and censorship, freedom and control. Internet allowed open discussion of political and social issues, without directly threatening the legitimacy of the Chinese Communist Party and citizens demonstrated their creativity on the Web searching and sharing information. Blogging, micro blogging and video blogging were having a great popularity among the "urbanites". It was defined as

journalism *networking*, a network of journalists and citizens working together to reach news.

Haiqing Yu work aims to continue debating on the horizons of journalism in the XXI century. He examined blogs as deliberative practice among Chinese professional journalists. How they were observing, following, pushing and also satirizing situations. Some Chinese J-bloggers, used blogosphere to transform their traditional roles. Observing the situation, to complete his duty of investigative journalism, pushing the situation to promote perspectives for analyzing the news, and sometimes, they satirized reality reaching moments of erudition.

In China, media are conditioned by commercial interests, but censorship is manifested in different times: before, during and after the production process. But however, despite the efforts to censor Internet, and delete sensitive words and controversial posts, diverse views could still be heard.

Having a blog was a common practice among Chinese journalists. Some were linked to the media where they worked (CCTV, official Central Television). Other blogs belonged to commercial services (sina.com), other to independent services (wangxiaofeng.net) or social weblogs that depend on contributions from individual contributors (bullogger.cn, blogcn.com, blogchina.com). Many of them began around 2005, known as the blogging year in China. Since they transplanted their journalistic practices to the blogosphere, in the Chinese context (unlike USA, etc.) most of the j-bloggers see the Internet as a space for alternative voices or express news.

Haiqing Yu chosed three case studies: First, the "journalist as observer": Gate-watching, Sun Chunlong. He was a Blogger and a researcher working as a journalist at the *Oriental*

Outlook Weekly. Thanks to his blog unveiled the reality about mining accidents in Loufan County, in Shanxi Province in 2008. On September 14, 2008, he posted an open letter to the governor of Shanxi. Official media had falsely said that 11 people had died, when in fact they were 41 victims. In 13 months, his report about Loufang accident was read 35.000 times and incited 315 comments. His letter to the governor of Shanxi was read 135.449 times and had 3304 comments. Many expressed their support for him as a "journalist with conscience". Finally, Prime Minister Wen Jiabao supported Sun efforts and confirmed its data after ordering an official investigation. Sun illustrate how investigative journalism used digital communications and networks.

The second case studied was "those who were pushing" "Gate-poking": Antiwave.net He was referring to a type of alternative press. He put as an example the podcast <http://www.antiwave.net> "Antiwave" from Pingke (Jiang Hong) and Flyping (Lin Jiashu). They have a slogan: "All radios go to hell". They had a radio program that lasted from 2005 to 2008. They used a sarcastic style to analyze news in major newspapers and magazines. They had 80% percent of young audience. They both were continuing working in formal publications. In April 2007, they wondered why a multiple murderer in Virginia institute attracts more attention from Chinese media than incidents in a mine in their country. Belonging to the author their work served to invoke alternative interpretations, to deconstruct and subvert reality.

The third case was Wang Xiaofeng's blog, known as "Massage Milk" or "Wearing Three Watches ", a culture columnist of the *Sanlian Life Weekly* from Beijing. He won prizes in 2005 for his humorous and ironic commentaries, and in 2006, he was considered one of the celebrities of the year. His blog, www.wangxiaofeng.net, attracted 12,000 visitors a

day. He made jokes about political situation, culture, and the arts. He mocked about Olympics discomfort, Chinese political hypocrisy and about the scandal of poisoned milk in September 2008. He satirized Media elite and also himself. He didn't try to make journalism and he was proactive interacting with his readers, also involved in his irreverence. The blog also serves as a marketing strategy for him.

In his very optimistic conclusions, the author said that journalists-bloggers in China were the core of the blogosphere, with insight, wit, sarcasm and joy. All case studied were professionals going and returning to their traditional media. They played in an eclectic and elastic way. "Traditional mass media have always been an invention of the ruling class, but from now, they can be re interpreted of de built and satirized, for anyone with access to new technologies". Haiqing Yu said that *j-bloggers* could help to rebuild public confidence in journalism and to give effect to the concept of "public sphere" in China. They could deviate from the official agenda of the big Media without subverting the status quo and can transform the luminal zone, of which depends the viability of the public sphere in the country.

3.2. Correspondents following blogs

We need to go back to Rebecca MacKinnon, former CNN correspondent in Beijing, teacher and founder of the activist organization Global Voices. In 2007, in a research working for the University of Hong Kong, she made a survey with 72 journalist correspondents living in mainland China. She did it from 15 November to 11 December 2006. Her objective was, to find out if reading blogs was part of their routine. It was true. 61 of the 68 who responded used regularly blogs. Seven out of

the 10 responded that they needed it for their work. Almost half said it was a way to find emerging stories, "as a shortcut." However, 51% believed that the impact was "moderate." Surprisingly, 57% said that blogs were reviewed by a person of his staff and not by them. It was clear that one problem was the reliability.

Blogs were considered interesting if they contained original information that was not available elsewhere. The author provided an explanation of the conditions that made the work so special in China. For MacKinnon, journalistic stories in China are not so much "breaking stories", but "process stories", with lots of complexity. In a country with such a lack of information there is much demand for specialists, analysts or first source material. Access to information in the streets or the administration is very difficult. That's why, at that moment, contact with Internet user population and the material available at the net was very interesting compared to what was obtained from official sources.

3.3 Research with Content Analysis. Blogs are much more critical than conventional media

From our view, Ashley Esarey from Whitman College (Washington) and Xiao Qiang from University of California did a remarkable article (2011), on a very comprehensive comparative analysis about contents in blogs and newspapers in China, and how blogs had become much more critical at all levels. They wondered if that opened a door to a new era of democracy. They analyzed content with keywords in the blogs.

According the Information Office of the State Council in June 2010, over 380 million Chinese had access to the Internet,

which mean 29% of the population. Some 233 used cell phones to be online. China also had 220 million bloggers. Over 80% of government agencies had web sites.

At the same time the state had strengthened control of the net through restrictive laws, filters to view, monitoring, storing or removing them. However, The Internet had allowed permeate the control of information by breaking the monopoly of the state. According to Dong Guanpeng, State Council advisor, since the popularization of the Internet, more than 80 local governments has been criticized online, and a third of these have had to resign after their conduct had being exposed online. He remarked that in 2003, two major incidents were discovered thanks to the Net. But in 2009, there were 12 large scale mass Internet incidents denounced.

The authors highlighted that despite efforts to induce to self-censorship, the popularity of instant messages services as QQ, the university social networking Xiaonei (www.xiaonei.net), the search engine and RSS aggregation tools as Baidu (www.baidu.com) and Zhuaxia (www.zhuaxia.com) and Bulletin Board Systems (BBS), have changed the lifestyles of the Chinese Internet users. In 2008, 80 percent of the Chinese Webs were added to BBS forums. At the same time, there was a growing number of bloggers who write about public issues. Since 2009, China micro blogs exploded in number. In accordance with the Think Tank Yiguan, the number of users of micro blogging in 2010 reached 75 million, meanwhile in 2009 there were only 8 million.

Authors outline three periods in respect to political communication in China:

1) From 1949 to 1978 when there was a state of propaganda following the Soviet-style.

2) From 1978 till mid-2003, when all media were state-owned but they had to prioritize merchantability.

3) From late 2002, when it began the importance of the Internet. At that time one health subject arises, the SARS epidemic. After some time hiding information, Dr. Jiang Yanyong leaked the circumstances of the epidemic. The network expanded it.

On March 20, 2003, a 27-year-old' man, Sun Zhigang, died in a detention center for migrant workers in Guangzhou. He was arrested and beaten to death in the police station for not carrying correct documents. The event, known in all China thanks to the Internet, did change the regulations on migrant workers. Belonging to the authors, a timid civil society was emerging, in a parallel process of the birth of a middle urban class accessing digital media.

Esarey and Qiang, in their work, wanted to measure the difference in political expression between blogs and newspapers. They elect nine different newspapers in Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou in 2003 and a selection of blogs, in 2006. Compared with the traditional media, blogs were more free from regular instructions that dictate the content. That created incentives for bloggers, for example journalists working in the official mass media. They didn't depend from the blog to live. It was not their source of income. Blogs could be closed, but bloggers could open others. Due to the restrictive measures implemented in the newspapers newsrooms, and the little cost if blogs were closed, blogs became a shelter that could hold prospects of opposition and criticism.

3.4 Comparing newspaper's articles and blogs

The research analyzed 5883 articles from nine newspapers from Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou. They also selected 555 blogs posts commenting on stories that had appeared in the newspapers. In their content analysis, they evaluated levels of criticism, pluralism and propaganda. In the results, in blogs there was much more criticism of all kinds. More than 61% of their pages contained some form of criticism, compared with 19% in the newspaper articles. 19% of the blogs criticized some part of the central government, and this was reflected only in the 4% of the newspapers.

Figure 2 Differences between blogs and newspapers
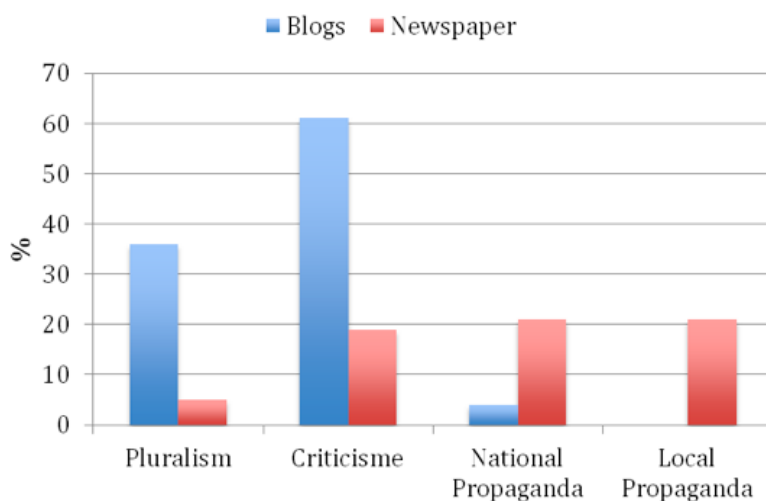
Source: Esarey, A., & Xiao, Q. (2011). Digital communication and political change in China. *International Journal of Communication*, 5, 22.

That confirmed their hypothesis. Blogs were much freer to confront the official line. Contrary to what was believed, blogs specialized in state politics were more critical than the ones

specialized in local issues. In China, online spaces have become forums to ask for political reforms.

3.5 New vocabulary

In order to assess how far blogging tried to defend freedom of expression and political reform, authors started searching if they were adopting those specific concepts. That introduction of new words associated with political liberalization might indicate a trend towards change.

They looked first for three key words: freedom of expression *yanlun ziyou*, rights *Quanli* , and Internet *hulianwang* or *wangluo.*

Figure 3 Blogs with concepts "freedom of expression", "rights" and "Internet"
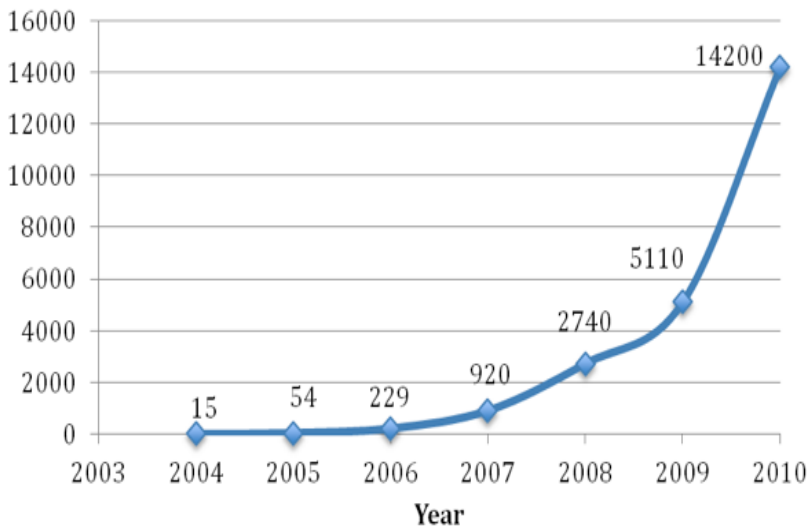
Source: Esarey, A.; & Xiao Q.2011), Digital communication and political change in China. *International Journal of Communication* 5, p. 298-319. University of Southern California

Secondly, they matched the words ' democracy ', *minzhu,* and ' political reform ' *zhengzhi Gaige* or *tizhi Gaige.*

Figure 4 Blogs with concepts "democracy" and "political reform"

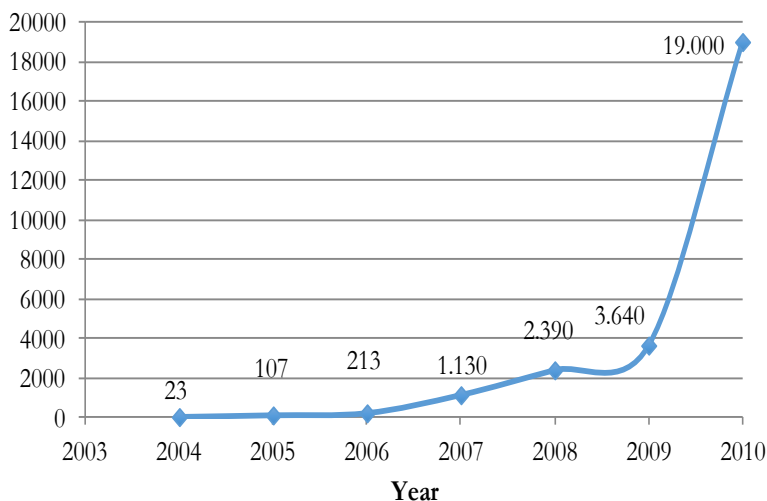Source: Esarey, A.; & Xiao Q.2011), Digital communication and political change in China. *International Journal of Communication* 5, p. 298-319. University of Southern California

The result demonstrated that phrases of bloggers around the terms "democracy" and "democratization" had increased 826 times in six years. The authors' conclusions show that although there was a strengthening of control (There were new laws and institutions such the Ministry of Information Industry), new technologies in China, in this historical period, have liberalized communications, reducing the cost of receiving and obtaining or exchanging any information. Authors wonder if this could eventually lead to a change. Many believed that the improvement of living standards and the fact

that employers were fully supporting the institutions of the state make unlikely some changes.

Public opinion polls suggested that there was optimism about the Chinese economy. Even a majority saw the index of social inequality as a problem. In this context, the Internet facilitated forms of protest, which protect the rights of the citizens and expose corruption from the officials. Chinese leaders seemed to accept at that moment that role for the Internet. What Communist Party leaders didn't want is that online activism could evolved to marches off line.

3.5 Internet safety valve or pressure cooker depends on the subject

Following the same criteria adding content analysis and case studies from the University of Sydney, Jonathan Hassid (2012) questioned if blogs in Chinese political life were "safety valve" or "pressure cooker". He started mentioning two cases discussed in the network: The racial conflicts in Urumqi in July 2009 and the protests against the anti-dog measures decided by the council of Beijing in 2006. There was a discussion in the academia, whether Internet leads to greater tension as, - according him- , happened in the first case, or was used for non-violent way to express discontent and acts as a safety valve. In the second case, for him, the answer flows after investigate the relationship between blogs and traditional media. As far as him concern, when Internet precedes the press, and decides the agenda, that increase social and political tensions.

In his opinion, it is surprising that from 409 research articles in Chinese Language about Internet in China, from

1990 to 2008; only 2% have used content analysis. Only 1% did some fieldwork. There are 31 article examining professional media. Only 13% are using content analysis.

Before his analysis, he tried to clarify that bloggers do not monopolize electronic communication. In China, BBS discussion groups, remain popular in campuses. Either micro blogs like Sina.Com, Weibo, or platforms like MSN or QQ messages. But blogs were attractive. China had the largest community of bloggers in the world and has been critical to the government and to enterprises.

The researcher wanted to do a macro content analysis comparing blogs and newspapers, finishing doing interviews and mini case studies. He was based in 2198 post blogs posted from August 30 to November 7, 2010. At the same time, he analyzed 4363 articles from 19 newspapers, during the same 70 days. He did it through the program Yoshikoder.

On one hand, blogs were talking about issues like family, love, sports, combative political issues and topics related to the Internet, while most newspapers about general political subjects, military, finance, agriculture. Bloggers were twice times more negative and critical than newspaper journalists. Surprisingly, the two media treated equally, the issue of corruption (changing the stereotype that only blogs did it).

Reading his results, newspapers take the initiative on issues like energy, development and politics. There is a gap time of four days, between newspapers thrown the political story and it begins to be discussed in blogs. Recent studies indicate that the most popular Chinese bloggers only very occasionally criticize the action or inaction of the main political leaders.

Newspapers start to talk about corruption cases six days before were discussed in blogs. In certain cases, censors may withdraw posts that refer to corruption, but in general,

bloggers react later rather than initiate coverage of a corruption case. In international policy issues, such as disputes with Japan over Diaoyu / Senkaku islands, newspapers and the official statements marked the agenda that led to discussions online.

On issues like the Internet itself, and everything that surrounds it, blogs are four days ahead of the mainstream press. Blogs were also ahead in matters like religion, -this may be due to the lack of coverage on this issue in big Media-, and in subjects like disasters, (That can be due to the lack of official information) and agriculture or rural subjects. Situations such land occupation or local corruption have no interest in the major media.

The author then asks himself who imposes the agenda? It depends on the subject. But in cases of local corruption, central government, in principle, doesn't stop the appearance on the Internet. Only when the event draws the attention of the foreign press, is when government gives the approval for traditional media to echo the subject, always providing the official version provided by the news official agency Xinhua. The author discusses about two cases that we also will study in the thesis. The first, regarding the incident of a hit student by a car in Hebei's University. Driver ran over and marched unscathed saying "My father is Li Gang." A phrase that became famous in all over the country as a demonstration of impunity. (That Subject was extensively researched by our reporter and blogger Wang Keqin). Hassid said that "Thanks to blogging movement finally went to court and put him six years in prison."

The study also reported a second case that on July 2011, following the high-speed train crash in Wenzhou, local government wanted to hide information. Micro blogging users

ended up distributing 26 million messages. Government had to open an investigation. The author has the theory that when the central government feels that is in control of a history of conflict, he tolerates and sometimes encourages, some criticism and discussion on the Web. But, when the controversy takes him by surprise, Beijing is much less tolerant.

In some cases, central authorities encourage criticism online. The author talked about the case from March 2007, of the journalist Zhong Xiaoyong, under the pseudonym Lian Yue and his post against the installation of a chemical factory in Xiamen. The author suggests that the blogger, a columnist, former editor of Southern Weekend and 21st Century Economic Herald, was acting with the complicity of the central government.

Hassid says that blogs provide a "safety valve" when newspapers have talked about a topic and have already set the agenda for discussion. Bloggers will be hardest than the journalists in official media. At the same time, it indicates that the Internet can be a pressure cooker on other issues, such as the peasant and artist's protests. In the first case, there is fear that there are subjects than can appear suddenly and can end with confrontation with the police. It also denotes a certain leaning from party officials and the media with the capitalists and not the farmers. Newspapers rarely cover their problems. The same happens with urban proletariat, workers or migrants.

Other issues that aroused harsh responses were artist's rebellions. The arrest of Ai Wei Wei has been regarded as a warning for others. Bloggers were those who have addressed this issue on the agenda. The government got especially nervous, perhaps because it looked very close to the calls for "jasmine revolution".

The results of this study are that blogosphere in China can be both, "safety valve" and "pressure cooker" depends on the issue. Sometimes, Communist Party seems comfortable when the actions of some officials were discussed, or even punished, particularly when the agenda has been marked by newspapers, including on issues of corruption and energy. Or even in international issues. Chinese blogs can act as a safety valve by reducing and channeling social tensions.

But, when they go for free, outside the official agenda, or enter into issues where there is no party trust, then is a pressure cooker. That happens in rural conflicts, the world of the arts or religious affairs. That's why bloggers who "create their own news", belonging the author, can face much more scrutiny and censure.

3.6 How the Network can discover, sustain or legitimize a story

Going further, a case study, researched from Lijun Tang and Helen Sampson (2012) from the University of Cardiff, explains three cases of interaction between the Internet and mainstream media in China. They first made a distinction with blogs in the West. Belonging to them, in western democracies, blogs still base much of their material in the mass media, serving as speakers or transmitters. But, in China, where the media belong to the state, even having a business purpose, they are based in the function of propaganda. Relationship between blogs and Media is completely different. They explained three cases, relatively recent, in which blogs, micro-blogs or discussion forums had been transcendent to mark the news agenda.

The first case was a story of police corruption in the Minhang district of Shanghai, where police arrested a citizen as an illegal taxi driver, and after it became public, citizens noticed that it was actually a montage. The victim took his case to a discussion forum, Year BBS, and Tianya BBS BBS Year. The famous blogger Han Han raised the complaint onto his blog, and then journalists from the newspaper Oriental Morning Post and television stations collected it. It was noticed another similar case. That led to a police investigation and finally the citizen won his claim (before, six others did lose it). At that moment, the Network marked the agenda.

The second example was "Putting a case on the agenda. Sustain and defend it ". On May 10, 2009, in Hubey province, media gave up a case of murder. A young karaoke working girl, 21-year-old had killed an officer and wounded two more. It seemed that they had demanded sex. Some people climbed that case on the Web. The discussion about the young Deng Yujiao was introducing more comments about the attempted rape than on the murder. On May 14 th, Blogger Wu Gan asked to "go offline" and asked for money for offering legal advice to Deng Yujiao. There came to have four million posts. Newspapers echoed these "public opinion." Ten days after, censors took action. They prohibited any reporting on this subject, also in TV. But finally, the case went to court. She was accused of abuse of power, but she didn't enter into prison "for their mental state." From the beginning to end, the story was during one month being one of the main focuses of the Media."

The third case in the research demonstrates how the network overcomes a false agenda of Media. When the controversy between Chinese administration with Google came to light, CCTV state television made a documentary about how the Google search engine took the youth to

pornographic materials. Chinese Television news program did an interview with Gao Ye, an alleged student. He explained that Google had perverted one of his friends and was worried until bringing him to porn sites. Some citizens investigate Gao Ye. He was an employee of the TV, that come to light trough blogs and the public put it in the net. They accused the Media of interviewing its own employees. Micro-blogs had begun a process of "human flesh." That means that there was a general search that opens the exhibition of the subject personal names, addresses and telephone numbers. Days later, a newspaper, the Southern Metropolitan Daily said that the broadcaster company had made this false story.

The authors highlight how "strong public opinion" legitimates the flow of information. If the major media go toward commercialization and professionalization, public opinion acts as a counterweight. Therefore, bloggers and cyber-activists not only provide paths for research, but a degree of legitimacy and protection to cover stories. For citizens who are on the network, the assistance of the Media takes a bigger audience, and an increasing the potential for change effect. At the same time journalists have the power to make interviews and that, rejoins the network. This whole process prolongs and deepens public interest in stories, that otherwise had gone unnoticed and can increase the pressure on government officials and administration. Internet allows citizens to make an assessment of the stories, and answering them.

The conclusion, for the authors, was that the relationship between these two forms of communication, traditional media and the massive use of the Internet mean a challenge to the traditional relations of power. Citizens could participate in deciding the agenda items in subjects where the media could not work in, even they could give protection and could reroute

the stories of journalists. And somehow they eroded the power that authorities had on the Media. Something that would confirm the hypothesis that totalitarian states may also have public opinion spaces.

3.7. **Gray areas of discussion and reporting are creating a democratic culture**

A study by Yu Liu and Dingding Chen (2012), professors of Tsinghua University and Macau, on the democratization of China, begin pointing out that in the local elections in the autumn of 2011, some independent citizens were able to compete. They also emphasize that the high-speed train crash in Wenzhou in July 2011, was a clamor of criticism against the government from the micro-blogging Weibo. They begin to define the trend toward democracy comparing income levels and social inequality. South Korea and Taiwan, when they started its democratic process, had 6,600 and 7,900 dollar's per capita income. China in 2010 was about $ 7,500.

In 2017 China could reach $ 12,000 per capita. For them, the economic level does not bring transition, but it is important for the consolidation of democracy. They say that China is advancing to become a modern state. (In 2011 taxes grew twice GDP). As for the criticism of inequality, in a study from Harvard Professor Martin Whyte, he said that in 2004 Chinese population traditionally observed meritocracy as the cause of inequality, but in 2006 it Chinese people believed that corruption was the main reason. The income gap between countryside and city went from 3.1: 1 in 2002 to 3.33: 1 in 2008.

The authors recognize that China has a deficit regarding cultural democracy. But they believe that technological and economic development is changing the cultural orientation of the nation. Protests didn't threaten the legitimacy of the

regime, because they try to focus on socioeconomic issues, local and practical subjects. However, Chinese citizens born after 1980 don't longer blindly trust in the government.

For them, the evolution of Chinese society is shown in the multiplication of government spending in "maintain internal stability." According to the authors the majority of the population is politically conservative or indifferent, but the political attitude of some intellectuals, students or the emerging middle class is more important than the general public. In recent years there has emerged a group of leaders with "liberal" opinions, who express their views to an audience of educated young people, such as the "pop blogger" Han Han. The number of people online in China in June 2011 was 485 million. Despite the censorship, control failed in four areas:

1. They cannot block the flow of information. Many people have learned how to transfer "the great firewall" with special programs.

2. There is much information available on areas "politically gray" (local issues, such as the case of the young girl Deng Yujiao in Hubei, which killed an officer in May 2009 after he tried to rape her). There are no words that can outwit sensitive detectors.

3. Internet has become a tool of political organization. (Belonging to them, it was demonstrated in the 2006 marches in Xiamen, in Guangzhou, in 2009. Or the case of Qian Yunhui, the farmer killed by a truck in a roadside in December 25, 2010, after defending his lands).

4. Internet is creating a "social capital." Perhaps with no immediate implications, but it is cultivating a democratic attitude in the long term.

The authors believe that the Chinese society is beginning to have tools to mobilize and for the Communist Party to be accountable. One of the keys is democracy itself in the interior of the Party. Logically, if there are two factions, most liberals that will seek the support of civil society against the most conservative. (Like it happened in Tiananmen in 1989).

The authors said that "For the elites, when the cost of repression is very high, reform may be an option to avoid revolution. Also when the elites are more educated tend to a more liberal policy. They also point to the "domino effect" in Asia, but especially with Indonesia, Taiwan, South Korea, Thailand, Vietnam, Myanmar. Although now in China, it doesn't lack international recognition, they know they would be better treated with democracy. And there may be other factors. Democratization brings an additional benefit, as the union with Taiwan. "

Yu Liu and Dingding Chen conclude by saying that their mission was only observing probability, and for them, the probability "is high." They believe that the evidence suggests that the time for the democratization of China will accelerate, and they dare to say, that in the not distant future, in the next two decades.

4. The case of Cuba

Despite exceptional constrains, almost twenty years ago, just in 1997, when Internet started in Cuba, Jorge l. Dominguez, from Harvard University, presented his theory about how in Cuba was beginning a transition to authoritarianism.

At that moment he said that in an authoritarian regime like the one that began to emerge in Cuba, people was gaining a degree of independence from the state, despite their wishes to stop it. He highlighted the bloom of the faith and religious participation and the expanded ranges of civil society, relatively independent of official power. But above all, the will for some autonomy that he could observe in intellectuals, cooperatives associates, members of mass organizations, neighborhoods, and many party members "-including officials of the government-, who directly or indirectly, are involved in the illegal market, a key source of economic autonomy".

That desire for autonomy, despite the great difficulties of access, was to be held in the following years on the network more than from organized movements in the street. The amount of studies on the Cuban blogosphere is much lower than on the Chinese phenomenon, and perhaps is still partial. The numbers indicate the importance of the messages about Cuba in the Latin American sphere, and the relevance of some blogs and webpages made by Cubans, but outside Cuba.

The book titled *Buena Vista Social Blog* (2010), coordinated by Beatriz Calvo Peña collected several articles and posts about the Cuban blogosphere. They were descriptive analysis of the phenomenon which included the first surveys and statistics on the subject made on the island and abroad.

Dagmar Monett (Monett, 2010: 59) exhibited the first survey of Cuban bloggers. She relied it from the list http://blogssobrecuba.blogspot.com of Algodar. She worked with the responses of 236 people.

Respecting internet connection, 95% had a computer at home, but in the case of the residents in the island, the percentage down to 80%. Nearly half of the bloggers who resided in Cuba had no access to the Internet from home.

When asked about their type of activity online. In general, among the reasons, in the average of the whole group was first "to express myself freely"; the second, "to share knowledge", and the third "documenting personal experiences". Interestingly, for those who resided in Cuba, first intention was "to share knowledge", secondly, "communicate with others", and third, "looking for information for being informed". This answer appeared before than the one of "expressing myself freely."

When we observed between demographics, the profile of the average blogger in Cuba, at that moment, show that we were in front of an adult population. More than 85% had more than 30 years. The general average exceeded 42 years. The most active group of Cuban bloggers was between 40 and 49 years. Most were concentrated in three countries (one third in USA, one fourth in Cuba, and one six in Spain). From all, the 91% were born in Cuba, indicating a high degree of emigrants. They considered that working on the blog was a form of

journalism and believed that blogs were a "nation meeting place".

The article from Isabel Alba (Alba, 2010: 109) reflected a second part on the survey. She argued that there was a turning point when Raul Castro allowed Cuban residents the access to Internet and mobile phones, as long as they could pay in CUC, "pesos convertibles". Belonging to her, this discreet opening decision allowed the emergence of media phenomena such as Yoani Sánchez and her group of bloggers Voces Cubanas.

The survey shows three predominant types of blogs belonging to the content:

Figure 5 Predominant types of blogs belonging to the content
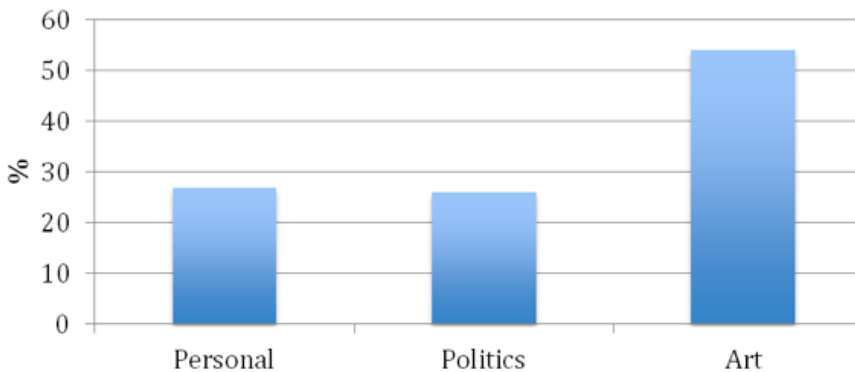
Source: *Buena Vista Social Blog* (2010)

Nostalgia was the main sentiment among bloggers in the Diaspora. The 49.67% of bloggers living abroad responded that they would return to the island.

For the people living in the exile, virtual space of the blogosphere gave them a new sense of country. In the blogosphere, the "real" life cleared and gave way to a reconstruction of reality. Social networks allow bloggers from

the Diaspora weaving symbolic links, deepening in their cultural and historical identity. Inside the island, in recent years, bloggers had also pretended to organize events. They wanted to be part of civil society.

The author says: In the blogosphere we can observe a pluralism that is not reflected in everyday life on the island. Isabel Alba (Alba, 2010: 189) and concludes: "How Yoani Sánchez signaled, is time to apply what we learned in the virtual estates into real life, to achieve that this virtual island more plural and democratic goes taking shape in the real territory. "

The article from Beatriz Calvo Peña, B. (Calvo Peña, 2010: 147), has an illustrative headline: Internet community and democracy. The Cuban blogosphere weaves its own "virtual island". She mentions how Professor Jose Luis Orihuela establishes ten basic principles distinguishing online communication from traditional mass media.

Goes

From audience to users;

From format to multimedia;

From periodicity to real time;

From scarcity to abundance;

From intermediation to disintermediation;

From distribution to access;

From unidirectional to interactivity;

From linearity to hypertext;

From Information to Knowledge.

From a theoretical perspective, Professor Alejandro Barranquero (2010:271) defined two types of alternative communication: first, the opposed to the dominant power; second, the alternative, when the will is the exercise of participation activity oriented to social change. The Chilean Fernando Reyes Mata said that the main objective of these counter-hegemonic flows was the emancipation of the society. In this sense, belonging to them, alternative communication to the Cuban regime has contributed to undermining certain official versions of the facts, while helping to articulate communities in which individuals and groups strengthen their autonomy and their critical capacity. They see Yoani Sánchez work as common anti-hegemonic communication because, - from their point of view -, the official newspaper Granma or the program "Mesa Redonda" in the Public Television, and (Department of Revolutionary Orientation of the Central Committee from the Communist Party), are who send the hegemonic message.

Rafael Rubio (Rubio, 2010: 27) defines new technologies as a catalyst for social change, taking as example the 13-M 2004 day in Madrid (the elections two days after a huge terrorist attack). According to him, there is a new emerging kind of social organization called to transform the map of the civil society. The author defines it as "temporary interests' groups" formed by people who do not belong to any organization or share ideology or worldview, but that are organized with a certain aim. From his opinion this was specially studied by the directors of the campaign of Barak Obama. He signaled the example of the Facebook group *One million voices against FARC*, with over 400,000 members.

For the author the difference between today's new technologies and the era of Radio Free Europe and the Voice of America is not the content but the structure that allow users to

disseminate information, and not only to inform, but above all, to be organized. He also included as an example, the first Pakistan Mobile phone based social network, "Humari Awaz", in the first two weeks of its existence sent over 8 billion SMS in favor of children of Punjab.

Matias Jove (leader with Rafael Rubio, from the Asociación Española Cuba en Transición) gets to compare the importance of Yoani Sánchez in nowadays with the Herbert Matthews of the Castro in Sierra Maestra. The author takes as historical example the figure of the New York Times reporter Matthew Herbert and his relationship with the rebels. In the new times, they said, even that in Cuba Internet penetration was very limited and expensive, it allowed to give voice to a minority, and the blog of Yoani Sánchez had mean that an independent media exceeded the government audience. They reflected, that according to Alexa official information (April 27 2010), Generación Y had a higher traffic than the official newspaper *Granma*.

Mapping Cuban blogosphere

Between 15 and 27 April 2011, Professor Ted A. Henken, now in Baruch College, City University of New York, did a series of interviews on the island of Cuba to come to build a mapping of the Cuban blogosphere. He wondered how blogs Cubans had helped overcome the polarization and monologues. (Henken, 2011: 90).

Henken (2011: 96) described, at that time, four main groups inside the Island: *Voces Cubanas,* the one from Yoani Sánchez*: Havana Times, Bloggers Cuba and La Joven Cuba.*

Voces Cubanas. In summer of 2011 there were a total of 40 blogs affiliated to *Voces.* It was the group of the considered dissident's voices. From *Generación Y* (March-April 2007) some new blogs were born: *Desde aquí,* from Reinaldo Escobar (December 8, 2007); *Sin Evasion,* from Miriam Celaya (January-July 2008). It showed, belonging to her, "An evolution from a personal project of exorcisms and catharsis until a coordinated movement of citizen solidarity".

Havana Times.

http://www.havanatimes.org/

This blog was founded in October 2008 by the American media expert Circles Robinson in Nicaragua. *Havana Times* launched the site with the help of a webmaster Cuban resident in Spain. It was defined as independent of different powers, the Cuban government and the US government and Cuban exile groups in Miami. He paid the portal with his savings. The first year it was only in English. In 2009 he remained jobless in Cuba and went to live in Nicaragua. *Havana Times* had not been classified as a dissident and it was visible. The team had between 20 and 25 people. There were voices from classical liberals to leftists who criticize Revolution.

Bloggers Cuba.

It was born between June and September of 2008 and existed with the original post until December 2009. It reappeared on July 8, 2011. They were in favor of pluralism and, also, defending the country self-determination and sovereignty. Totaling 15 members, between the participants, we could find professor Elaine Diaz, and race and gender

activists like Sandra Alvarez or Yasmin Portales. https://yasminsportales.wordpress.com/

They organized their first meeting on 27 September 2008. Most of the members worked in the state apparatus. Always staying "within the revolution". They live a belief among the ideals of socialism and negotiation with the power to safeguard Internet.

La Joven Cuba.

http://jovencuba.com/

It was founded around the University of Matanzas. They defend the revolution, socialism and national sovereignty. They confronted Yoani Sánchez and other dissidents, and included preferably official blogs of journalists. But they were open to debate. The way of access was different from others. It was possible through national Intranet and institutional codes.

Always, some sort of dependence

The most interesting of his conclusions was the thought that makes Ted Henken far from labels. He said that first of all, to do a mapping of the Cuban blogosphere, we must investigate who give and who can get access there to the Internet? How can they access to the Net? If is through the company where you work, thanks to a state institution, from the black market or if you pay for this access. In short, we should ask from where the money does come and if the price is just economic or also ideological? Also, if there is some censorship operating, or self-censorship. Henken (2011: 108) arrives to the following conclusion:

"Due to the poor connectivity and the limited access to the Internet in Cuba, nobody can be completely independent. All kind of access to the Internet requires negotiations with some institutions. If there are some bloggers who enjoy access to Internet through embassies, that have their own policies, from there you can also filter some kind of control and censorship. "

4.1. A Cuban public sphere?

From the German Institute of Global and Area Studies, Bert Hoffmannn asked whether the Internet has changed in Cuba state-society relations and if there is a "public sphere" (Hoffmannn, 2011). He wanted to make a diachronic study analyzing the civil society in the mid-nineties and ten years later to compare if there was a new type of "public sphere" where we could see a debate marked by autonomous action of citizens. With a preamble that has to do with our first chapter, he says that in Iran, China and Arab countries, although they were authoritarian regimes, there was a level of "public sphere." Although, belonging to him, "this definition should be lighter". He fixed a phrase from Professor Mark Lynch, when describing the situation of the Internet in the Arab countries; "there is a kind of a public sphere, when there are active discussions on issues of common concern" (Lynch 2006: 32).

Hoffmannn argues that Cuba was an ideal setting to compare the period of mid-90s, when they were isolated after the fall of the Wall and the new technologies had not arrived, and ten years later, when the Internet came to the island. He said that in the nineties there were very few organized activities outside the official parameters. They were following the maxim: "Dentro de la Revolución, todo, contra la

Revolución, nada." But, after some time, when in the country some families could live thanks to the entry of dollars, working in foreign companies or thanks to family remittances, two societies were created. And some internal voices started to emerge requiring a more pluralistic expression. From el Centro de Estudios sobre America, Rafael Hernández believed that civil society had been underestimated by excessive politicization. There was very small core of debate, like the magazine Temas, in the UNEAC, (Unión de Escritores y Artistas de Cuba).

The author cited as example the World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. The island was represented by the official organization Federación de Mujeres Cubanas, chaired by the wife of Raul Castro, and appeared as an NGO. Other organizations were created, such as Pablo Milanés Foundation, but had to disappear in two years. The group of researches of the same Centro de Estudios sobre America was dissolved, since the party came to accuse sociologists as fifth columnists or "Trojan horse", (Hoffmann, 2011: 12).

Until the entry of the Internet, the whole approach to a public sphere, according to the author, should be done through the official media in the Island or through Miami media, like radio or TV Martí.

The author wishes to highlight three changes, that belonging to him, introduced the new digital era in Cuba:

1) The use of digital tools to make cultural activities that were not promoted by the state and allow transparency to events. The introduction of some movies, music, rap unofficial.

2) Emails have been one of the tools more used by Cubans, facilitating a kind of communication horizontal and decentralized.

3) Blogs, citizen journalism that want to enable citizen's rights. Blogs worldwide harness the power of individuals as "issuers". In Cuba directly transferred the straightjacket of the official world.

Bert Hoffmannn speaks about the birth of Yoani Sánchez phenomenon: Initially neither she was expecting the echo she having ended. The regime described critics as mercenaries, enemies of the revolution and commissioned, in the "Operation Truth" the Computing University to recount all contained "anti-Cuban" contents in the Internet. It also emerged a big number of official blogs. Blogs were becoming popular among students, professionals and intellectuals.

For Hoffmannn there was no doubt that in the blogosphere, pluralism spaces were wider than in Cuban traditional media, although even the official blogs were subject to monitoring. The author said that while the state continues polarizing society, with new media, the divisor line between the citizens "from inside" and "outside" has become blurred. He said that apart from the political content of blogs or emails, just the fact of putting personal point of view, to use the new Media, it means to defend participation beyond the state monopoly. He appointed Marshall McLuhan, "the medium is the message". (From my point of view his optimistic vision has to be contrasted with the lack of internal access, without receptors, there is no authenticable communication).

In his conclusions Hoffmann explained that in Cuba were created the pre-conditions for a civil society that lead to a public sphere "where you can breathe". And he believed that the comparative between half of the nineties, and half of 2000, show the impact of the digital media, a demonstration that citizen autonomy has increased. However, he made clear that the question about whether this citizen activism leads to

regime change is was not clear. It seemed that the state had accepted that no longer had a monopoly on Media, or that the messages had become porous.

> "Now the government's concern is how to contain this contagion effect, to avoid pluralism to go to a non-virtual public sphere. There is, according to him, new social events and new forms of action. New Media has consolidated the rights of citizens."

Hoffmann concluded telling that this does not automatically lead to a gradual process of reform or regime change. But the expansion of voices, the consolidation of new rights, and support for civic action from the network have to have been changing society relations, and in the future, - belonging to him- will play a crucial role in the process of political change.

4.2. From the Cuban Academy, without access, there is no social development

In recent years Cuban Academy published several researches with a primary objective: asking for a more general and public access to the net. For them, precarious access to Internet, impairs social development

Milena Recio Silva in "La hora de los desconectados. Evaluación del diseño de la política de acceso social a Internet en Cuba en un contexto de cambios," (2014), starts pointing that in 2012, belonging to official statistics, only 25,7 per cent of the population was self-considered internet user.   Situation

was worse in primary schools, where only 3% of the centres had some connexion with Internet.

To the author managing scarcity is not leading to social inclusion of disadvantaged or closing gaps between classes, social groups, city and countryside, and between generations. Meanwhile, the administration priority is the strategic use of the resource.

The policy of social access to Internet in Cuba raises increasingly more attention from various social sectors which are starting to get voice and role in the expression of their views, and that eventually can get to pressure the institutional agenda, from literature, plastic arts, music, social research and the daily huddle of the increasingly crowded Cuban blogosphere. Belonging to professor Recio, in all these focus, is where we can see that appear mostly young professionals, from that portion of good connected people -from very different ways- to Internet- and there is a critical, observant and proactive attitude (Recio: 34)

In September 2013, Recio interviewed Melchor Gil, deputy minister and former dean of the University of Computer Sciences in Havana. He comes to a non-optimistic conclusion: "We have not been able, to convince the country's leadership, especially who allocates resources, the Ministry of Economy and Planning, that the expenditures incurred in Information Technology and development, in the access to the Internet are not expenses (...) but an investment that is necessary for economic and social development of the country ... ".

Polarization first step of deliberation

Professor Elaine Diaz (2014) goes further. For her, one of the most controversial points of the widespread use and access to ICT in Cuba lies in the dichotomy between domestic and social use. In front of economic contradictions, difficulties in infrastructures, and the hostile policy of Washington, from 1996, the official discourse presents an incompatibility between the two forms of access.

The author remarks that more than a decade after the first Internet connection Cuba in 1996, access to the net is still low, slow, filtered belonging political criteria, favouring certain professional sectors and is highly costly for the population in general, and with a restrictive law framework limiting the citizen condition from the users of the virtual environment.

For Elaine Díaz the distinctive features of the lack of connectivity have led to the coexistence at the present times of the more traditional web services for online communication from Cuba, like electronic mail, discussion forums and blogs, coexisting with more agile social networks like Facebook and Twitter and to a lesser extent, in Instagram, Pinterest and Tumblr.

This circumstances mean that Cuban nationals residing outside the country adapt their dialogic scenarios to the possibilities of those who live on the island, in an attempt to maintain a functional communication channel for both parties. Díaz pointed that the constant exchange between Cuban residents abroad and inside the island has allowed the conversion of the blogosphere into a stage for the erosion of deep social and political differences.

This scenario is not exempt from a strong polarization in ideological terms. However, Díaz emphasise that while authors think in polarization as an element that undermines democratic deliberation (Neisser, 2006), others assume that only the stark debate between opposing positions will contribute to the clarification and wing acceptance of the legitimacy of the other ideological (Mouffe, 2000, Young, 1996).

The distinctive elements of Cuban blogosphere include awareness in issues poorly addressed in national media or, - in her opinion-, clearly manipulated by the international media agenda and international policies. Sometimes blogs act as a denounce mechanisms and pressure in topics of public interest. In several cases, she also observes an impact on the agenda of the state media and the accredited foreign press in Cuba. Bloggers have become consulted sources.

Government attention

Gretel Ráfuls, (2015) working in the Máster Internacional en Comunicación y Educación from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, (UAB), did a specific research, regarding how blogosphere affected ultimately the decisions from Cuban administration.

She studied four logbooks representatives in facing national problems: *Paquito el de Cuba*, *La Chiringa de Cuba*, *La Joven Cuba* y *Cartas desde Cuba*. Three of them in the central platform "Blogosfera Cuba"

The author worked in a case research from different posts of each blogger, and their impact or response from the government. For example, *La Chiringa de Cuba* was questioning the services offered by the company ETECSA after installing a submarine cable for greater Internet coverage, In May 15, 2014, it denounced massive fraud in the exams to

access to the University. *Paquito el de Cuba* was questioning government policy regarding non sexual discrimination. *La Joven Cuba* was criticizing Cuba's official press or the modernization of the communist party. *Cartas de Cuba* did spread the case of the death of patients in the Psychiatric Hospital in Havana or the deficiencies in the hospital Almejeiras.

The results were: From 19 events and 70 critical posts from those four blogs, Gráfuls found 42 government movements:

> 17 indirect responses

> 12 dialogues or direct indirect with the bloggers

> 9 official notes

> 4 acts of censorship

Ráfuls interviewed some experts like Herminio Camacho, deputy editor of the official newspaper *Juventud Rebelde* on regarding the blogs' incidence: "The vision that those blogs give is a form of feedback to the decision makers because reflects how a nothing depreciable sector of the population, mostly young digital natives think. They represent the guarantee of continuity of any social project. The main authorities of this country have being taking conscience of that".

Blogger Francisco Rodriguez told that the incidence of blogs is very difficult to measure in real terms, but blogging could be a thermometer of the more emergent controversies in Cuban society.

In her conclusion, the author believes that the action of these bloggers and others in the web was crucial and contributed to mobilize the public opinion, to require government media the inclusion in their agendas of issues of interest to the citizens. She points as example the subject of the fraud in the exams to access to the university reveled by *La Chiringa de Cuba.*

3

Theoretical Framework:
A platform for discussion and reporting

ELIZABETH EISENSTEIN (1980) WROTE about the revolution that started with the emergence of the printing press in modern Europe. Neither politics nor the constitutions, the Church, the economic, social, philosophical or literary events can be understood without taking into account the influence of printing and printed words exert. Printers were unknown in Europe before the first half of the fifteenth century and around 1500 it could be found in all major towns. Eisenstein deals with the impact of the new forms of communication in the Renaissance, the Reformation, the rise of modern scientific thought, and also in the creation of a particular private study and reflection space. Interestingly, Elizabeth Eisenstein wrote the book in 1979, before we came in an era of electronic culture without knowledge of the dramatic change that was become reality.

1. Internet was born for freedom

Manuel Castells (2001) was one of the first who announced that we were in front of a new era. For him, Internet was a free architecture. In the United States, in 1996 and 2000, the

Supreme Court declared unconstitutional two Bill Clinton administration's attempts to establish censorship. In a 1996 ruling sentence, the Federal Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania recognized that the Internet was a mess: "In the same way that the strength of the Internet is chaos, the strength of our liberty depends upon the chaos, and from the cacophony of the unfettered speech the First Amendment protects."

According to Castells, since the majority of global communication flows using an American spine, protection of the United States creates a space of freedom for the majority of transmission circuits. This is consistent with the frame where Internet was born. Arpanet was created in 1969 and was presented to the world in 1972 from ARPA, the Advanced Research Projects Office of the United States Department of Defense. The official reason for developing ARPANET was to facilitate communication between the various university computer groups funded by the Department of Defense. They developed a system of communication between computers, which focuses on TCP / IP protocols. In the seventies and eighties Internet technologies were developed openly, through universities and others social media.

Castells emphasizes how the various discoveries were emerging from initiatives in freedom and universality. Each new application was published on the Web. He recalled how the use of Internet was widespread amongst hackers and university students. In 1971 on September, Raymond Tomlinson from the company BBN, invented the e-mail, without commercializing it. Hackers from Bell Labs and the University of Berkeley developed UNIX. Students Hackers invented the modem. Tim Berners-Lee and Roger Cailliau designed the browser / editor World Wide Web, from their passion for programming, sneaking their heads at CERN. That

happened in Geneva in 1990 and they distributed it without profit intention or personal control. Berners-Lee is now director of the World Wide Web Council and patron of the MIT Laboratory for Computer Science. He wrote the book "Weaving the Web. The original design and ultimate destiny of the World Wide Web by its inventor" (2000) to disseminate this transcendental initiative.

2. Totalitarian systems

Historically, it has been considered that in totalitarian regimes by definition could not have public opinion. Authors like Norberto Bobbio (1989) considered that without transmission channels of public opinion, the sphere of civil society is destined to lose its function and eventually disappear. Totalitarian state is the one in which civil society is absorbed by the state. If we look at the writings of the classic author Hanna Arendt (1994), she described the beginnings of the imposition of totalitarian ideology of the Third Reich and the Soviet Union, concluding, in short, that in totalitarian states, the masses were won between propaganda and terror.

Totalitarian movements liked to make predictions based on historical or hypothetical natural laws which determined the future. They found "objectives" laws, that would bring them to power. They believed it was possible to transform the nature of men and tried it on the basis of propaganda. The totalitarian movements used "nationalism" and "socialism" to clear other social bodies. The infallible predictions came from an infallible head that transmitted them in the form of "prophecies."

Totalitarian regimes perfected propaganda. The plot was a big conspiracy which they had to face. To convince the masses, they didn't use facts, but they build a system of self-defense against the exterior-interior conspiracy than the people could

get to join. They could not explain the world without a "macro-conflict". They take advantage of the obsession of the masses to overcome the reality, from daily chaos, creating a body with consistency. They reached the extreme of creating guilt the ones who not felt equal. And they just came out from fiction to use terror. The paramilitaries were preparing conditions for a permanent civil war. The success and failure in a totalitarian system depend of organize and frighten public opinion. In a completely fictional world, they needed that nobody reminds proper mistakes insight the country or observe the outside world.

3. The Internet as a Public Sphere

When philosopher and sociologist Jürgen Habermas published in 1981 *Theory of Communicative Action* as a proposal for a universal ethical discourse, the Internet was still a project used by US military. Three decades later, a stream of optimistic authors believes that the Internet is a reflection of the ideal discursive society. However, when professor Habermas has theorized in public on the Internet, he criticized the resulting dispersion and lack of moderators or intellectuals who directed what is the central part of the message.

Jürgen Habermas studied first how at the end of the eighteenth century the origins of the subsequent public opinion were born, prior to the bourgeois revolutions in Europe. In Germany, the development of the printing meant that small publicity was born, creating spaces of critic discussion. Number of readers increased by leaps and bounds, expanding the production of books, magazines and newspapers. The number of associations was multiplied, the same that egalitarian forms of sociability, free discussion or decision by majority. In England, for example, became

palpable processes of creation of classes, urbanization, cultural mobilization, emergence of new structures of public communication. After his study of that historical period, Jürgen Habermas was designing a series of abstractions or ideal situations to describe what should be public opinion in a free society. From a theoretical approach he makes it clear that we can only talk about public opinion, if first it is possible to inform and be informed with sufficient freedom.

Habermas proposed an advanced form of society: "deliberative society", synthesis of the bourgeois state and the social state based on the need that collective interest topics were approached from rational and ethical positions. Democracy becomes synonymous of political self-organization in the society. He granted a central place in the political process to the existence of an opinion formation and to a common will. At the same time, civil society, social basis of autonomous public spaces, was separated from both: the economic and action system and the public administration. With a plurality of forms of communication, it could get to form a common will, not only via the ethical self-reflection but also through the weight and balance of interests through compromises. But for him, the policy of dialogue and the instrumental could only intervene if the corresponding forms of communication were sufficiently institutionalized.

4. Occidental criticisms to traditional media.

Habermas himself noted that in the early twentieth century the major newspapers where a big business. The editor became a seller of fresh news to the public. It became obvious chrematistic will of the companies. The profitability began to prevail ahead of publicist intentionality. Then state Agencies or state services began transmissions. According to Habermas,

their intention was to pressure in a crowded market of private interests.

Journalist Walter Lippmann (1922) warned that the reality observed for the citizens through the media, could be a deliberate construction. Sensation is subjective and depends on how you get the information. Lippmann moved away from ethical and political considerations to focus on how emotional stereotypes dominated the views of the people. Through his experience as a journalist, he knew that media created and chose stereotypes. There is a tendency to reduce the variety of opinions, pluralism was an important part of the machinery of social communication, but media tend to simplify. Individuals we are conditioned by pseudo-environments, and sometimes we take important decisions, based on conditional visions of facts. He insisted that modern societies are basically insecure. Information channels were proliferating and were becoming more individualized insisting in the emotional stereotypes.

In the 40s and 50s some authors spoke about the era of minimal effects, where parties, churches, trade unions, service organizations, work as a filter as a social reference. Ordinary citizens have very little capacity to think or decide independently about politics. Harold Lasswell (1948) had highlighted the ability of elites to influence public opinion through the news. The media were acting as agents guarding the environment and were in charge of the transmission of the cultural heritage.

In the sixties, with major mass media, in the heyday of radio and television, other journalists began to find evidence of direct effects on the public. Media messages were heading for a gradual saturation. In the sixties', in United States, an advertiser could get to have 80% of the television audience in all the country. It was a dual phenomenon, mass media were

marking the agenda at the same time that it was happening a phenomenon of concentration and monopolization of the companies in the hands of big media groups.

During Ninety's arose a broad criticism of mass media role. Let's remember "Manufacturing Consent" by Noam Chomsky, (2002). There was a critical vision from some academics that were losing confidence in the big press. There was a growing distrust in official communications, in political leaders and increasingly it became more evident the disconnection between citizens and governments. In 2000, in United States, preferences from the public were atomized with 100 TV channels coming to the houses to end up with the same audience together.

W. Lance Bennett and Shanto Iyengar in "A New Era of Minimal Effects? The Changing Foundations of Political Communication" (2008) described the polarization in the United States between Republicans and Democrats. Republicans and conservatives chose Fox News TV channel while Democrats and liberals wanted to avoid Fox in favor of the public NPR and CNN. The views were completely polarized, with strong conviction blogs, 30% left and 30% right. However, audience fragmentation reduced the chance of any national attitude change. The news continued serving governance powers established pressure groups. It was clear that, with the development of the Internet, we could get arriving to a Turning Point, not only in technology but also in social structure and formation of new identities that affect behaviors and audiences. According to Bennett and Iyengar, information technologies, were opening up democratic prospects.

5. Habermas criticizing the Internet

On 20 June 2006, at a conference in Dresden, Habermas warned that the volume of political communication in the public sphere had expanded, but at the time was dominated by non-deliberative communication. He said the interaction on the Internet only had meaning if it was based in beating censorship in authoritarian regimes. The growth of millions of fragmented chat rooms around the world tended to derive what was the fragmentation of a large number of audiences in a vast number of public issues in isolation. In this atmosphere, contributions by intellectuals lose the ability to create a focus.

His critical opinions have a strong impact on their followers as Howard Rheingold, who defended the Internet as a public sphere and compared chat areas, with cafes at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. Rheingold pointed out that we were facing a public square outside the control and influence of any coercive organization or institution.

Already in 1990, the philosopher Pierre Lévy, in his book "The Technologies of Intelligence. The future of the thoughts at the informatics era" noted that, in the Network we are all authors with the same freedom of expression, with the same possibility to create a text. A public sphere where intellectuals can get moving, in a more inclusive scenario, allowing exchanges more intense than in any previous era. Issuers are also based on its users to get the information. And this, for him, had many similarities with the European model of the early industrial revolution and the press. The individual can be heard directly into the public arena. There are new ways to reach the authorities. Levy believes that we are facing a new civilization.

There is a central criticism against this optimistic view, what has been called "digital gap" that is, that in any country, we must distinguish between people who have access and those who cannot buy a computer or a mobile phone.

The cyber-pessimists' authors answer pointing out that the press, cable television, large chains and mass media distributed from very centralized places and feedback opportunities were extremely limited, but the aspect of speech communication through of them had an advantage, because they focus the themes of attention. They said that some part of the academy was in a democratic cyber wave of enthusiasm that tends to confuse politics and technological possibilities. Habermas had already warned that that the Internet played a secondary role in the activity of formal politic life.

Terje Rasmussen (2008), in his article "The Internet and Differentiation in the Political Public Sphere", distinguishes two dimensions of the public sphere on the Internet, the representative (numerically more democratic and inclusive) and the presentation, about the ability to deliberate with central figures acting as voices of the people. He proposes to study it from an empirical point of view, how the Internet is involved in this two dimensions.

The public sphere can increase or can reduce the complexity of social interaction. There must be a desire for moral discourse to find an impartial platform. The author distinguishes between mass media diversity and the focusing. While some guarantee pluralism issues, others guarantee that they can become part of the political agenda. He believes that both, Internet and elite newspapers and television channels create together, the two dimensions of the public sphere.

American journalist Jonathan Stray defines the network and the set of discourses as an ecosystem. He calls that digital

public sphere, a place for discussion of public concerns shared by the state. Stray was inspired by the book of Columbia Professor Michael S. Schudson, The Power of News, (1996), where he describes the network as a complement to the traditional press and proposes that the sum should guarantee several points: Providing information, creating empathy, directing the attention to the genuine voices of communities and encouraging collective action. It should also be able to contribute to the resolution of conflicts and the formation of consensus. Stray defense journalism, search engines, Wikipedia, the Media, all within an ecosystem must work together with one ultimate goal: to build a digital public sphere.

Although Habermas broke a long silence to criticize the spread of the Internet, there are authors like Stuart R. Geiger, (2009), auto defined as a "computational ethnographer", who recommend not to be afraid to fragmentation. The blogosphere is not unified by an ideal speech, but from an algorithm, although communities who emit discourses by Internet have fragmented the audience. In "Does Habermas Understand the Internet?" The Algorithmic Construction of the Blogo/Public Sphere". He deemed the critical about fragmentation as a threat. For him, the risk is precisely integration. Network enjoys an apparent disorder, but with interconnected hierarchies of popularity. Collective action became possible in a non-imaginable scale, thanks to what has been called "The Wisdom of Crowds" (James Surowiecki, 2004), aggregation of information in groups, can result in decisions that, are often better than could have been made by any single member of the group.

Yochai Benkler, (2006), professor at Harvard Law School, in his book "The Wealth of Networks. How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom", believes that the mass

media must give way to what he defines as "networked public sphere." Internet has opened significant space for non-coercive speech. He highlights the effects of coordination. The macro-properties that the network has, simply thanks to the skills of each user to interact with another user. This eventually causes that a huge part of the population is able to see, to create communication, and that they are much more resistant to corruption and money. Benkler gives examples of how this "uncoordinated coordination" end up in possible mobilizations.

There are studies, for instance the one by Eugenia Mitchelstein and Pablo Boczkowski (2010), which are not so optimistic when talking about online news consumption and civic participation. The Information Preferences of the Media and the Public were divergent. Online citizen's forums of the United States did not correspond with discussion of participation and commitment (previous studies in 2007). The number of participants was low and messages were trivial. Matters of public interest or political preferences were not the first preferences of the readers. The authors ended by saying that the value of the discussions was very limited when compared to the standards of political deliberation in United States, all of this, before the Obama and Hillary Clinton campaign and the economic crisis and the Occupy movement. But in recent years, circumstances changed.

6. Reasons to be optimistic. A new kind of citizenship

Before the Internet many actions could go unnoticed by the world community highlighted Jure Leskovec, professor of Computer Science at Stanford University (2009). Today we are practically in a "place in line", changing even the concept of "citizenship." Internet provides ordinary citizens the ability to hang news in the agenda for another media and vice versa.

Leskovec, demonstrates that many political issues first arise in traditional media and then go to the blogs, rather the contrary. In any case, the Internet reduces communication barriers between individual citizens and small groups. Let us bring attention to new issues or marginal subjects, and then, once that attention is evident, makes possible a rational critique and to form a collective opinion. In online discussions, it is evident the absence of an external coercive force.

The events in the last five years show that online audiences can be more focused and moderators more skilled from what Habermas supposed. There is some association between Internet use and political commitment. Until a few years ago, the average American citizen was poorly informed. Far left have already been the conclusion of some authors, like Michael Margolis and David Resnick, then, in a study of 2000, argued that the Internet did not represent anything more than "politics as usual." It was said that the Internet would not alter the distribution of power, but it could create a spiral of selective attention. Russell Neuman, Bruce Bimber and Mattew Hindman (2011) in "The Internet and Four Dimensions of Citizenship" put as an example of the contribution of Internet discussion groups in the process of choosing Barack Obama as president of the United States on November 4, 2008. His supporters began to occupy cyberspace with its page *change.gov* where people could say or suggest anything. After that, his victory was attributed to their ability to add. The page ended with more than 22 million visits.

Our modest contribution aims to show how in around 2010, Internet could change people's capacity of expression in authoritarian regimes, where traditional press was under strict control. Who was part of the chain to make governments accountable and, the action in the net from empowered citizens exercising their desire for justice.
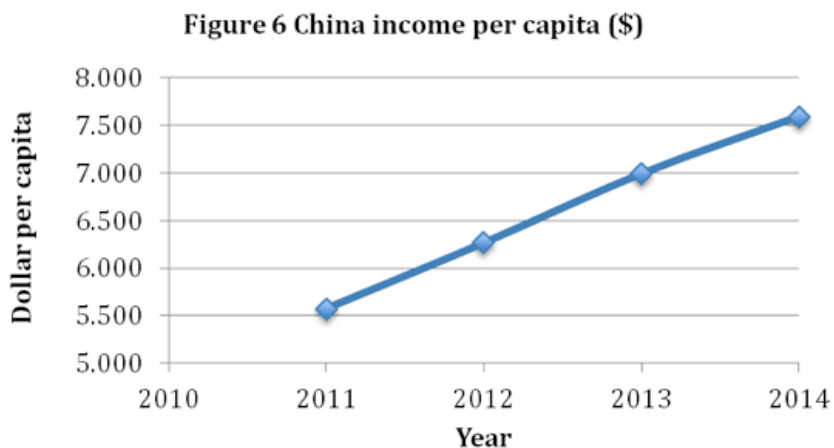
4

Historical Context

and Presentation of Cases

CHINESE AND CUBAN CONSTITUTIONS (1982-1978) defined those territories as socialist countries, led, in both cases by the Communist Party. But, in the last decades, the crisis of state socialism and centralized planned economies has led to the recognition of the need to introduce market mechanisms, even with private ownership of the means of production (Linz, J., (2002)).

In this chapter of historical context, we need to mention how new technologies and their forums tools had been adapted in this special moment of grown and development in both countries. We start with some economic introductions to continue with access to new technologies. In China it is remarkable how, from the initial reforms announcement, in 1978, has emerged a new urban middle class (that let us to compare the situation with in the Initial Industrial Revolution and to think that may be Internet have had the same debate role than coffees saloons or the first newspapers at the end of eighteen centuries, also with the existence of big social contradictions. In Cuba, the context has been much more complex with the sum of economic crisis, the old phenomenon of the U.S. embargo and emigration.

1. China: Politics and Internet use

China has become the second world economy although in 2014 its per capita income was 7.593.9 dollars, and considering that the wealth distribution is very uneven, with a serious divorce between rural and urban society, east and west location.

Figure 6 China income per capita ($)

Source:
http://datos.bancomundial.org/indicador/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD

Many authors like Sebastián Claro, (2004), emphasize the success since the first package of economic reforms introduced in China by Deng Xiaoping 1in 1978, December, in the XI Central Committee of the PCCh. He was based in the four modernizations: agriculture, industry, technology and defense.

From then, Chinese economy grew at a rate near 10% every year, for twenty-seven years, and with a significant extreme poverty reduction of more than 250 million people.

From 1992 until now, they administration did systematic efforts to the transformation of the institutional apparatus for adapting it to a market economy, fiscal reforms, banking and credits, limitation of the administration, legal reforms to de validation of private and mix forms of propriety of the goods production. In December 2001 China, joined the World Trade Organization. In March 2004, they recognized the defense of the private property in their Constitution.
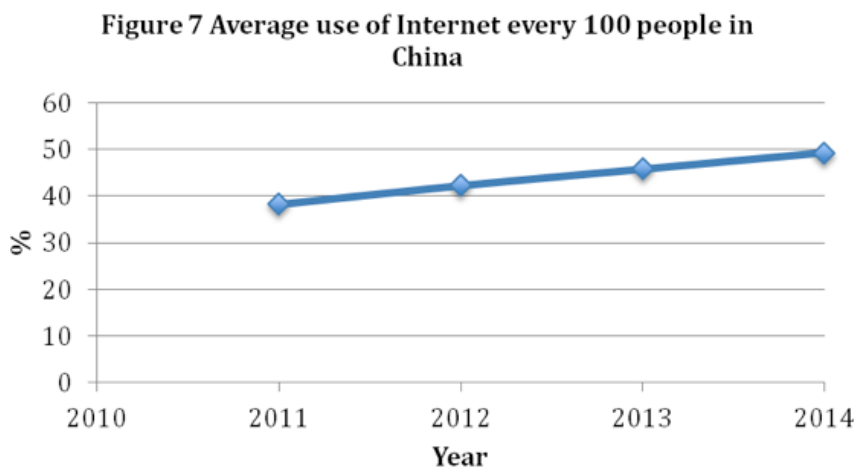
There are also criticisms, Maria Teresa Rodríguez, from UNAM, (2011), explained that the success in GDP numbers, were accompanied by a growing income disparity. From 1981, to 2007 Gini index passed from 0.288 to 0.469, which is considered a level that could lead to social upraising. That's why leaders indented to modify the emphasis in economic development. In her conclusions, she said that for the broader aims of a sustainable economic development, they should consider the need for a certain degree of political openness policy, which so far has not happened. Because the lack of political reform in a context of economic reform results the appellant policy intervention in the economy, discretionary economic policy decisions which in turn are expression of weak institutions, particularly the legal system, involving corruption from the moment that there is an elite (for China, the political elite in the provinces) not subject to the rules of the game already established for the economic sphere

Democratic transition, meanwhile, for Rodríguez, is inherent condition to the concept of long-term socio-economic development. You cannot be under the one-party political system and think in long term investors' confidence

despite repeated statements of Chinese leadership in the sense of the intra-party democracy replaces representative democracy.

Economic groth and birth of a new urban middle class had led to a dramatic expansion of th use of new technologies. During 2015 the number of Internet users in the country rose to 641 million. China is therefore the country with the largest number of people online, but 54% of Chinese citizens still do not have Internet access. 80% of all users in the country, used to connect smart phones and tablets.

Extension of the net goes parallel to the strength of the great firewall. They have their own big platforms similar to Twitter, Facebook or Google that often suffer blockades. China net citizens previously used virtual private network (VPN) to surpass the laws, but now these are also being closed.

Figure 7 Average use of Internet every 100 people in China

Source: http://www.internetlivestats.com/internet-users/

Before the economic reforms, media were considered the arm of the apparatus of propaganda and persuasion. They were

absolutely controlled with instruments of indoctrination and mass mobilization. From the Revolution, the Chinese Communist Party used mainly radio and newspapers to promote their goals to teach the doctrines of Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong thoughts.

The structure of the media in China copied the one from Russian Communist Party and the Soviet Union. In 1931 the news agency Xinhua was born. In 1933, there were 34 newspapers in the area dominated by the Communist Party. In December 1940, they began broadcasting through radio Yanan Xinghua, a very important tool in a country so extensive. In 1941 they began to publish their first official newspaper *Liberation Daily*. Sometimes, it was not the propaganda secretary who oversaw the work, but the same party's general secretary.

In a first stage, media in China were considered directly as propaganda organs. Monitoring of Media, *Shendu, shenting*, is and was usual. Senior officials of the ideological branch were in charge of that. Some kind of admonition, both, for publishers and journalists, -sometimes a posteriori-, was always present.

In October 19th, 1949, Chinese government created a central press office, responsible for printed material and radio. The Xinhua News Agency passed from the party to become a state body. The audiovisual media desk also went from the party to the government, specifically under the Ministry of Radio, Film and Television. For decades maintained a double dependency of the government and the party.

The departments from the administration that dominated the media were:

1. The Propaganda Department of the Communist Party (Head of Media and political culture);

2. The Ministry of Radio, Film and Television of the State Council (administered the television routine operations, and authorized cinema content);

3- CCTV (Chinese Central Television).

1.   1. Stage Relations with Media

Let's remember that Ashley Esarey (2011) described three historical stages of the Chinese regime, regarding information policy; 1) (1949-1978) Soviet style of state propaganda; 2) (1979 to 2002) Commercial Introduction to the Media; 3) (2003-to date) Digital Era

In the mid-80s, in China, there was a debate about the democratization of the media. They tried to challenge the monopoly control by the party. The crisis and the repression from Tiananmen 1989 stopped it. The issue has never raised again.

From 1992, media began to prioritize economic results-as in other sectors-. The market set the guidelines for the objectives. Since then, there is a mixed stream: the logic of the party and the logic of the market. Commercialization is the key word that can permit to understand the evolution of the system of Chinese media the past two decades.

The control of information still remains a priority for the authorities. The first Internet connection was established in China in 1993. In 1997, the National People's Congress passed CL97, a law that criminalizes "cybercrimes", it could be

"disseminating pornographic material" or "state secrets". In 1998 they created the new Ministry of Information Industry with the functions of development functions and control, with the world most complete censorship system. As part of the Great Firewall, in 2003 China started, as a part of the Great Firewall, the Golden Shield Project (金盾工程; *jindun gongcheng*). From 2004, they completed the systematic use of filters for IP addresses, DNS filtering and re address of DNS, URL filtering and semantic blocking.

In addition to monitoring, doing censorship or blocking, they suggested the companies themselves to recruit censors. Periodically, they dictated "exemplary" actions with arrests of dissidents. In February 2008, Chinese government announced the "Operation Tomorrow", an effort to crack down the youth usage of Internet cafés to play online games or view illegal content.

At the same time, they formed "cyber policies" more than 50,000 agents dedicated to apply this tool of automated filter tool. They created local and regional units of policing the Internet.

In China there are several bodies that are in charge of controlling the Internet. At the highest level, the Central Propaganda Department, this ensures that the Media follow the mandate of the CCP official. Then, the Information Office from the State Council, which has an Internet Affairs Bureau, which oversees all the sites, and send specific instructions.

In August 2007, the Internet Society of China, affiliated to the Ministry of Information Industry, made a self-discipline pact, signed by more than 20 companies in China which have registered blogs as MSN.cn, Renmin Wang, Xinlang, Sohu, Yahoo. Cn. With this agreement the government could force companies to censor content and identify the bloggers. Since

then, there are a large number of workers in each company dedicated to censor keywords on sensitive issues.

A research from Nan Wang (2008) shows that in the ranking of words that bring a hundred percent blockage, the worst would be "Falun Gong," and all similar sequences relating to these organization and other religious movements. Following in the black list, figured independence movements and sex. After that, other like "Dalai Lama," "Taiwan" or "human rights."

In March 2008 there were riots in Tibet. In August they celebrated the Olympic Games. In July of 2009 was produced serious unrest in the Muslim Xingjian province. Since then Twitter was censored and others platforms like Facebook and YouTube were blocked. They can only be accessed through Internet VPN servers or servers abroad. Users skip it using programs like Tor and UltraSurf AND proxy servers. In this "race against-clock" recently researchers Philipp Winter and Stefan Lindskog (2012) of Karlstad University in Sweden have discovered how the Chinese authorities had managed to prevent access to the Tor network, which was a bridge to skip is blocking certain internal issues.

In addition to the control, there were some activists' selective detentions. In December 2007 authorities arrested Hu Jia, sentenced to three and a half years in prison. On February 5, 2008, Lü Gengsong was sentenced to four years in prison. On March 19, 2008, Ma Yalian, was detained defending some petitioners and talking about the Chinese system of complaints. On 10 June 2008, Huang Qi, who spoke about private aids after Sichuan earthquake, was formally arrested. In Xingjiang police arrested Uyghur radio station employee Mehbube Ablesh, and she was sentenced to three years in prison, connected to articles she wrote in Internet. Gulmira

Imin, worker of the local government and contributor to the Uyghur language website Salkin. She was sentenced to life imprisonment for "splittism, leaking state secrets, and organizing an illegal demonstration". In June 2010, some people attempted to attack journalist Fang Xuangchang who did some articles about science, health. On August 29, 2010 blogger Fang Zhouzi, who used to denounce scientist frauds, was attacked. (Source: Reporters without borders 3-09/2010)

1.2. Conflict with Google

In December 2009, Google received a series of cyber-attacks against its corporate structure. They said that these attacks, redirected through some servers in Taiwan, had as the main objective to get access to Gmail accounts of human rights activists from inside and outside China and pressure in favor of censure.

In January, 2010 Beijing accused Google of spreading vulgar and pornographic contents. On January 12, 2010, David Drummond announced in the corporate blog that Google would end censorship on its search engine in China, even though it could mean leaving the country. Hillary Clinton's speech about Internet was delivered just on January 20.

On March, Alan Davidson, director of public policy for Google, went to the U.S. Congress explaining the conflict to a joint Congressional commission and ask them for rules to pressure governments that filter the Internet, saying the practice was hindering international trade. He said that Internet censorship was a challenge not only for companies, also for governments and individuals. He was ensuring that U.S. government "makes the issue of Internet openness,

including the free flow of information, an important part of foreign policy, trade, development and human rights." [1]

On March YouTube was blocked. In June the company momentarily dismantles the search. The fact that their servers were located in Hong Kong implied that the Chinese authorities could not arrest or prosecute any of the responsible for maintaining the website. Although China could still be censoring results for sensitive searches, China, at that moment, only accounted for the 2% of all Google's market, but with a potential growth of 40% annually.

Finally, in early July, there was an agreement and the Chinese government renewed the license to Google, who stopped automatically redirecting its users to the free server of Hong Kong. But the company could keep in its page a link towards this goal. Ended with censorship of its own, moving the search in simplified Chinese to Hong Kong to search engines. The difference is: now, who manages censorship is the Chinese government.

Just after the opening of the Shanghai Expo, an editorial in the official newspaper *China Daily*, 3 May 2010, advocated in favor of control the Internet: "The authorities are particularly worried about the unhealthy and subversive information on the Internet. And their concerns are justified. There have been cases of massive online dissatisfaction. Samples have been amplified by the rumors and false allegations, resulting in severe headaches for the government."

With more than ninety percent of Chinese living in cities that already can connect to the Internet and the development of a third generation of telecommunications, harmful information can be negative to unprecedented scales. So we

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[1] http://es.scribd.com/doc/28866040/032410-Alan-DavidsonTestimony#scribd

see the need to establish basic rules for the web. But there is something to keep in mind; rules should not prevent the net to be a channel to enter a "healthy" public speech, "healthy" on issues of public concern. ". This can be understood of an announcement in the official newspaper of the times ahead.

1.3. Race against the Clock

There was a real race against the clock, between trade expansion and control. And nevertheless, figures for Internet use in China were impressive.

This widespread use of the Internet raised doubts about whether the Communist Party would continue its censorship practices against such amount people communicating between them regularly online. Some journalists, bloggers had during certain time the opportunity to work in "gray areas" local conflicts, specific reports by complaint. The control fluctuated depending on the moment. Before the Olympic Games, China relieved the pressure towards foreign press, but it was a relationship that fluctuated.

The trend worsened dramatically at the beginning of 2011, when it seemed that any endeavor that became known as the "Jasmine revolt" could occur, alleged extension of the Arab Spring. Then, more than a hundred activists were arrested or put into domiciliary surveillance. More than twenty people were arrested only for writing "Jasmine Revolution" on Twitter. Some lawyers were captured: Teng Biao, Tang Jitian, Jiang Tianyong, Feng Zhenghu, Hua Chunhui in Jiangsu, and Liang Haiyi in Harbin. (Source: The Telegraph, 27/Feb/2011)

In Beijing, during the second weekend call for mobilizations in the street Wang Fu Jin, some foreign journalists were pushed. Almost all audiovisual media were called to testify,

then, one by one, by the Ministry of Security. At that time, Beijing vetoed the words: "jasmine", "Egypt", "Mubarak". On April 3, dissident artist Ai Wei Wei, was arrested.

1.4 The Han Han phenomenon

No research on bloggers in China from 2007 to 2012 can ignore the presence and resonance of the young writer, signer, and race car driver, Han Han. On May, 12, 2016, his blog had 602 373 209 entries.

Born in 1982, his visions were the ones from a young "winer". That's why was surprising his caustic wit, especially against the educational system, officialdom, communist party, corruption, inequality, censorship, and nationalism.

There is a book, *This Generation, Dispatches from China's most popular Blogger (*2012), edited by Allan H. Barr, which reflex his views and it would worth for another thesis. Like Yoani Sánchez, he described himself as representative of a generation:

> "Society at large, however, gives this generation plenty of negative labels, "they are self-oriented", we're told, or "they don't care about politics" This is unfair. To be self-oriented is actually not a bad thing," (February 5, 2008)

Han Han, was a successful author resident in Shanghai, but born in a rural area, he criticized the process of intensive urbanization and pollution in the countryside.

> "When I went back home, I would find that the fields where I used to steal watermelons had been sold off by the local township authorities. –leaders need saunas, after all, and chemical plants need land. Take the creek outside my old home, for instance. It appears in seven different colours

thorough the course of a week-just a quick look, and you can tell right away whether it's Monday or Friday." (April 14, 2006).

1.4.1   Caustic against officials

The most caustic opinions from Han Han were reserved to talk about corruption. He was very sarcastic with communist leaders discovered in corruption affairs or cadres taken as scapegoats. He dedicated posts to Huang Ji, former mayor of Shanghai, Hang Feng, director of Tobacco Bureau in Guangxi (condemned by accepting bribes) with title:" Han Feng is a fine cadre" (march4, 2010); Or the one about Huang Yibo, reconized member of the Young Pioneers. (May 4, 2011), titled again: "Huang Yibo is a fine cadre".:

> "The more you love this party and the more that you try to act in the best interests of this regime, the more quickly you will be purged." (May 28, 2010)

1.4.2 Critic with Beijing Olympics and Shanghai Universal Exhibition

Han Han was very critical with the triumphalism of official media, such as CCTV, China Central Television, and use his posts to demystify the two international events that sought to mark time, like the Beijing Olympics in 2008.

> " I appeal to my readers. Don't take to the streets, don't march, don't rally, don't do anything dumb. Let's just focus on doing a good job for hosting the Olympics" (April 23, 2008)

Also with Shanghai World Expo 2010, which he believed that served for a large real state's speculative business.

> "First of all, Shangai's bulldozers are pressing forward with urban construction at a rate of practically one crushed person a day. If they carry on at this rate, the China Pavilion at the Shanghai Expo will be stained red with more than just paint". (January 15, 2010)

> "If you want real culture to develop, you need to loos controls, and if you lose controls that means allowing diverse voices to be heard, and if you allow diverse voices to be heard that's bound to raise the level of popular consciousness- and what a terrible thing that would be! "(April 19, 2010)

1.4.2   His main enemy: Censorship

One of Han Han, main objectives, in what he was seeking the complicity of his readers, was to attack censorship and manipulation of the Internet by the administration:

> "According to a report by Gansu Province's news website, Gansu is about to establish a team of six hundred and fifty Internet commenter's to lead public opinion in the right direction (...) that in the nation as a whole, there must be at least one hundred thousand people whose full-time job it is to post comments on the Internet. (January 20, 2010)

He insisted pointed how many pro-government citizens were hired to write comments in the network*:*

"A document entitled "Internet Commenter's" Management Methods, issued by the Communist Party network in the city of Hengyang, stipulates that the standard remuneration for Internet commenter's is ten cents per post. (February 6, 2010)

From n July 23, 2011, a high speed train accident in Wenzhou triggered an avalanche of outrage networks, blogs and micro blogs when the government tried to hide the real damage, the number of victims and restricted media coverage. Han Han put himself in place of a leader for an ironic post titled: "The disconnected nation"

"You never stop asking: Why do they always have to misrepresent the facts? (...) You never stop asking: Why do they always have to cover the truth?

(...) Why can't our country progress? It's because so many of our officials consistently judge themselves by the standard of the Mao or the Stalin era, and so they always feel aggrieved: In their eyes, they're so enlightened, so just, so generous, so unassuming (...)

"You 're just never satisfied", an official told me" A literary type like you- if you'd been around forty years ago, you'd have been shot. That's a sign of progress no?" (...) So why do you keep harping on about little details, why don't you lighten up a bit= How some you've lost your sense of the big picture= Why do you want us to apologize? (...) The only unfortunate aspect was that public opinion got a bit out of control...But that's not our responsibility, they feel –public opinion is not under our control" (July 26, 2011).

1.4.4 Against local Injustices and the partiality of Justice

One of the features we are founding in this thesis is how bloggers assume the role of mediators. Han Han, despite his social privileged position, denounced cases of local and specific injustices to be known nationwide. In this case, a local leader of Zhaiqiao in Yueqing, Wenzhou, Qian Yunhui, died in estranges circumstances, on December 25, 2010, he was hit and crushed by a truck after repeatedly he was opposed of the occupation of land by the company Yueqing Electric Power Plant:

> " I was chatting with some friends online and one of them said: " It's really terrible, In Wenzhou somebody was held down on the ground by four security officers, and then a construction vehicle came and ran him over, crushing him to death" The friend said all this in a very confident tone" No matter whether (he was murdered o whether he died in an accident, Chief Qian should rest easy in his grave, because this incident has made everyone aware of the inequity that villagers suffer and aware that the credibility of his enemies I so very weak."(January 2, 2011)

The blogger best known of China states that the collective of petitioners, simple people, who complain about a case of local injustice, turn to him, and raised letters ... to publicize their case. He explains the tradition from Imperial times for them was to go directly to Beijing to the Letters and Visits Office. And from there, Han made a hard criticism about the partiality of justice *(...)*

> "In modern times, leaders have exchanged sedan chairs, for luxury automobiles, and trying to stop one of their vehicles would be completely suicidal. (...) Clearly, the

people are way too naïve. In a country where the judiciary has no independent how can you expect that a branch of government will suddenly come to your defence?" (April 4, 2010)

On that topic it is especially hard on another post about how justice defends the most powerful:

> "Only an independent judiciary can be a true judiciary. But in our country the judiciary cannot be independent, because that would be out of line with our national circumstances. What do national circumstances mean? They mean that making money is all that matters. What's the best guarantee of being able to make money? Power, judicial independence will limit power" (May 7, 2010).

1.4.5 Who need to be controlled?

Answering Actor Jackie Chan who said in April 18, 2009 in Boao Forum for Asia, that perhaps Chinese need to be controlled, because otherwise, do what they want. Han Han replied:

> "What the people most need is to be served, not controlled, and what officials most need is to be controlled, not served, and the reason why so many places are "inharmonious" is that we have somehow got the wrong way around." (April 21, 2009).

1.4.6 Democratization and freedom

As a young author constantly traveling abroad, Han knew the concepts of democracy, free elections. He emitted his

generic desire for democracy, but he was conscious that many people do not shared the same aims. (...)

> "Democratization is inevitable, but it's a complex and difficult process, and it is not going to be easily achieved by reciting these mantras that slip odd the tongue so smoothly- revolution, general elections, a multi-party system, over throwing you know what. It you have never cared about the independence of the judiciary or about publishing freedoms, being concerned about elections doesn't really amount to much." (December 23, 2011)

> "I have faith in the character of the people of our generation, so I believe these freedoms are count to arrive sooner or later. But I do hope they can come sooner, because I'm capable of better work and I don't 'want to have to wait until I'm an old man. Give me a chance to enjoy those freedoms now. (December 26, 2011)

The most famous blogger in China said that he would continue to struggle to get all possible freedoms in the constitution.

> "I will continue to keep demanding all the constitutionally permitted freedoms that have a bearing on my work – whether I'm sitting or standing, walk-in writing or talking. I'll keep on demanding freedom until you can't stand it. (...) We need to keep pushing; otherwise there will be no change. As for my writing I hope in the New Year to be able to write things for my own pleasure, and I don't plan to suck up to anybody except my daughter. I'LL WRITE WHEN I WANT, AND LEAVE ELIPSES WHEN I DON'T". (January 8, 2012)

1.5. New experience in China; Micro-blogs

Around 2011, China experienced an exponential increase in the use of micro-blogging via mobile phones. At the end of 2012 Microblogs had 309 million users. Weibo was the translation of Micro Blog. There were different companies, Tencent, Sohu. The most popular was Sina Weibo. It was a service similar to Twitter which was prohibited. It also contained 140 characters, but with the possibility to upload images, links, music or video, adding possibilities from occidental Twitter and Facebook.

At that moment, the difference was that in the mainstream press or blogs, the update was slower, and then, micro blogs could program information before censors had intervened.

Between the conflicts expressed by micro blogs had been a turning point after the crash of a high speed train, succeeded on 23 July 2011 in Wenzhou, with a balance of forty deaths. During the dispute, Weibo users showed that the government tried to hide information from the accident. More than 3 million messages were published by Weibo about that, with thousands of people demanding accountability. After the accident, the government realized that it had to increase the control of the Internet in the midterm, facing the relief of power in the Communist Party that was expected in the fall of 2012, but the phenomenon continued.

Duan Lu (2013) in the Máster Oficial de Investigación en Comunicación y Periodismo from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona did a recent research about Weibo: "La utilización de la plataforma Weibo por periodistas chinos en

los asuntos públicos en China." Lu decided to investigate how Chinese journalists used Weibo to receive and emit opinions participating to resolve public issues. His question was: "How Journalists use Weibo in public issues?". He based his activity in 16 journalists during April and May 2013. They were working in newspapers, magazines or TV stations, between them, Fangzhou Jiang or Quanling Zhang with more than 7.000.000 followers. In his conclusions, he observed than more than 2/3 of their messages were related to public issues. In 28% of the cases, they included photos, videos and audios. However, only 33% of the cases, were news elaborated by themselves.

Lu concluded that in China, using Weibo, journalists participate in public issues from a more active and interactive form to satisfy growing information necessities from citizens. Meanwhile, information fragmentation and veracity had been the more declared problems.

From my point of view that research didn't specify contents about all, identifying news that flew from them with some degree of novelty. It could be a future research, because my thought is that, in previous stage. personal blogs from journalists might were more useful than micro blogs to expose conflict issues to national level.

Some candidates in local elections tried to use micro blogs as a form of propaganda. Another example was the controversy over Beijing pollution. One of the first complainants through his micro blog, about the lack of rigorous control of pollution from the municipality of Beijing, was one of the largest real estate owners in the city, Pa Shiyi. His message became viral. Authorities, at first, reproached before promised a new control system, and this, triggered an epidemic of criticism.

After a government decree, from March 16, 2012 Weibo users might be registered with their real name and surname. Hundreds of thousands of people let anonymity. Again, Beijing was struggling between commercialization and censorship.

On August 26, 2012, a bus crushed with a methanol track in Shanxi province, with the result of 36 people death. In one of the photographs of the accident, people could see a security official, Yang Dacai, 56-year-old, that seemed to be smiling. He was later identified by net citizens showing very expensive watches, Rolex, Omega. That was heavily criticized in messages in Sina Weibo, that were shared 13.737 times, and received more than 5.000 comments.

After these experiences, Chinese government has tried to control the indiscriminate circulation of information. They issued a code of conduct with eight standards to prevent false information and rumors circulating on social networks like Weibo. The eight rules prohibit: Spreading rumors, publishing false information, insulting others users, opposing the basic principles of the Chinese Constitution, revealing national secrets, threatening the honor of China, promoting sects or superstitions, and calling for massive rallies or illegal protests. Users will have a points system, like a driver license, based on a score that will lose based on their "bad behavior" on the network. They start based from a total of 80 points, and the counts can be canceled. (Reporters without Borders, 29-05-2012).

A work from Angus Grigg from the Australian Financial Report in July 2015 explains the decline of Weibo and the increasing pressure from the new Chinese government.

Belonging to statistics from the Communications University in Beijing

In second half of 2012, Weibo had 104 allegations of corruption against government officials. (208 per year).

Throughout 2013, Weibo had a further 229 postings

In 2014, the number of corruption related posts on fell 77 per cent in 2014, to just 51.

In September 2013, via the Supreme People's Court, the government decreed that bloggers could be jailed for three years if they posted a "defamatory" message which was shared more than 500 times. On July 2015, China adopted a new National Security Law that increased the pressure against online activists.

Grigg explained how for Chinese government was crucial the creation of another platform. He called that "The party's platform". He said that it was smart enough not to kill off social media entirely; instead, it has encouraged the development of a more appropriate platform. That was *WeChat*. A half year old service (from July, 2015), that boasts 500 million active users. *We Chat* is for a circle of friends and acquaintances. Weibo is more for social influence. Observers are Jeremy Goldkorn, from the platform Danwei, takes the point that in WeChat is more difficult for something to go viral, because it is far less public. Weibo was a new form of mass media to broadcasting in the town square: We Chat is more like whispering in your lounge room.

In his report, Angus Grigg reported the new climate in July 2015 around bloggers, who under pressure were reluctant to act as opposition leaders. Even the ones, who had more popularity in the past, like Han Han. He declined to comment

on sensitive current affairs that came out on those days. Even when protesters took to the streets of his home town of Jinshan, outside Shanghai, to voice their opposition to a proposed chemical plant, he remained silent and he declined any public interview from foreign correspondents. The euphoria stage from Blogs and Micro Blogs had passed. Han Han's phrase, "I'LL WRITE WHEN I WANT", was compromised.

1.6. Expansion years; Investigation Journalism in China

The University of Hong Kong published a summary of a post written by the same Wang Keqin on July, 12, 2011, about investigation Journalism in China. He concluded that had just experienced a time of ups and downs like the humps of a camel.

From Wang Keqin the history of investigative reporting in China goes back 100 years. From him, the earliest one to expose inside stories was political Jin Shen (沈 荩), lowest in 1903 was sentenced to death by flogging by Empress Dowager Cixi in the 1903 [after exposed a secret deal Between Russia and China in which Russia was allowed to maintain a military presence in Northwest China].

Then there was Yuanyong Huang (黄 远 庸), who wrote under the penname of Huang Yuansheng (黄远生), and was assassinated in San Francisco on December 25, 1915, after working as a journalist for just four years. (Huang, who is often regarded as China's first journalist, was known for his writings critical of politics.)

But from the standpoint of professionalism, the first true investigative reports in China, from Wang Keqin point of view,

have a history of just a decade from 2011. He believes it can date them back to the launch of *Caijing* magazine [by Hu Shuli (胡舒立)] in 1998.   Investigative was defined by Caijing reporting on the basis of "defending the public interest" (捍卫 公众 利益), "exposing the truth" (揭发 黑幕), and "independent investigation by reporters" (记者 独立 调查) these three core characteristics.

Wang Keqin remarked also The China Central Television Program *News Probe Launched* which was around the same time and also exposed deeper stories.

News Probe in particular, at the time defined the exposure of hidden truths (揭发 黑幕) as a necessary component. This was the most basic expectation [of the program].

From him, through a decade of ups and downs, investigative reporting in China has shown the wave-like pattern of the "camel's hump" (驼峰 状) in its development, and was divided into four main stages.

1) The first stage was the development stage: from the launch of *Caijing* magazine in 1998 up to 2002, representing the birth of investigative reporting in China.

The first peak meat in 2003, symbolized by the reporting of the Sun Zhigang (孙志刚) incident by *Southern Metropolis Daily* and *China Central Television*'s selection of eight influential reporters (风云 记者). (Sun Zhigang was the migrant worker dead after suffering physical abuse being detained in a custody and repatriation center in Guangzhou).

The first low-point began in 2004 as relevant government departments respond to the situation of supervision by public

opinion（舆论监督）, or Chinese "watchdog journalism" nationwide, coming out with the "two 'cross' documents "(两跨 文件) prohibiting cross-regional (跨地区) reporting and cross-industry (跨行业) reporting. This brought to slide downward in investigative reporting in 2005 and 2006.

The second peak meat in 2007, as *Caijing* magazine published, "Whose Luneng?" (谁的鲁能?), Which exposed the hidden side of "black-box privatization", how various Individuals had managed to "legally" carve up state-owned of power conglomerate Luneng assets for themselves.

The second low-point was in 2008-2009 as the Beijing Olympic Games and the 60th anniversary of the PRC and half. Were approached called upon to report the main theme (主旋) of the Party line.

The third peak meat in 2010, in which during the first half of the year we had, (he, Wang Keqin is including himself work) "an Investigation of Vaccine Chaos in Shanxi" and *Southern Metropolis Daily's* with "Anyuanding: An Investigation of Beijing's'. It was about a security service company that earns commissions for helping local governments to intercept and lock up petitioners in Black Jails, whith those reports, investigative reporting in China pushed to a new high moment.

Then Wang Keqin made a broader and optimistic observation over these ten years:

1. More and more reporters have been engaged in the writing of investigative reports.

2. More and more media have been engaged in the publishing of investigative reports.

3. More and more good-quality reports and regular columns [on investigative reporting] have appeared in China;

4. Investigative reports in China are showing a higher and higher degree of professionalism.

5. Increasing investigative reporters are receiving attention and respect by society generally.

1.7. Wang Keqin as a case study

Wang Keqin (November 14, 1964), was born in a modest family in the province of Gansu. He was a farmer. After graduated, he worked several years in the propaganda service of the party. He worked in Lanzhou Council, as a leadership secretary of the Communist Party, writing meetings conclusions, helping the Party to identify the problems. Then, he learned how the Party cadres took decisions.

After that, he decides to investigate for himself. He worked for the *Economic Journal of Gansu*, from the provincial government. In Beijing, he started to work for *China Economic Times*, depending on the State Council. In 2002, Wang Keqin did his most known investigation about corruption in the organization of taxis from Beijing. As a result, taxi mafias put a price on his head.

Wang became China's best-known investigative reporter, touching the most sensitive topics. He explained the spread of HIV-AIDS in Henan province caused by careless and unnecessary blood transfusions. Or in 2010, he exposed the mishandling of tainted vaccines in Shanxi province. He published a report on the provision of adulterated vaccines inoculated to children. This case concerned a hundred

children, who were inoculated by vaccines that were not normally kept cold. Victims were dead or disabled or ill.

In 2011, the investigative team was removed from the *China Economic Times* newspaper. From this year, Chinese authorities banned him from leaving the country and he was often "put on listening" but, he was never imprisoned. Wang had been forced to resign from *The Economic Observer* in February, 2013.

David Bandurski from China Media Project, believed that Wang Keqin had-been forced to leave the *Economic Observer*, apparently in connection with its unrestrained coverage of flooding, which, at least, killed 77 people in Beijing that summer and other investigative reports.

In a post made to Sina Weibo, Wang Keqin shared details with his more than 400,000 followers. In his farewell, the speaks about the material he collected during those years on complaints from petitioners. He defines it as a treasure (precisely this is the subject of Post 9, then we later analyzed).

> "Yesterday I cleared out the *Economic Observer*. These are the petitioning materials I received over a period of ten years at the *China Economic Times*, two tons of them. For other people these might just be "waste paper"; for me, I just observed the hope and the trust that people place in me. The subjects here are stacked misery, blood and tears, but I've always seen them as treasures. They go with me wherever I go. I can throw away my furniture, but these cannot be discarded!"

Desire for change seems to be the reason for Wang Keqin to move his main work from journalism to activism in charity work.

He founded in 2011 the organization Love Save Pneumoconiosis, to generate donations to support miners living with pneumoconiosis and their families. Approximately 6 million migrant workers were affected by pneumoconiosis in China. In an interview to Beijing Times (2014) journalist Wang Hui told about Wang Keqin goal: "The past experience provided him with a better understanding of how to enact positive policy change. Not only because he previously works as a government secretary in Lanzhou of Gansu Province. Several years ago, he also published a report on AIDS transmission, which had noticeable repercussion and definite policy change as a result. Wang Hui defined: "Wang Keqin believes that a holistic approach, involving an active media, sympathetic public, and informed government leadership was the key to change".[2]

Christopher Marquis and others (2016) in an article in Stanford Social Innovation Review "The emergence of Subversive Charities in China" explained how a new type of charity had emerged in China that were able to sidestep some of the government's controls by basing themselves on the Internet. That means that they can more easily engage Chinese citizens, raise funds, and tackle politically sensitive issues. One of those is "Love Save Pneumoconiosis, founded by Wang Keqin in 2011. From then, they raised 13 million renminbi. [3]

In February 2014, the US Secretary of State, John Kerry met Wang Keqin with three other Chinese bloggers, Ma Xiaolin,

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[2] http://chinadevelopmentbrief.cn/news/love-save-pneumoconiosis-founder-wang-keqin-to-not-give-up-on-life-is-a-fundamental-principle/

[3] http://www.daaiqingchen. org/bencandy.php?fid=21&id=1754

Wang Chong and Zhang Jialong. They spoke about China-US relations and freedom of Internet.

1.8. Bridge Blogs

Rebecca Mackinnon, ex correspondent, (2007), studied an essential phenomenon in blogs ecosystem in China: bridge blogs. Since 2004, a growing number of blogs were born with the main function of choosing Chinese blogs and links, translating it, and putting them within reach of the correspondents or the international community. The owners were private citizens or organizations.

The most important were:

EastSouthWestNorth

http://www.zonaeuropa.com/weblog.htm

It was written by the researcher Roland Soong from Hong Kong. He wanted unify the two worlds. He gave out news like the explosion of a bus in Fuzhou in 2005 and the riots in the town of Taishi in Guangzhou. Mackinnon said that his blog was in a daily basis read by 38% of the correspondents.

Danwei

http://www.danwei.org

It was a blog developed since 2003 by Jeremy Goldkorn, media consultant, who has lived in Beijing since 1995. He was read daily by 25% of the correspondents.

China Digital Times,

http://chinadigitaltimes.net

It is a website developed at the University of California, Berkeley. It started in April 2003. Their web page was read by 12% of the correspondents.

China Geeks

www.chinageeks.org

It was written from Charlie Custer, young American in China. He began blogging in 2009 after coming to the city of Harbin to teach English. His blog received 35-45.000 hits in a month. Found his function in translating comments from Chinese blogospheres.

China Media Project

http://cmp.hku.hk/

Blog funded by the University of Hong Kong, responsible for analyzing the evolution of Chinese media. Key people in the staff are Qian Gang, and David Bandurski.

China SMACK

http://www.chinasmack.com/

Picks popular news, stories, pictures, videos, trends, phenomena and internet memes from China, translated into English.

Far West China

http://www.farwestchina.com/

One of the leading blogs about Xinjiang, from the American travel guide Josh Summers. It provides current information on everything that happens in the area.

Global Voices Online / China

http://globalvoicesonline.org/-/world/east-asia/china/

A Global community based newsroom. Set news agenda that build bridges and global understanding defending freedom of expression. Important source of what Chinese bloggers are talking today.

<div align="center">

(Source: Daniel Méndez, Máster en Estudios Chinos. Universidad Pompeu Fabra)

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The first major barrier to communicate China life to the Occidental world, from students, professionals or social movements is the Language. It is also, as we shall see, what separates them from much of the foreign correspondents based there. The bridge blogs have been an indispensable tool in the chain of transmission of the most important social issues. In this chain qualified by Rebecca Mackinnon as "process" story the allow journalists and researches to choose and evaluate the most representative subjects.

2. **Historical Context. blocked Cuba**

From 1989 after the fall of the Berlin Wall, Cuba, which was very dependent from the socialist block, suffered a drastic drop in gross domestic product of 35%, provoking the entry into a survival economy time qualified as "special period".

At the same time, we must remember that from October 1960, and then amplified in 1963, Cuba is suffering an embargo from United States, where we have to and new restrictions ordered in 1992, with Torricelli Law, and in 1996, with Helms-Burton Law. Cuban government calculated the embargo effects has supposed a prejudice of 90.000 million dollars (1). That in addition to economic effects, has supposed a permanent state of emergency on the island, in an external and internal environment of Cold War.

On December 17, 2014, Barack Obama and Raúl Castro announced the start of negotiations to reestablish diplomatic relations, and the intention to initiate some initiatives in the U.S. Congress to revoke the embargo. However, the political situation in the States, with a majority of Republicans in the Congress, can slow down the process. At the moment there are some regulations on remittances or travels to the Island, but the embargo remains.

Professor Milena Recio insisted on the effects of these two handicaps: Belonging to her, no analysis about Cuban Policy on Internet access can fail to appreciate the limiting effect that two circumstances have had in the social Cuban life in general: The economic blockade from United States to Cuba is the first of these elements. The global weight on economics and politics of the country "blocker", interferes on the whole of the Cuban

circumstances, this vector, which has an exterior cause, and which existence and modulation cannot by controlled form Cuba, constricts the components of any policy. The second important factor is the existence of a radical and systemic economic crisis in Cuban society, which came from the beginnings of the nineties and whose consequences still persist.

Cuba had in 2015 a GDP per capita of 9,900 dollars, but, since the fall of the Berlin Wall is being living through a long period of shortages.

Figure 8 Cuba income per capita ($)

Source: World Bank
http://datos.bancomundial.org/indicador/NY.GDP.PCAP.CD
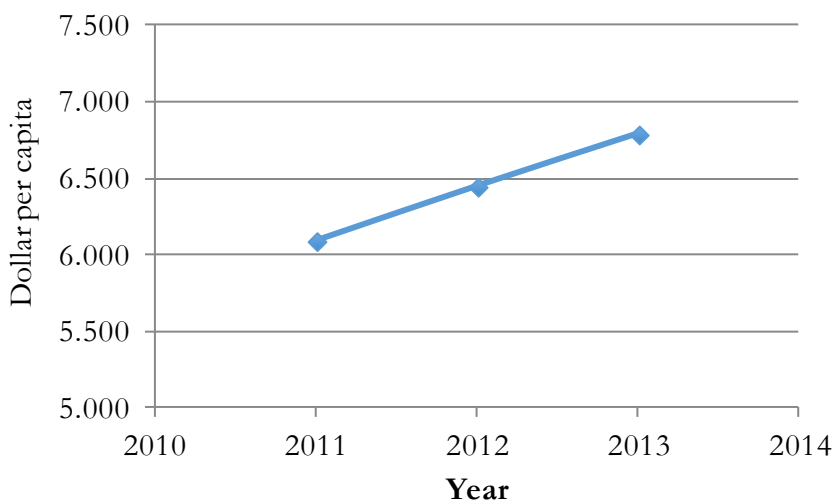
After a big growing period between 2005 and 2007, the mistakes from a centralized economic system, in a context of global crisis, provoked the worst economic crisis from 1993-

1994, when they suffered the consequences of the URSS collapse.

On July 2007, Raúl Castro announced "the necessity of structural reforms", the first opening of the national economy to the private sector, legalizing parallel economy and establishing taxes.

Date	Management decisions from Raúl Castro government
March 2008	Particulars permitted to buy cellular phones
	Particular Cuban citizens permitted to stay in hotels
	Particulars permitted to buy freely appliances and computers
October 2010	Private work expanded to 178 activities
	Individuals permitted to hire employees
Between 2009 and 2010	Government give in usufruct land state to farmers and cooperatives and they announced the dismissal between 10% to 35% of the state workforce and their employment in jobs
December 2010	Permitted bank loans. Allowing bank financing activities in Cuban pesos, in the non-state sector
November 2011	Permission for sailing cars and homes between Cuban citizens

December 2012	Extension of the Nonfarm Cooperatives to 47 economic activities.
January 2013	New tax Act to give integrity to fiscal policy
January 14, 2013	One of the most important decisions: The immigration reform. Ended procedures that the government had imposed before on Cubans to travel. They eliminated the "exit permit" and facilitated the temporary entry of immigrants, including some who left the island "illegally".

The subsequent political and economic crisis in Venezuela did nothing but prejudice another time Cuban dependent economy. Opening an important debate on the country development and its ability to generate wealth and redistributing it. The main income comes first, from the professional services of Cubans working abroad; second, by the remittances sent by relatives, mostly in the United States, and third, from tourism. This is the only sector with high expectations. But in the streets, there is an incredible problem with the purchasing power of salaries and pensions. Immigration crisis is always latent.

2.1. Revolution and Media

Cuba, despite to follow the same control and propaganda structure like the countries of Soviet influence, was a special case as regards the "privilege" treatment to foreign media. The Revolution was introduced at the same time than the

development of television, which began to be watched in the island in 1950 (six years before than in Spain). Fidel Castro from his University times, knew well the importance of the media. He personally replaced a radio conductor who was the leader of the Orthodox Party, Eduardo Chibás, and he was well aware of the impact of the microphones and the new media on the population. He created a personal regime that gave special importance to indoctrination through the cameras. Always he had been surrounded by correspondents, filmmakers, writers, that wanted to reflect the elusive environment of a leader that belonging to the CIA, have been objective of the more than 600 attack's attempts. They contribute to distribute his messages periodically and helped to create a legend.

Since the late twentieth century, with the introduction of a public and universal media like the Internet, Cuban government end up calling a for a crusade, what they called "battle of ideas" to counter attacks received by the Revolution. Suddenly many informative focus could be opened on the island, favorable or contrary to their ideology. In a permanent exceptional situation, the battle moved from the Sierra to the net. Also considering that the extension of the networks was a priority for US foreign policy.

President Fidel Castro really was a permanent source of news, helped by the fascination that his personality created around. He knew how to emit official messages systematically to the international or national arena. When ten years ago, he delegated his responsibility and he was replaced by another government with another character, that opened a different relationship with the media.

2.2 Attempts for an "Independent Press"

Sara Beaulieu, in a thesis from the University of Granada (2013), studied how independent press agencies and journalist's paths played a key role in the movement of what was called independent journalism. It allowed verifying that the first alternative journalists were former official journalists looking for a more open and critical space. She did a deep research relating from the eighties and the first independent news agencies in the island: La Asociación de Periodistas Independientes de Cuba y la Agencia de Prensa Independiente de Cuba, and later on in the nineties, Habana Press and Cuba Press.

From there, she described the creation of the la Sociedad de Periodistas Manuel Márquez Sterling, their magazine *De Cuba* and el Colegio de Periodistas Independientes de Camagüey, and its magazine *Luz Cubana*.

According to the author independent journalism involved about two hundred people, most of them were persecuted, and are now in exile.

"The world began to discover the independent journalism movement in the late 90s, this sadly took his international fame in 2003, when 27 alternative journalists were detained with forty-eight other Cuban dissidents".

About blogs, Beaulieu assumed that Cuban blogosphere became the third source of information, after state media and the alternative press.

> "The blogger and movement of independent journalism phenomenon have common features with an alternative vision of reality from that the official media offer, and disseminate their publications mainly through internet, but somehow bloggers have more possibilities and freedom because they are and exempt from the codes, rules of professional journalism, regarding certain style adapted to journalistic production". I would add that in principle bloggers had not a professional objective, their chronic are not paid by a foreign media and are not conditioned for it."

Beaulieu did an extensive work, based in interviews and life stories and acknowledges the assistance for her work of the Fundación Hispano Cubana.

In her blog Generación Y, on January, 11, 2010, with the title "Silenciar a un blogger", Yoani Sánchez described the emergence of blogs after this dialectic relation between official and "independent" press:

> "From more than twenty years ago there is in our island another type of reporter. The adjective "independent" makes a difference with the officials. They face other risks, enjoy other kind of opportunities. As we might

suppose, lot of them didn't go to the university, but learned to tell what the party press was hiding, they became specialist in denouncing, they learned in the obscure side of the history. (…)

The bloggers we arrived lather, between other reasons, because technology had a very slow apparition between us. I might say that the authorities didn't expect that citizens could base in a planetary resource to express themselves. The government controls the cameras in TV studios, the microphones in radio stations, magazine pages and newspapers that are located in the island, but, there up, far from their hands, a satellite net - demonized but essential - offers to whom had the will the possibility of send their opinions practically from an unlimited form.

It took time for them to understand it, but they are realizing it. They know that to silence a blogger they cannot use the same methods that reach to silence so many journalists. Nobody can expel those web impertinent from a newspaper desk, or promise them a week in Varadero, o a Lada car as a compensation, and less they can cap them with a trip to the Est of Europe."

2.2. Internet use

Article 53 of the Cuban Constitution recognizes freedom of expression as long match with the aim of a "communist society." All the mass media are state-owned and are under the direct ideological supervision from the "Department of Revolutionary Orientation" of the ruling Communist Party, done through its publishers.

Since it began with the first connection to Internet in 1996, Cuba started without access to the general population. In June 1996, the government decreed that access would be guaranteed in a selective way and regulated manner, giving priority to relevant organizations and institutions.

Jonathan Hoffman (2011), said, that at first, from Havana, Internet came to be defined as "a weapon of war in the United States." In 1996, the decree law 209 about "access from the Republic of Cuba to information networks" introduced Internet as a controlled manner to counteract the negative effects. According to the decree, "access would be used in accordance with the interests of Cuba, giving priority to legal persons and institutions that were relevant for the development of the country." Access was also restricted from within official institutions. Users initially had to be registered and signed that would not misuse. However, these actions did not resolve the contradiction between the transnational nature of the Internet and the monopoly of the media who wanted to exercise the Cuban regime.

In March 2001 there were only 60,000 Cubans in the island with capacity to connect. Cubans citizens, in order to have an email address, they had to belong to an academic or official institution. And even having that, it was not easy to have access to the international network.

In 1999 the government approved an anti-subversion law, from which threatened with a long prison term independent journalists. From 1959, Havana administration had made a great effort to prevent the reception in the Island of Radio and TV Marti, which broadcast continuously since Miami. The Cubans were not allowed to access to private or foreign television broadcasts. The government, in theory, was prepared to punish those who owned television satellite dishes.

Figure 9 Average use of Internet every 100 people in Cuba

Source: World Bank
http://datos.bancomundial.org/indicador/IT.NET.USER.P2
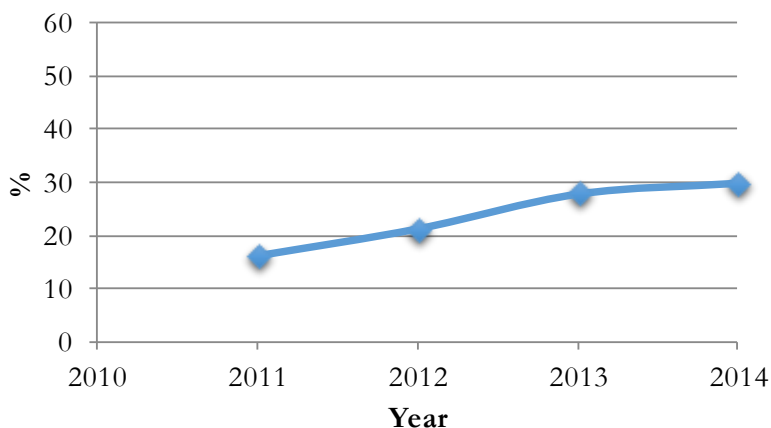
The regime blamed the US blockade for the lack of accessibility. According to Havana, restrictions imposed by Washington impeded to access to the cable connections bordering the island and the Internet connection had to be via satellite with very little capacity to input and output information.

Since 2008, with Chinese technology, they began to build a fiber optic cable, to Venezuela, through which, in a future, they announced they could multiply connectivity. On May 24, 2012, Venezuelan government announced that the fiber optic cable was already operational. Covers a distance of 1,600 kilometers. The capacity is 640 gigabytes. The consequence for the population at the time of writing this work is unknown.

Some supporters of the Cuban regime dared to say that the Internet was the great disease of the century. From the beginning the company responsible for the Internet demanded up get registered, in order to obtain a special permit to connect to the island.

Until 2007, it was forbidden for a normal citizen to buy a computer without permission, although it was possible to assemble a computer after acquiring parts on the black market.

Cuba had one of the lowest rates of personal computer ownership in the world: Only 3.3 per 100 inhabitants, the same rate as Togo. The entry of computer equipment from abroad was one of the causes for detaining an American citizen called Allan Gross.

There were two types of connections: One was the national net where citizens could only use an email service operated by the government itself. The administration created its own servers: Red Social, idea of the Ministry of Education and similar to Facebook, and then Cuban Wikipedia, appointed Ecured. There was also the possibility of international connections, which allowed access to websites and foreign services. But citizens at that time, had to go to hotels at prohibitive prices.

Foreign Sponsors

From many years, there have been sponsors who have been paying mobile phone account of bloggers and dissidents in Cuba. It was fundamental for Internet activists because of the price. And before, it was not even possible to hire a mobile phone (only for foreigners or high civil servants).

During 2010, to have Internet access, Internet users not working in Embassies, Official Institutions, or Foreign Companies, had to go to hotels. One-hour connection costs six dollars, while the average salary was about 20 dollars per month.

Sending messages through mobile phones tweeting was also very expensive: $ 1.10 convertible each time. That price, says Yoani Sánchez, "is the way to allow us to be tweeters".

2.3. New Connectivity

According to the company ETECSA, it is possible to recharge from abroad accounts Nauta permanent access to Internet browsing. Through the web page www.ding.com can be sent from 10 CUC (convertible peso) to any phone in the island, inputting data access account user benefit. The internet in the cell remains limited to the use of email Nauta, except 35 points Wi-Fi operating in the country and where you can browse web pages that are not found censored.

Today, prices are still the main obstacle for many Cubans, since the connection ($ 2.5 per hour) pose a ninth of the average monthly salary.

2.3.1. Using Twitter without connection. Through mobile messages

Internet activists learned to use Twitter offline: sending their words as tweet with mobile messages. Sánchez explained that they might save as a contact the number 119447624800379 and send four messages, one every 30 seconds (if they had at least 5 CUCs balance): the first, with START; the second, with "yes"; the third with the user name (without the @ sign) and the fourth with the password. (each SMS from Cuba, was 1.10 CUC).

Of course, Twitter was only an output way. Yoani Sánchez and other Cubans, including those cited "123 independent tweeters" from their mobile couldn't read or participate in discussions of this network neither know the trending topics. Belonging to the people form *Voces Cubanas* they were only 123, but was enough to "break the information monopoly as never achieved before."

2.3.2. A new experience. The extension of the mobile phone

The cell phone service in Cuba began for the first time on February 24, 1993 in Havana and Varadero, after the joint venture created in Cuba SA Cell Phones (CUBACEL), with Cuban and Mexican capital. They didn't arrive to interior cities until 2000, when there were only 6.536 connections.

In 2003 cellular companies Cubacel com merge in ETECSA, a new concession operator with a new development plan for fixed telephone, mobile and data.

The mobile phones were heavily regulated and were used only for foreigners or for an elite of Cubans citizens working in foreign companies or administration. The connection was extremely expensive. In 2008, according to the United Nations, Cuba had the second lowest mobile penetration rate per capita in the world, behind only Papua New Guinea. On April 14, 2008 the government of Raul Castro allowed their purchase by Cuban citizens.

The expansion was spectacular. In 2011 there was an increase of 18.5 percent that included fixed and mobile telephones alike. In the case of mobile telephony, the activation fee was lowered from 111 to 30 CUC, which facilitated an increase of 300.000 mobile lines in this year, reaching a total of 1.2 million mobile lines currently in use for twelve million people. It was noteworthy that in 2012 the price of sending message SMS had lowered. Which mean an increase in communication between the inhabitants of the island.

In 2014, Cuba had 2.4 million mobile phones in service.

ETECSA didn't escape persecution from the US against the company suppliers. In 2012 the US Department of Commerce fined the Panama branch of the Swedish company Ericsson, the world's number one manufacturer of mobile network equipment, with a $ 1.75 million fine for violating export restrictions from EE. UU against Cuba.

Control was always present. When there are major events and official visits such as the recent visit of Pope Francisco, international press could use a very efficient internet service, at the same time that connection of mobile phones from some opponents had lots of problems. (Source 233grados.lainformacion.com Amnesty International).

On 2015 ETECSA planed the deployment of 800.000 new cell phone lines, extending the use for e mails from mobiles.

2.4. Internet, the Place for "the Battle of Ideas"

In 2008, officials reported that approximately 1.4 million inhabitants (12% of the total population) that had some kind of Internet access and that there were 630,000 personal computers. From 2007, Cuban government started to take seriously the emergence of dissident bloggers messages within the island. Grown in the confrontation, administration and loyal journalists came to define the conflict as "cyber warfare" and accused the cyber dissidents of cyberterrorism. They understood that the Internet, used mainly as a speaker outward, was an ideological battleground. Since 2005, the Union of Journalists of Cuba (UPEC), promoted pro-government blogging.

Elaine Díaz Rodríguez (2009: 21) said:

> "For the majority of the journalists present in the Cuban blogosphere today, the birth of their current website, was animated by the interest of the Unión de Periodistas de Cuba (UPEC) and the Ideological Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba (PCC) in increasing the number of sites which, from the island, spoke about national themes."

Many of these blogs were being abandoned. The author was not very optimistic about the different or personal contribution of these blogs. Put emphasis commenting on the contradiction presented to journalists when they addressed the issue Cuba on their blogs. They presented a frank narrative of a real island, with its nuances and differences and their self-censorship or harbor latent in this speech fearing that could be interpreted as politically incorrect or understood as an assault on the principles of the Revolution.

2.4.1. Criticism against cyber dissidents

From the official website *Cubadebate*, its editor, Rosa Miriam Elizalde defined Yoani Sánchez as "Cyber terrorist, made in the USA". They saw behind her US government agencies such as *USAID* and organizations such as *The Global Internet Freedom Task Force.* They wanted to denounce that the server of Yoani Sánchez was in Germany and registered under the name Josef Biechele, relating him with extreme right movements, and arguing that the support for that particular website cost hundreds of millions of dollars.

They denounced the strategy of using the Internet as a political tool of intervention from U.S. administration that had been developed in that period of five years, experiencing a crescendo from the announcement of the Obama administration on 22 January 2010. Their criticisms were accompanied with some Video records showing Yoani Sánchez going into various embassies in Havana. Also, they even made public her list of followers on Twitter.

At that time, in a normal atmosphere of silence from the administration bodies in conflict situations or disasters, that official blog, *Cubadebate* became a source of important official information.

2.5. Cuban Bloggers

To describe a Cuban blogger's map in 2010, there was a premise. It is necessary to take account that most of the bloggers were living outside Cuba. In 2010, The blog *Penúltimos Días* ([http://www.penultimosdias.com/),](http://www.penultimosdias.com/) founded in Barcelona in 2006, by the journalist, editor and translator

Ernesto Hernández Busto (Havana 1968), had a world list of blogs about Cuba. There were about 1170 registered blogs.

Professor Elaine Diaz (2014) defined as the Cuban blogosphere symbolic space communication resulting shared voluntary adherence of individuals who write their logs on and / or from Cuba.

According to her, the Cuban blogosphere until December 2013 consisted of 2,033 logbooks, distributed within Cuba and furans. Among the countries with the largest number of blogs on Cuban Cuba, United States, Spain, Argentina, Brazil and Germany you are.

It behaves like a densely interconnected space with a shaped by the most visible blogs grouped according to highly subjective criteria, among which are the ideological affinity, focus similar themes, the profession, age and geographical location center.

Of the total, according to the author, 1,152 were in the platform Blogger, in Word press 436, 129 in Blogia, and 68 on the platform of Blogeo, the blogs of journalists, the rest with own domain or hosted on websites.

It should be noted the increasing number of new born blogs, also from 2010, unlike other countries where the practice of blogging was abandoned to move to micro blogs. They were considered within the called "gray area", insight the Revolution but critics within the system. Díaz and Gráfuls insisted in remarking, how web blog, from Matanzas University, *La Joven Cuba* was censored between 2010 and 2011 by the administration, when they have been firmly defendants of the Cuban autonomy to decide its system. Vice president, Díaz Canel, had to had a meeting with them for the party to permit these young professors to blog it again.

2.6. The phenomenon Yoani Sánchez

Yoani Sánchez studied language and literature and graduated in 2000 in Habana with a thesis entitled *Palabras bajo presión. Un estudio sobre la literatura de la dictadura en Latinoamérica.* In 2002, "disappointment and economic asphyxiation" forced her to immigrate to Switzerland. She was back in Havana in the summer of 2004. Later she explained to Mauricio Vicent, from *El País*, that she understood that "life was not in another part, but in another Cuba".[4]

On December 2004, she was one of the founders of the magazine *Consenso*. She did not write, but worked as its administrator. *Consenso* last issue, was published in December 2007. (Yoani Sánchez worked as a webmaster). After that, they transformed that organ to *Contodos* more increasingly resembled to a blog. *Contodos* was published until june 2009, project that lather was restructured to create *Desde Cuba.*

The wildfire that caused her "a blogging fever" was a controversy that began in January 2007. Some political commissars of the 70's, Luis Pavon Tamayo, Armando Quesada and Jorge Serguera, were honored by the Cuban Central television. As a response to that, many intellectuals expressed their rejection through emails, but ultimately the debate was to abduct Cuban institutions.

Ted Henken (Henken, 2010: 201) describes Yoani Sánchez's work in several stages:

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[4]http://elpais.com/diario/2008/01/03/ultima/1199314802_850215.html

The initial definition, from April to September 2007, was titled by her: "opening a process of creative catharsis and personal exorcism". Sánchez, (2010: 180) had explained that she began connecting to Internet from the hotels, when, at that time, entry for Cubans, was forbidden. Months after Raul Castro came to power, this "apartheid" ended. In that early time "immediacy or pretending to be informative, was almost impossible. My only access to the Internet allowed me to appeal to reflection or writing chronic that were not aging rapidly."

Since then, she, her husband Reinaldo Escobar and others took advantage of social networks, blogs and Twitter, and decided to found several community projects.

From October 2007 until March 2008 arrives Yoani's international recognition and also the catharsis with her readers. At the beginning, she tried to answer the comments. (The first year, comments went from 53 to 436). The day that was announced that her blog was censored by the Cuban government, she received 1000 comments. The blog had an average of 65,000 visits per month to its first four months of existence. In August and September doubled until 100,000 visits per month.

Some people believe international fame supposed also local repercussion. Translator Mary Jo Porter explained that when Gorki Águila, the leader of the punk rock band *Porno Para Ricardo*, was arrested in August 2008 and charged with "pre-criminal dangerousness," Yoani and her friends—in Cuba and abroad—drew on the growing influence of her blog. In some days, international news media gathered outside the courtroom with their cameras. Later that evening Aguila walked free, with, - said Porter -an almost certain four years in prison sentence reduced to a $25 fine".

Between March and July 2008, *Voces Cubanas* entered in a new strategy: to create a citizen network. For Henken, Yoani Sánchez phenomenon caught the Cuban government "off guard."

But in March 2008, instead of imprisoning her, authorities disabled the access to her blog, reducing the speed of the loading time, to make it invisible. It could be certainly said that the audience was almost foreign. Then she became "blind blogger", sending emails to a network of partners around the world, who translated and placed their posts.

From August 2008 people from *Voces Cubanas* begin to organize them and go to public events, trying to move their concerns in the cyberspace to the streets. Their actions have three characteristics: public action, subversion of authority, and global impact. On 17 December 2008, they founded the Academy Blogger at her home.

From October 2009 until April 2010 Henken describes the stage of growing provocation and confrontation, intensifying criticism, repression and defamation by the state.

From anonymity to become a defendant in the street, in December 2008 she received a subpoena from the police station and was warned that she had crossed all limits. On 6 November 2009 her husband suffered a public act of repudiation. The government's message was clear; they could remain in the network, but not in the streets. The Cuban press begins to attack her directly; she was named: "Prisa's Daughter".[5]

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[5] http://www.rebelion.org/noticia.php?id=78288

In 2010, the distribution of *Generación Y* was: 19.99% in the USA, 13.5% in Russia, 10.4% in Venezuela, 5.4% in Spain. Only the 4.1% of the traffic was generated within the island.

2.6.1. German web host

Sánchez explained that in mid-2006, She and her husband decided to ask Josef Biechele "one of our best friends" if he would buy the domain http://www.desdecuba.com for them. He put the domain in his name with the German web-host company *Strato*. The package they bought at that time, included the option of choosing two domains. They created one domain with a tourism profile, called http://www.habanaapie.com where they advertised unauthorized Spanish courses. Belonging to her, the economic autonomy that this website provided, allowed them to pay for part of Internet hours, what she needed to administer the domain, and open her blog *Generación Y*.

Sánchez said that neither they nor Biechele were up-to-date with the architecture of various available blog platforms. She started a log beginning with a page that she built herself in "html". In mid-October 2007. She managed to download the script of WordPress from http://wordpress.com.org ". She started to administrate a domain and a blog at the same time. From her explanation, in mid-march 2008 the Cuban government set up a filter to block the entire *Desdecuba.com* domain. But that time, she had "already developed a good friendship with various assiduous commentators and readers of the blog".

She began to send her written texts via e-mail, accompanied by an image which her helpers would then publish for her. "A web of citizen solidarity was stitched around USA. Then, came proposals to translate the blog, with people she said "she had

never met" from all over the world freely offering their help as volunteers to transform her words into Portuguese, English, Chinese or Dutch.

At the end of 2008, she asked a friend who was a web designer –Cuban residing in Spain- to develop a personalized banner and logo. News of her winning the BOBs prize in the German press, *Deutsche Welle*, caused *Strato* to realize that the top prize winner was being hosted on their server. She asked to change the administration language of the server to Spanish. They transferred the domain to one of their subsidiaries   in   Spain.

In mid-February 2009 the old version of Wordpress 2.3 broke down. For 11 days' domain *Desdecuba.com* was off line. "My situation as a "blind blogger" was becoming insufferable. Thanks to a 5 hours' card in a hotel, and chatting with a friend.

> "Finally, we were able to combine his eyes with my instincts. It took us until almost eleven that night, but in the end, the blog was up, and running once again, with a few flaws, yes, but alive and kicking!"

In Mid 2010 free domain hosting courtesy of *Strato* came to an end. She said that she was waiting save enough money to continue her current service plan thanks to her collaborations in the Italian magazine *Internazionale*, German publication *TAZ*, magazine *Poder*, the Brazilian magazine *Imprensa*, the possibility *El Nuevo Día* in Puerto Rico.

> "All have allowed me to pay for my time on-line and help other bloggers navigate the net".[6]

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[6] http://elyuma.blogspot.com.es/2010/01/making-of-generation-y-by-yoani-Sánchez.html

2.6.2. Translators

In the mentioned website *Penúltimos Días,* Mary Jo Porter explained how she became one of the English translators in *Generacion Y*. [7] and how they created the cooperative HemosOido.com, TranslatingCuba.com.

Mary Jo Porter had read *Generation Y* in English translation, but soon after her return from Cuba the translations stopped appearing. She was struggling to read it in Spanish when Yoani Sánchez posted a note saying she needed a new translator. "Well," I thought, "someone has to do it." After struggling for three days over the first three-paragraph entry, she sent Yoani "my efforts with a cover e-mail that, if I remember correctly, simply said, in this troublesome language, "Here."

> "And we did it. From an American student of Spanish who became my co-translator for many months, from a Cuban-Canadian, a Cuban-Spaniard with an American mother, an American who'd gone to Cuba in 1971 to cut sugar cane for Fidel's Ten Million Ton Harvest but who went now with cash stuffed in her bra to help young people escape, a Cuban-American with a degree in comparative literature, a college student in Miami whose father spent 14 years in Castro's prisons. Even my daughter helped out."

Soon the English site became a focal point for other languages, as volunteers from around the world filled my inbox: a retired psychiatrist in Brazil; an attorney in Amsterdam; a furniture-store owner in Japan; students in Portugal, Finland and Korea; a professor in Romania who set

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[7] http://www.penultimosdias.com/2011/08/08/47021/

all his students to work: they all joined translators already working in Polish, German, French, and other languages.

As Yoani Sánchez expanded the Cuban blogosphere, the translators were determined to support these new voices. An old friend and I worked to create a cooperative online translation site—HemosOido.com—where anyone can come and translate. In all, more than two hundred people have already helped spread the words of the Cuban bloggers around the world. With the password to her website, Yoani also gave me the gift of her language.

Mary Jo Porter recognized that there was an ideological component:

> "And I imagine a day in the not-too-distant future when we will all gather on Havana's Malecón and sit side-by-side on that seaside wall, laughing about how different everyone is from whatever it was we expected and sharing the joy of being together in a free Cuba… all of us brought together by the promise that Yoani made to herself just a few years ago: To live—in Cuba—as a free person." (M.J. Porter, 2011).

2.6.2 Funding and International Recognition

Different authors have highlighted the Yoani's Sánchez declaration about funding that was permanently posted on her blog Generación Y:

> "This blog does not receive funding or help from political parties, governments or ideological organizations. Its genesis is independent and

autonomous. It has emerged and it is maintained thanks to the citizen solidarity and the thrust of this handmaid. So it will be online while I have stories to tell and desire to continue uploading them to the cyberspace (...)

Gratefully we received donations from individuals, cultural, journalistic or academic foundations which want to collaborate with maintaining this blog and especially with the high costs of Internet access in Cuba is cut. Moreover, no funds from governments or political groups are accepted.

Any odds of aid received from personal hands condition or will condition my voice and my themes. I'm still the "free electron" who started this virtual space in April 2007. If you want to lend a helping hand will be welcome, if you want to control my writing, you are wasting your time."

Already from 2008 the blogger received numerous international awards. Some were only honorary recognitions, in other cases, it was included also a cash prize. Among the list of prizes, we can highlight:

In 2008, the prize Ortega y Gasset of Digital Journalism from the newspaper *El País* (15,000 euros). *Time* magazine considered she was one of the 100 most influential people of the world, as for the publication *Foreign Policy*, one of the 10 most influential intellectuals in Latin America.

In 2009, the World Economic Forum in Switzerland honored her with the Young Global Leaders Award. Columbia University in New York, gives her the Maria Moors Cabot Prize ($ 5,000). In Mexico she won the third prize in the Essay

Contest, "Roads to Freedom" from TV Azteca ($ 5,000). The Council for the Freedom of Cuba (exiled Cubans) named her Hero of the Fatherland.

In 2010, the Danish Centre for Independent Research (CEPOS), a liberal free-market conservative think-tank, gave her the CEPOS Freedom Award (worth about 40,000 Euros). Dutch Prince Claus Foundation for Culture the Development, offered her the Prince Claus (about 25,000 euros) Journalism Award. The Jaime Brunet Foundation at the Public University of Navarra, grants her the Jaime Brunet International Prize (36,000 euros). The Ibero American Congress on Social Networks, gives the award in individual category iRedes (6,000 euros).

In 2011, the United States Department of State, named her for the International Prize for "Women with courage".

As historians we cannot ignore the fact that role without precedents, had also meant a trail of controversy. Many TV programs or cartoons against her. In the net, numerous pages remember that she was mentioned in WikiLeaks cables, where stay out her relationship with former head of USIS in Havana, Michael Parmly or where it was questioned if president Obama had answered the questions of an interview she sent to him or not. also her controversy with Cuban writer Zoe Vales. But we believe that we must focus our object of study in the content of her blog.

2.6.3 From Alternative voice to citizen journalism

It is interesting to observe how part of the academy qualifies the alternative voice of the blogger as citizen journalism. This is the case of Brazilian professor das Gracas Targino (2013). In her conclusions she said that although not all contents posted by Yoani Sánchez can be categorized as journalistic, there is the possibility of considering the editorial – she described good part of the blogger articles as editorials- as "citizen journalism". According to the conception of Targino (2009), we were in front of a new kind of journalism, whose goal was the democratization of information in different media in any format and at no cost, generated by ordinary individuals, whatever were their individual and social traits.

The author said that the fact was that Generación Y has established and consolidated, and that that justified prizes and honors she received, as genuine critical space. I here would miss a deepening in gender describing content, sources, and development of items that we can demonstrate that this is citizen journalism

Das Gracas Targino finished asking that comments and commentators can / should be object of study to increase knowledge about the blog in question. Precisely, that is a part of our contribution.

5

Aims, Methodology and Research Questions

1. Why we studied these two cases

JOHN VAN MAANEN (1983) DEVELOPED A GUIDE to qualitative research, which basically called for "observing from first hand" the development of a social phenomenon. That begins with detailed observation and being close to the facts. We look for a specific and local case if we can discover or not some patrons. The core of our interest will be the recurring phenomena.

According to Jose E. Ruiz and M. J. Olabuénaga (1989), qualitative analysis operates in two directions: not only observing and recording data, but establishing a permanent dialogue between observer and observed, including induction (data) and deduction (hypothesis), which is accompanied by a permanent analytical reflection between what is collected from the outside and what we are looking when we return, after a certain reflection, to the labor camp. Our aim is to discover meanings attributed by the individual actors in specific situations, more than the reality of the facts themselves.

The authors that come from ethnography and anthropology maintain that the true meaning of the events is designed first by the actors themselves. Here the emphasis on techniques such as in-depth interviews. (It is important to see the role that our two protagonists give to themselves within countries with great difficulty by the circulation of information.)

Jacob Evelyn (1988) discusses the approaches to qualitative methodology with some features: 1) The emphasis in studying social phenomena in their own natural environment in which they happen; 2) The primacy of the subjective aspects of human behavior, above objective characteristics; 3) The exploration of the meaning of the actor; 4) The preference for the observation and open interview as exploration tools; 5) The use of symbolic language, rather than the numerical signs.

Qualitative methods are based on the assumption that the social world is a world built with symbols and meanings. That involves researching in this building and its meaning.

For Robert K. Yin (2003) case studies are appropriate strategy when we are putting the "how" and "why" on the table. When the investigator has little control over the events and when the focus is on evaluating a contemporary phenomenon in real life context. We use them to contribute to our knowledge of individual phenomena, groups, social organizations or political psychology, sociology or political science.

In our research, we believed that the study of the two cases is the most appropriate when we want to understand complex social phenomena, such as the growth and importance of blogs in countries with authoritarian regimes. To study both examples will serve us to understand channels of communication in these countries in recent years.

Yin, himself, introduced two examples: Graham Allison's study (1971) on the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, or William F. Whyte Street Corner Society (1943/55) on the development of young low middle-class and how they broke roots with their original district. The most important is to identify the type of research question. In general, "What is happening?" can be

exploratory and descriptive. But if the question is "how" or "why," then it might be studied through case studies.

2. Case Studies in weblogs. Defining blog

Blogs emerged as a social phenomenon since late 1990. The Professor Mary Garden (2011) asks whether they should be considered as a media or as a genre. Blogger and journalist Jeff Jarvis (2009) said that blogs are anything we want to do with them. We can observe two kinds of researches: those who divided blogs according to their function, and those who prioritized its structure, its design and its capabilities (considering links as skills).

Some blogs have become personal diaries platforms for "citizen journalism." Also formats have been adapted to professional needs. For Garden blogs are not difficult to define, but most researchers use the term in a vague, contradictory or ambiguous way. The term weblog attributed to Jorn Barger, who used it in December 1997 to describe a page with many possible connections. But he was not the first person to have a newspaper with many connections.

It might be Justin Hall, who began his page www.links.net while he was a student at Swarthmore College. He started his web-based diary Justin's *Links from the Underground* in 1994. (http://www.links.net/). The abbreviated word "blog" is a post on 28 May 1999. Garden even thinks that the word "blog" is very onomatopoeic, meaning from her: vomiting, offering information. Mary Garden believes that it must be recognized that the extension of the word "blog", started after Pyra Labs opened the tool "blogger" in August 1999. In 2002 it was experienced the most radical change when the software to include comments was developed. This expanded the

possibilities of newsletters, newsgroups and forums. Since then, blogging started to be an interactive and responsive activity.

Some authors like Eric Baumer (2008) believe that we should let the readers to decide what constitutes a blog. A survey made by the Pew Internet and American Life Project in 2004, found that 62% of Americans did not know what it was. It was clear that "blog" was not well defined. That was just a platform. Jeff Jarvis says it does not need definition. For him, it more important to reflect conversations established that content.

A spokesman for the company "Technorati" who recounted blogs said that they have no official definition. The basic format is the post, title, date and time and permanent link with, in some cases, the author's name. Blogs are based on links to other sites to improve their own content. Links are common ingredients on blogs. Other authors note comments as essential. David Domingo and Ari Heinonen (2008) considered comments as the most crucial attributes of Weblogs.

Professor Paul Bradshaw (2008) says that blogs are a place to share. A conversational and social space with two key elements: links and comments. Bradshaw suggests that the blogger's relationship with its audience, especially blogs of journalists, is crucial.

Rebecca Blood (2002) identified the types of blogs and found three categories: filters, diaries and blog notes, even though he knew that most are hybrids. In a random study taking 5517 blogs, Susan C. Herring (2007) found that the majority, 70% were personal diaries.

Another example of the functional definition is Zapico (2009) says that blogs were personal diaries, -most shared with great friends and family, up to political commentary,

belonging to the reading level, put them in the league of major media.

Ethan Zuckerman (2009) says that there has been a trend towards the professionalization of the blogosphere. It maintains that bloggers, who are primarily interested in sharing links or status, have gone to Twitter or other shorter tools. Mary Garden, in a pilot study, found that in two blogs of journalists there were many more comments from readers and answers from bloggers that not in the official media blogs.

Axel Bruns (2008) was asking that the definition had to be more sophisticated and specify genres and content use, incorporating descriptive qualifiers blogs as diaries, research blogs, corporate blogs, etc.

In the discussion about whether blogs could be considered a media or a genre, Lucas Graves (2007) said that they are a genre with certain characteristics, such links. Stine Lomborg (2009) said that they were a sort of online communication genre constantly evolving. For some, they had predecessors off line, such as diaries or letters to the editor.

Some other authors insist that blogs should not be defined as a genre but as a media. According to Merriam-Webster online dictionary (2006), a media is a channel system for communication, information and entertainment. Blogs provide us a channel to share links, personal stories, news, photos. This media allows us to embrace many genres. The contents of blogging can be categorized into genres. They have the ability to open multiple channels of communication and embrace all genres.

Jill W. Rettberg (2008) said that a blog can be considered a media or genre depending on the perspective adopted. It is a genre if we see it as a electronic device to organize a text. Perhaps they are a journalistic. Some blogs are a new category

of news and entertainment or a new genre in journalism that emphasizes personalization, audience participation and that link to other websites and sources of information (Domingo and Hienonen, 2008). Even platforms like Twitter serve for sharing news. News blogs are not only provided by citizens in general (that would be citizen journalism), but also by journalists working independently or within their media. Frederic Filloux (2009) says that blogs have evolved. They have gone from being little more than populist diatribes to a fresh new journalistic genre, which can be the engine of new site news.

3. Working on the Analysis and comparing blogs.

Professor Tomás Baviera (2011) explained the properties and the relation ability between blogs in Valencia. The interest of his research is that blog becomes defined by their interconnectivity.

His work was based on the classic definition of Professor JL Orihuela (2006). For him a blog is a self-managed website made up by individual "entries" through a reverse chronology. Individual "entries", also called "stories" or could be written text, images, audio, video, or also a combination of these four elements.

Rebecca Blood (2000), in one of the first works published on blogs said that these sites were difficult to be described, but easy to be recognized. As we said, Blood proposed a division in three categories: diaries, notebooks and filters. Notebooks, much long diaries, with personal o external subjects, both focus on the interiority of the author and his reactions against the outside world. The third categories are the filters. The

center of the notes goes to the outside world. The author's personality of the author is revealed ubiquitously, outside and inside. They are a type of blogs focused towards a specific topic. They aim to give the reader a continuous source of information about it.

Guillermo Garcia Lopez (2009) studied the communication models that operate in the Internet, locates weblogs as a collective media. He is based in the criteria of interactivity defined between the user and the media from the content provided by him. With specific properties, blogs, for him, appear as a hierarchical media. The author is who takes the initiative to publish the content, according to a specific purpose. Being a website, this writing system structure the hypertext, a text that refers to another text by the web link. Then, this blog provides a community dimension to the text and appears the concept of blogosphere.

Under the term of blogosphere, we grouped the totality of the weblogs. Blogosphere means the social phenomenon resulting from the interaction between the various bloggers and their readers. This activity means to the author the opportunity to express himself and build his own identity on the Web. At the same time, it's being weaving a network of relationships with other bloggers and readers that creates a space for communication.

Tomás Baviera used a quantitative method. From the corpus of blogs, he created a database with name, directions, fans, central subjects, public towards were addressed, publication frequency of publication and influence. Regarding the subject, despite the difficulty, they tried to determine a central theme of the blog, which was not inconsistent with annotations that could appear in other subjects. They had to distinguish to which public were addressed. How frequently were appearing.

A majority was at the discretion and time availability of the author, most part of them weekly. Regarding the degree of influence, they were based on Technorati ranking. This search engine for blogs provides a ranking according to the number of links. Since May 2007, He included the parameter "Technorati Authority" for each one of the blogs that recorded.

Following the comparison of blogs, we wanted to mention a work of Stephen D. Reese and others (2005). They compared the six most popular blogs in the United States, according to their interconnectivity. They wanted to define its relationship with mainstream media. They used content analysis to study to what extent they were dependent to the big Media, finding out who had generated most traffic in the online community, whether traditional media or blogs. All of this, at a time, that it was announced that bloggers army could get to supplant journalists work.

The authors defined these research questions:

1) To what extent blogs communicate with traditional media?

2) What is the political affiliation of the blog?

3) How your blog looks for association?

4) How it is related the political affiliation of these blog with the links to international pages?

They took six cases, three Liberals, three Conservatives, the most important ones, meaning the ones who had more links and who communicated more. They parted from the Technorati index.

The three liberals were:

Talking Points Memo, from Joshua Micah Marshall. He was a Freelance journalist. He was an example of blogger contact directly with the sources and causes of first hand reporter.

http://talkingpointsmemo.com/

Atrios, from Duncan Black. He was an attorney. One of the most popular left-wing bloggers. He was able to maintain a high level of interactivity.

http://www.eschatonblog.com/

Daily Kos. Operated by the political consultant Markos Moulitsas Zuniga. He was the more interactive of all the weblogs in the sample.

http://www.dailykos.com/

And three conservatives:

Instapundit, Leaded by Glenn Reynolds, a law professor at the University of Tennessee. He started the blog as a supplement to their classes about Internet and law. It was not a full-time job.

https://pjmedia.com/instapundit/

Andrew Sullivan. He was a successful free-lance conservative journalist. Primarily he was a writer. He had little interactivity.

http://dish.andrewsullivan.com/

Little Green Footballs. Originally started by web designer Charles Johnson, it contained posters and welcomes conservatives' comments since 2001. It might be used as a source, but he generally worked with extracts from others blogs.

http://littlegreenfootballs.com/

They identified from each selected blog and archive the contents of the first week of February 2005. They identified the primary links formed by blogs, blogs that had the second-level and third-level blogs. No comments were studied. If the main messages of blogs and pages to which they referred. The authors did a content analysis of a sample of "core messages" and selected sites reviewed by two authors using a reliable inter-coder with the formula Holsti: (content analysis inferences with different questions).

The unit types: Each blog was described as a potential supplier of a general comment, an analysis, a first-hand observation or a feature. In additions they coded: news, opinion, analysis, comments or material for documentation. Depending on the site: Each "unit linkage" was coded based on the nature of the place where such information was taken. They were divided between Media and professional's blogs.

They also marked the tone (so how was called the reference): They measure the way the "link unit" was referred to the sender. It could be a simple reference for documentation, or supportive, reinforcing or negative. They also indicate the institutional affiliation of the author and their political tendency and its geographical location: They identified where the writer and its organization were located.

Finally, they studied 410 comments from the six blogs. All of them, but 34 referred to other sites with 154 who had two or more links, supporting the idea that the authors of these blogs were components and at the same time "gateways" of a much larger network. In their first reference, 47.6% referred to big professional media and 33.5 percent had references to other blogs.

From the type of information to which they referred, 28,8% referred to news and 14,5% referred to opinion. Therefore, contrary to what was believed, traditional media and professional journalists play an important role in the network. As for the geographic location, a 92.7 percent of the places mentioned were in the United States, and most of the rest, outside, were in the UK. In this, there is no difference between conservatives and liberals. Maybe the Conservatives came more abroad, taking references from France, to criticize them.

In the conclusions, found that these bloggers were based mainly in subjects introduced by professional journalists and stories associated with large Media. Somehow they reinforced the rules of professional journalism, spreading its contents. This network enhances circulation chosen dialogue not only link-up with other bloggers but directing (anchoring) discussions, opinions and analysis produced by traditional media professionals. (Perhaps they played the "role" of moderation referred by Habermas). Politically, they worked as an "echo chamber." They continued the polarization observed in the mass media, but within that, bloggers tried to be more ecumenical and eclectic.

Anthony Giddens (2002) commented that intrinsically open the barriers to globalization already had a relationship with democracy. With Internet many thought to have a more committed and active citizen worldwide. Blogs were finding their place among other technologies, to support new forms of community. Authors dare to say that blogosphere could end the enormous gap that existed between media professionals and citizens. Only it is required one individual from the public who wants to speak. Melissa Wall (2005) investigated how war blogs had influence on conventional media. Analysis suggests

that these blogs, during the second US was with Iraq, in the spring of 2003 were a new genre of journalism that emphasizes personalization, audience participation in content creation and story forms that were fragmented and independent with other websites.

4. Methodology Warnings in studying blogs' history

The director of the Center for Internet Research at the University of Arhus in Denmark Neils Brügger has written several articles about methodology of doing historical research with blogs. Studying the history of blogging is relatively a new field. But, for Brügger, (2009), the history of websites is still a written history based on archived pages. It is a technique that is still in its infancy. The website filed, is a reconstruction that does not reach a stable form before being archived. And when it does, it must be accompanied by methodological considerations. What we want to examine further analysis should be anticipated upon archiving. (Even if there are several versions of the same date, they are likely to be different.)

For Neils Brugger (2009), the history of Web pages should be placed between the history of the Media and the Internet. As a practical measure, he indicates that the key is to work with the resource "archived web". The document on which the researcher will work is "the page website filed" as if it were a new kind of historical document. It will be a subjective reconstruction. We will have to define the size, how it was created and why. In our research it should take into account that the content can be changed while we proceed to archive it. Historian, more than finding the material, has to specify date, how it will be distributed, how it can be achieved, presented. Work material will be based on a proposal already designed.

Brügger believes that the website historian will determine the degree of probability of any page as if it were a live document. He must look for the less poor version, and also to take into account the speed of change, assuming that the different versions of the text of the Web page elements can change at different rates. According exhibitions and content can calculate the speed of change.

As a new study, the story of the web, researchers believe it should be take into account: The date and time it was filed; and supplementary documents. And getting to have a file plan; collecting a concrete version that will be a part of a selective collection done several times a day; we will have to distinguish if it is integrated in the file from the Internet or from the producer. Will it mark specific references, not ambiguous, in the archived material.

5. Methodology: A Triangular Research

5.1. Content Analysis

Content analysis is a technique to read and interpret the content of all types of documents and, originally - though not exclusively-, written documents. Blogs are no longer so, in our humble opinion, or at least not only so. For Ruíz de Olabuénaga (1996) content analysis is based on reading as a tool for gathering information. Reading, for him, has to be done scientifically, systematically, objectively, replicable and in a valid way. He believed that reading is a complete activity if one takes into account five areas: 1) The one which refers to the content itself; 2) The one which refers to the issuer, the author of the text; 3) The one which refers to the receiver, purpose of the text; 4) The one which refers to the codes used; 5) The one which refers to the texts channels (transmitters, supports).

All text may be subject to a double reading. The direct, manifested sense, and the underground text. Authors like Bernard Berelson (1952) were in favor of sticking to the manifest content and then perform a quantitative analysis. Charles E. Osgood, from the Chicago School (1957), however, wanted to identify the analysis with a procedure to draw inferences regarding transmitters and receivers. Look for evidence that the messages exchanged between them.

Content analysis emphasizes the capture of meaning, the definition of the situation, the perspective of the issuer. Any text has a symbolic meaning that can be extracted. This symbolic meaning is not always evident and can be multiple,

depending on the perspective and point of view from who have read the text. Same text can have many meanings.

Any text can express more things than the ones the author tries to say or that he is aware of. Context is a framework that contains all this information. The reader may know it beforehand or infer it, to capture the content. The difference between the analyst and the reader is how it is read. It resides in the way and the kind of budget and inferences that occur and the analyst uses a systematic, conscious and analytical purposes. The analyst is forced to process texts that arrive, transforming them with a process of manipulation in the quantitative method in its systematic codification. The qualitative method requires more complex practices. Many words in the text, are classified much smaller number of categories. The problem centers on the process of data reduction, valid inferences about the author, the message, the audience in a text.

One the founders of this technique, Bruce Berelson (1952) discusses the different objectives of content analysis: Present differences in the content of the communication; compare medium or level of communication; weigh the content of a communication and the established objectives; categorize open answers from a monitored; identify intentions from the issuer; determine the psychological state of individuals and groups; discern Information and propaganda; screed cultural patterns; and catch and follow the trends and changes in the content of the communication.

From these techniques, the analyst looks to deduct draw conclusions or extract inferences contained explicit or implicit. Examples of such inferences are empathy that Max Weber discovered in speeches and sermons in "the Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism", and also, the process of

socialization of Polish immigrants in North America. Inferences can be introduced in systems, social system or kinships, inferences about standards, quality/defect, closeness/distance, etc.

Ruíz de Olabuénaga (1996) explains that figures do not speak for themselves. We must make them speak. Typically coded data of a text were subjected to a numerical calculation, from which it was possible to confirm the hypothesis or theory about the content. But qualitative methods are more suitable, in principle, to the topic of our study.

In J. Ibáñez's expression (1985), content analysis, while considering the text and structure of standardized meaning, aims to capture the production structure and the peculiar meanings (intimate, unique non-standardized) which an author gives to his text. In analyzing the production process, qualitative analysis insists on knowledge of individual and social conditions that influence its production.

Michael G. Bougon (1983) proposes making cognitive maps. Establish the relationship between word-concept-scheme structure between concepts and conceptual schemes of structures that can be applied to any text. Given that the meaning of a concept lies in the stable pattern and its corresponding pattern in this scheme. Magnifying the scheme, we can magnify the territory of their meanings. The preparation of the cognitive map of the author may be very rich due that we can establish his relationships of causality, contiguity, sympathy likeness.

First they must identify all concepts. Second, establish a hierarchy of importance and the level of intervention of the subject. Third, establish the network of relationships, the conceptual structure. Fourth, relate conceptual schemes to each other to establish a scheme of schemes.

Among the possible criteria could be based on orientation elements such as: frequency (the frequency at which appear the words); company (concordance between words and topics); thematic structures. (If words are aggregated by categories and we have enough units of analysis).

We will be able to describe the strategies: The tactics of approaching, the audience, explaining, interpreting, discovery, espionage, counterespionage. You can focus the analysis, either exclusively or simultaneously with the author as a character actor or social, or in the social reality from the text, as a situation or action.

The inferences, logical mechanisms to relate the data to its context are innumerable. Klaus Krippendorff (1980) attempted to systematize them through systems: analyzing its components, relations between them and its transformations. This will allow us to extract trends, dominant intentions, patterns or differences in new situations.

He divided it into:

Rules: Process of identification, evaluation and verification, it has in common the existence of a rule or pattern. It is an object to establish what kind of objects it is, or from which size is good. It could be assessments, identifications (with a more disjunctive) or checks (after the emission of a judgment regarding a rule).

Index and symptoms: The index is a variable, the importance of which, an investigation depends on how that can be considered correlated to other phenomena.

Linguistic representations: In any discourse, language intervenes thanks to exposure and systematic argument, analyzing a textual corpus as a discourse. How the use of language represents a portion of the reality.

Communications: The composition and the content of the messages come from the intention pursued by the issuer. The communications are exchanged in the context of relations between communicators, modifying, in the process, these relationships.

Institutional processes: In addition to stream content, messages can develop functions within organizations or institutions. It is important to study what purposes accomplish within organizations or society.

5.1.1. Content analysis in blogs

Craig Parker (2011), in a recent study, asks how content analysis can be adapted to the complexity of the new social media. Bloggers might enter multimedia content such as images, photographs, animations, audio or video. His readers can interact with the blogger and or other readers through the blog. So, we are talking about written text and multimedia: Images, animations, audio and video. We would be in front of an interactive media, dynamic and ephemeral.

By Professor Susan Herring (2004) in front of to the new media formula of content analysis must change. One example that she puts is when testing units of analysis: The possible solution to define the unit of analysis would be a map with all the web pages that link to the "mother web" with a fixed number of levels of embedding, to keep the size of the sampling unit more or less constant. But the number of pages may vary depending on the number of links in each level. Until now the most common solution was taking the initial page of each site as the basic unit. The main page will be the minimum unit that defines a website. It is the part the users are more likely to find. It is the most practical, but does not consider potentially important content presented in other parts of the site.

Herring criticizes the traditional definition of "content":

> "Content was referring specifically to the subject, theme meanings presented in text and images, but no to the structures or characteristics of the media. From now we might to analyze various types of information contained in the documents of the New Media, where we have to include topics, structures, characteristics, links and exchanges. Any of these elements can have an important social, political or cultural meaning".

Craig Parker went a little further of Herring's criticism. For him, content analysis will be incomplete if we don't study at the same time the flow of information. So he proposes social researches could begin its qualitative content analysis by identifying one or more social media applications, such as one how one of our bloggers use his smart phone and the discourse on line.

Due to the increasingly integrated nature of the media used and the associated discourse, it would be very appropriate, to observe multiple applications and the derivations of the discourse, observing it from every device. This observation i*n situ*, will allow researchers to write down observations of interest about the speech and its "navigation." This would lead us to a more accurate research questions. The discourse may evolve and transform. It would not be necessarily permanently, but with some examples. We believe this approach has the potential to lead to innovative questions of research and analysis units.

Adolfo Estalella (2006) proposed the concept of "connections field". He defined it as the set of mechanisms and practices used to connect with readers, other blogs, and institutional sites. The blog, apart from being a tool of personal communication is a connective device. Many activities don't have as a main function to transmit information but to establish a connection, creating a shared space for communication. Being an author means to read other blogs to, interact with other bloggers.

Susan C. Herring (2004) in a study on content analysis on American blogs from 2003 to 2004 defined different links that can have a blog:

No links

Links to other blogs

Links to big media or agencies

Links to websites created by the blogger himself

Links to other websites created by others

Links internal from the same blog

Teachers at Notre Dame, Indiana, Réka Albert R and Albert-László-Barabási, A. L. (2002) proposed a structural pattern for nodules in websites. There are some nodes that can group many links; however, most are poorly intertwined between them. This is called "dependences distribution ". Nodes very well connected are called *hubs*. As a result of apply this structure; they identified a number of blogs that get many links which are referred as "List A". For Daniel Drezner and Henry Farrell (2008) according to their weight, their influence within the blogosphere, authors of certain blogs, have the ability to set their own agenda on issues of interest.

In addition to a number of static links more or less stable, posts are dynamic elements that make up an online conversation. Within the universe of blogs, the most basic unit is the post, message, comment individually connected to a sender with identifying information, date and time of registration. (In the United States, one of the most popular blogs (www.Instapundit.com), from Professor Glenn Reynolds may have between 150 and 200 posts filed separate weekly. Blogosphere can be described through messages, centralized

posts which are responded by others, that add, reject, or used it as a reference.

Until now, content analysis was used to analyze the structure, purpose and themes that are insight the blogs. Gracie Lawson-Borders and Rita Kirk (2005) analyzed the campaign weblogs of political candidates during the 2004 presidential election in the U.S.A. They found that blogs ended up being social dairies and organizational tools for the candidates.

Ana Keshelashvili and Kaye D. Trammell (2005) conducted a content analysis of 209 single-author blogs extracted at random from a list of blogs, *Popdex*. The list included blogs written by men and women. They found that men mainly produced blogs type filter, acting as a transmitters and women write blogs more like diaries. They found self-revelation and Meta discourse as a common feature.

Content analysis methods have also been used to analyze the ordinary blogs. Herring and others (2007) employed content analysis to characterize weblogs as a genre. In a random sample of 203 blogs in the spring of 2003, they found that the average English-language blogs were done by one author, focus on personal events in the life of the blogger, had few links and had received few comments.

Zizi Papacharisi (2009) conducted a quantitative content analysis of a random sample of 260 blogs hosted on Blogger.com. He came to characterize blogs as they had much in common with dairies than with independent journalism. Recent research suggests that there are cultural differences in practicing blogging. Kaye Trammell, and Hofmokl Tarkowski (2006), in his content analysis of 358 polish blogs found that polish bloggers are mostly women (almost 75%) and often much younger than the English-speaking.

Trammell found that female bloggers trend to discuss about the impact emotional of their life events than broadcast other news.

5.1.2. Approach to the analysis contained in the thesis.

For the content analysis in our cases it was necessary to seek a triangulation method. Content analysis and interviews can supplement each other. Martin W. Bauer and George Gaskell (2000) say that the interviews, structured or unstructured, they are a convenient method established by social research. But, that, people also express their views speaking, often writing, or discussing controversial events. The text, in addition to the speech, can shows us the thoughts of people, the feelings, his biography or their plans and arguments, even, sometimes, can express more than what the authors think.

Our study should begin to create a fact sheet for each blog page for each of the dates, a morphological description of all the parts, all the means that are made (text, audio and video) and all links. Describe websites presents challenges for content analysis. Each node on the page is where why we Links another. The page is as dynamic as links have.

The central posts usually go accompanied by some photo and headline. Both also deserve analysis.

Before any analysis is necessary to determine text style, otherwise it will be impossible to properly grasp the scope and possible inferences to extract its contents revealed. It may consider the following: historical scientist; narrative documentary; scientific philosophical; legal jurist; tabloid journalism; investigative journalism; editorial; academic

science; autobiographical; literature; • the novel; drama; Comedy; poetry; confidential personnel; espionage; Business.

One of the most effective resources to capture and extract latent content and to make inferences about full context is simple simulation (hypotheses and theories) or complex (models and diagrams) applied to a text to ahead of the results. As I said, by some authors as Berelson (1952) the object of the analysis is the manifest content of a text. For others (Krippendorff, Ibáñez) is the latent content, censorship applied to it. Ibáñez (1985) believes that the most important is the analysis of the hidden extracting text what the author does not want or do not want to say. They favor an instrumental reading of the text. We pursue no clear meaning or continuity. If the chain discontinuity or latent, not what he/she says, but what he/she does not say and that if that contradicts what he/she says.

Ruiz de Olabuénaga concludes that it is a false and impoverishing dichotomy and impoverishing. The content analysis must read a text which expresses messages and the latent text and context. What he/she said and what was hidden.

5.1.3. The sample

The appeal, almost impossible, to observe all data relating to the object of study leads to the use of sampling, although it is preferable to forcing a complete record of everything that our bloggers publishing, and their frequency and their gaps, not taking any unnecessary risks.

You can take a random sample; we design a plan that awarded equal probability to each unit. Or, stratified sample if a town has several distinct subpopulations, random sampling

is carried separately. Systematic sampling is called when there is a sequence of units. We used to elect the show looking for a constant interval: conglomerates (natural portions, for example, different television programs. Sampling of variable probability: the probability assigned according to some a priori criteria (e.g. size, should have a thorough understanding of the context of the data); Sampling in multiple stages is what runs on one or more sampling procedures, a variety of cluster sampling.

As for the size of the sample, if all units were identical sample with one unit would be satisfactory. Guido Stempel (1952) compared samples constituted, six, twelve, eighteen, twenty-four to forty-eight issues of a newspaper with the numbers appeared in a year. He observed that increasing sample size beyond the twelve did not produce results significantly more valuable. A test would be the technical division in halves, if a sample is divided into two equal parts removed the same statistical conclusions is that the sample size is all right.

For our analysis it was important to register the same period of time and events in China and Cuba, or also a major event that could bring out the routine character. There have been so, and we had to look a certain period. We also believed that we might be flexible enough. If in this period of time occurred an event that would have accelerated the production for its historical significance.

Usually, at that time, 2010, blogs Wang Keqin and Yoani Sánchez had a very different frequency. Yoani Sánchez was publishing more often and regularly, two or three times a week. Not so Wang Keqin. He had a high production when he was doing an investigation, but if not, he might post some text between one times per week to one time per month.

We were searching a period of productivity comparable. We proposed to take a sample of a post during the 12 months of 2010. We chose the more viewed text of each month.

In 2010, Wang Keqin worked intensively with his blog to reflect events, accidents or controversial cases that went from provincial local cases to national level. He wrote 119 posts that year. Within each month we sought the post that had more readers. (The post on October 27, 2010, had, for example, 268 989 readers).

Yoani Sánchez, produced 146 posts in 2010, twelve every month. Our selection was done from the same criteria. At that moment we decided to choose the most viewed post of every month.

5.2. Making online ethnography

At this point it was important for us to know how to make field work with new technologies. So I wanted to see some ethnography online research. Elisenda Ardévol, Marta Bertran Callén and Carmen Pérez (2003) did the study "Virtualized Ethnography: participant observation and semi-structured interview online",. They wondered whether the participant observation and semi-structured interview could be useful for the new virtual environments.

They had an ethnographic experience in chats, in the framework of the study on social interactions of women in Red. Interest in online ethnography arose why the goal was not only to study the uses of the Internet, but the online social practices and how these practices were significant to the people. They

argue that virtual ethnography allows a detailed study of the relationship, so the Internet is not only a medium of communication, but also an artifact of everyday life of people, and a meeting place that allows communities' formation, groups more or less stable, and ultimately, the emergence of a new form of sociability.

For them, one of the first problems of the computer ethnographic approach was how to define the field of study, to locate the empirical research, being able to define where the context begins and ends. The ethnographic method consists of the prolonged stay in a particular place, where the researcher fully shares the life of a community or social group. They demonstrate that in cyberspace researchers could "planted their tent" in a chat channel waiting to collect all aspects of the life in common, because they are collecting screen interactions. Christine Hine (1998) says that ethnography is "non located", is not in a place physically, but behind the screen. But it is important that in his field notebook researchers noted the social organization that is created in chats and their inhabitants, to observe the interaction and to recognize social ties between the participants.

5.2.1. Research Methods on participatory journalism

We believed that it was also interesting to see how some researchers studied blogs as a tool of citizen journalism. André Holland, Claudia Quadros, Jan Alun Barbosa and Marcos Palacios (2008) did an article about research methodologies in participatory journalism in Brazil. They studied forums, blogs and websites.

Journalism is in transformation as it grows collaborative phenomenon. Dan Gillmor (2004) said that readers were assuming the role of reporters and modify their interaction with the news. Shane Bowman and Chris Willis (2003) argued that the active participation of citizen make possible a range of information more reliable, independent and relevant. Mark Deuze (2006) analyzes participation as one of the essential elements of digital culture. This procedure enables the creation of a model for researchers studding cases, journalists, online publications and blogs, adapting case studies to participatory news.

Axel Bruns (2003) made an analysis and conceptual construction based on case studies involving websites like Sladot, Indymedia, Wikipedia, Media Channel, Plastic and Kurohin. He was trying to determine the degree of openness of each site to the participation of the public, in terms of three phases of the news production: recruitment, reception, publication and comment.

Artur Vasconcellos (2006), in his master work for the University of Sao Paulo analyzed how two media organizations use its communication system. He identified and analyzed quantitative aspects, production of materials, news size, nature of the topics covered. Josiany Fiedler Vieira (2007) studied in two different jobs, the blogs of two journalists, Alex Primo and Ricardo Noblat. She gave much importance to the concept of

"remediation.", emphasizing the references that started in the blogs. She related how the personal diary wins web pages, going from private to the public, an interaction that modifies the journalistic work with public participation.

Raquel Recuero (2006), analyzed war blogs in the Iraq war and divided them into three categories: 1) Personal diaries, explaining personal facts form the author; 2) Publications, information in opinion modus. Contents from other media discussed by the author; 3) Literary Blogs with fictitious histories.

Marcos Palacios (2007) tried to deep in the research with Brasil cases, based on the notion of field, developed by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. He studied Blogs operations in relation to the habits of the field of journalism. He observed the following: a) Subversion of the place of emission; Liberation of the emission place; b) Questioning the habitat of the field; c) Tensions on the criteria of newsworthiness, what should be news; d) Monitoring traditional media; e) Extension of the debate (public domain); f) blogs as enhancers "public journalism"; g) Creation of a movement of overcoming the traditional audience, and building of participation networks.

There are several studies exploring the potential of the Brazilian production model known as "open source", for example, the relationship of journalism "open source" with the public, through case studies. The case study often beyond description, and using a hybrid methodology tries to analyze quantitatively and qualitatively the object in question.

5.2.2. Citizen journalism questioned

We also would like to mention how since 2011 the Catholic University of Chile, Soledad Puente Catholic University of Chile, did a content analysis of journalistic work in the news from "citizen journalism." They looked if those people, content and media that called themselves representatives of citizen journalism complied or not with the basic conditions of the profession. It was clear for them that; in this type of media the role of citizens should not be considered journalism.

The phenomenon of citizens turned communicators thanks to the technological offer has been called in different ways: grassroots journalism (Gillmor, 2006), citizen journalism (Steve Outing, 2005), or journalism 3.0. With this latest guidance, journalist Oh Yeon Ho from South Korea created in year 2000 the electronic newspaper *Ohmy News*. It is considered the pioneer experience in the world. "Ordinary people joining the informative function" (Kim Hamilton, 2006). The central idea of this media is that readers themselves are the authors of the news. For doing this, *OhmyNews* (http://www.ohmynews.com/) developed a registration system that gives the reader the ability to send and read his news. With Ohmy-News they wanted to say goodbye to the twentieth century journalism. The basic premise was that every citizen can be a reporter,"

According to Silvia Pellegrini and others (2011), there are two basic functions performed by journalist and media that cannot be replaced by other forms of information: the "attorney function" is understood as "the capacity that acquires, the means to certify, through appropriate internships, a fact that actually happened", "and the assignment of meaning, what does that news implies" that the media and journalists

organize and combine all the elements of the environment informative and fact in order to make them understandable to a general audience and give them significance with respect to other social movements.   (Pellegrini, 2011, p. 28). So, the authors propose an assessment through a content analysis of the information published in the main exponent media of the citizen participation in Chile, whether or not formal characteristics coincide with the characteristics indicated by its protagonists, and that could be summarized as:

a) Sending opinions to the facts, since the factual element usually absent or combined with explicit expressions of subjectivity.

b) The element of balance is a priority because the premium that is the voice of the author, his own experience and opinion rather than a plurality of viewpoints before an event.

c) In most cases, using procedures that ensure accurate information is delegated to journalists who act as editors and content.

One of the most interesting things is the method of work is that the University designed the "VAP Card" (Value Added Journalism). This tool allows researchers to compare, through a quantitative content analysis, the degree of compliance with certain journalistic standards between different means from the analysis of published products. (VAP-UC Team, 2004; Pellegrini et al. 2011). The VAP as what the media and the journalist added to data that the public could get directly. It is a quantification of the ability of the medium to generate content information and to select and priories what is news. They analyzed in total 14 reports. In addition to the indicators of Value Added Journalism, they added the results of a qualitative research work done in previous years: the categorization of roles that can be taken when citizens bring

media content. Thus, the authors of the notes were classified in the light of the following types:

a) Review / Critique: He/She is the one that broadcasts opinions and judgments on an issue, delivering a uniquely personal vision;

b) Who proposes / whistleblower: He/She is the one who knows or believes that participates in any newsworthy and delivers value to the environment, either for further processing or to make it known to their peers;

c) Witness: He /She is the one that shares a personal experience, describing it either supplying or record it through another medium, usually visual. Is one that shows what was, at first;

d) Informative Contributor: He/She is the one that produces a product from a subject not necessarily experienced.[1]

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[1]

http://comunicaciones.uc.cl/prontus_fcom/site/artic/20060610/asocfile/20 060610182844/ASOCFILE220060610182844.pdf

6. Questions about Wang Keqin and Yoani Sánchez Blogs

Blogs become a unique type of communication through written and visual language, with the contribution of the public, at a time of development of new technologies in countries characterized by a lack of information sources.

Belonging to this, we raised several questions:

1)   How we can define those Blogs as mass media. Their Impact and genre?

We will study the posts content and form: Their Journalistic genre, although the genres studies are already based in paper concepts. We will see whether bloggers decided or not going to the scene, being direct witness, looking for contradictions, how then they will want to focus and concentrate the debate.

2)   Posts as new forms of expression, sources, links, novelty?

We will observe if there is a deliberate willingness to use different direct sources of information: non official informants, if they took some links to do networking with other media, and the degree of novelty of their stories, for example, provincial corruption situations, which, otherwise, would not have seen the light.

3) *To whom bloggers sent their message? Their blogs and micro blogs were useful for the flow of Information, for correspondents?*

Bloggers started with their posts thinking in their inner circle, but they reached national and international resonance. We will see if their blogs were a necessary point of attention from other journalist or the correspondents based in their country.

4) *Did they manage to focus attention in constant issues?*

This is one of the points of Habermas criticism against Internet, the lack of focus. We will study profoundly primary and secondary topics in each post from the bloggers, if there are some permanent objectives of denunciation or explanation.

5) *Did they reach the creation of debate?*

We will study with accuracy a sample of 250 comments of each blogger. To what extent readers participate in the creation and dissemination of the news. If there is a debate between them and if their implication goes further.

6) What seem to be their role?

From a narratology analysis of every post, we will describe their role in respect with the issues and the audience, something that could help us to complement the content analysis, and their self-definition in the interviews.

7) Why they created a blog? What was their purpose or motivation?

In a special moment with big development of new technologies, when general public believed that the Internet was the space to report and discuss, bloggers knew they became public personages with social responsibility. They went from a personal catharsis to create a different public voice. Do they act on purpose as mediators?

6

Blogs: Content Analysis

AS A SAMPLE WE CHOSE the most viewed posts of Wang Keqin and Yoani Sánchez of every month in 2010. We studied twelve posts of each one. To exercise the most exhaustive analysis possible of the posts we decided to divide it into different sections:

1   Register, authors and frequency.

2   Relevance, readers and comments

3   Audiovisual resources

4   Links

5   Sources

6   Content and Thematic analysis

7   Narratology

8   Rhetoric figures

9   Lexical approach

10 Interactivity Comments analysis

Wang Keqin Blogs Content Analysis

1.   Author: Professor sharing posts with students

Table 1: Wang Keqin Post's authors, day and hour of publications

Post	Author/s	Day	Hour
1	Wang Keqin & Qu Yiping	29/01	15.05
2	Qu Yiping	06/02	9.30
3	Wang Keqin	25/03	15.38
4	Liu Shuduo&Wang Kaizhong	19/04	23.36
5	Wang Keqin	18/05	12.17
6	Wang Keqin	11/06	15.05
7	Wang Keqin	05/07	12.59
8	Wang Keqin& Huo Xingcai	12/08	5.30
9	Feng Jun	06/09	00.57
10	Wang Keqin & Feng Jun	25/10	12.41
11	Wang Keqin & Feng Jun	05/11	10.48
12	Wang Keqin & Feng Jun	25/12	2.49

Source: Wang Keqin's blog data

The blog of the journalist Wang Keqin, expanded and disseminates what was published in his newspaper *China Economic Times*. (1) In half of them Wang Keqin allows the participation of some students who were working as interns. From our sample of 12 posts, he allows his students to write on their own in three cases. On some subject it depended on the

geographic location of the event and whether he has been able to personally visit the scene.

On January 29, in Guangzhou, Wang Keqin shares his post with the student Qu Yiping. After that, on February 6, he published a report about pyrotechnic factories alone.

On April 19, it appears a post written by Liu Shuduo and Wang Kaizhong about the consequences of the earthquake in Yushu.

On August 12, Wang shares with Huo Xingcai an article about the victims of the disaster in a landslide in Zhouqu in Gansu province.

On September 6, Wang allowed the publication of a reflection from the student Feng Jun, in which values, overall, the function of Wang Keqin office. The Post, which, unlike others, expressed lots of feelings, can be interpreted as a license of opinion that the master himself could not afford.

In the posts 10, 11 and 12 during the months of October, November and December, Wang Keqin work with this student, Feng Jun, in one of the cases which in that year had a big impact on the country. The death of a Young student caused in Hebei's University, resulted in a great national debate about the impunity of the powerful. The final text of that year was also a reflection of the student Feng Jun about the deceased and her family.

In our sample, the author Wang Kegin signed solo in four very special occasions. In three of them, in posts 3, 5 and 6, he had one goal: to make of anonymity for two parents, Wang Mingliang, and Gao Changhong, who denounced the issue of vaccines in poor condition and milk powder fraudulent in the province of Shanxi. Wang Keqin was committed in publicizing

their names and family conditions and give relevance they could be chased by the police of their province in Beijing. The journalist takes their public defence through his blog.

Qu Yiping, has also worked as a journalist in the *Outlook Weekly*, which belongs to the Xinhua News Agency. Xingcai Huo continued working in the China Economic Times. There is documentation indicating that he collaborated with Wang Keqin in the awareness on the problem of pneumoconiosis affecting miners. Feng Jun worked as a journalist in the *Eastern Daily News* of Shanghai.

1.2 Collective work from the Eastern perspective

Johan Galtung, (1995, 67) advocated that social relations might already be defined dependent of the languages, where social cosmology between dichotomies collectivist / individualist is marked. He suggests three candidates: The "I" English, the "wo-men" Chinese, and the "hai" in Japanese. The first is easily interpreted: the subject pronoun first person singular "I", the symbol of individualism and self-assertion. The second is also affirmative, but is the pronoun of the first person plural, "we". Individual speaker presents himself (or herself, because the Chinese do not reflect gender), as a particle of a group, the collective "us". This "we" is a subject, a potential or real actor, and in this, it differs from the ubiquitous "hai" found in Japanese speech.

A Westerner could present himself as "Johan Galtung, University of Oslo", starting from the inside with the personal attribute, the name, and finally the institutional affiliation. Japanese would do just the opposite; the community appears in the first place. (p. 69). This bring us to understand the collective work in Wang's blog, where students collaborate

with the "master" or 老师 (laoshi / lǎoshī) to whom traditionally society profess respect.

1.3. Studies of journalism in China

Studies of Journalism and communication were "imported" into China from US traditions and Soviet practices. In 1977 journalism four-year degree programs were restored at the universities in Beijing and Shanghai. In 1978 these schools began to enrol post graduate students. The first group of doctoral students was recruited in 1981.

As was indicated by Guo, K. (2010), a report of the Monitoring Committee of the Discipline of Journalism, by the Ministry of Education, in China there were 360 colleges and universities offering a total of 650 degree programs in journalism. In 2009, These colleges and universities employed 8,000 teachers, with 14% full-time professors, 27,5% associate professors, 38.5% readers, and 22% assistant teachers (JDSC, 2009).

According to the author, the media were recruiting fewer young professionals from Journalism universities. It was estimated that only a third of journalism students could find jobs in the media. (Companies prefer interdisciplinary students) (...). "Consequently, the employment pressure has resulted in a decline in the professionalism of journalism students, who have become more superficial and even in a lack of social responsibility, as they have to survive in a competitive market".

1.4. Students Commitment

There are different views on the attitude of the students, in the article "Reform and Challenge. An Analysis of China's Journalism Education under Social Transition "(2002), Yu Xu, indicates that their respondents have recognized the ability of well-trained journalists to overcome political constraints and meet the demands of a competitive market is gaining ground on traditional party loyalties.

In the book "Chinese Investigative Journalists' Dreams: Autonomy, Agency, and Voice "(2014), Laura Dombernowsky writes about the new generation of Chinese journalism students. She provides some information that she qualified as "disappointing." She mentioned that there are only "a very small minority of radical students who are committed to monitor the government and that are willing to do it whatever the political consequences" (Dombernowsky, 2014, p. 71).

1.5. The importance of time of uploading posts in China

We were able to record when was the exact time Wang Keqin it has slammed his posts each day. This data was important in China. The reporter was aware that the Internet watchers could block some posts, once they were detected and checked. At the same time, he knew that there were some newspapers, foreign media or pages and universities that were responsible for copying and translating the posts of certain journalists and critics. Operationally, it was important to hang your post in some hours that the censors could not be operative and thus allow the news could travel on the network during certain time. One of 4 posts, 4, 8, 9 and 12 were published from the twelve o'clock at night, something representative because it could be used to circumvent the initial censorship.

1.6 Frequency

The total number of posts written by Wang Keqin in 2010 were 119, almost 10 per month: In January, 9; in February, 1; in March, 22; in April, 38; in May, 8; in June 5 (1 occult); in July, 9 (3 occult); in August, 11; in September, 2; in October, 7; in November, 5; and in December, 2.

In that statistical annual production of posts, we see that 2010 was a rich but irregular year, completely tied to each topic. We can relate to what he was searching for the newspaper, what he wanted to complement or advance about new research points. The same inequality is evident in the number of readers of each post, quite variable.

There is a peak period in the spring, linked to Wang Keqin research on vaccines and milk powder in poor condition that affected families in the province of Shaanxi. Remarkable were the months of March (the post on March 25 had 143 393 readers) and April. (on April 19, he had 158,881 readers). In some inscriptions that have been preserved in the portal, we can observe that in June (1) and in July (3) they were posts explaining: "record has been eliminated."

It is very interesting to see how the journalist placed each of the issues in one or more posts and he will inform the reader through various stages (problem formulation, development and result), in what we have been describing as a "process story". For example, in October 25, he explains the case of the accident at the University of Hebei, (with 221 848 readers) reproducing what happened. He followed the issue during the month of November, and at the end, on December 25, in a post placed the 2.49 am, he revealed that finally the authorities had

reached an agreement with the family of the deceased student. (Then, he had 95,001 readers and 144 comments).

2. Relevance. Wang Keqin: Readers following the controversial

Figure 10   Wang Keqin readers by post
(Total = 1.076.791)
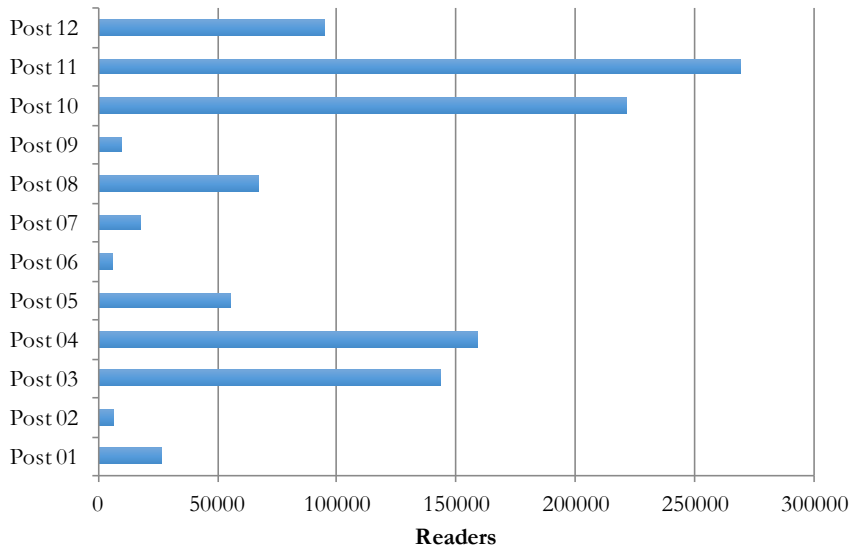
Source: Wang Keqin's posts data

There is a big difference between the amounts of readers among posts. This figure is increasing or decreasing depending on the subject. In 2010 he ended on a peak of interest in the last months, reaching the quarter million readers.

In 2010 there were three issues addressed by Wang Keqin that caught the attention of thousands of citizens. The first two became national scandals from March to June: the consequences of spoiled vaccine inoculation in children in Shanxi province and the scandal of selling a brand of milk powder in poor condition which also affected families with

young children. In both cases health authorities tried to ignore the responsibility of the companies. The two issues were followed with great interest by families with children who believed they could have been affected.

In the last quarter of 2010, a young student girl died after being hit in a car crash in a university campus in Hebei. In three months it became a subject known throughout China and eventually a local issue changed to a national scandal about the impunity of the powerful. The driver was not arrested at the time after the accident, and when he was stopped, he said few words that went to be known all over the country, "my father is Li Gang" (a head of local security unit). Public opinion was pending during weeks to know if he really did have charges and end up going to trial.

Journalist and researcher Rebecca MacKinnon explains as in China is so difficult to access data sources, journalistic issues, rather than "breaking news" are revealed to the reader as a "process story". The details are unraveling in installments through various investigative journalists who have access to direct sources and their blogs and media are spreading different aspects. That process determines even the format of the reports. From October to December Wang went explaining different tests, questions, and hypotheses about the case of the car accident. He collected different versions of the students who were present. He and his student Feng Jun created a relationship of trust with the family of the victim. The results in different posts got the attraction of many readers who followed this conflict step by step. The November post had 269,029 visits.

2.1 Comments. Raising controversial to a nationwide level and participation

In the case of the posts of Wan Keqin, we can see a big difference between the numbers of comments generated by each post depending on the subject. In our sample the number of comments fork moves between 22 and 504. However, the difference is even greater among readers. In 2010 Wang Keqin participated in three major controversies nationwide in China: 1) The inoculation of vaccines in poor condition to children of Shanxi Province; 2) The sale of harmful milk powder for babies, also in Shanxi; 3) At year end, when a car run over a young girl, causing her death in Hebei University which resulted in an example of impunity from justice, because the driver was the son of a police. In all cases, it is surprising the huge difference between the number of readers and the number of comments (picture attached). This may be motivated by the ease way from the officials in checking the authorship of the comments.

Figure 11 Gap between readers and comments in Wang Keqin posts
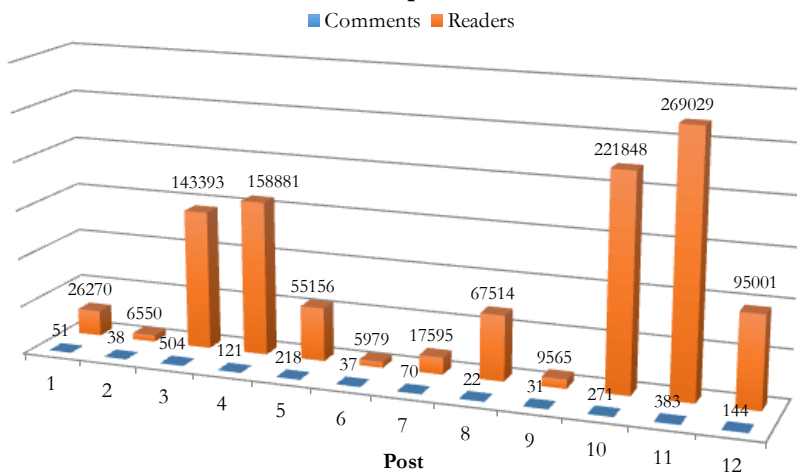
Source: Wang Keqin's posts data

3.   Links

Table 2: Links of Wang Keqin post

P	Media	Name	Link	Subject
1	National News	*China Economic Times*	http://www.cet.com.cn/20100129/h1.htm	Pollution
2	National News	*China Economic Times*	Headline mentioned in newspaper article about the fire brigade soldiers, who died in January 26	Pyrotechnic factories
3	National video platform		http://v.ku6.com/show/J_6K9LrPj0fG49CO.html	Vaccines
	TV/Hong Kong	*Phoenix TV*	http://v.ku6.com/show/J_6K9LrPj0fG49CO.html	Vaccines
4	National News	*China Economic Times*	http://www.jjxww.com/html/show.aspx?id=1656748&cid=113	Yushu earthquake
5	National News	*China Youth Times,*	Wang offers 3 telephones numbers, from the police station and security offices	Vaccines
6			Gao Changhong telephones and bank account numbers	Vaccines
7	National News	*China Economic Times*	www.cert.com.cn/20100705/f1.htm	Damp
	National News	*China Economic Times*	http://www.jjxww.com/html/show.aspex?id=170384&cid=280	
8	National News	*China Economic Times*	http://www.jjxww.com/html/show.aspx?id=173098&cid=113	Landslide Gansu
9	Personal Blog	Student Blog	http://user.qzone.qq.com/471962452/blog/1283401824?ptlang=2052	Office
10	National News	*China Economic Times*	http://www.cet.com.cn/20101025/g1.htm Wang reproduced the college student's emails and copy SMS from a student	Car race
11				Car race
12	Personal Blog	Student Blog	http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_6aff93030100ne4j.html	Car race

Source: Own elaboration

Wang Keqin: Few links but interacting with different media

There is a permanent link to the Wang Keqin newspaper *China Economic Times*, to the article about the same subject that appeared on paper. But the blogger did not renounce to put other links for emphasizing drama in some subjects. For example, the link of the home videos filmed by Wang Mingliang, the father whose son died after receiving vaccines in poor condition. Those videos were a physical proof of the child progressive deterioration. Also, the author does not hesitate to link his post to a TV report, the program *Social Visibility* from *Phoenix TV* channel, from Hong Kong (it is a probe of networking)

In two cases, posts 9 and 12, he moved us to the blog of the student Fen Jun. His reflections were essential to capture at that moment the journalist's feelings, reporting the backstage of their work.

Wang Keqin uses the blog, throughout links, but not only that, showing telephone numbers, banks accounts, not only to increase acknowledgment about the subject, but to achieve active public participation. In his post, the blogger wrote the account bank numbers of Gao Changhong, one of the parents affected by the wrong vaccines, to encourage internet users to donate some money. Not only that, he also provides the phone numbers of the Huilong police, of the security office from Jiaokou County, and the telephone of the public security from Lüliang. It was a call for action. In the 9 post, the blogger showed the mails or chats sent by the students from the University of Hebei speaking about the car accident in the campus. That could be interpreted as a way to give visibility and credibility to the sources, hiding their name to preserve anonymity.

4. Audiovisual Content

Dondis A. Donis, in *La sintaxis de la imagen* (1985) commented that the print is not dead and surely will never die, but, nevertheless, our culture, dominated by language, has moved significantly toward the icon. Most of what we know and learn, and we buy from, and we want to identify, is determined by the predominance of the photograph on the human psyche. And this phenomenon will intensify even more in the future. In the speech interface is understood as displayed. In managing and receiving speeches there is no clear boundary between the written text and the image itself. What you see is how it is displayed by. There is no dichotomy between form and content; the content is form and form is content: visual communication content is never separated from the form.

Professor Martin Lister (2007) said that during 1990s there was a debate about whether digital technologies mean the displacement of photography. Belonging to the author is now clear that there is now more photography than ever. On the contrary, it has been a kind of democratization. Mobile phones have put more cameras into people's hands than ever before; the photograph as social document persists; photographs circulate globally on an unprecedented scale.

However, researches on photographic resources in digital newspapers have been very critical. J.M. Caminos-Marcet and others (2006) analyzed the treatment given to photography in the digital editions of newspapers *El País, ABC, La Vanguardia* and *El Mundo*, and the changes that have occurred in this area in six years.

Cyber journals could have act as a spearhead to show riskier work of professional photographers, be more permissive

regarding the exposure of images less subject to internal or external controls, thus deepening the expressive possibilities of the photographic medium as information and even compete with other means because of their speed and immediacy. But it was not like this.

As in other fields of digital media has evolved, adapting to the new media, playing imaginatively with new resources, seeking to get the most informative advantage of the technology, photography has not followed the same path.

The design of online journalism is gradually gaining its own characteristics that differentiate it from other products on the network; the image is struggling for their full integration in the online journalism, but, the very size of the computer screen preventing proper combination of images and texts.

The image seeks its web site. Obviously, there are still technical reasons for this fact. The video quality requires a large bandwidth, which is not yet available to the majority of the population. The question is whether when such limitation is overcome technical information on the web will become multimedia or will fundamentally base on the text. The need to reduce the weight of pictures carries with decreased quality and / or size. If we combine image and text, it is mandatory to reduce the size of images. Maria Isabel Villa (2008) also studied the period 2004-2008 in a sample of 311 photographs from the online editions from *La Vanguardia, El País* and *El Mundo.*

This insertion process involves a significant change in the historical conception of photojournalism anchored in informational text. As Martine Joly says (1993) "Images change the text and texts, in turn, change the images." The way the press presents the photos necessarily determine the approach of what you see right away. So we face a peculiar and proper

syntax in online media in where images may be out of the space limits of the news. But, the results of this research show again that photojournalism is generally used to illustrate the texts, without achieving effective integration into the covers and sub-homepages of webs. Their main function is to create impact or stains on the text blocks.

In this sense, we can say that technological innovations have served to make and assemble information more swiftly, but not to strengthen the function of photojournalism.

The data highlight the similarities in the presentation of the image due to its dependence on design own rules at the expense of information. The insertion system from no flexible templates leads to uniformity of size and location, imposed by the speed of information flows.

The audiovisual section has become an important part of the analysis, In both examples for the number of samples, 83 photographs in the case of Wang Keqin and 15 audiovisual elements in Yoani Sánchez, and its importance in the story. The analysis of audiovisual discourse is imperative to understand the full content of the posts.

The audiovisual section has become an important part of the analysis, In both examples for the number of samples, 84 photographs in the case of Wang Keqin and 15 audiovisual elements in Yoani Sánchez, and its importance in the story.

The analysis of audiovisual discourse is imperative to understand the full content of the posts. In the current samples are four photographs from Wang Keqin displayed as "deleted". So in our study about Wang Keqin we are talking about 80 samples.

We compared the authorship, if the noted the expression of a problem in explicitly way, if it is an essential or complementary element in the story, if it happens in a rural or urban area, whether we look the participation of people, their intentionality front of the camera, if they act in front, looking at it, if the snapshot it's done outside or inside, the type of shoot, that can indicate the will of impact, if there is included an element that captures attention, and finally, if this audiovisual element by itself, if it induces the denouncement or the description of an event.

Table 3: Audiovisual content authors in Wang Keqin's posts sample

Blogger	49
Blogger/Students	16
Student	7
Wang Mingliang	5
Chen Family	2
Map	1
Eliminated	4
TOTAL	**84**

Source: Own elaboration

Seven on ten photos are made by the author, (59/84) Wang Keqin and/or his students. It is something that they consider part of their work, in a framework in which both the image and the text are both essential.

They also admitted that some of his characters, like Wang Mingliang, the father of one of the vaccines victims, provide them with his own photographs, as well as students of the University of Hebei wo were taking snapshots when the accident that killed the student Chen Xiaofeng took place. They also publish photos made her family. We can observe that blogger priories meaning, about all if they can serve as evidence, and not the professionalism of the author.

Table 4: Audiovisual content in Wang Keqin (80 photos)

Explicit	Implicit		
78	2		
Essential	Complementary		
71	9		
Rural	Urban		
51	29		
People	Many people	No peop	
32	17	31	
Looking at camera	No looking at camera		
19	30		
Intentional movement	No intentional movement		
39	10		
Exterior	Interior	Map	
66	13	1	
Wide Shot	Open Shot	Mid	Close
19	36	12	13
Attention element	No attention element		
74	6		
Denouncement	Description		
41	39		

Source: Own elaboration

Explicit and Implicit

Practically 12 on 12 (78/84) are explicit, only two are implicit. Photos in Wang Keqin posts are testimonies of an action or a contradiction that is happening and has the function of demonstration. There is no symbolic or artistic will.

Essential and Complementary

We have found pictures in 11 of the 12 elected (71/84) posts which form an essential part of the stories of Wang Keqin. There are only 9 photos that we may consider complementary.

Urban or Rural

As in their written posts, there is twice as photos that reflect a rural environment that urban 51/27. That might indicate a special purpose of the author.

People as protagonist

Six out of ten photographs show people. Of these, only a minority (16) are in a group. Individual photos are preferred, in some cases; posts 3, 5 and 6 we see very direct shots of faces so that the public can identify the parents of vaccines victims (Wang Mingliang and Gao Changhong).

Looking at the camera, spontaneous but with intentionality

In most of the graphic documents people are not looking at the camera. (30/17). They are spontaneous situations. Despite this, they are not instantaneous obtained by chance. We can

conclude that in most of them there is an intentional capture the reality (51/29).

External or internal scenarios

Most of the photography's are external (66/12) and the internal are made in Wang Keqin office or in some victim's house, but there are not official desks, etc.

Type of Shots: non-intrusive

Interestingly most of the photographs are made in an open, non-incisor shot. (36) The second category we found are wide views (20), and less, the ones mid shot, (12) and the close-ups (12). That indicates a little sensationalist position from the blogger and his students.

Element of attention or contradiction: most images have a distinctive element

Eight of ten pictures have distinctive information either a striking element or a contradiction. We can only discover that there is no some distinctive element in 6 /84 pictures. That means that there has been a certain economy to publish them. Which is published had to be significant.

Between denouncements or descriptions

There is a clear tie (41/39) with respect to photographs that directly serve to denounce and the ones which help to describe landscapes or situations.

In the posts 1, 2, 7, 10, 11 and 12, six out of ten, the photographs are a clear testimony for the complaint, mountains of garbage, prohibited activity in homes, urbanization in a dam or the abuse from the driver of a car after hitting two students at the university.

In posts 4 and 8, where major disasters are reflected, the earthquake in Yushu or a large landslide in Gansu, there is the will to describe the consequences from the victim's day to day or the rescue team's work and not the reactions from the authorities.

The post 10 which contains 15 shots is a paradigm. The blogger just became a transmitter of citizen complaints. He denounced the situation through the photos the students of the University of Hebei had given to him. Those images are the probe that it was a car crash, after a race, insight the university campus. From the consequences of that, the student Chen Xiaofeng died. The sum of the photos shows how the accident took place. They are essential snapshots of the two students trampled on the floor of the university campus, the car with the front impact, the driver, where can be extracted the indisputable evidence of what happened. Audiovisual content that could even be used later in court.

5. Wang Keqin's Posts Sources

Since the 80s there has been a concern in the journalism of democratic systems about the routines in the use of journalistic sources. Sometimes, the assessment that official sources had enough authority was impoverished journalistic discourse. Later some studies from Javier Odriozola, (2012) have questioned whether the multiplication of online sources in the newsroom and the creation of web page newspapers have improved or not routines. In our two cases, Wang Keqin and Yoani Sánchez, the approach to the sources is completely different.

Already in 1982, Jean D. Brown, presented a research in the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism (Athens, OH, July 25-28, 1982) about a content analysis conducted of 846 front pages, straight news stories that appeared during two randomly constructed weeks in the "New York Times" and the "Washington Post") and four local newspapers published in North Carolina

The findings suggest that commonly held pluralistic beliefs about the role of the press in American society were too simplistic and should be expanded to consider how news agenda were shaped by those in power outside the newsroom.

The stories were categorized as staff written or wire service originated, while sources were coded according to their affiliation with and position in an organization, and by whether they were identified by name and position in the story. The results showed that news stories appearing in both the national and the local newspapers and those written by both staff members and wire services relied heavily on government sources who were primarily men in executive positions. Many of these sources were so veiled that it was not

possible to determine very much about them. Most news stories were originated through routine channels, such as news conferences and press releases.

In 1987, Brown, in the article "Invisible Power: Newspaper News Sources and the Limits of Diversity," emphasized how newspaper relinquish control of news in a routine channel with male government executives as typical sources, harming diversity. From a classical democratic perspective, diversity implies "representativeness –a diverse representation of political and social elites and no-elites, of organized and unorganized individuals, and governmental as well as non-governmental figures." (Brown, 1987).

Rightly, in his book "La construcción de la noticia" professor Miquel Rodrigo Alsina mentioned Grossi (1981) on the relationship between information sources and journalistic professionalism. Belonging to him it must be described ambivalently, in terms of the systems theory. It is a relationship between a system (the journalistic enterprise) and the environment (the reality of the events). Sources represent mutable boundaries, sometimes unstable, which govern the balance between the two areas.

The link established between the source and the journalist is interactive and reflective; it is subject to an ideological and linguistic negotiation and, about all, to outside influences from the information field.

This relationship between the company and the journalistic routine that leads to certain sources is something that, we journalists want to deny, but in the case of Wang Keqin it is very interesting to be studied, because in the end, the contradiction finished just expelling him from the newspaper.

Serena Carpenter (2008) did a research comparing the relay on external sources from online newspapers and online citizen journalism, which approach us to the bloggers phenomenon.

She observed that Newspaper journalists relied more heavily on external sources, while citizen journalists used more unofficial sources and opinion. Sourcing decisions by journalists demonstrate dependency on routines. Some researches argue that traditional journalist's reliance on routines and traditional standards has affected the diversity of available viewpoints. "Traditional journalists create content to meet the goals and values of an organization, which in turn affects the newspaper journalist's ability to influence content. On the other hand, citizen journalists may experience a greater degree of independence from routines, because they are not as likely subject to the same constraints". (Carpenter, 2008).

In conclusion, online citizen journalists were less likely to rely on organization sources. Traditional reporters have been known to seek news from the organizational centers of communities. Larger publications, such as many online newspapers, are more likely to cover state and national issues, and sources representing that level are most likely official sources. Online citizen journalists were more likely to cite unofficial sources to produce professional journalistic content.

Belonging to the author, the inclusion of unofficial sources by citizen journalists may be a reflection of intimate knowledge of community residents. Her research has shown a relationship between publication size and differences in content. It is a very different situation. Those are not our cases. Wang Keqin, tries to keep local incidents to a national level, but his sources are local, either official or nonofficial, even if he is not implicated in the region where he goes to work, but it seems to be a premeditated will to ask authorities but also plane people.

5.1. Definition of official and unofficial sources.

In that book, people who spoke on behalf an organization were categorized as "official sources". Official categories included:

Government (prosecuting attorneys, representatives, police)

Business (defense lawyers, business owners)

Nonprofit organizations (Red Cross)

Anonymous officials (Pentagon official, lobbyist, White House aides)

Unofficial sources included: People who speak freely on their own and who are not speaking on behalf an organization: Average people, non-institutional representatives (experts, scientists, academics), anonymous unofficial like visitors, public or witnesses.

Table 5: Wang Keqin Post Sources

Post	Official Sources	Unofficial Sources
1	10 Officials	20 Neighbors
2	17 Officials	16 Neighbors
3	Police officer	Victim's family: Wang Mingliang and wife
4	Volunteers, rescue body	4 Victims
5		Victim's family: Gao Changhong
6		Victim's family: Gao Changhong and Han Aiping
7	Prevention office of.	Neighbors, experts
8	Volunteers, officials	Families
9		Petitioners, former prisoners
10	University, lawyer, security office	Victim's family, students, witnesses
11	Lawyer	Victim's family, father, brother
12	Security office of.	Victim's family, father, brother, mother

Source: Own elaboration

We may conclude that in Wang Keqin there is a deliberate will to work, in all posts, with popular unofficial sources added to the official sources. In the first 2 posts, about pollution and factory accidents, most of the characters are neighbors, workers, firefighters and volunteers.

When he addressed the topics of milk powder and vaccines, (posts 3, 5 and 6), he wanted to give voice to the parents either Gao Changhong or Wang Mingliang. Wang Keqin introduced them to the Internet users, building them a character in front of the general public, remembering their case and defending them. They became players known by the public. In the journalistic routine the link established between the journalist and these characters was unique and essential. Wang Keqin was committed to support personally his sources. He considered that making public their problems, is the only way to protect them.

In post-9 the student Feng Jung explains the function of Wang Keqin's office. They are permanently receiving petitioners, people who have suffered some kind of injustice in their province and, as a resource; they know they can go to Beijing to present their cases at the Supreme Court. But the answers can take years. They are often persecuted by their province's police which pursue them until the capital. In the best case, they are obliged to return to their places of origin. In Beijing, sometimes, they could be seen lining up at the doors of state television CCTV. Wang Keqin office was becoming a regular place to go for petitioner's claims. They brought there their documentation, hoping that one day they could make public their case. That means, journalists could have access of hundreds of unofficial sources.

In posts 10, 11 and 12, we can observe again a reflex of a very special relationship between journalists Wang Keqin and Feng Jun and a crucial unofficial source, the family of the victim, Chen Xiaofeng. First, they got as sources 11 different students from the University of Hebei. They were angry, their fellow Chen died, and University did nothing. In fact, students were not only sources and witnesses but from the anonymity, they were participating and they were indispensable for monitoring the "process story", reaching sending chats and emails to the reporters when the University decided to block all information.

In post 12, Chen family, the parents and brother of the deceased student, finished receiving Wang Keqin student, Feng Jun at home. The link journalist/source was so strong than finally the family decided to explain to him the agreement they reached with the parent of the driver, Li Gang, and the authorities. It was an exclusive news data impossible to achieve without a confidence contact with the sources.

6. Written texts: Thematic Analysis

6.1 Headlines

Examining formal features of the headlines, in the theory definition, Juan Nadal Palazón (2012) emphasized that there are only "mandatory category" within the framework of the news ". Llorenç Gomis (1991), noted that headlines work with some autonomy in respect with texts that heads: because they enjoy syntactic independence and, to some extent, semantics. That mean, headlines become texts themselves. Because they are a compendium of reading, autonomous and independent, they constitute, as is well known, the unique sequences much read by newspapers consumers every day. (And we can add, by blog readers).

Van Dijk (2013) warned in his model of news scheme that headline may be the conventional expression of a macro-proposition of the semantic macrostructure of the news story. And, belonging to Nadal, which means, it should be the summary of the summary of a physically contiguous text.

If we made a compendium of the twelve post of the sample, In reading the subject of the titles, we could find 4 speaking about tragic events, 3 on police repression, 3 about justice (or how to get there) and 2 on environment. It reflects, how to report tragic events from street level, the identification of some victims of persecution by the police, the will to reach justice in rural areas. In the April post, for the first time, authorities allow a wide coverage of a big earthquake.

Table 6: Wang Keqin headline's evaluation

Post	Title	Headline Issue	Headline Type
1	Humen (Guangdong): Economy town became polluted city	Environment	Informative
2	Yueyang (Hunan) Why were two explosions in fireworks factories	Tragic event	Appellative
3	Police from Shanxi comes on Beijing to "catch" Wang Mingliang	Police repression	Informative
4	Journal from the catastrophic Yushu area	Tragic event, disaster	Thematic simplifier
5	Gao Changhong, involved in a fight, gets bail, pending trial	Police repression	Informative
6	China's most unhappy father, Gao Changhong, "is accompanied" to Beijing for a medical visit	Police repression	Informative
7	One thousand villas built in Shanxi Yuncheng dam for flood prevention	Environment	Informative
8	Zhouqu disaster victim's rescue full report	Tragic event, Disaster	Thematic simplifier
9	Resentful ghost's dreams	Justice, petitioners	Appellative
10	"race case" investigation in Hebei University campus	Tragic event	Thematic simplifier
11	New abnormality in the University ace case	Justice	Expressive
12	Conciliation intricacies in the Hebei University race case	Justice	Expressive by the quotes in conciliation

Source: Own elaboration

Table 7: Wang Keqin headline´s structure

Subject	Verb	Direct object	Where/When
Economy town	became	polluted city	Guangdong Humen:
two explosions	Why were		in fireworks factories Yueyang (Hunan)
Police from Shanxi	Comes to "catch"	Wang Mingliang	on Beijing
Journal			From the catastrophic Yushu area
Gao Changhong,	Involved Gets pending	in a fight, bail trial	
China's most unfortunate father, Gao Changhong	"is accompanied"	for a medical visit	to Beijing
One thousand villas	Built		in Shanxi Yuncheng dam for flood prevention
Full report victim's rescue			Zhouqu disaster
Resentful ghost's dreams			
"race case" investigation			in Hebei University campus
New abnormality			in the Hebei University race case
Conciliation intricacies			in the Hebei University race case

Source: Own elaboration

In this table 7 we can notice that there is no a phenomenon of excessive economy of terms in Wang Keqin's posts.

The blogger intention is to make it very clear what the subject is. This definition will determine the character of the subsequent action or if there is a contradiction. For example, in Post 1, as Wang is naming a city "Economic Town", a phrase with positive connotations, he looks for a contradiction with "polluted city".

In post 2, telling that have been "two explosions" in the title it means, by itself, will be important in the relate; In post 9 speaking about the "case of a race" marks the main conflict, because is a race in a university enclosure; In post 12, "C6.2onciliation intricacies" make us the public think in an internal agreement that has not been made public.

In half of the posts Wang does not hides the verb, but he introduces in them a clear sense of irony. In post 1, the city "became", instead of an improvement, after time, it's getting worse. In the posts 3, when the police arrive "to catch" a parent in to the capital, as is it was a hunting. In post 5, when Gao "was involved" in a fight, or in post 6 when Gao is "accompanied" to the capital by the police. In reality, he is describing that they are in a situation of permanent surveillance by local police.

In posts 10 and 12 the blogger mentioned the location of the event, necessary specification in a national newspaper. It also serves for the public to remember the local conflict. For example, in posts 11 and 12, the author recalls that this is the case "of the race car at the University of Hebei" (Something that it is a contradiction, a race car in an enclosure. The title directly involves the University responsibility in the action).

Berta García and Xosé López (2014) remarked that, in short, the title is not only the genre read by most readers and, sometimes the only read, but also one of the great values emerging digital media that offers different possibilities to continue to fulfill their traditional roles and assuming the new roles that the Internet allows.

Among the titles of Wang Keqin, almost half are informative, 5 to 12. We have described post 4, 8 and 10 as "theme-reduced simplifier" because they explain what they are exposing in the report. (Although finally post 10 appear much expressive in content.) In post 10 there are some descriptions that will affect all content. The car collision "in the case of a race in the University" has a clear intention. In the campus it is forbidden to drive more than 10 k. / h. therefore already in the title they blamed the University to have allowed an illegal race.

In posts 11 and 12, we described the title as "expressive" because at 11, they mention a "new abnormality" which could be described as subjective. Either in post 12 they put quotation marks around the word "reconciliation" to define a monetary compensation agreement between the officials and the victim's family.

We qualified post 2 and 9 as appellations. In 2, because journalists titled the post with a question: "Why there were two explosions?" (In the background it is denoted that there is an abnormality because work was banned in the pyrotechnic factories after the first explosion). In the second case, post 9, we cannot understand the expression adjective "resentful ghosts" until we read the text. In the journalist's office they receive lot of requests by desperate people who come there to make public their problem, and they cannot afford all this expectation. It is a reflection on the situation of helplessness of these persons (qualified as "ghosts").

6.3. Lead in Wang Keqin posts

Table 8: Lead in Wang Keqin Posts

P	Issue	¿Lead?
1	Highly contaminated village	Yes
2	Two explosions followed in pyrotechnic factories	Yes
3	Notice for the arrest of Wang Mingliang	Yes
4	Report about Yushu earthquake	No
5	Gao Changhong, vaccines father involved in a plot	Yes
6	Gao Changhong, constantly followed by police	Yes
7	Controversial construction of permanent buildings in a dam	Yes
8	Report after detachment in Gansu	Yes
9	The student Feng and petitioners	Yes
10	Accident after Car race in the University	Yes
11	No contact with Chen Family (process story)	No
12	Final solution of the case of the accident "that anyone could have imagined"	Yes

Source: Own elaboration

As table 8 shows, ten of twelve posts started with a lead, with a presentation where Wang Keqin explained why each case is special. They are a reclaim for eminently journalistic pieces. We can realize that each of the posts is independent and is also independent of what is written in the newspaper.

In the posts 1, 2, 7 and 8 Keqin explained the importance of each case. In posts 3, 5 and 6 introduces the characters of the victim's fathers. They are some villagers involved in the issue of vaccines and milk powder in poor condition. Keqin tried to pass them out of the anonymity. In the post 9 the lead introduces student Feng and what was his job attending the petitioners in the office. That will drive us to an opinion piece.

Posts 10, 11 and 12 are dealing with the same controversy: the car accident in Hebei University. In the post 10, Wang Keqin wrote a good introduction to what happened, resulting in a dead victim and another young wounded.

The post 12 warns the audience that it was been reached a settlement with the family telling "that no one could have imagined", regretting that a private agreement could circumvent the application of justice. The post 11 has no lead, because it is a track of the evolution of the accident in the University evolved. (We are talking about posts that are organized as serialized novels). The post 4 does not lead, because all written text is a description, a report about the situation of the victims in Yushu.

6.4. Primary and secondary topics in Wang posts

Table 9: Wang Keqin Primary and Secondary topics of information

P	Main Topic	Subtopic
1	Environment	Management local authorities
2	Tragic events, Disasters	Management local authorities
3	Public Health	Local police repression
4	Tragic events, Disasters	Public solidarity
5	Public health (vaccines, milk powder)	Local police repression
6	Public health	Local police repression
7	Environment	Management local authorities
8	Tragic events,	Solidarity
9	Justice (petitioners)	Inequality in front of de law
10	Justice	Inequality in front of de law
11	Justice	Inequality in front of de law
12	Justice	Inequality in front of de law

Source: Own elaboration

Wang, Helping the victims and looking for justice

Analyzing all the contents of our sample, as we can observe in table 9, the majority of the posts, seven on twelve, reflect a deliberate will from the author to defend victims, different people who are waiting for justice. From the highest to the lowest: In 4 posts: 9, 10, 11 and 12, Wang Keqin deals directly with the helplessness of citizens which are supported by the journalist and his articles as alternative.

On three occasions, posts 3,5 and 6, are speaking about a central health problem that worries Chinese families at that time. Vaccines and milk powder in bad condition. The posts were also a claim for justice. Parents who called for a deep investigation, which was not done, and even more, victims' families were persecuted by local police.

In Post 9, they explain the precarious situation of "petitioners", desperate people who go to Beijing and to their office looking for publicize their case.

In the next three posts, 10,11, 12 they are following what happened with the case of the student hit by a car and that was dead in Hebei University, the sorrow from her family and the authority's reaction.

Gathering evidences as a call for justice

The controversy that centers these subject of October, November and December 2010, known around the country as "My Father is Li Gang" was especially tense because both journalists and the public knew that after some weeks the responsible for the accident had not been criminally prosecuted.

There is something very important to point in post 10, it may exceeds the genre of a journalistic feature. The authors end up questioning a list of unknowns that foreshadow

occurred during or after the accident; there were some evidences that could potentially blame the reckless driver and the University. Reporters, first doing their own research, and then asking a list of public questions, assume a role of prosecutors to influence public opinion, and, perhaps, the central government for the trial to be held.

Environment

There were two features about environmental issues: Waste pollution on a park land and in a river (post 1). They demonstrate and criticize that there were two types of pollution: solid waste never treated in a natural park area and contaminated water in the adjoining city. In the post 7, they denounced a process of uncontrolled urbanization in a protection dam. Urbanization without control were the cause, at that time, of much of the public conflicts in rural areas.

Solidarity in major natural disasters

On Three occasions Wang Keqin reflects tragic events: Post 2, with wo factory fires; Post 4, with the earthquake in Yushu, Post 8, with a land displacement in Zhonqu, Gansu.

During years, the usual form of the Chinese authorities in front of disasters was to hide the consequences of those dramatic events, like in Tangshan earthquake (1976). However, in 2010 the authorities focus a different communication treatment in the Yushu earthquake and they let enter the press. For that reason, some reports assessing the human consequences of the disaster were already innovative. Wang Keqin and his students went at street level, asking victims or members of the rescue teams. There was a balance with a description of supplies and the solidarity effort.

Safety at work

There is an issue (post2) about safety at work, in a village where there were many pyrotechnic factories with no safety conditions and also people working at private homes without control. That was another of the major topics at this time in China, especially affecting the mining sector. Precisely, this is the subject in which Wang Keqin would be personally involved in the future.

The complicity of local authorities

It is noteworthy that in 10 of 12 cases (1, 2, 3,5,6,7, 9, 10, 11, 12) there is some underlies under the topics or subtopics. It was the deliberate will of local authorities to hide or to permit the facts. This is the main underlying complaint from the bloggers.

In the post 1, local officials were turning a blind eye with companies which have allowed growing a mountain of garbage in a natural area. In the post 2, after a ban continues, some firms continued working in pyrotechnics without safety conditions, even families at their home. In the post 7, authorities have changed the qualification of a protection dam, so construction companies could build villas on it.

In post 3, 5 and 6, Shanxi police were chasing parents of victims of the vaccines or milk power in bad condition. What we can deduce is that they received orders from local or health authorities, and at the same time, they served the interests of laboratories that produced vaccines, or the company that made the milk powder for babies. Shanxi local government, health managers and companies try to silence and restrict the movement of the parents of the victims.

Finally, Hebei University and local authorities also try to stifle and limit the scandal for the accident in its campus.

These 10 complaints about local authorities in different provinces from an official newspaper located in Beijing, in a newspaper that depended on the Council of State, have much to do with the structure of the Chinese state and the functioning of the political class, also with the contradictions after the economic reforms. The People Republic of China is administered from 31 provinces, and despite the orders of the central government and the National Assembly (which meets one week a year), the provincial Communist Party Local authorities try to follow their own priorities.

In 1978, in China, Deng Xiaoping initiates the economic reforms giving priority to the economy before politics. Thanks to the creation of this enormous market, a new class of private entrepreneurs was born. From 1998, President Jiang Zeming encouraged businessmen to be members of the Communist Party. Thanks to this reform between 20 to 30% of the entrepreneurs decided to enter in PCCH. It was a kind of a partnership between investors, entrepreneurs and local authorities, who were in genuine competition to increase the GPP of each province. Figures of double-digit growth were achieved during a decade. But, this alliance and race for the growth harmed the environment and the less favored sectors and sometimes, without accountability, permitted corruption.

From the central government used to send state leaders to the provinces in order to head and control local governments. But, when they found some provincial corruption case, Beijing used that to "purge" and punish exemplarily the provincial directorates.

In the period of Premier Weng Jiabao and president Hu Jintao, they tried to replace those big regional and class differences calling for a "harmonious" society. Their rule time coincided with a certain period of tolerance when Wang Keqin

and his writings and posts in the China Economic Times tried to insist on the application of justice insight the Chinese system and denouncing impunity of the powerful. That make us to conclude that Wang Keqin posts show that his journalist work wanted to aware Beijing government of some serious local problems jumping them to the national level, with the aim of bring them to justice or encouraging central government to take action.

6.5. Novelty, new topics

First of all, we have to consider what mean's novelty in journalism. Stella Martini (2000), explains that according to the effects of an event can have on society, there are some values to recognize important news. They are:

• Novelty

• Originality, unpredictability and being unpublished before

• Future developments

• Importance and gravity

• Geographical proximity made to the society

• Extent by the number of people or places involved

• Hierarchy of the characters involved

• Inclusion if they have behaved displacements

For the author novelty is the brand that defines the news because it is an "index of variation in the system". That was reiterated by Miquel Rodrigo (2005) who insisted in "the existence of an act of rupture". Much of the news in top daily newspapers are series. These articles on serialized issues should mark a change from the previous news. (This makes sense in some of the series of reports that Wang Keqin made in 2010).

Table 10: Novelty, new topics in Wang Keqin posts

P	Subject	Change
1	Unknown big attacks to the environment	Complacency of local authorities
2	Factory security crisis	Workers and firemen in danger
3	Victims who denounced vaccine failures are persecuted	Parents are persecuted instead the responsible for the vaccines in bad conditions
4	Consequences at street level of the loading in Gangsu	Coverage of the disasters from the street level, from the victim´s point of view.
5	Victims who denounced vaccine failures are persecuted	Parents are persecuted not the responsible for the vaccines in bad conditions
6	Victims who denounced vaccine failures are persecuted	Parents are persecuted not the responsible for the vaccines in bad conditions
7	Unknown big attacks to the environment	Complacency of local authorities
8	Consequences at street level of the Yushu Earthquake	Coverage of the disasters from the street level, from the victim´s point of view.
9	Journalist's desk function: Attending the desperate	Nobody takes care of extreme petitioners' cases.
10	Local accident which became national issue, meaning powerful impunity	Car race in University with a victim and no responsible
11	Local accident which became national issue, meaning powerful impunity	Car race in University with a victim and no responsible
12	Local accident which became national issue, meaning powerful impunity	Car race in University with a victim and no responsible

Source: Own elaboration

For us, 12 of 12 Posts of Wang Keqin have some novelty factor. If belonging to professor Rodrigo we are looking for something that "change the system", we observed that in all the sample posts. We assume that before covering some news, Keqin wanted to observe if they were big contradictions that make him to decide to research on that subject.

In posts 1,2 and 7 he, alone or with his students, travels specifically to the scene, in order to verify irregularities, for denouncing phenomena like pollution, labor lack of security or construction aberrations that might be related as local problems but that might be examples of what was happening across the country.

In post 3.5, 7, and 12 Wang reached such a degree of trust with the families of the victims that they could obtain unique information comparing with another media. He and his post acted as intermediaries between the victims and the net citizens.

In posts 10,11 Wang Keqin and Feng Jun were directly warned by 11 students who witnessed the accident. They had some unique sources. Then they could get some emails in which the students community complained about the university censorship. They went to the scene, and they arrived to discover "in situ" estrange circumstances where the accident took place (like that the University had installed a new camera). In a format of serial, they explained, for example, how police authorities refused to cooperate with them.

From a journalistic point of view, their approach to the subject, and their capacity to emit novelty, thanks to their level of trust, their link with the Chen Xiaofeng family, was unique. In late 2010, they explained the end of the conflict. The authorities payed a compensation to the family, but the blogger and his student Feng Jun, reached an agreement with the family of the victim, not to explain it, before them could had the money in their hands. In a conflict followed throughout the country, they reach indispensable information, thanks to their physical presence in the scenario and the level of confidence they obtained with the victims.

Some of the topics they work on in 2010 were difficult to research without direct observation, trough investigation journalism in first person with sighting and interview people. It denotes that Wang Keqin and his students acted on request, at the request of citizens who wanted to report unfair facts in the provinces. This privileged relation with some sources allowed them to obtain novelties in each case.

6.6. Location in Wang Keqin posts

Most of the news of the main Chinese media was reported from industrial cities in the east and the coast zone: Beijing, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Guangzhou, Shenzhen. It was a reflex of where the central of financial and industrial power were located. The posts of Wang Keqin, who worked for an official economic newspaper, *China Economic Times*, seemed to respond to a very personal decision to inform about other locations far from the east biggest capitals. In our sample, his twelve posts represented seven different Chinese provinces.

Map 1: Provinces' location in Wang Keqin's posts

1)   Shanxi is the most mentioned of all provinces. Three posts (3, 5 and 6) were following the phenomenon of vaccines and milk powder in bad condition. (7) Wang Keqin also went to Shanxi to denounce the urbanization insight the Ku protection Dam, near the city of Yuncheng.

2)   Hebei was represented in three posts (10, 11, and 12) that were centered at the University of Hebei. Also, the student

Feng Jun then moved to the village of Nanzizhong in Xinji, in the same province of Hebei. (second part of post 12).

3) Hunan reflected in post 2, with the Pyrotechnic accidents in factories in Yueyang.

4) Qinghai reflected in post 4. The earthquake in Yushu in Qinghai Tibetan prefecture. 1920 km. far from Beijing.

5) Gansu in post 8. The landslide in Zhouqu, province of Gansu. 1797 km. far from Beijing.

6) Canton in post 1. Pollution in the area of the natural park in Dongguan in Canton, 2187 km. south of Beijing.

7) Beijing, only represented in post 9. Wang Keqin office was at the north of the capital. His desk was the place for reception of the complains of several provincial unfair cases. For example, they denounce the situation in the Masanjia women Labor Camp in Liaoning Province.

It could be remarkable how Wang Keqin, a part from Guandong and Beijing, chose provinces where the GDP per capita was lowest than the

media in the eastern China Mainland territories. That is the reason we wanted to elaborate a table (11) where we can observe how rural Shanxi, Hunan or Hebei are in a low position, although the poorest province in the table is Gansu.

Table 11 Locations in Wang Keqin posts

Post	Province	Order GDP[1]/p	GDP /p 2102
1	Rural; Dongguan, (Guangdong)	8	8.570 $
2	Rural; Yueyang, (Hunan)	20	5.304$
3	Rural; Liulin (Shanxi)	19	5.327 $
4	RuraL;Yushu (Qinghai)	21	5.231 $
5	Rural;Huilong, Luliang (Shanxi)	19	5.327 $
6	Rural; Huilong, (Shanxi)	19	5.327 $
7	Rural; Yuncheng (Shanxi)	19	5.327 $
8	Rural; Zhouqu, (Gansu)	30	3.482 $
9	Urban; (Beijing) Masanjia (Liaoning)	7	8.958 $
10	Urban; (Hebei)	15	5796 $
11	Urban; (Hebei)	15	5796 $
12	Rural; Nanzizhong,(Hebei)	15	5796 $

[1] All data are per capita GDP according to the 2012 Statistical Communique of the provinces on National Economic and Social Development, based on the estimated GDP and population figures midyear. The annual average exchange rate is CNY 6.3125 to the US dollar; data at purchasing power parity (PPP) are according to April 2013 data IMF. CNY 4.18617 equivalent to Intl. $.

6.7. Type of News

Table 12: Type of news in Wang Keqin posts

P	Used formula	Description	Object	Feelings
1	Presentation	Observation	Reality	No
2	Presentation	Observation	Reality	No
3	Presentation	Expression	Person	Yes
4	Presentation	Expression	Reality	Yes
5	Presentation	Expression	Person	Yes
6	Presentation	Expression	Person	Yes
7	Presentation. Asking questions.	Observation	Reality	No
8	Presentation	Observation	Reality	No
9	Dialogue with readers	Reflection	Person	Yes
10	Presentation. Asking questions.	Observation	Reality	No
11	Presentation/know/ how it follows	Expression	Reality	Yes
12	Outcome	Expression and Reflection	Reality/Person	No/yes

Source: Own elaboration

Description with observation with journalist physical presence

Most of Wang Keqin posts were presentations, reports about specific situations that the reader did not know

There were some posts, similar to newspaper reports, 1, 2, 7, 8, 10 that could be considered description with observation. The physical presence of the journalist was essential to find some contradictions in the official story. In the Post 1, they found that no garbage was buried under the sand.

In post 2, they discovered that despite the band, work with pyrotechnic elements, continue in family workshops. In post 10, they found that the University just put a camera that did not exist when the accident happened. In posts 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, and 11, there was observation, and also the introduction of personal assessment.

The post 9 and the second part of 12 were purely reflection.

Conflicts as objects

In posts 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11 and 12 the object of the description was, at that moment, a latent conflict.

In post 3.5 and 6 is the description of the situation was the persecution of the victim's parents.

In the post-9 the object was the journalist's job. The author first describes it, to question what its function was. It made us wonder who they are replacing.

The end of the post 12, was a reminder tribute to the deceased student.

Expression of Feelings

Contrary to what might seem studying journalistic posts, there are no expressions of feelings in half of our sample, but yes in the other half. Apparently posts 1,2,7,8, 10 have no feelings showed, and first part of 12 did not.

It is very remarkable the chronicle of Yushu, in Post 4, where the journalists themselves did not hide to show their consternation. They wanted to hug people. At that moment, journalists were not worried to appear as objective interviewers.

In the Post 3, 5 and 6 as we had said, Wang Keqin believed that publicity was a key point to protect the parents of the vaccines' victims. He took sides, calling the lawyers, explaining their avatars, giving their telephone numbers, and also the police and authorities telephone number, even giving the bank account of the affected parents. He called for the mobilization of the netizens.

The post 9 is a big complaint, the frustration for not being able to respond to all petitioner's requests. All of this post reflects the expression of personal feelings.

The Post 12 is very interesting. First, it explains the outcome of the conflict by the car crash at the University of Hebei, with one student dead. As it was the last chapter of a novel, it gives birth to the compensation received by the family. But journalists are in the middle. They made a pact the family. They were not going to explain the outcome, until the family had actually received the money. Journalists acted also as a kind of mediators in front of the public opinion. There is a part of opinion. They wonder, as a conclusion, if there would be justice.

The second part of post 12 is a sentimental piece from Feng Jun. From Chen Xiafeng (the student dead) home, he remembers the young girl, her family, her home, her dog, and her photos. It is a kind of a tribute, a final piece of text with a unique proximity with the family that differentiates the Post from any other newspaper or media.

Compromise with victims

Hugo de Burgh (2003) explored what journalist in China believed about their profession, their old values. For him there was a common idea of the good public servant who risks his all in his duty to the Chinese state, and thereby joints the pantheon of the righteous, with the poet Qu Yuan at the pinnacle.

Qu Yuan (340-278 B.Sc.) was a poet and minister during Warring States, the first author of verse to have his name associate to his work. He is a popular figure known for his verses and for his patriotism. After being a minister he lived in the exile, because corrupt ministers slandered him. He denounced the misery of his fellow countrymen. At the end, he committed ritual suicide as a form of protest in Miluo River. That is the origin of the Dragon Boat Festival. He became an example of how a scholar who is denied public recognition had to behave.

In that sense we could understand to what extent Internet could allow taking positions in some Chinese journalists like Wang Keqin and their personal, more than professional, compromise with some victims of unjust situations in some of his posts. It can be understood, we agree with de Burg, as a "call of duty".

There are 3 posts, 3,5 and 6 where the author directly defends parents affected by the case of vaccines who came to his office for help.

In post 3, Wang Mingliang, the author didn't t use the verb "capture" or "detain", but "catch", using quotation marks in the word, emphasizing the way the police is following a victim. He takes a side defending parents.

In post 5, unlike other articles, he decides to use the first singular to tell the story.

In Post 6, the author explained that he had called for civic help and published the father account number in previous blogs. (They received 8000 yuan in donations).

> "I published the matter of the fight, many net citizens have closely followed the issue and one after the other have been calling the police office and the local administration. "(Wang Keqin post 6, June 2010)

That means the existence of not only personal assessment but the intention to urge public mobilization. More than one time, he publicized telephone numbers, addresses, and data bank accounts for donations.

In post 9, everything is opinion, even self-criticism *"when I became insensitive"*. Somehow, the dramatic increases. At the end, when the author spoke about the conditions in the Masanjiá re-education camp for women it becomes very hard. Two times he wrote asterisks ** replacing two unknown adjectives:

> "It is crueler, darker and more **", that prisons in holes where they put the despicable people in the time of Kuomintang. (...) "China, which is promoting a political system that respects the law building a harmonious

society, in practice, hardly imagine that there are places as **.   (Post 9, from Feng Jun)

In post 10, apparently there is not personal assessment, although writing about this concrete issue is already taking a position. Authors, a part of the reconstruction of the case, at the end, they asked 10 questions to the audience. Something that we could interpret as they are advancing hypotheses for a trial.

In post 11, already in the headline, the author speaks about "abnormality". Inside there is an apparent assessment. Only he reports that the family is untraceable and that there is a family dispute about the victim's autopsy and a possible compensation.

The post 12 has two parts. In the first the author explains the intricacies of the compensation agreement for the family. Apparently there is no assessment. But he raises just two questions:

> "What worries most the people is whether Li Qiming, the suspect, would receive a fair judgment. (...) What is the nature of this case? It is a crime against public security or an offense for causing a traffic accident? This has been at all times the question most aha attracted the attention of people, and posture emerges is currently the second. " (Post 12, from Wang Keqin)

 The journalist is insisting that although the family has been paid with compensation, there should be a criminal trial, to avoid impunity. The Headline is a claim for justice: "In terms of justice. We can be fair?"

The second part is completely a valuation. Wang Keqin's student Feng Jun went with Chen Xiaofeng family to their

village. It is a constant remembering of the victim. After the agreement he wants to emphasize the trouble of consciousness with the memory of the deceased student.

Apparently, there is a big difference between some posts with news character and those introducing some opinion. But we have to stand out that are two posts, 7 and 10, ending in a list of doubts, asking questions.

In the Post 1 and 2, there is apparently no valuation.

In the post 4, incredibly, after Yushu earthquake, journalist said *"we just wanted to hug, hug each defenseless body."*

In Post 7, there is no apparent personal assessment. But, he let the experts to criticize the construction of villas. At the end, He raises six questions and remembers, with intentionality, four historic disasters.

In post 8, apparently there is not personal comment. It is a report format of the rescue and reconstruction in Gansu. In the end, he let the villagers to denounce that some people are enriched with funerals.

6.8. Wang Keqin's journalistic genres.

We consider that 11 on 12 Wang Keqin's posts are Interpretative Features, and only post 9 can be considered editorial reflection. David Randall at *The Universal Journalist* (May 1, 2000) defends the concept of "feature" as a special human interest story, which is not necessarily tied to strict today. Beyond a common chronic, is focused in characters, places or special events and deeps into concepts and ideas. We think that this is what Wang Keqin tried to do with his posts.

How-to reflect characters, places and events that have not been accommodated in the normal edition of his newspaper.

What it is what we observed in the sample? Wang Keqin considers that for investigative reporting they required physically moving to the scene; collecting the maximum number of sources, a big part of them unofficial sources, giving voice to the victims and observing what part of the reconstruction of the history has not been explained yet, what parts of injustice are explicit and can be brought to courts. This is why in the reports, direct involvement of the journalists, Keqin and his students, is imperative.

In this sense, the attitude of Wang Keqin, despite cultural differences, coincides with the very definition that professor Montserrat Quesada (1991), shortly after the Spanish transition, gave about the objective of investigative journalism "Journalist researchers believe that it is not enough to be a "notary of the present," but their professional motivation comes from a more comprehensive sense of service to society by pretending to give readers the sufficient keys for them to understand deeply the society in where they live. This involves working on issues that may affect general interests, reveal unclear or little explained issues to the public and, of course, denounce irregularities. And all of this with the implicit desire to contribute of improving the citizen's quality of life and, in parallel, the quality of journalism."

There are two posts, 9 and the second part of 12, considered directly opinion articles. Written by his student Feng Jun. In the first, he explains their function, as they were the receivers of direct sources of many grievances without resolution. The second has also great human interest because it shows the identification of the journalist with his sources, in this case with Chen Xiaofeng family, the deceased student.

7. Narratology

Table 13: Blogger involvement and his action in the story			
P	**Involvement**	**Action**	**What he is offering?**
1	Homodiegetic witness	Research and Information	Demonstrates pollution problem
2	Homodiegetic witness	Research and Information	Demonstrates illegal insecurity in factories
3	Homodiegetic 2nd protagonist	Information about infringement	Demonstrates persecution of a victim's father
4	Homodiegetic witness	Allocation of a test	Information that would enable solidarity
5	Homodiegetic 2nd protagonist	Information about infringement	Journalist helps the victims and denounce the police
6	Homodiegetic 2nd protagonist	Information about infringement	Journalist helps the victim and explain their situation
7	Homodiegetic witness	Research and information about infringement	Reporter gives voice to experts to alert about constructions in a damp
8	Homodiegetic witness	Allocation of a test	Journalist reflects solidarity and corruption
9	Homodiegetic 1st protagonist	Combat	Journalist as a speaker of the petitioner's problem
10	Homodiegetic witness (prosecutor)	Research and information about infringement	Collects the witnesses story and defines the problem, to sensitize public opinion and to reach justice
11	Homodiegetic 1st protagonist	Discover disguise	Journalist alerts that it might be abnormalities in accident research
12	Homodiegetic 1st protagonist	Discover agreement and displeasure	Journalist reveals that family had a compensation/but warns the lack of a criminal trial

Source: Own elaboration

All posts reflect reality. We are in front of mimetic stories. It is a kind of narration that has required the journalist's physical presence in the scene. He is who, thanks to his investigation discovers the degree of deterioration of the situation. He can write then the contradictions, and maybe, someday, the law can be exercised.

Although the general tendency, there are two articles completely different, Post 9 and the second part of Post 12 are reflections about real situations, although they tried to be presented as imaginary scenes. In post 9, the author, Feng Jun, explained that he had dreamed in ghosts who reflected the appearance of citizens who ask for help in the office of Wang Keqin.

Wang Keqin: Involvement; Half witness, half protagonist

In Posts 3, 5 and 6, far from the supposed journalistic objectivity, Wang Keqin became homodiegetic second protagonist, because he decided to enter actively in the story protecting his characters (Wang Mingliang and Gao Changhong, parents of child affected for vaccines in poor condition). The journalist met their lawyers, explained the threats they were object, showed their phones and the account numbers and also the police telephone number. He became a kind of a counselor for the victims.

In post 9, student Feng Jun and Wang Keqin became homodiegetic protagonist because actions were resolved around them and their behavior. The post written by Feng Jun is an exceptional testimony. He expressed his feelings by not

being able to serve as many petitioners knock at their door. The office of journalist had become a reference place for desperate people going for justice to Beijing. He had a bad conscience about not being able to answer and publicize the case of everyone.

In post 10, 11 and 12 following the same issue, we observe that in the first post, the journalists saved forms. Apparently they were witness. They reported how the car accident happened, but they wanted to point the final list of doubts about how the accident took place. These could be decisive whether to declare the guilt by omission of the University and by action of the driver of the car. They acted, at that moment, not only as witness, but prosecutors.

In post 11, they were protagonist because they decided to qualify the situation as "anomalous", finishing asking for the autopsy of the victim and for the negotiation between her family and the authorities.

Finally, in post 12 they clearly became homodiegetic protagonists. Wang Keqin and his student agreed with the family when it was convenient to announce the final monetary agreement. Journalists also draw attention that there the final judgment of the case was still to be done. Finally, Feng Jun emphasizes the figure of the deceased victim.

We have defined the journalist's involvement in posts 1, 2, 4, 7 and 8 as homodiegetic witnesses. Their physical presence was essential, (in posts 1,2 and 8), to discover breaches or the magnitude of the problems. In posts 4 and 8, journalists were participating in the duel after natural disasters.

Infringement discovered thanks to Wang research and information

There is a clear determination from the journalist to denounce an infringement after a time of research in the field. That happens in the majority of the posts: 1, 2, 7, 10, 11 and 12.

In post 1, the journalists discover attacks on the environment.

In post 2, the journalists discover factories and families violating the law.

In post 7, the journalist discovers illegal constructions in a damp.

In posts 3, 5 and 6 the journalist echoes the persecution of parents in Beijing by police from Shaanxi. There is a disclosure about the suffering of the parents of the child vaccines in poor condition's victims, with and special personal implication from Wang Keqin.

In post 10, the journalists investigate and raise questions about the car accident in the University campus. Students warn the journalist. The University and the police want to silence the case. The reporter wants to prevent concealment: identifies the unknowns, raising questions about responsibilities in the accident that caused a death.

In post 11 the journalist tries to expose the cover-up. The question is whether the case will or not go to justice. We defined his action in post 12 as "Discover disguise". The journalist, after consulting the victim's family, explains that there it has been a financial agreement that avoids civil trial. The second part is a tribute to Chen Xiaofeng, the death young

student. That part shows the displeasure of the journalistic team.

Post 4 and 7 can be considered as the "assignment of a test". How society responds to natural disasters like an earthquake or a landslide.

In post 9, on September, journalist shows his own battle. The student Feng Jun describes a terrible battle with his own conscience, because they cannot publish the case of all the people who ask them for help.

Wang Keqin, always a donor

In all Posts the journalist is exercising the role of the donor: the person who gives essential information.

In posts 1 and 2, he reveals irregularities with the compliance of local authorities. They consent illegalities.

In post 3, the journalist, "the donor", reveals that Shanxi police is acting in Beijing. At the end of the post, he accuses that the vaccines committee, from the local sanitary authority, may be violating the principle of impartiality.

In post 5, far beyond what it could be considered his journalistic duties, the journalist gives to the audience the telephone number of the police office, the tracker and his bosses. In Post 6, journalist, serving as a "donor", provides information in order to protect the victim.

In posts in 4 and 8 the blogger gives information that will enable solidarity.

In post 7 the reporter insists, - as a donor -, of some information that the experts, have previously passed to him,

warning about the danger of some constructions in a dam. The bad guys are the local authorities that turn a blind eye and changed the rating of the dam to benefit the constructions for the coal magnates.

In posts, 10, 11 and 12 journalist intends to exercise as a "donor" and as "magical achiever" who get the clues of irregularities. Journalists first collect the testimonies of 11 witnesses, reconstructing the action that the university wants to hide. They identify the victim, a daughter of peasants, and the car driver who hit her in a car race in the campus, the son of a police man. At the end of the post, they write a list of doubts. Journalist aims to ensure that justice is set in the case of abuse in the college. They are the clue for the scandal to be known.

Later in post 11, the journalist acts "as a donor", because he is warning that an abnormality is happening, when the whereabouts of the family of the victim were not known, at a moment when the case was already known around the country.

In post 12, on December 25, they act as a "donor" again, because they reveal that after the family had claimed for compensation, at the end, it had been signed an agreement for 480,000 yuan. Journalist emphasized that Chen Xiaofeng did so under pressure. They, - "as donors" -, draw attention that there was still a criminal trial to be bone. Feng Jun, Wang Keqin's student, showed finally his desolation and remember the young victim Chen Xiaofeng from her family home.

7. 2. **Situation, success and achievements**

Table 14: Struggle process and final results in Wang Keqin			
P	**Situation**	**Kind of success**	**Achievements**
1	Deterioration: Polluted area/report to improve situation	Success with confrontation	Traitor revealed (local authorities)
2	Deterioration: Lack of Security at work. reported to improve it	Success with confrontation	Traitor revealed
3	Deterioration and obstacle/child death and father persecution	Success with confrontation	Traitor revealed (health authorities, police)
4	Deterioration earthquake/improve thanks to solidarity	Success with change. Disaster's consequences, plane people.	Heroes revealed (volunteers, victims)
5	Deterioration and obstacle/improve thanks to net citizens	Success with confrontation. Making public the persecution	Traitor revealed (local police)
6	Deterioration and obstacle/improve thanks to net citizens	Success with confrontation	Traitor revealed
7	Deterioration and obstacle changing urban qualification	Success with confrontation	Traitor revealed (local authorities)
8	Deterioration because the landslide	Success with change, Explain consequences,	Hero revealed
9	Deterioration, intern conflict. Role of the journalists.	Success with internal confrontation, he can't to attend petitioners.	Hero revealed (journalist)
10	Deterioration and obstacle. Trying to hide car crash.	Success with confrontation	Traitor revealed (local police and University)
11	Deterioration and obstacle/ abnormality	Success with confrontation	Traitor revealed
12	Deterioration and obstacle/Agreement under pressure	Success with change. Negotiation with the family	Traitor revealed

Source: Own elaboration

Wang Keqin; Finding a situation of deterioration, success after confrontation and achievements

All posts indicate a deterioration with obstacle, because human or natural causes. But in all of them, there is also a second part of improvement thanks to the work done. The blogger-correspondent has proven deterioration and indicates the causes.

In posts 3, 5 and 6 there has been a deep deterioration with an obstacle. Children were killed, others were sick for life. The administration has not recognized the causes and, over, local police persecute those who continue to call for an investigation. In post 5, there is deterioration with obstacle, but we can notice one aspect of improvement, because it has three allies: the journalist, other affected parents and net citizens, who, committed, have sent money to families.

In the post 6, there is an explicit obstacle because that father's victim practically lives on bail.

In Posts 4 and 8, referred to disasters, the blogger shows a deteriorating situation, but in the background, there is a song of solidarity. The journalist discloses the situation. At the end, he denounces that there is people doing business with the dead.

In post 7, there is deterioration with an obstacle, when local authorities changed the urban qualification to permit the construction of 2000 villas in a dam. The future will be worse. The journalist reveals past tragedies and warns of the risks.

In post 9, though is a much more reflective text, also discloses deterioration. For themselves, Wang Keqin and his students, they cannot output so many cases of despair, because there are so many petitioners that want publicity for their case. Although they believe it is his duty. There is a feeling of

powerlessness. Although he tries to fight injustice to the needy, many cases remain ignored.

In posts 10, 11 and 12, it has been a clear deterioration. An accident at the University with a young woman dead, that the institution and the security authorities want to hide. The journalist intervenes to prevent concealment. In post 11 they warn that some abnormality is happening, and in post 12 they explain the conciliation between the victim's family and authorities, but journalists fear justice might not be done.

After the confrontation, they revealed traitors and heroes, rescuing justice.

In nine of twelve cases, after some sort of confrontation, blogger reveals that there are traitors. In posts 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11 and 12 there is an intention to reveal that there is a culpable allowing pollution incidents, lack of security in factories, problems with child vaccines and milk powder, illegal constructions, or the accident at the University. All this post show a general criticism against local authorities that became partners of the economic interests of the powerful or that want to hide illegal activities.

In the posts 4 and 8 the situation is very different. There are reveled heroes: the rescue workers, volunteers that are helping the victims of the disasters.

In the post 9, the hero revealed ends up being covertly the same journalist, because his office role, attending petitioners from around the country. Wang Keqin desk is serving hundreds of people who come to his office to seek justice. The blogger and his students are rescuing justice. Unknown heroes doing a task of replacing what would be an appellate Court in Beijing to assess injustices carried out in the provinces.

7.3. Narratology profile of Wang Keqin: Summary

Blogger as a defender or prosecutor

All posts reflect reality and therefore we are in front of mimetic stories. It is a kind of narration that has required the journalist's physical presence in the scene.

In most of the posts the blogger acts a homodiegetic witness. With his presence he discovers some illegalities. In two, after natural disasters, journalist participates in the duel among victims and volunteers.

There are three posts where he became homodiegetic second protagonist, because he decides to help the parents, in his persecution, or even raising funds. Blogger is an active defender.

In some articles, apparently with their presence, they are only witness, but, after that, like in post 9, they rebuilt how the accident that killed one person happened. Their final list of doubts might be made by a prosecutor. We assume that here the blogger took a protagonist accuser role.

The reader presence is always implicit. The author speaks about "internet users" and sometimes gives them an active role, giving the police telephone number, and victim's bank account numbers, etc. It becomes activist collecting money for those affected.

There is metalepsis, journalists entered in the narrative, although the author likes to name them "correspondents" in plural's third person.

All the characters in the stories are active and are presented through an external action, except one. When Wang Keqin's

student, Feng Jun, try to reflects their work. In that case, it's a post which debate about the social role of the journalism.

In all post the blogger is a donor of essential information at national level. At the end, local authorities are "traitors reveled". They permit or hide some illegalities at provincial level. At post 9, journalist became the speaker of the neediest.

The space is a reference. The type of narration is direct. One of the characteristics in Wang Keqin is the treatment in equality for peasants, petitioners, victims, witness and officials.

Post 12 is clearly the trigger after a process story, rebuilding the case of the car crash.

He combines temporality in present with temporality in past. Most of the stories, all post least two, have some sort of confrontation. In the last ones' journalists emphasized that there is a confrontation between the family victim and the driver's family and University even that it finished with a monetary agreement a criminal trial was still pending.

In all post there is a deterioration of the situation with an obstacle. There is always and abnormality happening, that someone try to hide, which required the presence of the journalist. And with a particularity, always that particular issue could be observed as multi frequency event (not only happens one time or in only in one province).

His actions are a research at street level and information about infringement. In 9 cases of 12 there is an intention to reveal that there is a traitor allowing illegalities: local authorities. It has been a moment of disturbance, a turning point, when the journalist discovers. His research is indispensable for justice to be done.

8. Rhetorical figures

Post	Metaphors	Irony	Paradox	Hyperbole	Metonymy	Interrogate.
Table 15: Rhetorical figures in Wang Keqin posts						
1	x	x				
2		x				
3	x					
4						
5	x	x		x		
6		x		x		
7		x	x			X
8						
9	x	x		x	x	
10		x				X
11		x				
12		x				

Source: Own elaboration

8.1. Metaphors

We must highlight the low incidence of explicit metaphoric figures in the eminently journalistic reports from Wang Keqin, something that finds its exception in the post 9 and the second part 12 which are opinion articles from his student Feng Jun.

The post 1 is heavily conditioned by the names the blogger gave to the three scenarios. The way they are named could be observed as metaphorical contradictions in themselves:

"The trash mountain" (when "mountain" is an idyllic term),

"The cancer village" (when a small village it is supposed is synonym of quality of life).

"The black dragon river "(dragon river would be a positive term in Chinese culture), but the black dragon river means, in that case, that it is completely contaminated.

In the Post 3, the author radicalizes the title introducing a strong verb. "Police in Shanxi enters Beijing to "catch" Wang Mingliang. (Author puts quotes in "catch". He actually could have written "to capture", "to detain". But "catch" is more dramatic, and emphasize that this police forces are committing an illegality, working in another province). (In the other parts of the article there are not rhetorical figures ...)

In Post 5 the metaphorical figure is "a sea of people."

In post 8, when referring to an article of August 16 from *China Economic Times titled:* "Exploring the causes of the large scale landslide disaster in Zhouqu", blogger reported small prevention works. (In the original He uses a common metaphor for shoddy works. "Tofu construction crumbs" (minimum reconstruction work).

As a big difference with all the other texts, post 9 is full of rhetorical figures. Starting in the title: "Resentful ghosts that appear in dreams". (Literally ghosts are the spirit of someone who died of injustice or, the spirit of someone who asks for revenge).

The journalist shows his powerlessness to resolve their demands for publishing their problems with this metaphor: "The vast majority of cases that come to blows me are like the stone you throw and you see falling into the sea ..."

The blogger indicates: Another highly symbolic issue: "The last case I'd like to draw, and that will surely be for the "crayfish ", is precisely the case of the Women Labor Camp of

Masanjiá, in Liaoning ". (This is a very popular word game among Chinese Internet users. Censorship is also known by the euphemism of "harmonization" hexie, pronounced like crayfish • "when they really want to talk about censorship.)

8.2. Ironies

From our point of view, it is very remarkable how authors often use the official euphemisms or official descriptions for some situations, that common people knows that are out of reality, and they are used as an ironic expression.

In post 1 the blogger compares, in the headline, the "economic village" (synonymous of prosperity) with "polluted village". (Since the reforms of Deng Xiaoping, all provinces compete to improve their figures for economic growth at the expense of other factors such as the environment. That comparison can be extrapolated from all around the country).

In Post 2, they are phrases that are not invented by journalists, but reproduced verbatim official euphemisms. (It coincides with the definition that there is a discrepancy between the literal statement of the issuer and its attitude or intention).

By repeating the official descriptions of permissions that were not match with the reality, there is an ironic result. For example: "The safe production permission" of the fireworks factory in Changchun had expired in April 2009" (the article demonstrates that it was not precisely a "safe" place. They were two explosions despite written permissions and laws.)

In Post 5 in both titles, the author uses quotes repeating the official charge against the father of a vaccines victim. He said

he was "involved in a fight." When it appears that his process had been fabricated by the police to follow him in the future.

In post 6 the author uses quotes in the main title and subtitle. Father "is accompanied" to go to Beijing, meaning that he was under surveillance by the police.

In Post 7 without direct criticism, and in apparently informative main title, we can observe a contradiction "A thousand villas are built in the dam for preventing flooding in Yuncheng (Shanxi)". The reader immediately can ask himself how villas can be built within a protection dam.

In the first subtitle, again there is a subtitle irony: The largest leisure center of Shanxi opened in the dam to prevent flooding. In the fourth subtitle "Flood control dam becomes the "east garden". Readers can ask themselves how a control dam can be transformed into a leisure garden.

In Post 9, the author prefers the use of textual signs more than words to qualify the women labor camp of Masanjiá. (Places of detention and punishment where people remain for one to three years without trial). Feng Jun, writes:

> "The Masanjia Women Labor Camp known as field work, but in reality, it is still crueler, darker and more ** (two asterisks in the original) that prisons in holes".

The author was just putting two asterisks to avoid any qualification.

In the same post it follows the metaphor of the official name of the punishment cell, "the small number", name of the place for solitary confinement.

In the period in which was written the post, President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao defined their objective as a

society as achieving a "harmonious" society. The student Feng Jun insist in this term:

> "China, which is promoting a political system that respects the law and build a harmonious society, hardly reaches imagine that there are places as **"

In post 11, the author introduces in the same title the word "irregularity" "New" abnormality in the case of the race of Heda '. He insinuates that there may be pressures and that local authorities can look an agreement that evades the law.

In the Post 12 in the main title already talking about conditions of "conciliation" in the case of the race of Hebei University. It is very significant that the blogger quotes the word "conciliation" instead of talking about buying or bribery.

In the subtitle the step of conciliation: "Everything has been resolved as was organized.". Blogger collect textually such kind of official euphemisms, but not who said them.

In the subtitle ... The step of Silence: When he said the compensation money has not yet arrived it is understandable that the money has bought silence.

Finally, in the second part of the post 12 in which the student Feng Jun, remembers the deceased student Chen Xiaofeng, He concludes with a terrible irony ... "In dreams everything is possible, our harmonious dreams", when that, "harmony", was the most used word by the government.

8.3. Hyperboles

In Post 5 the author enters in a clear hyperbole in the title "Chinas unluckiest family". In this case, Gao Changhong family, from Jiaokou country of Shanxi, they have had a child who suffered meningitis due to vaccines in poor condition and

another child with kidney stones after ingesting milk powder in disrepair. He was affected by two of the most notorious scandals of 2010. Instead of giving a more neutral classification Wang Keqin chooses to identify Gao Changhong as if it was a serial, as the "unluckiest father". In post 6, in the main title returns to identify Gao Changhong as "China's most unfortunate father."

In Post 9 author, the scholar Feng Jun defined himself in the subtitle: When I became " insensible". It is a clear exaggeration. It was not truth, otherwise he would not have written that post.

8.4. Paradoxes

At the end of the post 1, the author indicates that paradox on pollution:

> "Authorities see as inevitable contamination of the river and solid waste, but, however, they care to retain the sanitary taxes."

At the end of post 7 there is a clear paradox about the big process of urbanization in a dam. It has been sold as a beautiful place and it can be dangerous.

In post 10, in the main title there is a paradox sought by the journalist: There is a research about the case "of the race" on the campus of the Hebei University. The public may wonder how it might have a car race in a campus, which is an enclosed place? The journalists insist in that contradiction in the title.

8.5. Metonymies

In post 9, there is a clear metonymy sought with clear purpose. When the author discusses how the Ministry of Health responded to the complaints of parents of child affected by ingesting milk powder in poor condition, saying that it was impossible to determine the consequences in a defined disease. In the post the author writes:

> "The Ministry of Health has responded to the case of powdered milk Sheng Yuan, that the case noun as false precocious puberty or mini puberty, it is not even in the Oxford Dictionary". He said: "You could not find it in the Oxford dictionary, but in a "balls" dictionary.

According to our translator, Doctor Mireia Vargas, we are facing a words play, in Chinese "Oxford" is often translated literally as niujin, which means source of the oxes. As a second reference, there is a very used term in colloquial slang: Niubi, means "cow pussy". But that is used in the sense of "very good". Both terms share the first character, iniu, which can mean both ox and cow. The author seeks to ridicule the response of the Ministry of Health to be more close to the victims of the scandal.

8.6 Interrogation

We doubt that in Occident, newspapers could admit some final questions in journalistic articles. In two posts, 7 and 10, the blogger after his research, ask publically several questions. It could be understood as a research for a university article, a police report o or the previous step for an attorney. Wang Keqin's blog permitted that kind of license.

In post 7, after visiting the illegal constructions in a damp, the blogger asks just six questions as argumentative effect,

clearly seeking public awareness. In post 10, after a reconstruction research of the facts of the car accident at the university, journalist makes some questions arising from the information taken from 11 witnesses, and from conversations with Chen family's lawyer. We must observe that those questions could be useful for the justice in case of a trial:

1) It was a car race "?

2) How did the car get in to the Campus? "

3) How fast he was going? "

4) Is there a video? "

5) He rigged the car engine? "

6) Where he was after the accident?

7) What happened was silenced?

8) It was monitored?

9) Which is the responsibility of the university?

10) How to determine the nature of the crime?

8.7. Posts with no rhetoric figures

It is very remarkable that there are two posts, 4 and 8, with no rhetoric figures. They were avoided. They explain the consequences of two natural disasters.

The first, post 4, refers to the earthquake in Yushu. The Post 8 could well be a formal balance, not a newspaper report. Only some controversy is introduced at the end of the text as a result of observation and interviews with locals. It refers to how some taxi drivers abuse of the urgency of moving families who want to bury the dead... "Some people get rich at the expense of the dead".

9. Lexicon

Although we were aware of the risk involved in making a quantitative analysis of nouns and adjectives, the ratio between them and the verbal forms from a translation of a language as distinct as Mandarin Chinese, we valued that it could be useful to obtain a trend that give us a touch of the kind of language used by the two bloggers.

Substantives

Figure 12 Wang Keqin Substantives assessment
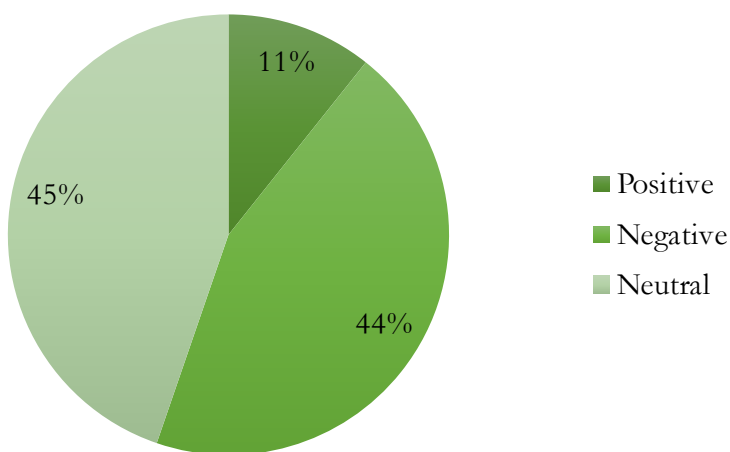
Posts	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Positive	44	15	2	3	78	18	36	126	66	108		57
Negative	220	220	174	23	341	53	247	82	225	504	9	206
Neutral	324	165	189	209	431	65	222	121	115	293	4	174

Source: Own elaboration

In the case of Wang Keqin we observed a clear predominance of nouns above adjectives or complements. The subjects, first in the headlines, and after in the text are full of meaning in themselves and define situations. For example, in the titles of the posts 10, 11 and 12, if the blogger defined as a "car race" what happened in the university campus, that indicates a contradiction and something that it was clearly illegal and negative.

From our observation, it is surprising that in Posts 4 and 8, which take stock of natural disasters, stand out for its neutrality. There is a positive view insight them because, task of assistance and solidarity from volunteers is what is highlighted.

We noticed that in Posts 2, 7, 9, 10, 11 and 12 there are more negative than neutral nouns. Thanks to a journalistic research, posts reflects some illegalities or denounces impunity. Wang Keqin insisted in the importance to define the right subject without rhetoric figures.   The proportion of "negative substantives" increases in posts 9, 10 and 12, underlying intentionality of denouncement. Posts 9 and 12 are made by the student Feng Jun.

Proportion Substantives/Adjectives in Wang Keqin

The clear disproportion between nouns and adjectives could be due to the Chinese cultural tradition, economizing qualifications in other to obtain a journalistic language, or a particularly direct and sparing style from the blogger. Rather than analyze why we simply note the fact. The important part is the noun, nor the adjective.

Figure 13 Wang Keqin Proportion Substantives/Adjectives
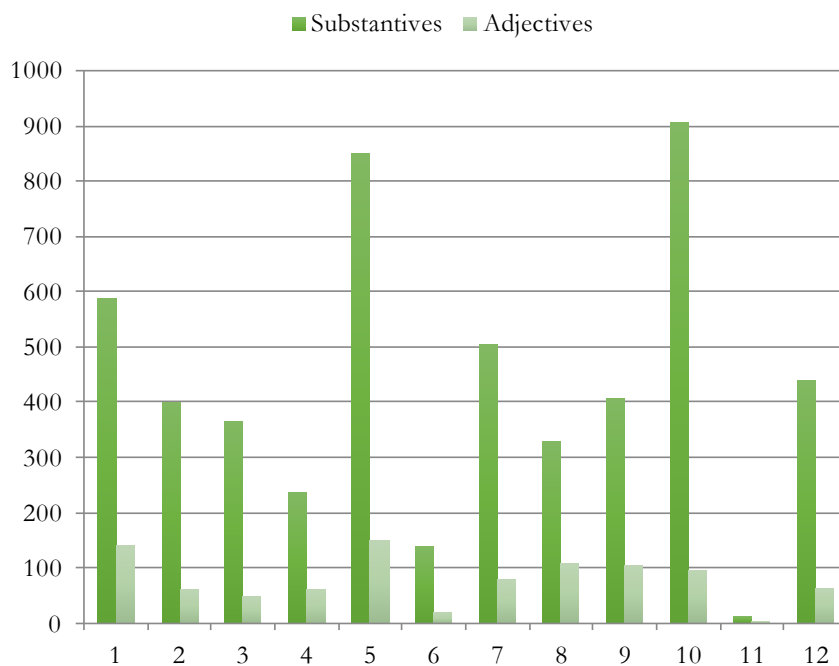
Post	Substantives	Adjectives	%
1	588	139	23,6
2	400	59	14,7
3	365	49	13,4
4	235	61	25,9
5	850	150	17,6
6	136	19	13,9
7	505	77	15,2
8	329	109	33,1
9	406	104	25,6
10	905	95	10,4
11	13	2	15,3
12	437	62	14,1
T	5169	926	17,9

Source: Own elaboration

It is crucial for our study to assess that the number of substantive groups in Wang Keqin's posts is five times that of the adjectives. We could say that there is an adjective in every five 5 substantives. It is a very low proportion that may indicates little subjectivity.

The paradigmatic example is the post 10 in which a car race at the University of Hebei finish with a young student death. The post reconstructs the situation and ends with a series of questions. However, journalists introduce only an adjective every 9 substantives.

This proportion rises a bit on posts 3, 6, 11 and 12. They all have responsibility for Wang Keqin. I think as a general norm, there is a deliberate will from the blogger to write with the minimum number of adjectives. In that cases, 3,5 and 6 he acts as a defender of the victims.

Posts 4 and 8 explain the situation after natural disasters., proportion of adjectives increases considerably to describe the effects of the damage and solidarity from rescue teams.

In the case of post 9 we are facing a journalistic genre different from all others. It is an opinion piece, a reflection on the journalistic task full of personal feelings from student Feng Jun, not from Wang Keqin.

Adjectives

Figure 14 Wang Keqin Adjectives assessment
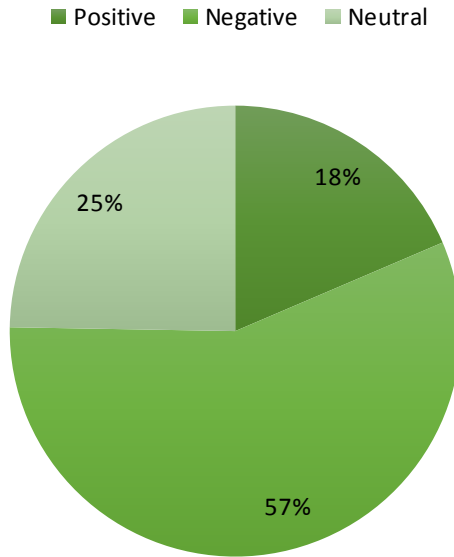
Post	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Positive	13	8	9	10	29	4	10	40	15	10		24
Negative	105	33	30	17	86	14	58	30	70	54	2	26
Neutral	21	18	10	34	35	1	9	39	19	31		12

Source: Own elaboration

We must reflect that the vast majority of adjectives are negative. Double than neutral and triple than positive. Only in posts 4 and 8, dealing attention to two natural disasters, there is a bigger number of neutral more than negative adjectives. In this type of chronic, bloggers, at street level, want to emphasize the solidarity from workers and volunteers. The proportion of negative adjectives in post 9 is 67.3 percent from the entire sample. All the written text it is packed of sad

expressions that want to reflect the mood of the student in the journalist's office. Feng Jun expresses his regrets for not being able to get response to so many cases of desperate people who demands attention.

Verbs

Figure 15 Wang Keqin Verbs, person and time

■ 1st sing ■ 2nd sing ■ 3rd sing ■ 1st plural ■ 2nd plural ■ 3rd plural
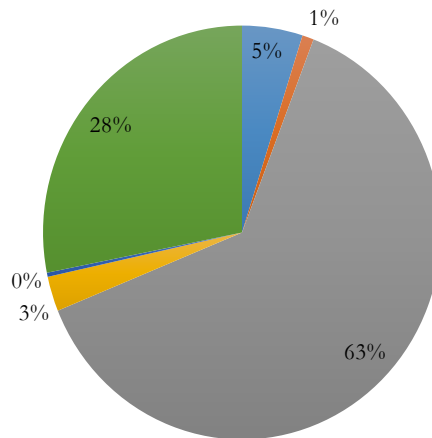
The most remarkable observation is that, in general, there is an almost complete absence of the singular's first person singular.

The journalist, the journalists (when he wrote with his students), elude any role, except for the post 9 and the second part of post 12 (when the student Feng Jun makes a personal reflection). There is a complete absence of the second person in singular and plural.

Posts	1st singular	2nd singular	3rd singular	1st plural	2nd plural	3rd plural
2	0	0	240	6	-	127
3	10	5	193	13	-	74
4	5	-	116	17		65
5	12	10	502	5	2	171
6	4	4	97	-	-	57
7	7	-	282	10	-	56
8	3	2	124	9	-	156
9	106	6	169	13	-	127
10	17	3	563	10	6	234
11	3	-	9	2	-	1
12	47	9	260	8	6	54
TOTAL	216	41	2754	119	14	1229

Source: Own elaboration

The story is told, in a systematic way, in the third person singular and the third person in plural.

Our translator, Doctor Mireia Vargas, remarked something very important. Wang Keqin used the third person plural to refer to themselves, "the correspondents of the newspaper *China Economic Times*" in the posts. It's something that he decides to forget in the posts 3, 5 and 6, when he takes a step forward to defense the parents of children affected by vaccines

and milk powder in disrepair. In the rest, he wants to highlight the role of journalists outside the stories.

Verbs modes

Figure 16 Wang Keqin Verbs mode
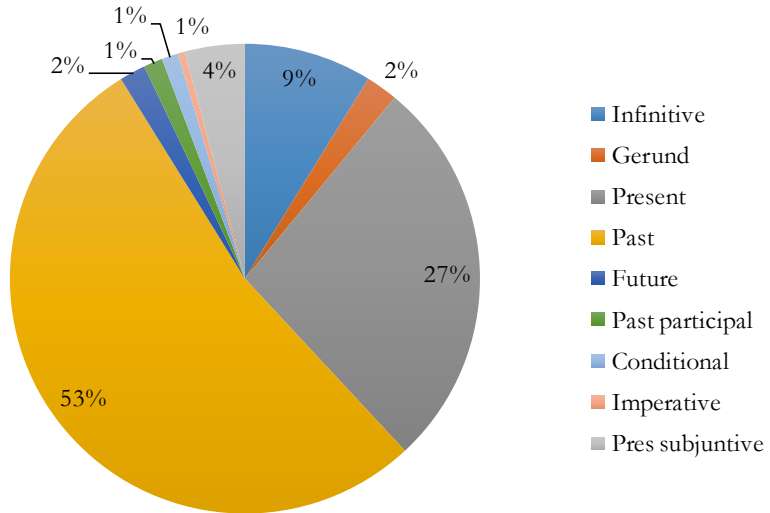
| Post	Inf	Ger	Pres	Past	Fut	Past part	Con	Imp	Pres subj
1	28	13	182	152	10	5	-	-	-
2	34	14	59	313	4	1	17	-	-
3	36	2	50	246	6	2	2	9	9
4	13	11	92	99	2	4	-	1	8
5	69	16	217	422	6	5	9	3	45
6	20	5	55	72	2	4	3	3	6
7	42	4	180	202	16	20	1	-	35
8	36	2	93	160	13	14	-	-	13
9	68	13	126	272	5	4	-	-	25
10	50	22	168	501	5	4	11	7	27
11	3	-	3	12	-	-	-	-	-
12	38	7	120	185	20	2	13	1	37
TOTAL	437	109	1345	2636	89	65	56	24	205

Source: Own elaboration

We must highlight that there is a pre-eminence of the present. What prevails is the description of the reality in his journalistic work.

In each post the past is used to remember how situation became reportable and indictable.

There is very little presence of the future. There are some few promises expressed in future. The infinitive is used as an example of how things should be done. It is remarkable the presence of the imperative in posts 3, 5 and 6. It is used because there are some transcriptions of the threats from the police to the parents who reported cases of vaccines and milk powder in disrepair.

Types of verbs

Figure 17 Wang Keqin types of verbs
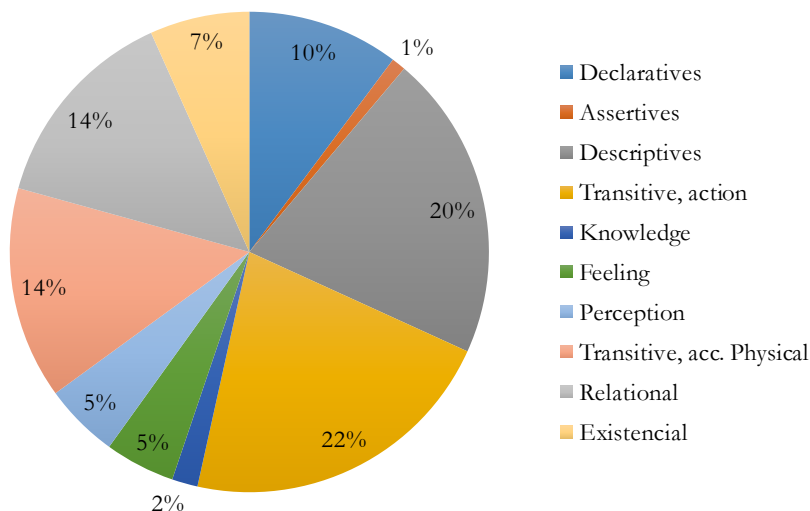
Post	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
Declaratives	40	64	57	21	68	26	47	25	29	105	4	50	536
Assertive	7	1	-		4	-	16	1	2	9	-	10	50
Descriptive	66	43	38	25	171	23	145	98	67	267	6	135	1084
Transitive, action	85	125	66	70	201	37	79	83	137	161	3	90	1137
Knowledge	6	1	5	5	23	5	6	-	4	19	-	17	91
Feeling	3	8	18	19	80	8	1	4	37	31	-	39	248
Perception	24	16	24	12	49	5	17	11	30	56	-	21	265
Transitive, acc. Physical	62	29	87	45	131	64	37	53	88	88	1	67	752
Relational	58	65	44	33	122	16	77	28	72	149	1	70	735
Existential	27	85	19	7	33	4	33	29	44	59	-	12	352

Source: Own elaboration

We can find a big participation of declarative verbs, because the blogger has chosen to express a direct statement of the facts. Assertive verbs, which reflect authoritative decision, would practically do not exist.

There is also a lot of participation of descriptive verbs because they want to explain the context, the situation, the time around each case. The journalist goes where the events took place as a tester. In the posts he uses in first, perception verbs, then descriptive verbs, and at the end, knowledge verbs.

With the exception of the post 9 and the second part of post 12, there is almost no participation of verbs of feeling. We can interpret that here we have Wang Keqin's determination to maintain the perception of journalistic rigor in his posts.

2. Yoani Sánchez's Blogs Content Analysis

2.1. Authors. Yoani Sánchez personal writing, working in group

In *Generación Y*, the author who signs each post of the blog was always Yoani Sánchez, philologist, with lot of technological abilities, but in 2010, at the same time, she and her husband, lead a group called *Voces Cubanas*.

She has the support of her husband, Reinaldo Escobar (1947), born in Camagüey, formed as a journalist by profession. He worked in Cuba in the official newspaper *Juventud Rebelde,* but was expelled in 1989 for his independent attitude. Escobar is the author of the blog *Desde aquí'¹*, and part of the collective portal *Desde Cuba*. Escobar, on 2010, worked sometimes helping her as a camera for recording her videos.

In this and previous years, Yoani Sánchez had the regular cooperation of the photographer and blogger Orlando Luis Pardo Lazo. Born in Havana (1971), he studied biochemists but he was dedicated to literature and photography. From 2008 he collaborated in different blogs *Fogonero Emergente, Penúltimos Días, Pía McHabana*, and already maintain two: *Monday Post Revolution* (combination of photographs and text) and *Boring Home Utopics* (where he invited the public to give photos of the city and he edited and published them). In

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¹   http://es.globalvoicesonline.org/2009/02/24/cuba-entrevista-con-el-blogger-reinaldo-escobar/

2009 he presented, as a free-lance, in the Havana International Book Fair, his book *Boring Home²*.

He denounced that he suffered menaces before the book presentation. Very critical with the system, he defined himself:

> "I sit outside, always outside, inside and out. Like a boxer who takes and gives, and not commit itself to any pugilism. I am a perennial creep age. (⋯). I write to lose face, digging my own cave of authorial resistance to social consensus. (⋯) Otherwise, I guess that all blogosphere should be alternative: the other would be wage labor (State trolls et al). I read very little online, but if I release pages here and there then I always consume it with surprise. I trust in the increasing convening power of the www and its respect for the citizen in front of the institutions and mass. Hopefully, in many of these blogs transpires the future".

It should be noted that Yoani Sánchez's individual activity as a blogger in the network was complemented by a group, a pedagogical attitude off line. During 2010, she organized courses in her home. Journalist Diego Enrique Osorno from Mexican magazine *Gatopardo* described a Journey in a class in Academy Blogger.

It was just May 2010:

> "The sun still warms in Havana. In the hall of the department Yoani one of the final sessions of the Blogger Academy, to which 27 students, of which only came today signed a dozen being held. A dark, tousled

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² http://globalvoicesonline.org/2009/03/23/cuba-interview-with-blogger-orlando-luis-pardo-lazo/

hair and skinny man, Reinaldo Escobar, the husband of the blogger is responsible for providing the class of writing and style. While talking about syntax, express an occasional joke. The students, mostly young, smile and a German cameraman recorded their faces with a film camera"[3].

Around the room they are framed and hung clippings news stories about Yoani, a couple of bookcases and glass jug in has wine bottle corks are also part of the decor.

Among the ten students present today, there is a thin, clear-eyed and with medium long hair swept aside boy. This kind emo boy brought a text to review. Is the official chronicle of the veto which was for a group of young people enter to watch a documentary film shown recently was in Havana, and in which the entry of certain government critic's youth was banned. As the class goes, it comes and goes Yoani forth dressed in a long purple skirt and a white cotton shirt. Through the open balcony window winds come Easter and a small dog named Sparky around quietly.

Another teacher is the lawyer Wilfredo Vallín Almeida, who today gives a lecture on Cuban law. At the end it appears Yoani to give his lecture on *Twitter*, in her hands wearing a tattered book with pasta and some yellow leaves. It's called *The Spanish* and bring epigram says, to support the linguistic depth that can be in the 140 characters that Twitter have, Yoani recommends the students to use Twitter have to eliminate adverbs. "Do not say: I run fast, but run ".

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[3] http://www.gatopardo.com/ReportajesGP.php?R=23&pagina=6

Yoani Sánchez post's Frequency

We must highlight than in 2010 the blogger published 146 posts: In January, 14; in February, 13; in March, 11; in April, 15; in May, 14; in June, 13; in July, 12; in August, 12; in September, 12; in October, 9; in November, 10 and in December, 11.

That amount of work indicates a very high and regular productivity in an atmosphere of a very difficult access to the net. It represents a monthly average of 12 posts (January was the peak month with 14 and the lowest was October, with 9). On average, involves the inclusion of one post almost every three days, (in some cases we noted that she ups two different posts with different issues the same day).

As a reflection, we might think that this production level and regularity indicates the premeditated intention to use her blog as a professional media, with a very systematic effort and work. Even that her reflections (considered by some authors as editorials) about reality were not directly related to the actuality she didn't stop writing one week.

2.2. Relevance, Yoani Sánchez millions of readers abroad

Unfortunately, there are no written probes of the readers that Yoani Sánchez had in every post. However, we did retain the number of comments.

In November 29, 2009, *El País*, announced that in only on month, September 2008, *Generación Y* registered 14 million of

visitors all over the world: "And that, only in Spanish, because this blog is translated to 16 Languages". At midst November 2009, references to Sánchez searching in Google, were almost a million.

On January 1st, 2010, one of her commentators, number 87, called "Emilio" explained at 21.49 that:

> "Yoani's blog continues its meteoric rise: Yoani Sánchez blog had at that moment: 1,490,000 Google searches, meanwhile Fidel Castro Ruz, descend, has 502,000 Google searches."

In May 2010 in an interview with the French professor Salim Lamrani, the author said: "My blog has 10 million visitors per month"

The *New York Times*, on July 5 ,2011, told that *Generación Y* had 14 million visits a month.

At the present moment, in May 2016, Yoani Sánchez Twitter has 699.000 followers, she follows 85.700 people.

She received hard criticism from French professor Salim Lamrani. In February 12 2012, he said she had 214.000 followers, but only 32 in Cuba, and that she followed 80.000. Belonging to him, with the application www.followerwork.com a person can observe that from 2010, June, she might be being adding, more than 200 accounts per day, a very difficult work without permanent connectivity. Lamrani said that 50.000 followers, insight the 214.063 followers, were phantom accounts, inactive. His argument, reproduced from then for official blogs, was that "27.012 were eggs" (profile without photo) and 20.000 had no activity, only with one to tree messages from the account foundation.

In Emily Parker's book (2014) Reinaldo Escobar reveals the wish of audience and prevalence from the new bloggers generation in comparison with the citizens who sometimes took the streets in demonstrations: "That person's shout might be heard by fifty or a hundred people within a thirty-meter radius", he said. "But the voice of a person who uses digital space is a message that reaches many more people, and that will remain there for all time." (p.173).

2.2.1. Comments on *Generación Y.* Platform for dialogue between expatriates

Figure 18 Yoani Sánchez comments by post
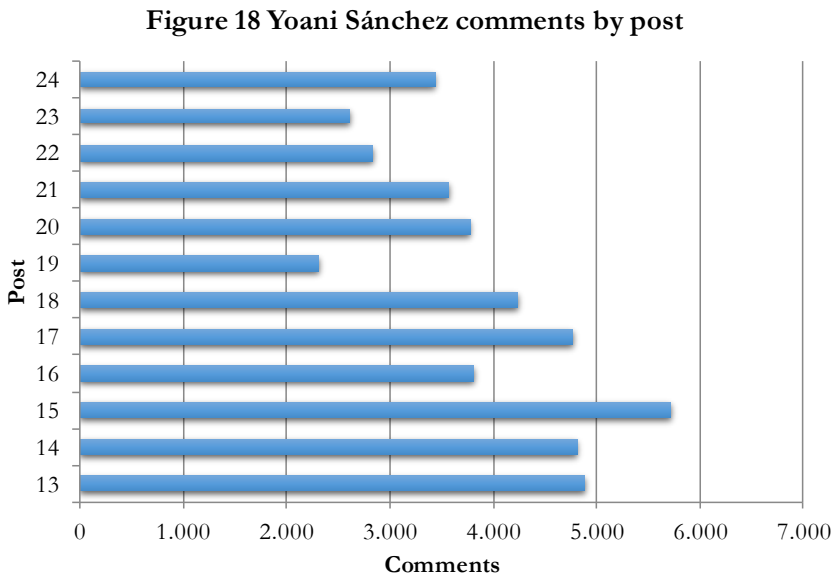
Source: *Generación Y* data

By volume, the number of comments may give us a glimpse of the interconnectivity capacity between readers of the blog. For *Generation Y*, the post of January 1, 2010 can be an example. It was not a special controversial subject, the turn of the year. A seemingly inconsequential issue led to 4891 comments.

In 2010, the blog of Yoani Sánchez had a very high number of comments on a range between 2608 and 5721. It was decreasing slightly towards the end of 2010. Te total number in 2010 was 46.778 comments, the average, nothing less than 3.898 each month.

2.3. Links

Table 16: Links in Yoani Sánchez's posts

P	Location	Link	Subject
13	International Platform	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hmJuwZZQQo4	Author
14	International Platform	http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TRsdqRTuReM	Mother of Opos. Leader Dead
15	No		
16	International Platform	The content of this post is a service explaining that Cuban citizens can publish in Twitter sending a text message by SMS.	Twitter
17	No		
18	No		
19	Institution Magazine, from UNEAC	This post is about an article written in the UNEAC magazine from the academic Esteban Morales. Yoani Sánchez refers to the blog published by his son Ernesto Morales http://estebanmoralesdominguez.blogspot.com.es/2010/07/el-misterio-de-la-santisima-trinidad.html http://eltaburete.wordpress.com/corrupcion-%C2%BFla-verdadera-contrarrevolucion/	Critics Exclusion
20	No	There are no links, but references to a special program from Cuban Television.	
21	No		
22	No		
23	No		
24	No		

Source: Own elaboration

Yoani Sánchez: Few links in her posts, but from international platforms.

In our sample of 12 posts, there are only two posts including links to the world platform *YouTube*, with two videos hung by the same author. The first showed Yoani Sánchez throwing water off the balcony, on December 31th, 2010, at 24 hrs., with the aim to symbolize change.

The second links to a video of an interview with the mother of the opposition activist Orlando Zapata Tamayo, just after his dead in February 23, 2010. It was made by Yoani Sánchez and filmed by her husband. It had been filmed near the hospital at night, with no conditions, there is no visibility at all, but the intention to denunciate repression.

It is supposed that the lack of connectivity in the island, affects the possibility to introduce links in blogs.

In the second part of the year, there are no links, but she did mentions to TV programs from the Cuban state television, CCTV, like *Mesa Redonda*, or about a special re appearance of Fidel Castro in the screens. She also referred to the journal of the *UNEAC*, Unión de Escritores y Artistas de Cuba, pointing an article about corruption from the academic Esteban Morales.

We must note that, not insight the posts, but in the same front page of *Generación Y,* in 2010, contained in the left margin a permanent and exhaustive list of links that show the adding intention of the blogger and the will to demonstrate

that there was a collective movement in the Island. The column was divided in three parts:

1) Affinities:

eCuaderno, Editorial Marea, Huffington Post, Revolico, Times Cuba.

2) Blogs and places from Cuba:

Anda insular; Boring Home Utopics; Convivencia; Criollo Liberal; Cruzar las alambradas; Cuba fake news; Delito Mayor; Desde aquí; Desde la Habana; El auditorio imbécil; El Blog de Dimas; Fotos desde Cuba; Habanemia; Indocubanos; Injusticia notoria; Kuba Sepia; La voz del Morro; Los hijos que nadie quiso; Lunes de post Revolución; Mala letra; Mi isla al mediodía; Octavo Cerco; Re-Evolución; Reportes de viaje; Retazos; Ritmos cubanos; Sin EVAsión, Una Isla Virtual, Veritas, Voces cubanas, Voz tras las rejas.

3) Links:

Asociación Damas de Blanco; Babalu Blog, Belascoain y Neptuno, Blog de Emilio Ichikawa, Blog de Enrisco; Blog de Iván de la Nuez, Café Fuerte; Camagüeyanos por el mundo; Clasificados Cuba; Cuba al pairo; Cubaencuentro; Desarraigos provocados; Diario de Cuba; Guamá; La finca de Sosa; Las Damas de Blanco; Miscelaneas de Cuba; Penúltimos Días; Raúl Rivero-El Mundo.es.

2.4. **Audiovisual Content Yoani Sánchez**

First, we must emphasize that Yoani Sánchez choose the use of any type of audiovisual resources. In the first two posts, she uses video, in the fourth, the brand of a company, in another, a picture of Velazquez, or even some scanned documents and also photographs. Despite this, and to provide a unified description we have followed the same parameters as defined on page 50: author/s, explicit or not expression, essentiality, rural or urban areas, participation of people, action in front of the camera, intentionality, exterior or interior, shoot type, existence of any element that captures the attention and if leads to a denouncement or to a description.

Table 17: Audiovisual content authors in Yoani Sánchez's blog

Blogger	5
Blogger/Reinaldo	2
Orlando Luis Pardo Lazo	4
Logo Twitter	1
Picture Diego Velázquez	2
Archive	2
TOTAL	14

Source: Own elaboration

Yoani Sánchez and her husband work as achievers of any type of graphic document. It seems that they had no problem from any precedence or format. Ten times have succeeded making videos, obtaining logos and photographs well, taken in the street photos like the one from Damas de Blanco, or the artist Amaury Pacheco, or collecting stock photos, in the case

of post 20, the ones from a young and an old Fidel, or reproducing a painting from Diego Velazquez or some scanned documents. There are four occasions when she inserted timeless photographs of the artist collaborator Orlando Luis Pardo Lazo. It is remarkable how they establish a parallel story. (In all 2010 his collaborations were higher than in our sample).

Table 18: Audiovisual content in Yoani Sánchez post (15 elements)

Explicit	Implicit			
9	6			
Essential	Complementary			
8	7			
Rural	Urban	Not apply		
1	7	7		
People	Many people	No people		
7	8	31		
Looking at camera	No looking at camera	Not apply		
2	4	1		
Intentional movement	No intentional movement	Not apply		
4	2	1		
Exterior	Interior	Not apply		
7	3	5		
Wide Shot	Open Shot	Mid Shot	Close-up	Not apply
3	3	2	5	2
Attention element	No attention element			
15	0			
Denouncement	Description			
9	6			

Source: Own elaboration

Explicit and Implicit

We observed that 6 of 10 graphic elements are explicit in her posts, something that it is happening at that moment or significant by itself. At the same time, there are 4 of 10 that are implicit. Apparently, they don't mean something happening by itself, but supposed a complementary lecture from the text.

Essential and Complementary

There is a similar ratio to 5.3 audiovisual essential elements for 10 and almost a draw with complementary.

If we consider that in the post 23 are three customs documents considered essential, the complementary elements would gain in our sample. That means that there is more text preeminence in more than half of the posts. And most of the graphic elements are used as a complement.

Universal, urban o rural reflex

These variables are not significant in observing Yoani Sánchez's posts. We could consider that in 7 cases she reflected urban scenarios and only 1 rural. Also, there are 7 elements that cannot be qualified geographically: logo, portraits, painting and documents. Therefore, we may note that she might not have the possibility to reflect reality outside the city of Havana.

Few People as a protagonist

Graphical elements which reflect people are lower than those that represent other things. There are 7 posts where we can see people, but one is the painting of Velázquez, where

there are not real characters. In three posts we see scenes of the city of Havana and in one a train tunnel. And after, four objects, logo and documents. It is a very small sample to conclude that the author did not want to reflect personal characters.

Addressed to the camera

In the case of the two audiovisual elements that reflect people, the two protagonists went directly to look the camera, one is the same Yoani Sánchez in post 13, another is the mother of dissident Orlando Zapata, in post 14.

On two other occasions, the players in action were not directed to the camera. The photos tried to reflect two street events: the demonstration of the Damas de Blanco and a performance from the artist Amaury Pacheco.

Intentionality

If we value in this section if intentionality of the characters reflected in the audiovisual elements in the Post, we can observe it in 4 of the 12 posts. The action reflected with all intention of the people who appears in the screen.

Even in two other occasions, the Damas de Blanco, or Amaury Pacheco, they have made demonstrations in the streets with the intention of being reflected in the media, but not exactly to Yoani's camera. This time the post serves as an important transmitter.

No interior scenarios

This variable does not seem decisive. Eight of all the graphic elements are outdoor photos. Four respond to actions in the city, photographs taken by the author or by the artist Orlando

Luis Pardo Lazo. There is no photograph that responds to an action in an interior.

Type of Shots: Message over format conditions

As for the types of shots there is no outstanding feature. In city scenes or exterior they are wider or open shots, in characters, mid shots, and close-up in documents.

But we would highlight the case of Post 14, the interview with Orlando Zapata's mother outside the hospital, after his death, where the circumstances of darkness, just let you to see the interviewee. The dramatic conditions pass over the format. We can only hear her voice. It would be a video that would not be supported by its quality standards in any traditional media, only in radio. However, it could be the most important journalistic or historical document of our entire sample. The one which could be considered breaking news at that moment.

Element of attention or contradiction: all with significant elements

All graphics have a direct or metaphorical significant element.

In post 13, the symbol of the darkness at night and light in the morning; In post 14, the darkness after a dramatic situation, the death of Orlando Zapata; In post 15, people pushed on the ground; In post 16, the apparent innocence of the Twitter bird symbol; In post 17, the old entrance; In post 18, the written message from Amaury Pacheco" I am a dreamer who lives back to de reality"; In post 19, we can see an image of the messy old city street.

In post 20, the big differences between the two Fidel Castro photos, in his younger times and now; In post 21, the surprising appearance of a painting of Velazquez, "the water carrier of Seville", in which an adult, a child and a jug appear. Difficult to understand for who does not know the symbolism of the Spanish picaresque; In post 22, the darkness of the train tunnel with a light far away; In post 23, she shows us the text of the three Costumes documents she received; In post 24, the construction elements outside one of the historical symbols of the country: Jose Marti's monument in plaza de la Revolución.

Between denouncements or descriptions

Six out of ten graphic elements in Yoani Sánchez's posts are seeking the complaint, even with a complementary or parallel message.

The other half of graphic elements, search the description through a metaphor that underpins the text.

We sense that there is a written text first and then a graphic element that work as complement.

In most cases, pictures have a complementary role in supporting the text. Or beyond, they have a parallel own story, supporting it, being complements but not specifically addressing the same subject. Each one has been chosen to form a metaphor or irony in it.

There is a proper and successive lecture that it can be done in progressive posts from Yoani Sánchez The is an ongoing story, parallel to the texts, with great artistic quality, which report to us, decay, darkness, sadness, (the photos of Orlando Luís Pardo), in clear contrast with the stereotype of a happy Caribbean island.

2.5. Posts sources

Table 19: Yoani Sánchez's Post Sources

Post	Official Sánchez Sources	Unofficial Sánchez Sources
13		Author herself
14		Orlando Zapata's mother
15	CCTV Mesa Redonda program	Author herself
16		Author herself and dissident from Las Villas
17		Author herself and her neighbors
18		Author herself
19	UNEAC (Unión de Escritores y Artistas de Cuba) magazine	Author herself, author's son
20	CCTV (Cuba Central Television)	Author herself
21	Granma. Official PCC newspaper	Author herself, Chaplin's film
22		Author herself
23	National Costumes Office	Author herself
24		Author herself, author's son and students

Source: Own elaboration

First of all, we have to observe that most of the Post from Yoani Sánchez are comments, opinion articles, not information articles and most of the reports were not elaborated at street level, with physical presence of the blogger and external direct sources. There is an exception in post 14, when she gives voice directly to an external source: the mother of the dissident Orlando Zapata Tamayo trough an interview.

In 5 occasions, posts 16, 17, 19, 21 and 24 she mentioned different unofficial sources: a dissident from Las Villas, different neighbors, critical author's son, a film, and students (her son's companions)

In posts 15, 19, 20, 21 and 23, she mentioned official sources, such as *Granma* newspaper, the UNEAC (Union of Artists of Cuba) bulletin, or the contents of the Television Central Cubana. Sometimes, only to criticize the content offer from those platforms, like the stellar debate program in the official TV Channel, "Mesa Redonda", which she accuses of lack of plurality. In most cases, posts 13, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, she is her source. After her observation, she reflects and speaks of daily habits, normal situations in Havana, but perhaps unknown outside the island.

Yoani Sánchez seems not to need to mention official or unofficial sources as a contrast, for example, in posts 17, (about the surprise to former official people who have emigrated), or 22, (the difficulty of getting food,). It is supposed that for quotidian life sources are neighbors, friends, and companions in the workplace, discussing everyday situations of hardship.

(In our interviews to the correspondents they said that the lack of official sources in the Cuban regime, benefits the existence of rumors, half commonly called "Radio Bemba".)

2.6. Written texts: Thematic Analysis

Table 20: Yoani Sánchez headlines evaluation

Post	Title	Headline Issue	Headline Type
13	Last moon from 2009	Lifestyle,	Appellative
14	Testimony from the mother of Orlando Zapata Tamayo	Political situation. Repression	Informative
15	The legacy	Political situation. Future	Appellative
16	Twitter: this wild beast	Internet.	Expressive (ironic)
17	The brevity of the slogans	Political situation. Hypocrisy	Appellative (dialogue)
18	The long arms	Political situation. Reconciliation.	Appellative (dialogue)
19	Excluding, the real counterrevolution	Political situation Exclusion	Appellative (dialogue)
20	The "return" of Fidel Castro	Political situation. Leadership	Expressive. (for the quotes)
21	Chaplinescas	Economic situation.	Appellative
22	Autonomous suitcases	Economic situation.	Appellative
23	Welfare and self-realization "contrary to the principles of our society"	Political situation. Censorship	Expressive, ironic about censorship motives
24	Holidays return	Lifestyle	Appellative

Source: Own elaboration

It is evident that a clear majority of the titles deal with the current political situation. It may be observing the past or projecting the future. In much smaller percentage, two headlines deal with economy, two about traditions, which we have designated as "lifestyle", one over internet and another, although that is clearly ironic, about censorship on books

Most of the titles in Yoani Sánchez's posts are appellatives. They mean nothing by themselves. She likes to use an only word or phrases without verb. In 7 posts we can discover the reason for appellation after reading the reflection in the subsequent text.

They appeal to:

Post 14: appeal to change; Posts 15, 18 and 19: to dialogue; Posts 21 and 22: to the picaresque in domestic economy. In post 21, "Chaplinesque", there is no meaning by itself. But, there is a comparison by the tragicomic part of the films of Charlie Chaplin, and the day to day economic situation in Cuba. Post 22 "autonomous suitcases":   It is an ironic customization that wants to reflect the black market food. Post 24: reflects the citizen's advance. The title of the post 19 and is appellation refers to another article in the Journal of the UNEAC which was entitled, "Corruption, the real counterrevolution" by the economist Esteban Morales who was then punished. Yoani Sánchez wanted similarities: "exclusion, the real counterrevolution" The titles of the posts 16, 17, 20 and 23 are expressive because they introduce opinion or irony. In Post 16, related to Twitter, she qualifies it as "fierce" animal "fierce. These adjective contrasts with the illustration, an innocent bird logo. In post 17, she mentions the 1st of May, calling the slogans as "short" (in the text she explains how two previous revolutionaries have emigrated to the United States).

And in post 20 she uses of quotation marks in the term "return" of Fidel Castro, which introduces irony.

2.6.2 Sánchez Headlines structure

Table 21: Yoani Sánchez Headline´s Structure

Subject	Verb	Direct object	Where/When
Last moon	-	-	from 2009
Testimony from the mother of Orlando Zapata Tamayo	-	-	-
The legacy	-	-	-
Twitter:	-	This wild beast	-
The brevity of the slogans	-	-	-
The long arms	-	-	-
Excluding,	-	The real counterrevolution	-
The "return" of Fidel Castro	-	-	-
Things of Charles Chaplin	-	-	-
Autonomous Suitcases	-		-
Welfare and self-realization	-	"Contrary to the principles of our society"	-
Holidays	return-	-	-

Source: Own elaboration

Berta García and Xosé López (2014) also remark the lock for practical titles over other considerations. The arrival of the Internet media is a new challenge for titles who, in addition to continuing with the multiple functions acquired in the last years, must adapt their style and content to the new media. Multimediality, sequentially breaking through hypertext and hypermedia, rupture periodicity, interactivity or readability (Díaz Noci, 2002) are characteristics of the new environment where titles must live.

In none of the headlines of the 12 posts in our sample, Yoani Sánchez has a verb. That may mean the wish of economy, strength or dramatization.

There is a complete absence of complements of place, time. The author doesn't pretend explaining a situation, but opening a reflection, in a title as conclusion, Yoani Sánchez enforced the principle of linguistic economy.

Many processes, normally expressed by verbs, are reformulated as nouns, with what we often lost, plot information, situational, temporal, modal and aspectual to gain conviction. (Nadal, 2012).

In post 15, the headline is reduced to a single concept, "the legacy", in another four Posts, 17, 18, 22 and 24, there are only two words: "Long arms", "The brevity of the slogans", "Autonomous suitcases", "Holiday return".

In contrast to those very short sentences, we can find adjectives in most than the 50% of headlines: "last" moon; "wild" beast; "long "arms; "real" counterrevolution, "autonomous bags"; "contrary to the principles…"

2.6.3 Lead

Table 22: Lead in Yoani Sánchez Posts

Post	Issue	Lead?
13	She relates that returns home and wanted to see sunset	No
14	She said opposition leader Orlando Zapata has died	Yes
15	(not at the beginning) She is based in the screaming of a housewife in a protest against Damas de Blanco	Yes
16	She was visited by a friend from Las Villas	Yes
17	She first explains the May 1 demonstration, then She goes to the story of Baby and Pablito	No
18	They try to divide between government supporters and mercenaries	Yes
19	She first talks about the term "revolutionary "then, about the Esteban Morales case.	No
20	Fidel Castro return in front of the cameras	Yes
21	Analogy with the film "El Chicuelo" from Charles Chaplin	No
22	First she starts describing a patched suitcase in a bus	No
23	Answer from the Customs Office to her complain	Yes
24	First She explains how Christmas was no celebrated in her childhood	No

Source: Own elaboration

We can observe in table 22 that there are 6 posts that have lead and 6 that don't have it.

The ones that have it are: In post 14 she explains that the opposition leader Orlando Zapata has died after a hunger strike.

In post 15 she details how, in the protest against the Damas de Blanco demonstration, she was shocked seeing a housewife shouting "*la gusanera está revuelta*" That is what gives foot to all the post speaking about social division.

In post 18 she explains that she is worried observing that in the blogosphere there are reports that attempt to divide or classify Cuban people between "Officials pro-government" and "mercenaries". That is what gives her the opportunity to talk of division and the necessary dialogue.

In post 20, she begins explaining that, after four years out of public view, Fidel Castro has returned to a TV program.

In post 23, she reveals that she had received a reply to her complaint to the General Customs of the Republic.

In the six other posts in which there is no lead, she started with a different introductory story before entering in the one which is the real subject of the post.

In the 13 post, the blogger tells us that she has gone from the Cerro neighborhood to her home, waiting to shoot the sunset, but has not been able to; In the 17, she starts explaining how the May 1st. was, considered the maximum demonstration journey before entering in the history and the change of opinion of Baby and Pablito, the main issue in the post;

In post 19, first, she talks about semantic meaning of the "revolutionary" term: That is the previous before get into the history of a revolutionary economist, Esteban Morales, punished for having denounced corruption.

In post 21, she first makes a review of the film "El Chicuelo" of Charlie Chaplin. How Chaplin defrauded customers to survive. That brings her to the main theme, the new economic reforms from the government.

At post 22, she relates the journey of a suitcase that began in a bus that runs around Cuba. It is a literary customization but she is not seeking information abstracts or leads.

In the post 24, she begins with an explanation of how she had to celebrate Christmas and New Year in her childhood. That was an introduction to finish explaining that in recent times, Christmas has again become festive.

2.6.4. Primary and Secondary topics

Table 23: Yoani Sánchez Primary and Secondary topics of information

Posts	Main Topics	Subtopics
13	Local traditions	Passage of time, change
14	Repression	Loneliness of the internal opposition
15	Social division	Repression to Damas de Blanco
16	Twitter	Repression /Police ignorance
17	Political hypocrisy	Social division/ emigration
18	Reconciliation	Social division
19	Exclusion	Social division
20	Leader's return	Passage of time
21	Economy	Need to accelerate economic reforms
22	Economy	Solidarity among population
23	Censorship	Silly Bureaucracy
24	Local traditions	Social conquests, Passage of time, change

Source: Own elaboration

Sánchez: Despite social division and repression, change is possible

The highlight observing Yoani Sánchez posts is that there are 4 posts dealing, as a main topic or subtopic, with the social division between Cuban citizens living on the island, (15, 17, 18, 19). There is a concern about the intransigence not only against the opposition but also with Revolution cadres who could denunciate corruption. That is viewed as the main difficulty for the future. From this situation of lack of dialogue, she offers herself for the conversations.

Intransigence, first drawback

In the posts 14, 15 and 23, she points the treatment received by the political opposition (she assumes a role of defender for a movement like *Damas de Blanco*). There are 3 posts that reflects directly repression with dissidents: In post 14, the death of Orlando Zapata Tamayo after a hunger strike; In the 15th, the attack to "*Damas de Blanco*" after a demonstration; In the 16, the persecution of a dissident and the role of *Twitter*.

Message to the myth maniacs, it is not what it seems

In four posts it appears to infer her intention to destroy myths about the revolutionary unanimity, the strength of its icons, and the economic situation in the streets. They seem directed to an external audience fascinated by Cuban Revolution. In post 17, she explained the case of a couple of former neighborhood leaders who changed their ideology as soon as they obtained the visa to go to United States. There is a post (20), where she directly assesses the reappearance of the maximum leader Fidel Castro. She valued it as a failure (usually the media didn't value his public appearances, if not to praise them). She pointed that his presence meant some

critique of the economic measures of Raul Castro. The global post with text and photos, come to indicate the inexorable passage of time, even in the leader.

Time of economic urgency

Twice (21, 22) Yoani Sánchez directly criticized for its slowness thee new measures of economic openness and reflects the efforts made by plane people in the day to day economy.   In posts 21 and 22, she wanted to dismantle optimist's stereotypes about the economic reforms from the government of Raul Castro. According to the author there were archaic and slow. For her the government didn't notice the sense of urgency that there was in the streets. She wanted to denounce the lack of support for "self-employed" (small businesses), and remark the necessity to accelerate changes, and in post 22, she did a tale story showing the internal illegal commerce and how shadow economy spread throughout the country.

Inevitability of change despite bad political situation

There are 3 posts, which has as a main topic or subtopic, the irremediable passage of time (in a positive way), associated with change.

Two of them are speaking about traditions, celebrating the New Year (13) and Christmas (24). The author links these two dates with a positive message. (For her, the recovery of Christmas was a quiet victory of the citizenship). But from the first to the last post we can observe a general view of Yoani Sánchez that could be summarized in the Post 13, the Post 20 and Post 24, the inexorable passage of time. Implicitly, she pretends to tell a conclusion: citizenship can cause decrees, the past can be overcome. Time is on people's side.

6.5 Novelty

Table 24: Novelty, new topics in Yoani Sánchez posts

Post	Subject	Change people insight	Change people abroad
13	From a tradition to a wish of change	N	Y
14	She managed to interview the mother of a dead dissident	Y	Y
15	Attack to *Damas de Blanco*, reconciliation request	N	Y
16	She explains how you can send a Twitter message through SMS	Y	Y
17	Hypocrisy from some local cadres, (it might be known on the streets, but it is not explained in the media)	N	Y
18	Complain, official media do not talk about reconciliation	N	Y
19	Critics are excluded	N	Y
20	She tries to describe the leader deterioration	N	Y
21	Difficulties in domestic economy	N	Y
22	Difficulties in the economic day to day	N	Y
23	Costume services refuse to enter her books	N	Y
24	Christmas are holidays again. For her, it means a social conquest	N	Y

Source: Own elaboration

If we are talking about a change in the system, implicit in the novelty factor, in Yoani Sánchez posts, we should clearly differentiate between the readers from insight or outside Cuba.

Strictly speaking, only the post number 14, would be considered an exclusive information, breaking news. It was the interview with the mother of Orlando Zapata Tamayo, dissident dead after a hunger strike. It is something that only she got at that time.

And also, in Post 16, she taught the followers from Cuba how to use the Twitter tool by sending an SMS from any Cuban mobile phone. This is a kind of a pedagogic new information.

But as a summary, we are speaking about 2 of 12 posts that could be strictly novelty for someone living in Havana. In the remaining 10 of the 12 posts, the issues were not new for Cubans. For a national audience, Sánchez talks about everyday situations that everyone comments and knows. Therefore, her messages were different from any official national media.

For an international audience there is some novelty in 10 of 12 blogs where the blogger tried to describe some quotidian difficult situation, to destroy some stereotypes from the day to day in Cuba that for some international press and intelligentsia were mystified. Against those who have idealized the Cuban Revolution:

She seeks, first, to explain that there was a situation of repression. (Posts 14, 15 and 16) ... (Against the external stereotype of stability a peace). The hypocrisy of some convinced (17) (against the stereotype of deep convictions from official cadres showed in big demonstrations).

She wanted to remark the lack of dialogue and the difficult way to reconciliation, (post 18 and 19), (against the stereotype or the headlines about a more open atmosphere). Precisely on an article posted in his birthday, in august, she wanted to insist in the decline of Fidel (post 20), (against the myth of a strong leader for ever).

On two posts, -the proportion will be bigger if our sample was all her 2010 posts-, she wanted to inform about the lowliness of the economic reforms, (posts 22 and 23). (Against the myth of that there is a new, quick and useful project of economic reforms). In this sense we should reemphasize the author seems to direct, to target her messages to a certain immense international audience and Cuban expatriates, rather than their fellow citizens on the island.

2.6.6. Location. Yoani Sánchez

It is clear from our sample, that this is not a representative element in the work of Yoani Sánchez. There is no variation in location. She has not moved out of Havana to make any of its 12 posts. At that moment we are studying, year 2010, she had no permission to go out of the country.

In 2 cases of 12, Yoani Sánchez has moved within the same city, to cover where some events were happening. In post 14, she went close to the Ameijeiras Hospital to interview the mother of the deceased opponent Orlando Zapata Tamayo. In post 15 it is supposed that she went to the Santa Rita church, in Fifth Avenue, were every Sunday takes place the march from the *Damas de Blanco*. Only in 1 of 12 posts, in post 22, she narrates a rural issue, reflecting how suitcases with food were passing through the country in a bus. Others posts are situations or reflections based on her experiences. These are issues that can occur throughout the country, but its location is in the capital. Due to the difficult access to Internet, it had to be difficult to create and keep alive up a blog far from Habana, from a technological point of view, and also from the contents. In Havana they are the government headquarters and the foreign embassies, a point where information flows much more than in the rest of Cuba.

6.7. Type of News

Table 25: Type of news in Yoani Sánchez posts

Post	Used formula	Description part	Description object	Feelings
13	Direct dialogue	Expression	Reality	Yes
14	Outcome	Reflexion	Reality	Yes
15	Presentation	Reflexion	Reality	Yes
16	Presentation	Reflexion	Reality	Yes
17	Outcome	Reflexion	Reality	Yes
18	Presentation	Reflexion	Reality	Yes
19	Presentation	Reflexion	Reality	Yes
20	Presentation	Reflexion	Reality	Yes
21	Presentation	Reflexion	Reality	Yes
22	Presentation	Observation (tale)	Apparent reality	No
23	Presentation	Reflexion	Reality	Yes
24	Presentation	Reflexion	Reality	Yes

Source: Own elaboration

Reflection on a topical issue that she presents

Hardly can we find some post in this sample responding to an external action in which the blogger explains an unknown situation to the Cuban audience (with the exception of post 14). Instead of these, she comes to choose a topic with conflict or contradiction on which she bases her reflections.

In post 13 the author makes a direct dialogue in the text and with the video to the reader. She describes a traditional habit on December 31 th and expresses her feelings, although there were not very common words in a family.

> "I threw the traditional bucket to expel all that prevents us from moving forward as a nation".

In post 14, a tragic event is evaluated with deep impression: the death of an opposition leader after a hunger strike. As an exercise of street journalism, she moves to the scene to conduct an exclusive interview to Orlando Zapata's mother. Even at that moment she does not renounce to express her feelings:

> "We are here to share your pain"

In post 15, she describes a real moment in the streets with the presentation of a problem. She based her reflection on the clashes between Cuban citizens in the "Damas de Blanco" demonstration. There is a clear expression of feelings asking for dialogue.

In the post 16, there is a description with presentation of the fear with which the police see *Twitter* and its usefulness. There is reflection.

In post 17, there is a description around the event of May first. Those who once cheered the regime changed their

opinion, as soon as they leave. This is what gives rise to reflection about the brevity of the slogans, with a natural expression of feelings.

In post 18, she describes and presents the problem of social division in Cuba. She tries to describe a reality of confrontation and she offers herself to talk, to hug.

In post 19, there is a description with the presentation of a problem: even the revolutionaries themselves, if they are critical, they are marginalized. Again she insists in the problem of social division, with expression of personal feelings.

In post 20, there is a description with presentation following the last appearance in Television of Fidel Castro. There is a reflection on the meaning of his return, with the expression of personal feelings with a clear desire to mark the passage of time and demystify the leader.

In post 21, there is an introduction and a parallel description of the situation of picaresque which is reached with the new approval of permits for economic initiatives. There reflection and expression of personal feelings ensuring that the reforms have fallen short and are implemented too slow.

The style of the Post 22 is very interesting. There is an apparent fictionalized description about the trip of some suitcases. In principle, it's a relate that it appears as if it was an observation.   Apparently there is no expression of personal feelings.

Yoani Sánchez in post 23 is presenting a problem that affects directly her. The Costumes Office didn't want to give her some books, and she shows through the post the official answer papers she received and expresses her feelings.

Post 24 is the description with the presentation of a new reality in the island. Christmas are considered holidays again

after many years. She attributes that, in her reflection, as a quiet citizen victory.

2.6.8 Yoani Sánchez's journalistic genres: Between comment, article and editorials

We consider that ten of the 12 Yoani Sánchez's blogs would be insight journalistic opinion genres, qualified as comments.

Juliana Colussi, (2014) tried to qualify different opinion genres in journalistic blogs in Brazil and Spain. It seems that the traditional academy shifts the analysis of genres of blogs written press. Although most researchers about journalistic genres classified the comment as a large genus of opinion, in this research we call as a kind of mini-column. This is a text, audio or video that journalist-blogger comments on a current event or event. Some journalistic blogs in Brazil, as the Blog do Noblat, names this style of comment.

But, belonging to the importance of the blogger, we could take in considerations two more genres: the article and the editorial. "Article excels in the firm, which is also often noted. It is the firm's that draws the reader. It refers to the collaboration of an expert, journalist or writer who collaborates with its name and style to enhance the prestige and emphasize quality daily. (Colussi,2014)

As soon as she is self-considered as a representative of a group, speaking in plural person, it seems more an editorial. That would link to the future creation of a web journal *14 y Medio.*

> "The editorial is characterized by expressing the ideological line through communication to the different topics. It corresponds to the voice of publication and is a plain text signature." (Colussi,2014)

In our sample we could separate post 14 and post 22 form all the others. Post 14 is a formal direct interview asking for a valuation or message from Orlando Zapata's mother after his death. Sánchez and her husband went to the hospital.

Post 23 is a fable, a story of what could happen with a couple of bags with food that cross the country in a bus, the black market and difficulties for the daily life. With all the passenger's agreement not to disclose who the owner is. There is literary chronicle with personal analysis.

7. Narratology

There is some work done of Yoani Sánchez's narratology analysis, which enters in the blogger self-definition and discourse analysis. Caroline Toni Foppa (2011) highlighted that Yoani Sánchez was finding in the virtual world, called "the space", what it seems to be denied for her in the real world.

She found a new space from where to tell, to express her messages. The author identified different images: She is excluded from the real world. Instead, she is an active member of a virtual group in the net; She expressed that she is indifferent to power, just an attached citizen, but she fells responsible for what happens. Also, Foppa believes that she fells underestimated as her women condition.

Yoani Sánchez worked on mimetic stories that were a reflection based on her experiences. In all posts there is a mimetic story, a personal comment that underpin in perceptions.

Only the post 22 "Autonomous Suitcases" she wrote a fable. The blogger pretends to follow the steps of some suitcases, with no apparent owner, which were in a provincial bus travelling through the country. She fables a common situation; it could be based in observation, so we have qualified it as a mimetic.

7.1. The type of story and author's involvement

Table 26: Yoani Sánchez's involvement and her action in the story

Post	Author's involvement	Action	What She is offering
13	Homodiegetic protagonist	Liberation (new year) Passage of time.	She offers idea of future
14	Homodiegetic protagonist	Displeasure (death of an opposition prisoner)	She offers information of the death of an opposition leader
15	Homodiegetic protagonist	Displeasure (attack against Damas de Blanco)	She offers dialogue/offenders are the official journalists
16	Homodiegetic witness	Disclosure of Information (pursuit and Twitter)	She offers information about Twitter
17	Homodiegetic witness	Disclosure of Information (some official's hypocrisy)	Situation known in the Island
18	Homodiegetic protagonist	Future actions. Hero decisions (She offers herself for dialogue)	Also magic achiever, she is able to negotiate
19	Homodiegetic witness	Lost combat (excluding critics)	Claiming that regime doesn't tolerate critics
20	Homodiegetic witness	Discover disguise. She tries to dismantle the myth (Fidel)	She remembers that time passes even to the leaders
21	Homodiegetic witness	Displeasure (economic situation)	She denounces critical situation for small business
22	Homodiegetic witness	Displeasure (economic situation)	She explains quotidian difficult situation
23	Homodiegetic protagonist	Prohibition and Displeasure (Costumes office)	Censorship in the Costumes Office
24	Homodiegetic protagonist	Victory (Christmas become official holiday)	Citizens are "Magical achievers"

Source: Own elaboration

Yoani Sánchez Involvement; Half witness, half protagonist

In our sample there is a clear tie between the texts in which the blogger acts as protagonist or witness. In posts 13, 23 and 24 are situations that happened directly to her, so she is protagonist. In posts 14 and 15 she moves to the scene where actions are happening.

In post 18 she provides her willingness to dialogue directly with officials. She gives herself the role of spokeswoman, the headline is very significant: "long arms".

From our point of view, her role in posts 17, 19, 20 and 21 can be considered as homodiegetic witness. She is doing some reflection about facts where she has not been directly involved.

Post 22 is a fable, a tale. We considered her as a witness. She was not participating in the bus journey, but it is related as if she had been one of the bus passengers.

Between Displeasure and Disclosure

We can understand than the actions of the blogger are taken place in a negative universe where she moves between the displeasure and disclosure

There are five expressions of displeasure: In post 14 (the death of an opposition prisoner after a hunger strike), post 15 (when some people insult the Damas de Blanco and their supporters), posts 21 and 22 (about the day to day critical economic situation), and post 23 (her books were censored at the customs office), this was an action against her.

In posts 16 and 17 she pretends to bring information. In post 16, the chances of Twitter from a country with almost not internet net, and in post 17, about how some former convinced revolutionary officials change their mind as soon as they can go abroad. Insight this negative picture her action in post 19 can be defined as "lost combat". She explains that when some revolutionary cadre reports corruption insight the regime, automatically, can be excluded; it can begin a path of no return. The post 20 could be defined as an act of discover disguise. The blogger emphasizes that, despite some nostalgic could think from abroad, time goes on, and Fidel Castro, belonging to her, "is no longer the leader he was".

But, in clear contrast with all of those complaints, in the first and last posts of year 2010, she pretends to signal hope. In the posts 13 and 24 we find a hypothetical liberation (with wishes at the end of the year, the pass of time) and a victory (the recovery of the Christmas celebrations). She explains that this is a citizen victory. In post 18 we have defined her action as "decision hero". In front of this negative outlook, between intransigency and social division, facing a legacy of hate, she, the blogger, is who proposes a dialogue table. And she, the "journalist" is offering herself for dialogue as part and parcel.

Yoani Sánchez, may be the donor of a future

In all posts the blogger is a "donor". Rather when she offers essential information, reflecting and posting the opinion of the mother of the dead opposition leader, Orlando Zapata, or in post 15, when she remarked the lack of national dialogue; she identifies the regime and the official journalists as aggressors. The anguished blogger appears as an advocate of coexistence. In post 16, the journalist becomes "donor", giving essential information about Twitter and new technologies, citizens can protect themselves from acts of repression sending messages as SMS. Somehow, she acts then as a "magical achiever".

In post 17, the blogger diffuses a situation known nationally, but maybe not abroad: how some official cadres change their mind as soon as they emigrate. In post 19 again, she acts as a donor for her international readers.

This is an unknown situation: regime does not tolerate even its own critics. In post 20, she wants to emphasize the old age of the leader, in posts 21 and 22 the donor explains the critical economic situation that is discussed in the street but not in the official newspapers. In post 23, the blogger-donor explains a personal critical situation, censorship on her books in Costumes Office, showing the tests and the absurdity of the official response.

In the post 18, she also acts as a donor, explaining a situation of crude confrontation, but she explains that she is willing to offer herself for a national dialogue. But, in post 13 she offers the possibility of future.

She equalizes all Cubans with the wishes that "all the bad things could go". In post 24 the donor insists, she explains that Christmas are holiday again, she attributes that because it was a popular reaction, a conquest. In that case, that could be a precedent; "Magical achievers", then, were the citizens.

2. **Situation, success and achievements**

Table 27: Struggle process and final results

P	Situation	Kind of success	Achievements
13	Work done/blogger says there is future	Success with change	The hero revealed (people with wishes of change)
14	Deterioration, sacrifice/opposition leader dead, blogger shows pain	Success with confrontation	The hero revealed (the opposition leader and his mother)
15	Deterioration with obstacle/ the intolerance	Success with confrontation	The traitor revealed (those who spread hate)
16	Improvement, work done/blogger show Twitter advantage	Success with confrontation	The hero revealed (networks)
17	Deterioration/blogger shows that there is hypocrisy	Success with change	The traitor revealed (cadres change mind)
18	Deterioration/very difficult dialogue. Blogger offers herself	Success with change	Wedding (fictitious, knowing that it is impossible) (dialogue, she arranged herself)
19	Deterioration/sacrifice, critics exclusion	Success with confrontation	The traitor revealed (people that exclude others)
20	Deterioration/leader old age/blogger demystify	Success with change	Recognition (obvious situation leader older and older)
21	Deterioration/sacrifice/ desperate economic situation	Success with confrontation	Traitor revealed (responsible for economic measures)
22	Deterioration/ surveillance of goods/improvement thanks to solidarity	Success with confrontation	Traitor revealed (responsible for economic measures)

23	Deterioration with obstacle/censorship in the costumes office	Success with confrontation	The traitor revealed (responsible for censorship)
24	Improvement, work done/quiet citizen conquest	Success with change	Hero revealed (people conquered holidays)

Source: Own elaboration

Yoani Sánchez; Finding a deteriorate situation, success after confrontation and achievements

If you had to summarize in one word, the descriptive intention of the blogger we would define it as decline. With the exception of posts 13, 16 and 24 where blogger expresses improving work in the rest there is a description of deterioration.

Some of the descriptions are "deterioration with sacrifice": In post 14 is the death of an opponent. In post 17, the blogger shows the hypocrisy in some cadres. In post 18, she denounces the extreme difficulty for social dialogue. In post 19 she reveals the sacrifice of an expert from the regime that is expelled by expressing his opinion against corruption. In post 20, we can find also a situation of deterioration because of the aging leader. In 21st, and 22, she described almost a desperate economic situation, the conflict between quotidian survival status and rules that punish real economy. In post 15 and post 25, there are clear situations of deterioration with an obstacle, first because a situation of intolerance, then because an episode of censure against herself, Yoani Sánchez books were retained in the costumes offices.

After some sort of confrontation between traitors and heroes, waiting for the wedding

In a situation of general confrontation, the blogger texts seem to signal six "traitors revealed": In post 15, the ones who spread hate; in post 17, the revolutionary officials that change their minds; in post 19, the regime excluding critics; in posts 21 and 22 the responsible for dictating such slow economic reforms, an in post 23 the Costumes Office with executes a direct order of censorship against her.

There are four "revealed heroes." In post 13 and 24, ordinary people, students who achieved that Christmas became again holidays. In post 14, one is the mother of a dead opposition prisoner. In post 16, Twitter, the application that permits notify the world that some people is suffering persecution.

But if we direct our gaze to the future, we can dare to point out that, in post 18, the blogger announced a fictitious "wedding". Sánchez is convinced that the "Hug day" between factions that seem irreconcilable in her country, will arrive. She offers herself to participate in the wedding. In that text, the chronicler explains the deteriorating situation and how has suffered in their own flesh the discrediting and repression, but is willing to forget and to participate in the future agreement.

Yoani Sánchez narratology profile, summary: against the intransigence, Blogger stands herself as a spokeswoman for dialogue

All posts are reflections that flow from a reality. Everyone are considered mimetic. Only in post 22 the blogger writes a fable where she pretends to simulate the reality, suitcases with food in a bus.

In half of the post she can be considered homodiegetic witness and in the other half, homidiegetic protagonist.

Reader's presence is almost always implicit. Sometimes the blogger is addressing her conversation to the reader. In post 18 where she claims for dialogue. She encourages the reader:" Imagine". With the exception of post 22, the author enters in the narrative through metalepsis. All the characters in the story are active characters.

In half of the post the characters are presented through an external action, a date, an even, a success... But in others, from 17 to 23...characters are presented through their social role...their attitude in front of the regime.

In one to twelve, the hospital Hermanos Amejeiras in Habana, space is dramatic, because the blogger is doing an interview after the death of an opposition prisoner. There are seven post where space is important, referential. Instead, in four post, space is simply descriptive.

In all cases she is writing in a direct narration. She is almost always writing in an equal modalization, considering equal Cuban people with different ideology. Only we can observe some superiority from her because she is one of the few that knows the use of the net. She is a teacher of new technologies. She is teaching how to send messages to Twitter, without almost internet connection.

When she goes to the streets to act as a journalist more than editorialist, is when she interviews the mother of Orlando Zapata o to denounce the situation of the Damas de Blanco. It is clear that her blog is a window for the opposition movement, and she acts then as a mediator.

In all posts the blogger acts as a donor. First, she offers the possibility of a better life in the future; she advocates in favor

of coexistence, she gives essential information about Twitter, almost acting as a "magical achiever", she explains to foreign readers (the majority) that the regime expels its own critics, or the day to day of a difficult economic situation.

She announces the hug

For us, it is especially remarkable post 18, where she provides her desire to dialogue directly with Cuban officials and their followers about the future. She gives herself the role of the counterpart, as spokeswomen. The headline shows her predisposition for reconciliation: Long arms.

In post 15 "long arms", although there is an apparent intention of starting being external analyst, refusing to be identified with an ideology, she offered herself for dialogue. Despite having been a witness of a system for her politically and economically unjust, even victim of direct repression she says hug is inevitable

Some scholars see in her intentions a political objective. Anna Brenden Jacobsen (2013) who studied her language says:

> "Although it is not a politic in the strict sense, (she not represents any political party), she did writes critically about sociopolitical an internal economic affairs n Cuba. In this sense, we want to argue that we can compare her discourse like the one from a politician, because her objective is the same: to persuade the receiver."

Bad present, lightly future

In half of the posts the blogger likes to compare past and present, and how thinks can change. Six posts are expressed only in present, and in one, she expressed her predictions for the future.

In several posts she reiterates an idea, "time goes on". There are 7 posts where the author reflects confrontation, difficulties known by the Cuban living in the island, opponent's persecution, critics exclusion, difficult economic situation, censorship in Costumes Offices. But a permanent idea of future is always latent. Even, in post 20, she is the donor who remembers that the time affects also the leader's capacities. There are 5 posts that are events with change, positive change, real or imaginary

To describe her action from the narratology, first we can emphasize that there are five expressions of displeasure, complains about actions against opposition people, or against her. There is one occasion of "lost combat", when someone who reports corruption is excluded from the system. There are six "reveled traitors" people who spread hate, revolutionary officials, regime, who decided slow economic policies, and the Costumes Office.

There are four "revealed heroes". ordinary people affected with economic policy, the mother of a dead opposition leader, or new technologies. We can find two hypotheticals "liberations", New Year and Christmas. There are two occasions where she offers information, about technology or officials change of mind. And as we said, there is a final "wedding". The blogger shows her conviction that a hug day between Cubans from all ideologies will come. Although her sacrifice to combat all the disturbances of the present, tells the audience that national dialogue is possible.

2.8. Rhetorical Figures. Yoani Sánchez

In her thesis for the University of Oslo about the metaphors used by Yoani Sánchez, Anna Brenden Jacobsen (2013) started pointing that metaphors, comparing one thing to another, adding meanings, connotations to the issue of which we speak, can evoke positive or negative emotions to the reader. She studied posts in *Generación Y* between 2007 and 2009. She believes her analysis shows that the metaphorical expressions selected by Sánchez in her chronicles, show, as a whole, a negative attitude towards the Cuban political system and to the current government, and presented a Cuban reality in decline, full of difficulties and vicissitudes. They concluded that the metaphors were often presented in negative terms. And this selection of metaphors, in domains like health, religion, conflict, physical space or fiction, reflected a persuasive intention in Yoani Sánchez.

First of all, what we have been able to confirm is the multiple use of rhetorical figures.

Table 28: Rhetorical figures in Yoani Sánchez's sample

Post	Metaphors	Ironies	Paradox	Hyperbole	Metonymies
13	x				x
14					
15	x				
16	x	x			
17	x		x		
18	x	x		x	
19	x	x	x		
20	x	x			x
21	x		x		x
22	x				
23	x	x	x		
24					x

Source: Own elaboration

2.8.1. Metaphors

The first post in the year, 13, is itself a metaphor about the pass of time and about darkness and light, the daybreak. In the New Year, change is possible.

In post 15, we can find the metaphor in the same title "legacy" inheritance. She wonders the inheritance. In an atmosphere of change something is over. She makes reflections about future situations in case of the end of the regime.

In the post 16, she decides to write a humoristic metaphor "Twitter, the wild beast" because of the fear that some police officers have to the word "Twitter" in English and in general to Internet.

In the post 17 the metaphor are the faded flags of after the rain, after a 1est of May demonstration. For some people, it took very little time to change ideology, just when they emigrate.

The same title of the post 18 is a metaphor: "Long arms", it represents an indication, a symbol of the blogger willing to embrace the opponent.

In post 19, the author has replaced the word "corruption, the real counterrevolution" of an original article referenced, by "the exclusion, the true counterrevolution", a negative metaphor against the hardliners.

In post 20, She uses continuous metaphors to look different sketches to comment the return of Fidel Castro to the television screens.

She Talks about Don Quixote, Casanova, King Kong, Elvis or Peron, as well as she mentions the poem *"Volverán las oscuras Golondrinas"* from Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer. In an exercise of demystification, she refers to the "maximum leader" as the

"Caesar." To qualify the young aspirants of governing the regime, she speaks about "The eager new litter of wolves"

In post 21, the same title "Chaplinesque" indicates that we have in front of us a tragicomic situation. The image also takes us back to the Spanish Golden Age, the time of the picaresque in the streets.

In post 22, from the title, we can observe that the entire article is a metaphor, "autonomous Suitcases," is a customization, a personification. As if the bags had decision-making power to be autonomous. Only at the end they will find its owner, if they reach the end of their destination.

In post 23rd the author decided, from the title, to do a mockery of the response she received from Customs Office. In the Content She speaks about the reasons that make "dangerous" the bullets of his book.

The post 24 is full of metaphors to emphasize the previous forced unanimity:

"Christmas in a low voice", "identical lack of color", our "quirky parliament", "false sobriety they want to impose from the Tribune", "the same to define the new era in which holidays have been possible". "The day off virus he began to infect all citizens". The blogger considers that as small citizen's victories.

2.8.2. Ironies

The Post 16 is based on an irony: "Twitter, the ferocious animal", because a policemen believed that Twitter was a particular name from a person from England.

In the post 18, the author speaks with irony about future dialogues that can be set on the island between critics and

followers of the regime. (As when she speaks about the "dialogue among young Eliecer Ávila, and the president of the Cuban Parliament Ricardo Alarcón".)

Post 19 is based on an irony, the likely dismissal of a charge of the Cuban Communist Party for criticizing the situation of corruption.

Post 20 pretends to be all ironic. The author demystifies and dares to introduce humor around Fidel Castro awaken fantasies and concerns. She dares to compare "the babbling old man with burly military with Greek profile." "The man who proclaimed the right of revolutionaries to make revolution ..."

The Post 23's all it ironic, already reflected in the title, which is based on the response She received from the administration itself: "Welfare and realization contrary to the principles of our society."

The author has quoted the real response. She follows with the irony when she says that it is true that the contents of the book Cuba Libre: "undermines the overall interests of the nation".

The Post 24 Is ironic defining the lack of free days in the previous period: "Christmas in a low voice", "identical lack of color", "our quirky parliament."

2.8.3. Hyperbole

In post 18, the blogger uses hyperbole and exaggeration, because she knows that the spoken dialogue is almost impossible at that moment: "I entered into delirium".

2.8.4. Paradoxes

The author based post 17 in a paradox. A couple -pro regime- who, time ago, were watching the neighbors, as soon as they could travel to the United States, changed their jacket (mind) and now are writing in favor of the opposition, like the movement Damas del Blanco.

In post 19 the blogger wants to emphasize a semantic paradox. When citizens that criticize corruption are excluded, the official media carries on defining as a "revolutionary" the ones who are not questioning anything. For her that means a paradox: "revolutionary is then reactionary".

The post 21 ends with a devastating final though, a paradox: The government is opening the economy very slowly to avoid ridding the system, but the author said that precisely that is what could lead to a social uprising.

8.5. Similes

The Post 13 is filled with similes. The title is a simile. The last moon of 2009 wants to signal the passage of a chapter, meanwhile the darkness is the old regime.

In the post 21, she compares the Chaplin's film, where pillaging is a form of survival with the new measures of economic openness "a repertoire of poverty and dependence." The author warns about the reaction of the poorest "the youngsters frustrated" the disadvantaged massive layoffs ".

2.8. 5. Personification

All post 22 is an embodiment of what might happen to some the bags in the interior of a bus travelling around Cuba. Loaded with provisions, the police try to confiscate them and to know who their owners are. But they couldn't reach who were they because the solidarity between the bus passengers.

2.8.6. Parallelism

Post 13 is a sum of opposite parallelisms. First part: The difficulties of filming the sunset, the moon with a dark side, with pollution: the past space and time as the evil.

From the New Year, she describes a new light: "The sun has dried the puddles of the past, the common desire to ward off all evil."

Post 20 is all an attempt to demystify the leader. She is searching different parallelisms, similes to the figure of Fidel: "Caesar Maximum Leader, on the pedestal of the illustrious dead. The One, the supreme leader, the horse…"

In post 21 the blogger tries to compare the current economic situation in the streets of Cuba with the times of the Spanish picaresque in XVI century (the picture added is "El aguador de Sevilla" from Diego Velázquez), and the big crisis at the beginning of the XX century when mentioning the Charly Chaplin's film "Chaplinescas".

In post 24, the blogger explains parallels and contrasts between Christmas time of her childhood and the one from her son. Years ago, were not holidays. Now, thanks, - belonging to her-, to a "quiet social conquest", Christmas in Cuba are holidays again.

2.8.7. Posts without rhetorical figures

In Post 14 there is no purpose of rhetoric figures. An opposition prisoner has died after a hunger strike. The author goes direct to describe the situation; she explains her feelings and presents an interview with the mother of the deceased. This is a very different situation and journalistic genre from all the other post.

2.9. Lexicon

As a brief brushstroke we wanted to review the combination of nouns, adjectives and verbs modes used by the blogger in her posts.

Substantives

Figure 19 Yoani Sánchez Substantives assessment

■ Positive ■ Negative ■ Neutral

24%

28%

48%
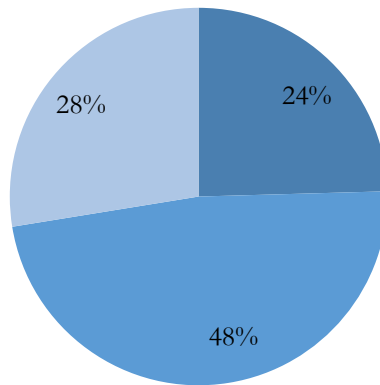
Posts	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Positive	10	4	9	23	2	38	12	13	8		7	13
Negative	7	9	38	18	28	12	39	50	33	28	1	8
Neutral	5	1	13	17	23	6	22	29	17	12	7	4

Source: Own elaboration

There are more positive than negative groups in substantive in posts 13, 16, 18, 23 and 24.

The article leader in positive substantives is post 18. The blogger deals with the possibility of a national dialogue between Cubans from different ideologies.

We can deduce that positivity in the case of the posts 13 and 24 it is because the issue is the passage of time and evolution.

In post 16, the positive part of the text is the use of new technologies.

Post 23 has some positive substantives because there is an ironic use of the arguments of the censors at customs office.

We can observe that there is a majority of posts with the preeminence of negative substantives that outweigh the positives: 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21 and 22.

In posts 14 and 15, are negatives nouns because the blogger is explaining two phenomena of repression. In post 17 the blogger reveals the ideological change from some former revolutionaries. In post 19, she pointed about the exclusion of some critics' insight the system; In post 20, she satirizes about the return in front of the cameras of the old leader; and in posts 21 and 22 she crumbles the difficult domestic economic situation.

Substantives/Adjectives

Figure 20 Yoani Sánchez Proportion Substantives/Adjectives
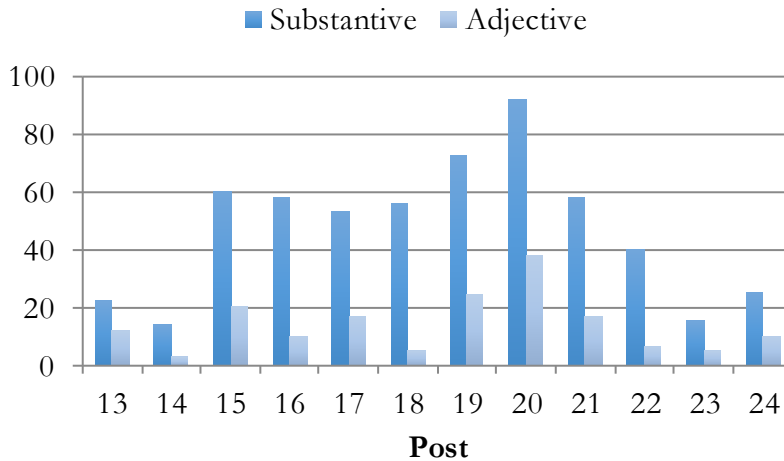
Post	Subs	Adj	Prop %
13	22	12	54
14	14	3	21
15	60	20	33
16	58	10	17
17	53	17	32
18	56	5	8
19	73	24	32
20	92	38	41
21	58	17	29
22	40	6	15
23	15	5	33
24	25	10	40
TOTAL	566	167	29,5

Source: Own elaboration

Unlike the previous author, there are a very high proportion of adjectives regarding the number of nouns. There is one adjective every three substantives. In post 20, we can find the highest proportion of adjectives, most of them with a negative connotation, when the blogger is discussing the return of the old leader to television screens.

The author introduces good adjectives in the posts 13 and above all in post 24, both speak about the pass of time and social conquests. By contrast, curiously, there are very few adjectives when the author enters into a fictional story, which leaves actuality (in post 22) about suitcases with food that travel the around the country. Or in the post 16 where the author talks about the usefulness of Twitter as a tool.

Figure 21 Yoani Sánchez Adjectives assessment
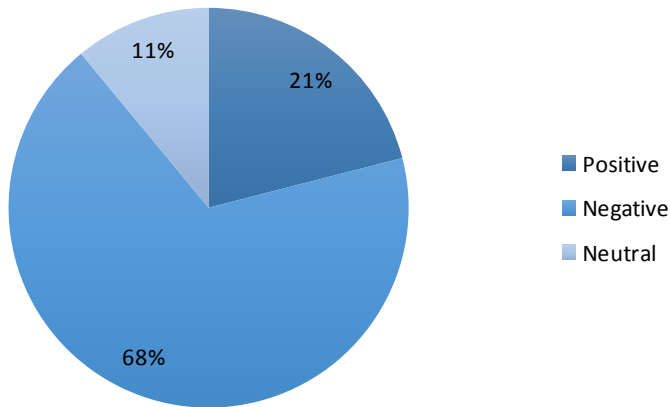
Post	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Positive	8	1	3	2	2	4	6	5	4	-	-	1
Negative	4	2	15	8	9	1	16	30	10	5	4	9
Neutral	-	-	2	-	6	-	2	3	3	1	1	-

Source: Own elaboration

Most of the adjectives are negative, five times more than neutral and three times more than the positives ones.

Only in the post 13, which speaks about desires for the New Year, and the post 18, in which the author offers dialogue among Cubans of different ideologies, positive adjectives are predominant.

In the post 20, there are six times more negative than positive adjectives. It is a post where the blogger tried to demystify the figure of the historical leader Fidel Castro and where the author suggests all kinds of similes and adjectives.

Verbs person and time

Figure 22 Yoani Sánchez Verbs, person and time
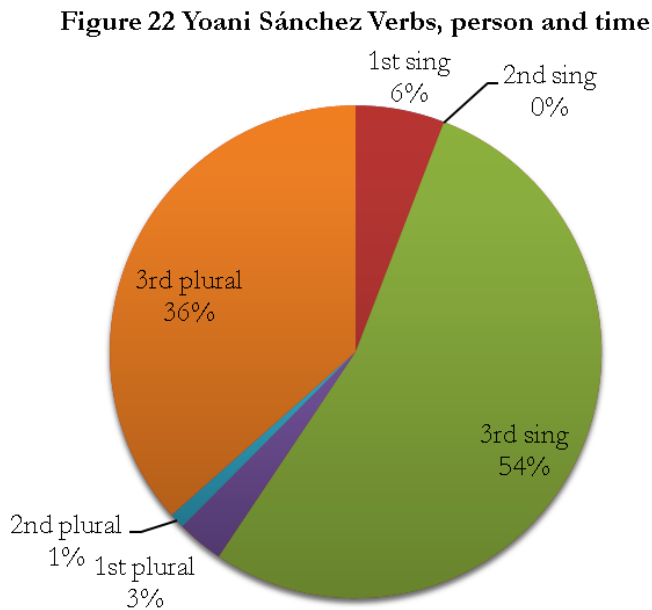
Posts	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1st sing	5	1	6	-	3	6	-	-	-	-	-	2
2nd sing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3rd sing	10	1	20	34	18	12	13	51	19	17	4	12
1st plural	2	2	-	4	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	-
2nd plural	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	1	-
3rd plural	3	-	21	14	26	8	9	18	15	17	2	11

Source: Own elaboration

Often the author omitted verbs, which gives a certain drama to the situations. She speaks directly, as equals, to the users of Internet community. He does not care using the first person in singular, especially in posts 15 and 18 where she speaks about the legacy of the regime and the possibility of dialogue. In them she becomes an active player, not only a spectator. It is interesting how the author passes from the first person in singular early in their posts to the first person plural at the end. That happens in the post 16, speaking about Twitter, as she wants to provide a general conclusion, also in post 20 as an appeal. Equally in post 18, speaking about a future hypothetic dialogue, she uses the 2nd person in plural as an appeal.

Verbs mode

We can observe a preeminence of the present and the past as a description of the situation. It is remarkable that she uses the infinitive many times, because it represents an ideal, the desired situation. The subjunctive mood is used as a suggestion of what could become a better future.

Figure 23 Yoani Sánchez verbs mode
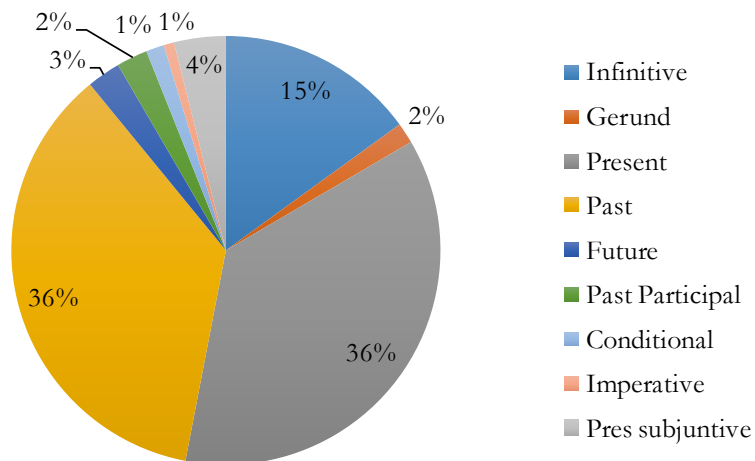
Posts	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Infinitive	6	1	4	-	6	8	14	9	11	8	2	8
Gerund	-	-	1	-	-	2		1	2	2	-	-
Present	3	1	31	34	14	17	17	41	12	4	5	8
Past	13	4	12	30	34	4	9	22	12	25	1	19
Future	-	-	3	1	-	1	-	3	4	-	-	1
Past Participial	1	-	1	3	-	3	-	1	3	-	-	-
Conditional	-	-	3	-	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	-
Imperative	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Pres subjunctive	-	1	-	1	2	1	4	6	4	1	-	-

Source: Own elaboration

Types of verbs

We can observe very few declarative verbs. Perhaps because the blogger is not interested in recounting what others say or think. They are not conventional journalistic chronicles, but

opinion articles. There are a good proportion of descriptive verbs, because they indicate willingness to define the situation.

Transitive verbs of action can mean denouncing on the actions that are happening. We can remark that there are quite a few verbs of feeling.

Figure 24 Yoani Sánchez types of verbs
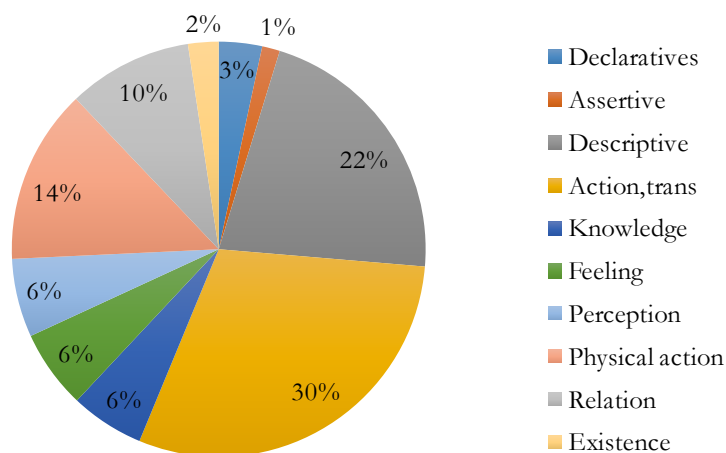
Posts	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Total
Declaratives	-	-	-	4	2	2	1	3	3	1	1	-	17
Assertive	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	2	-	1	-	1	7
Descriptive	11	1	6	11	15	9	12	15	9	8	1	11	109
Action	6	2	26	10	14	18	18	17	15	10	6	9	151
Knowledge	-	-	2	4	3	3	6	5	3	2	-	1	29
Feeling	3	-	4	-	1	5	3	12	1	-	-	2	31
Perception	1	-	3	2	2	1	5	5	3	5	1	3	31
Physical action	3	2	1	15	13	2	5	6	5	11	-	6	69
Relation	-	-	6	9	3	2	8	8	5	3	3	2	49
Existence	-	-	2	5	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	12

Source: Own elaboration

7

Comments Content Analysis; Capacity to create Interaction

IN OUR RESEARCH a part of the content analysis of posts by the bloggers and correspondent's interviews, it was especially interesting to analyze what was the response of the commentators to their posts.

In both cases we decided to take a sample of their first 250 comments, from the two posts of 2010 that created greater participation.

In the case of Wang Keqin, the most widely commented was the one of March 2010, about the persecution that suffered in Beijing the father of a child who died because a vaccine in poor condition. This man, Wang Mingliang, had denounced, along with other families the case of vaccines.

Yoani Sánchez's most commented post was the first one of the year, January 1, 2010. She explained the Cuban habit of throwing at night year-end by the balcony a bucket of dirty water that symbolizes to expel everything wrong in the previous year, and issuing best wishes for the New Year, with an implied analogy of change.

The analysis of the 250 first comments in each post, that has proved decisive, was divided in eight parts:

Authors

Coincidence with the issue of the Post

Who they direct their conversation

 New Information

Ideology

People Named

Insults/Threats

Lexicon and values /meaningful words

1. **Comments to Wang Keqin.**

1.1 Authors

First of all, we must point out that to enter their comment in the annex to the post, all Chinese commenter's should have registered their own blog on *Sohu* platform to participate. This company and its subsidiaries offer content, classified, sponsored searches, games, e-commerce, through a composite matrix of web services including the mass portal and one of the most visited online destinations. *Sohu* recommended some blogs and that day, March 9, 2010, they promoted the Wang Keqin one that talked about vaccines in bad condition and the persecution of the father of a victim.

From 2010 to 2012, the Chinese government was introducing regulations so that users could not register their blog or micro blog with pseudonymous. Some companies were criticized by end offering addresses and real names of the critical users. That might explain the low number of comments, compared with readers. They knew that it was difficult to remain anonymous.

In the analysis of the authorship we have evaluated the following items: If the name and the author were identifiable; Whether they were sporadic (writing only once), or regular commentators, (specifying how many times); If they had a nickname, and if this had a special meaning; If they had a photo, which it could be a portrait identifiable or not.

The results were that all of the Chinese commentators had an identifiable public address 100%. All had signed his own blog to participate. Most of them had an allegorical name. Only were easily identifiable with their real name 7.2% of the commentators.

Diversity

Out of 250 comments, 180 were from people who wrote in this post for the first time; only 70 commentators were involved in more than one occasion. This indicates a significant degree of pluralism, thanks to the number of different authors.

There are 38 commentators participating at least twice.

Table 30: List of the most participatory commentators

Commentators	Comments number
Qiu ri Wukong	10
Sohu User 6968	8
Voice of Shandong Pine	5
Uglytruth	5
Bingshu Kiantou	5
2 authors	4
6 authors	3
25 authors	2

Source: Own elaboration

This latter figure indicates that the level of participation was divided and that there was not a monopoly of messages by a few people.

Nicknames

It is noteworthy that a minimum of 40.8% of the authors, 102 from 250, used a nickname. With that, they seek to capture a double meaning, irony, criticism, and obviously to hide their real name.

From all the authors who have nickname, 67, 65,6%, have chosen a name chosen without relation to politics, 34.3% does have a political connotation, 2% have chosen a nickname to comment specifically on the topic of that post. For example, the person who signs as "Shanxi official" (who the people accuse to ignore the problem of the vaccines).

Non identified

More than half of the commenter's included a photo (142/250). 56.8%. That audiovisual element was a part of their own blog.

142 pictures were published.

They were 2 photos "eliminated"

There were 97 where is impossible to identify the commentator.

There are 43 (30.2% of all photographs) which allow to identify the author. They are less than half of all samples. Something that matches with the first variable: no photo and no name recognition.

The ones who wanted to be recognized by their photo were 2 out of 10.

Addressing the issue of the post

The majority of commentator's post of Wang Keqin, 161, 64.4%, did address the issue of the post. All of them were in favor of the post thesis.

There were 89, that is, 35.6%, that did not spoke about the subject of the post, but wrote short phrases that mostly served to give encouragement to the journalist and parents affected by the vaccines or criticized the lack of the health administration response.

Figure 25 Comments subject coincidences with Wang Keqin post
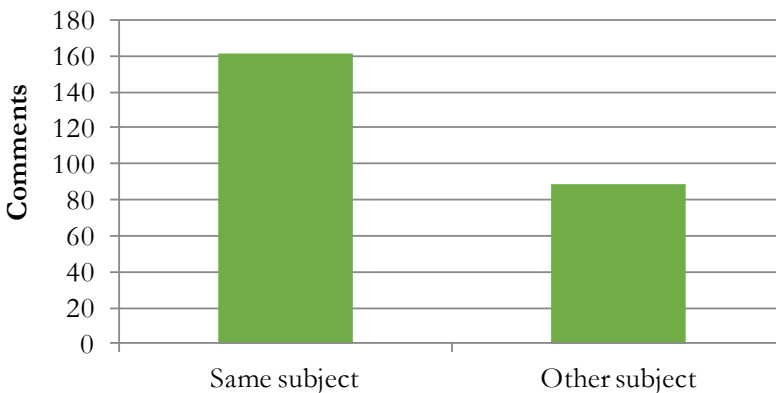
Source: Own elaboration

From 250 reviews, 241 were favorable to the topic of the post. Only 6 comments might be classified as neutral and 3 were direct against the post.

Figure 26 Commenters position with Wang Keqin post

■ Favorable ■ Neutral ■ Against
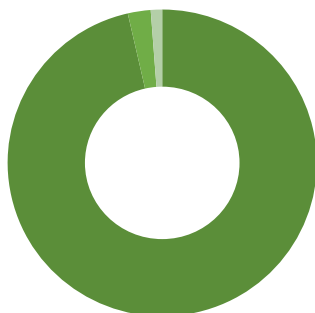
Source: Own elaboration

Observing the contents of these last figures (Figure 25 and 26), it is clear that for commentators Internet was a tool for support and pressure.

There were 5% of the commentators calling for publishing the entire lists of affected children.

There were 4% that asked Prime Minister Wen Jiabao and President Hu Jintao to take action on the matter.

We can find 2% of them asking for the intervention of the World Health Organization

It is remarkable that 2% had directly called by telephone the police chief Di to insult or reproach him.

One commenter asked publicly for the number of the victim bank account, Wang Mingliang, to deposit money.

To whom they address their conversation

Up to 30.8% of the commentators addressed their dialogue towards the journalist. There are a lot of mentions of encouragement and recognition of his role:

"Are you a real journalist Wang King",

"You are the personification of justice",

"The worst enemy of the corrupt"

Figure 27 Who the comments are adressed to in Wang Keqin post
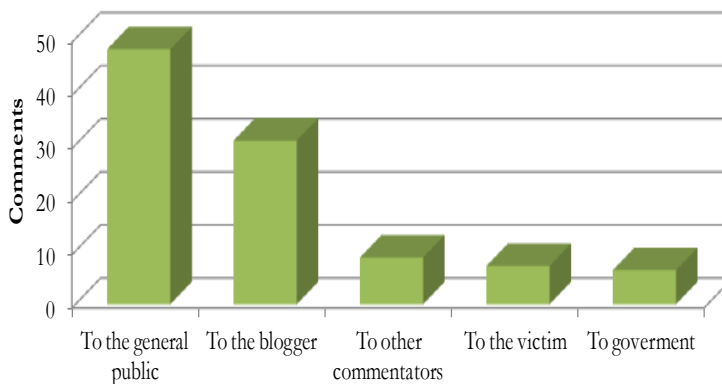
Source: Own elaboration

Many commentators were aware that practicing research journalism meant entering in a dangerous territory. In some cases, they tried to warn Wang Keqin: "Be careful", "they are able to get away with anything." They warn him that he was putting his life in danger.

Commentators publicly recommend reading and following his posts. This recognition of the journalist role is accompanied by general proclamations of outrage and confrontation with the bureaucrats.

There were 7.2% of comments also addressed to the victim, the affected parent whose son died. (Although the comments induce some confusion, because both, the journalist and the parent have the same surname: "Wang".)

It is noteworthy that, although commentators repeat other parts, they not establish dialogue between them. Only 8.8% of the reviews mention other bloggers. The conversation turns to Wang Keqin, not among commentators.

48% of comments were directed to the general public.

17 Comments were addressed directly to government agencies: to the officials of Shanxi Province (health officials or the police), either the Communist Party and national leaders, asking them sensitivity or intervention.

It is remarkable that there were some notable comments favorable to the attitude of the *Sohu* platform. Thanking the company for disclosing these kind posts and promoting social issues. But, after some days, others comments criticized the president of *Sohu*, Charles Chang, accusing him of complicity in the gradual disappearance of the posts dealing with the issue of vaccines.

New information

In Wang's comments only 25 on 250 provided any new information (10%). Most of them were focused on the single issue of the post.

We have noted with interest the comments where citizens were demanding more information. They called for the full list of affected children from spoiled vaccines in Shanxi Province (somehow, marking the script for future reports). And they announced that they would be very aware of everything that goes over. It is noticeable a significant degree of involvement in the story. Even, it was one that claimed for the account number of Wang Mingliang, the father of the victim. That mean participation, not only interest.

Part of the new information added was very practical, they teach and repeat the mobile number of the Shanxi police officer. There was another commentator who offered his personal number to collaborate "in rebellion".

Most of the new information subject was about the coverage that had being done in the story of vaccines. They reported how many portals were blurring the information about it. Finally, they echoed that the Chinese High Court was tightening measures to make complaints, to demonstrate that justice was not cooperating.

There were two historical information's not related with the subject: The common practices of local province police with the petitioners (That people goes to Beijing from the provinces calling for an appellate court to resolve local injustices. Then local police chase them to avoid explaining the problems in the capital.)

There was also a letter from a suicidal student at the Polytechnic University of Beijing to his mother complaining about the system. (It is repeated twice).

Ideology

Of the 250 comments from Wang Keqin, we just located 3 that could be interpreted against the blogger: One with insults, one with the commenter recommending sticking him a shot and another with irony.

There is no any commentator in Wang's blog directly defending the central government, the Shanxi provincial administration or the vaccines companies.

We found 17 that could be considered neutral.

There are 230, the 92%, which were critical with the situation, against the Shanxi police and against Shanxi health officials. Some demanded that President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao might take action on the matter and stop to do "deaf ears".

There is a criticism to the Communist Party, but in this case, not from a liberal perspective, but from a nostalgic point of view, remembering what was the Chinese Communist Party in the Mao era.

There are no general statements about the system of government, but about this particular case.

People or places named

In observing the number of own names there is a critical finding. To what extend the blogger was admired. He was named 40 times positively about 250. In some occasions qualified as "journalist", others as "professor".

The Blogger is named more than twice than the pursued father, named Wang Mingliang that appears positively 13 times.

In the ranking of names with positive mentions this two were followed by *Sohu,* the Internet platform which announced on its front page the post of Wang. Commentators thank them, but in our sample, *Sohu* and its director Charles Chang also end up with two negative references, because, as the hours passed, finding the subject of the vaccines was more and more difficult. (May be as a reaction to an official warning).

Shanxi citizens were appointed positively 4 times.

Figure 28 Positive mentions in Wang Keqin comments
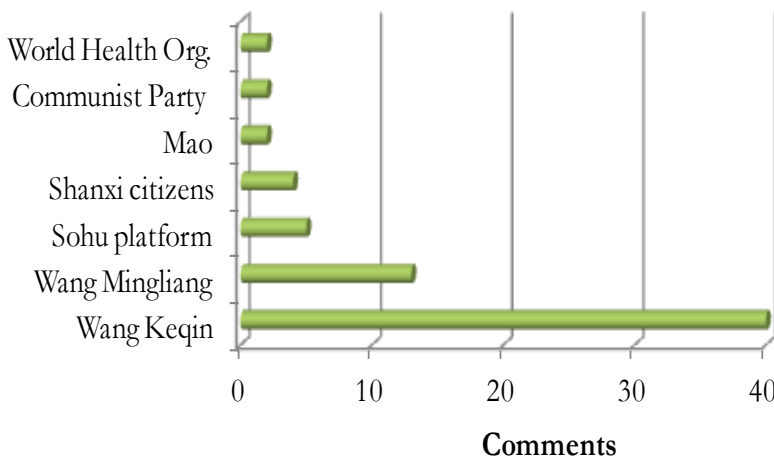
Source: Own elaboration

Chairman Mao receives three positive mentions and two the Communist Party in the Mao era. This appears to us that the criticisms were made from a perspective of people who believed in the social function of the Party. They were concerned about what they see as injustices against the families of ill children and opposed to the favor treatment or

complicity with drug companies. They criticize an alliance between the government and employers (com. 42)

The World Health Organization is named twice, requesting its intervention.

The ranking of negative mentions is headed by the police Di Wuping. He is the police chief who was "chasing" Wang Mingliang in Beijing. He received 15 mentions.

Figure 29 Negative mentions in Wang Keqin comments
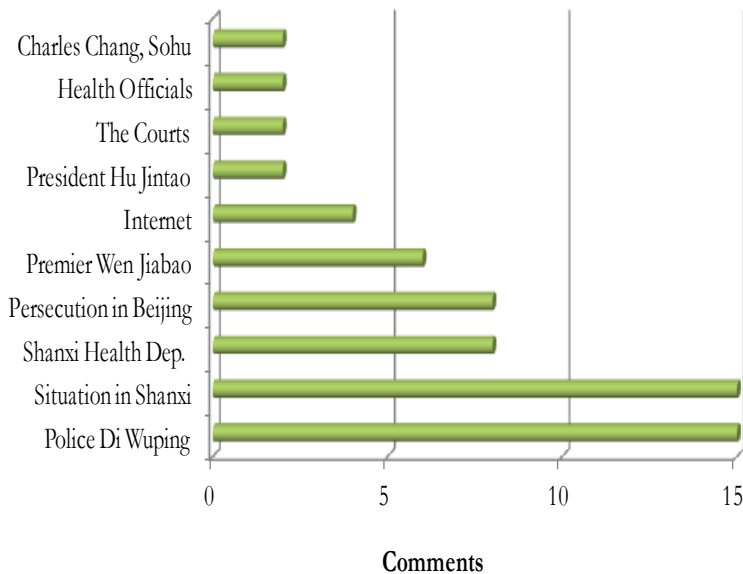
Source: Own elaboration

The situation in the province of Shanxi was also mentioned 15 times in a negative way. It follows the Shanxi Health Department (which refuses to investigate the case of vaccines) with 8 entries and their officials with 2.

The situation of the persecution in Beijing is named 6 times with negative character. Premier Wen Jiabao takes 6 negative mentions. He was asked to act.

Internet was nominated 4 times negatively due to the progressive increase of difficulty finding contentious issues like this. President Hu Jintao only got 2 negative mentions.

The courts received two negative mentions. Because comments accuse them of preventing clarifying the situation and complicating procedures for filing complaints.

Insults

It is surprising how among Wang's commentators, there was such a high percentage of insults, its severity and that these have not been deleted. In 76 of the 250 comments (30.4%), insults or rude phrases are observed.

Who is the most insulted target? First (63%),"Shanxi officials". They are: health officials who provided vaccines in poor condition and the ones, who, after that, wanted to avoid an independent investigation. It also includes local police forces. There is a huge variety of insults; they engaged them up to 44 qualifiers. The most used are corrupts and murderers,

Secondly, (14.4%), the most insulted Shanxi police officer.

He was the chief police officer who was chasing the father whose child died after the vaccines. It was supposed that he was doing that, to prevent a possible interview between the father and officials from the National Health Ministry.

Table 31 Insults in Wang Keqin post comments

To whom	Insults
Shanxi officials	Corrupt (7 times), Murderers (7 times), Ruthless (4 times), Scoundrels (4 times), Motherfuckers (4 times), Evil (3), Lapdogs (3), Contemptuous human life (2), Slag (2), Repulsive (2) Nauseating (2) (And another 34 more)
Shanxi police officer	I shit on the mother who bore you bitch (7), Lapdog (5), Corrupt official (3). Let him go to hell, we shit in 8 generations of your ancestors, motherfucker, I shit on your fucking, mother, mad dog, bully, pestle worker, we shit you.
The citizens themselves	They violate "even the pig's rights". The people, "shit's citizens" (3) We are becoming evil beasts (It is very interesting to observe how they qualify the citizens themselves)
The society	Feudal. Dreadful, Dark
The situation	Immoral
The Communist Party	Terrorizing the country, Too corrupt, Useless
President Hu and Premier Wen	Deaf
Wen Jiabao	God of the pests, Messenger of Death
The government	Scoundrel, Mafia
Local government	Dark force
The High Court, judicial system:	Logic bastards
Charles Zhang, entrepreneur, portal *Sohu* owner	Unscrupulous businessman.

Source: Own elaboration

Threats

In the sample of 250 comments Wang we detected about 14 threats.

It is remarkable how the commentators directly call for action and, in some specific cases, take it.

At first there are several generic comments that encourage "Let us rise up in revolt", and they are repeated.

Two comments, even do not rule out the murder: "If we kill one, as a minimum will be one" "the killing of whom we have to kill", "the catch of whom we had to catch ", or "I cannot avoid that I want to put a bomb to explode in the government of Shanxi ".

In a practical proposal and aimed to the Internet community comment of the post 142 proposes: "Let's go all to "hunt "and that its dirty laundry was aired. (1)

The most remarkable: Comment 226 published the telephone numbers of the police officer and the phone number from which the father have received threats, somehow calling other commentators to action.

Comment 153, on the opposite side, recommend the government to detain Chen Tao, Wang Keqin and artist Ai Wei Wei and shoot them a shot.

Lexicon: Values cited

We have found that the positive values cited in the 250 comments were generic feelings, not directly political, but can be summarized in a general call for justice. Something that matches the final will of the author in their posts.

Figure 30 Positive values in Wang Keqin comments
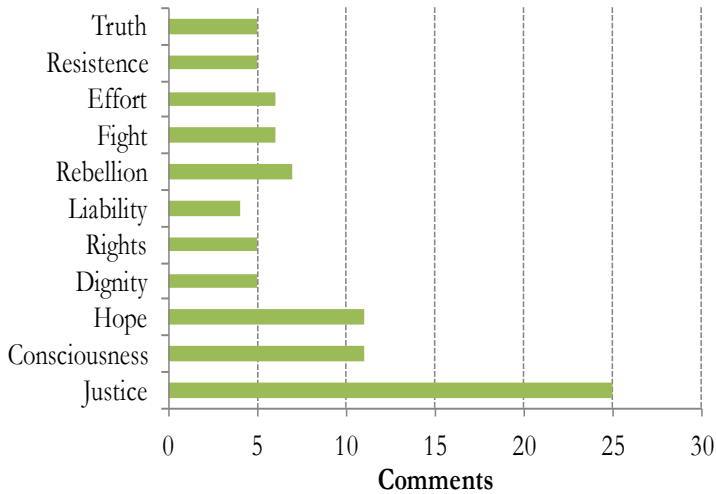
Source: Own elaboration

All these values are claimed by some individuals who call themselves "Ordinary citizens" (3 times)"Shit Citizens" (3 times). They oppose their values to who, according to them, defends corruption. Specifically, the request for "democracy in China" globally, only appears in 1 out of 250 comments (196).

Figure 31 Negative values in Wang Keqin comments
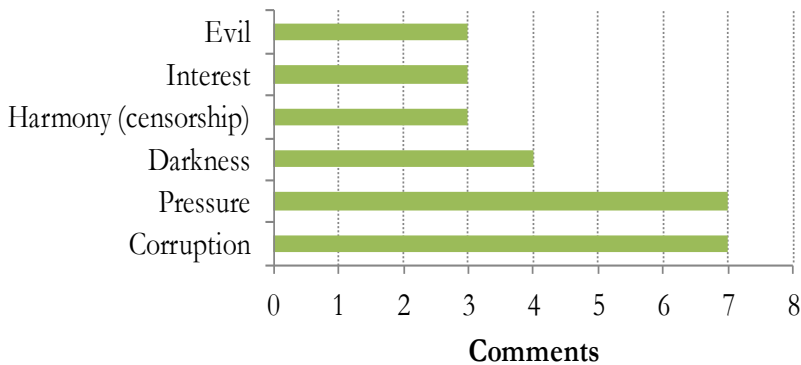
Source: Own elaboration

Meaningful words in the debate

In the translation process we have been helped by some remarks by Dr Mireia Vargas especially important to recognize some important concepts. Some words used by the net commentators that show their sense of community and the mobilization of the commentators in that particular moment.

"Shitizen", sense of community

In the Internet language in China they used the expression 屁 民 (Pimin), literally "people-fart". According to platform *Baidu* (http://baike.baidu.com/view/1971166.htm) encyclopedia in English is usually translated as "shitizen" (a word play with "shit" [shit] and "citizen" [citizen]).

The expression was created by Chinese netizens following statements from Lin Jiaxiang, party secretary of the Shenzhen Maritime Administration, an official accused of molesting a minor, an eleven-year-old girl. In 2008 Lin was quoted during an argument with the girl's family. That official replied that "You people are so worth less than a fart to me!". These words gave rise to the expression "people-fart". It has been a hot topic on blogs and in Internet forums.

For the translation of the commentary to Spanish, it has been used "citizens of shit", but should not be read pejorative sense, but rather ironically from the original insult received from the official. Therefore, netizens came to call themselves "shit citizens"

For more information about the incident with Lin Jiaxiang, see: http://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/nov/05/china-lin-xiaxiang-communist-party

"The harmony"

During his tenure, Prime Minister Wen Jiabao, coinciding with this post, insisted on creating a 'harmonious society "in China. Some commentators, such as the 74, the author, San lou Zhai Zhuren, expressed ironically, the "harmony" concept. "It seems very harmonious. Oh, this world, this heaven kingdom. It seems as if the world had never been this upset."

Actually, he says: "It seems very river crab." "River crab" (hexie) is a homophone of "harmony" (hexie), but in fact both words are used by net citizens to talk about Internet censorship in China. This phrase is implicitly understood that the author criticizes censorship. More information about this euphemistic use of "river crab" here (in English): http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/River_crab_(Internet_slang)

Mobilization phrases of Chinese netizens

Review "go hunting all" (comment 142)

In Chinese it is: 人 肉 搜索; pinyin: Rénròu Sōusuǒ . It is a term that defines that the public can help making a massive investigation about a person using the Internet and sharing information. This search engine "human flesh" has been used to expose hidden parts of biographies, addresses, phone numbers, and locations. But this human flesh search also uncovered situations of injustice or fraud.

In 2010, Fei-Yue Wang and other authors published, in a shared work between the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the University of Arizona a list of 100 cases of Human Flesh and their consequences.

"We may beat the drum to be heard" (Comment 11, from the author Li Tian'er)

The renowned author Lin Yutang (1895-1976) wrote in 1936 wrote *A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China*. This book explains what meant the tradition of "Beating the Drum".

During Ming dynasties it was used as a method of public criticism (Yutang, 1936: p.16)

> "As regards the mass of people, some of their   methods were to declare "cities strikes", "beating drums" and "making petitions during the passage of the official's hand chairs" (excessive taxes or death sentence for an innocent). Official censors were empire that represented a rather unique and quirky curious system of governmental censorship of the Chinese theory of the government."

> "In addition to the imperial censors, there were lawyers (...) In times of national crisis, when it was becoming a general movement, the lawyers who had no position, or if they did, were not official censors, sometimes attributed themselves the duty to submit reports to the emperor with all their signatures. They could add several hundred. Some of them used the method to beat the drum in the palace, or appearing personally or in groups, at the entrance." (p.18)

> "In the last Han dynasty, or during the Sung and Ming, groups of lawyers and university students, who once became thirty thousand, were constantly found mixed in politics through their intrepid attacks to the government or against the conduct of some members of the imperial house. Indeed, they were directly responsible for more than a cabinet reshuffle. They were, in fact, the Fourth Estate". (*ibidem*). (p.18)

"The dragon Guillotine dragon must serve its function. "

That is a phrase that became popular following the Taiwanese television series *Justice Bao* (Bao Qingtian), about Bao Zheng, an official from the Northern Song Dynasty who became famous for his honesty. The phrase became especially popular in Hong Kong.[1]

In the fictional versions of his history, Bao Zheng used guillotines sculpted with heads of different animals depending of the type of the offender: the dog one for common criminals, the Tiger ones for government officials and the Dragon for the royals.[2]

"Tears of Liu Bei"

In the commentary 39, the author "Shaanxi Officer" emit a call to action: "The real problems will not be solved with four sentences; they cannot be solved with the tears of Liu Bei." Liu Bei was a warlord during the Three Kingdoms era. In the operas he is often described as someone remarkable for his compassion.[3] In the commentary 50, the author "Caught by the throat" appeals to compassion, which can be summed up to the general feeling of the commentators: "Do not underestimate the misfortune of the unfortunate" Lu Zhishen words, nicknamed Flowery Monk, from Liangshan. He is a character from the novel "On the Waterfront", one of the four major classical novels of Chinese literature.

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[1]   Extracted   information   in http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E5%8C%85%E6%8B%AF

[2] For more information about Bao Zheng in English, see: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bao_Zheng

[3] Information taken from: http://ca.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liu_Bei

1.   Yoani Sánchez's Comments: Content Analysis

From the time it is published, Yoani Sánchez's post was the excuse for a debate, for reflect a number of generic claims of liberty or anti-regime, and to serve as a speaker for hundreds of international net citizens.

Her blog had become a large organ for discussion, especially among Diaspora readers, the vast majority anti-Castro. Professor Ted Henken (2011) explained that Yoani Sánchez stopped interacting with the commentators in 2008 because the avalanche of inputs and the difficulty to connect from the island. Therefore, he suggests that perhaps we cannot speak about "interconnectivity", otherwise "platform".

There is a precedent in our analysis of comments in a work that studied Castro and anti-Castroism in the net. Carlos Ferrer Peñaranda research was done from the University of Prague analyzing the comments in the Spanish newspaper Público.es, after the death of the leader of "Damas de Blanco", Laura Pollán.

We have also analyzed the first 250 comments. In a future non-synchronous research, it could be interesting to analyze how between the many anti-Castro commentators, the blog served to recognize Yoani Sánchez leadership, as opposition leader from within the island.

Comments's Authors

In the case of *Generation Y,* the audience is international. It is not necessary, as in the previous case, belonging to a particular platform. The huge number of commentators goes rotating depending on the time zone.

From 250 comments:

There are 191 (76.4%) whose name and surname are unidentifiable. Only 59 (23.6%) are recognizable.

From those who are not fully identified, 8% gives just their first name.

The vast majority of commentators, 194, (77.6%) chose a nickname.

Of these, almost half of them, 38%, opted for a political nickname:

Examples:

"Cuban stateless but ownerless" (taken from a José Marti verse),

"The day they kidnapped Cuba",

"Colostomy Bag (dregs) / harmful and nepotic Castrism,

"Constitutionalist".

Another group, 17%, they prefer to identify themselves according to their origin or their former place of residence in the island, like Havana neighborhoods as Lawton, Guanabacoa, or the cities where they live abroad.

Others, 11%, choose a time criterion linked to the topic of the post, wishing a happy new year. Finally, the 4% have a nickname with no apparent meaning.

Among commentators who do not used nickname, it could be find several characters easily identifiable:

Alex Acosta, Miami.

Ranulfo Ramirez, at that moment owner of the blog http://rutaveintyseis.blogspot.com.es/

First generation former revolutionary who participated in the July 26 Movement, two years later, at 18, took refuge in an embassy for four years, until exile in the United States. He still remains active.

Evelio Henández Cólon

http://lalomadeltanque.blogspot.com.es

Due to the time change, the first people feeding their comments at night on *Generation Y,* were, for the most part, from the American continent: (Mendoza, Argentina) H Mirtha Rodriguez (Mendoza, Argentina), Federico Gauffin. Salta (Argentina), Delfino Castro Monroy (Mexico), Venezuela, etc.

Diversity

Only 1 in 4 comments were sporadic, that is, from people who have participated for the first time, or only one time in that post. As a general rule, there is a conversation established, and apparently, assiduity from some citizens is the norm. A dialogue is established by a small group who, according how they relate, they have been known for some time.

In analyzing the first 250 comments, 63 are from people who wrote for the first time that day (25.2%), 187 comments are from authors who were writing at least for second time (74.8%).

Compared to the Wang Keqin analysis, here we found fewer authors writing 2 times or more (24), but some of their dialogues are very long.

Table 32 List of the most participatory commentators

Commentators	Comments
Salud	31
Alex Acosta	29
Sor Torcuata	19
Clara Hernández	16
Cubano sin patria, pero sin amo	16
En contra de la Revolución	15
Yuleidi de Lawton	11
Delfino Castro	7

The pyramid of multiple, prolific authors it is not an index to ensure plurality. Instead of that, there are three or four people who lead the debate. In that blog, Clara and Alex Acosta Hernandez took turns answering or confronting Salud.

Identification

Only 65 of the first 250 comments have provided a photo.

Of these, 52 (80%) have an allegorical picture (flag, some portraits of historical leaders, etc.) and we cannot identify them.

Only 13 (20%) presented their portrait (that mean 5.2% of all comments analyzed.

Less than one on ten commentators agreed to be recognized in a photo.

Addressing the issue of the post

It is very interesting to note that in the case of *Generation Y* only 1 in 5 comments are based in the topic of the post. They are 49 to 250 (19.6%). The rest, the majority, 201 (80.4%) does not address the topic of the post.

Figure 32 Comments subject coincidences with Yoani Sánchez post
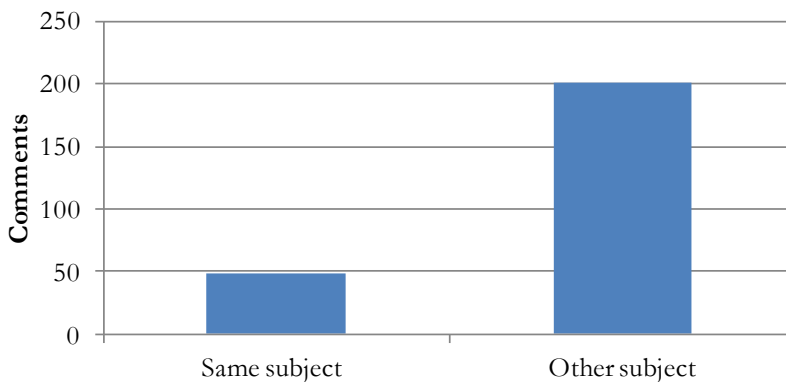
Source: Own elaboration

Among those, focusing on the subject, 93.8% are in favor, 2 opposed of its thesis, (only 4%), and 1 could be considered neutral.

Figure 33 Commenters position with Yoani Sánchez post
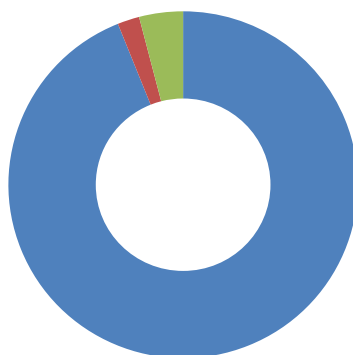
Therefore, we can observe that the post becomes an excuse to start a conversation on other topics, political or not.

There are side issues that have to do with the location of streets and places in Havana, in a nostalgic dialogue between expatriates.

Others are historical and political debates, like a conversation about the trial of Arnaldo Ochoa Sánchez (the general who was sentenced to death and executed on charges of drug trafficking by the Cuban government). It has nothing to do with the post, but is introduced because it is a topic that can hurt sensibilities among pro-Castro citizens.

Interestingly, a commentator was repeatedly entering the name of torturers of the Batista regime. His suggestions had nothing to do with the issue of the post and he was trying to change to other conversation). Two others citizens accuse him of being a troll.

To whom they address their comment

Only 6.8% percent of the comments (17) are directed to the blogger, always in glowing terms, and instead, five times more, 38.8%, are answering other comments.

Figure 34 Who the comments are adressed to in Yoani Sánchez post
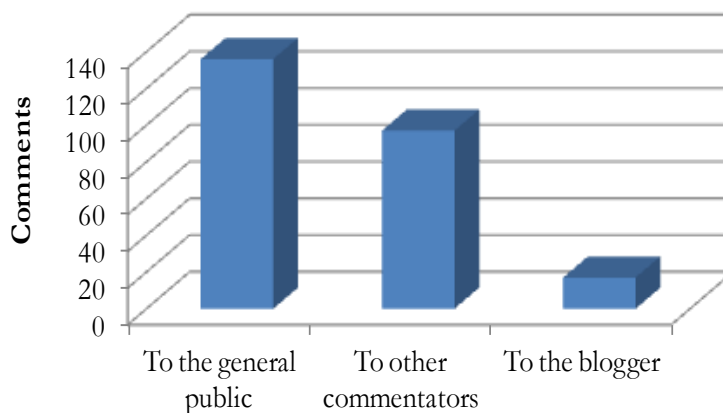
Source: Own elaboration

136 comments are directed to the general public (54.4%), few compared with 97 (38.8%) which are addressed to other commentators, in a real group situation. It seems habitual for them to discuss common issues, about historical or current politicians, geographical nostalgic issues. That demonstrates

that commentators are not conditioned by the topic of the post.

Generation Y is a meeting point for hundreds, thousands of commentators who simply allowed taking advantage of the platform every time the blogger entered a post.

New information

In our sample of post *Generation Y* there are few comments which provide new information, only 47 of 250, 18.8%.

Of those, nearly half, 24, explain historical topics. None of these are related to the topic of the post.

There is a conversation in 9 comments about locations of different streets, neighborhoods, cinemas, related to old Havana.

There are 7 comments from a single author, who introduced, as an appeal to obtain more historical information, introducing the names of various torturers of the dictator Fulgencio Batista regime.

There are some audiovisual contents with historical information:

Three videos about the trial of General Arnaldo Ochoa, sentenced to death for Cuban justice. (From 1989);

One video of the execution of three young Afro-American young Cubans who tried to kidnap a boat in the city of Havana. (April 2003)

Two videos about attacks to the opposition group Damas de Blanco and one more calling for the release of the dissident leader doctor Oscar Elias Biscet.

There is another clip where the singer Silvio Rodriguez was asked about the existence of conscience prisoners in the island in an interview.

Besides all of these with historical information, the rest, 23 comments, entered some current information. The vast majority, 20, are unrelated to the topic of the post.

There are 6 comments concerning the scope of the blog of Yoani Sánchez. They comment the war in the cyberspace, the competence against pro-governmental blogs, internet access in the island and the exaggerated prices of telephone calls.

There are two comments about the presence of the island's music group Buena Fe in Miami.

There are two other about the supposed Castro family heritage abroad.

There is one about the appointment as super minister of general Ramiro Valdes,

There is one about the situation of public health, copying independent agencies.

There is one telling that in that year there was not a public celebration of the 51st anniversary of the Revolution.

And there is one about the forecasts of the babalaos, afro Cuban religion priests, reading the lyrics IFA, with predictions for 2010.

Ideology

Under the premise that we have analyzed the contents of the comments one by one and not the commentators, we find that a majority, 149 of 250, 59.6%, are critical with the Cuban government.

There are 92, 36.8%, of the comments that can be considered as neutral or undefined. Most have no connection with the subject of the post. Part of them are dialogues or memories.

We could come to the conclusion that only 7 of 250, 2.8%, would be favorable to the government. In the dialogue these 7 comments correspond to only one commentator (whose nickname is Salud).

People or places names in the comments

We have to emphasize the preeminence of the blogger name above any other, but not as in Wang Keqin's level. Yoani Sánchez appears named 30 times in a positive sense, beating the references to Fidel or Raul Castro, which are listed, but, with negative connotations.

The following positive mention is towards Cuba. Here we must emphasize an important inference. Although nine out of ten comments are antigovernment that does not mean that they always speak badly about the country. There is virtually a tie between expatriates' net citizens and the island. We found 26 positive references to Cuba and 23 negative, equal to 5 neutrals.

Figure 35 Positive mentions in Yoani Sánchez comments
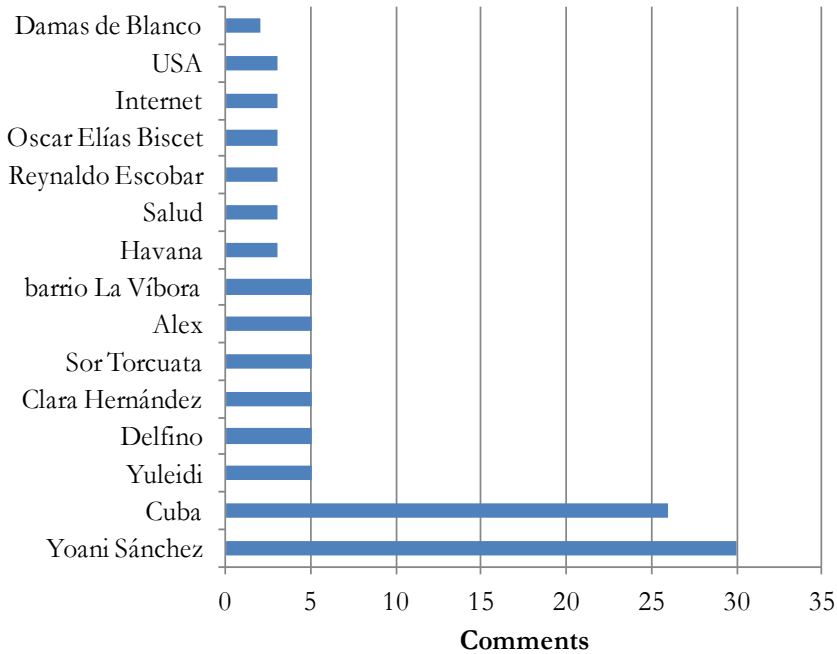
Source: Own elaboration

Regular commentators (Yuleidi, Delfino, Clara Hernandez, Sr. Torcuata, Alex) named one to each other and collected positive mentions, about 5 each one. Salud, which is the commentator who engage in controversy, have just 3 positive mentions, 4 negative and 1 neutral.

The neighborhood of La Víbora, gets 5 positive mentions. The city of Havana gets 3 positive and 4 neutral mentions.

Internet has 3 positive mentions; it is assumed by the commentators that benefits participation. Instead, the company that distributes Internet, ETECSA, has a negative

mention. They accuse that firm of having the world's most expensive phone rates.

Reinaldo Escobar, the husband of Yoani Sánchez, gets 3 positive and 2 negative (ironic) mentions.

Among the dissidents, Oscar Elias Biscet, is just being mentioned 3 times positively and "las Damas de Blanco", 2.

United States is mentioned 3 times positively and 1 negatively. (A small percentage of 250 comments)

Among the negative mentions, Fidel Castro takes 13, "The Castro" in general, 14, and Raul Castro, 10. All of them negative. Although there is a positive mention to Raúl Castro, because the reform he undertook on the issue of mobile telephony.

Figure 36 Negative mentions in Yoani Sánchez comments
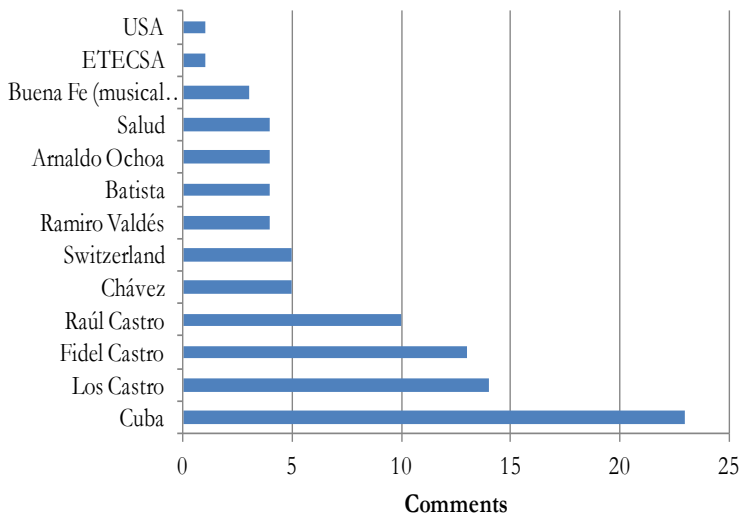
Source: Own elaboration

Regular commentators agree to call ironically "Robolution" instead of "Revolution" That was posted by us as 6 negative mentions.

Chavez, at that time president of Venezuela, has 5 negative mentions and 1 neutral.

The newly appointed Interior Minister Ramiro Valdes takes 4 negative mentions.

There is a commentator who went remembering people from the government of the former dictator Batista. He just received 4 negative mentions 1 neutral and 1 positive.

The former general Arnaldo Ochoa, executed by the Cuban justice, ends up having 4 negative and 2 neutral mentions.

Castro's sister, Juanita Castro, who lived in Miami, has 3 neutrals and 1 negative mention.

The musical band *Buena Fe* has 3 negative mentions, by the fact that they performed in Miami without criticizing the system, and 1 positive.

Switzerland, where some commentators say that Castro's money is saved, has 3 negative mentions.

Interestingly, there is a comment on the situation of a health institution in Havana, the Calixto Garcia Hospital and is mentioned 1 time negatively. It doesn't have to do with the topic of the post.

Insults

In the comments of *Generation Y* insults percentage is also quite high: 65 of 250, the 26% off all. Most of them, 44, 67%, are dedicated to the island's government or to some of its leaders. The remaining got to third persons. In our sample, there are no insults to the opposition.

Table 31 Insults in Yoani Sánchez's post comments

To whom	Insults
The government or its leaders	Dictators (12), Murderer / s (6) Robolution (4) (thieves), Spawn (3) Corrupt (2). Raul Castro: la China (2) Women's soul (2), Tyrant/2) (Up to 35 other qualifiers.
The band music Buena Fe	(coward, shameless)
Officials	(henchmen, socks, sons of bitches)
Venezuela	(terrorists)
Chávez	(the coup monkey with diarrhea
Lenin	(mangy)
General Ochoa	(murderer)
Alicia Alonso	(the blind)
Prison	(hell, threaten machines, destroyers, thugs, corrupt)
Among commentators	Communist, infiltrator, troll, rat

Source: Own elaboration

There is a crossing of insults among some regular commentators who believe there is a Troll (Salud) accusing him of "communist", "infiltrator" and he answered with another insult calling him: "rat".

ETECSA (The Cuban telephone company responsible for Internet) was accused of "robbing with both hands"

Threats

Despite the high number of insults, with 250 comments, there are no calls to action or active threats. There are 8 negative wishes to the country leaders.

In 4 cases they wish the death of Castro brothers.

In 2 they want them go.

In 1 they desire them "to pay for their crimes."

It is curious to observe that between the commentators who live abroad it is denoted some irony when they speak about the capacity for action of Cuban population. Indeed, there is a critical appeal against sending remittances to the families of the island.

Lexicon, Values

There is a big difference with concepts expressed in Wang Keqin comments. Here, the majority of the Yoani 250 comments are an invocation of political values.

The most named value in positive is "Freedom" (29 mentions)

The second: "Happiness"(16 mentions). That could be, because of the date, first of January 2010.

The third, -but with quite a distance -, "democracy"(7 times).

The fourth, a direct request "release prisoners" (6 times).

The five, "Justice", appears 5 times. There is a clear contrast with the comments with Wang Keqin, where is the most named vindication; "Prosperity", (4 times).

Figure 37 Positive values in Yoani Sánchez comments
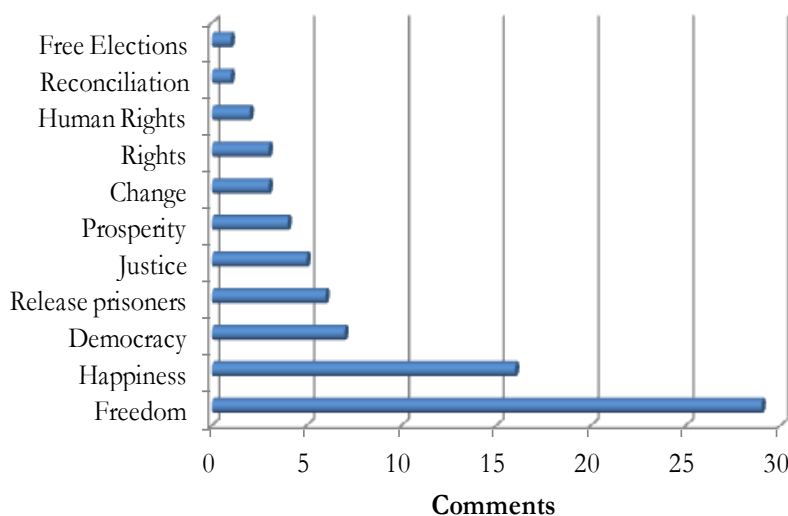
Source: Own elaboration

The value of "change" is positively observed on three occasions (1 ironic, the commentator doubts about the practical action of the people living on the island)

Rights in general are mentioned 3 times

And Human Rights, only 2 times.

The word "reconciliation" only appears 1 time but ironically. (Commentators differ in that with the intentions expressed by

the blogger Yoani Sánchez. They are, in principle, against reconciliation)

One of the commentators, Salud, associated the value "honor" with Fulgencio Batista. And only there is one comment making a direct request for free elections.

Figure 38 Negative values in Yoani Sánchez comments
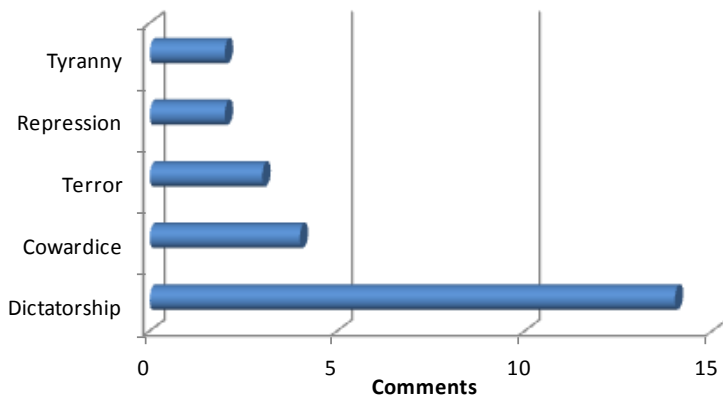
Source: Own elaboration

They contrasted their values to some negative mentions:

Dictatorship is the most common concept; (it was mentioned 14 times).

Cowardice (4 times); Terror (3 times); Repression (2 times); Tyranny (2 times).

Analysis of other sample of 525 comments (March 23rd, 2011)

As a student in the Master of Communication in the University Pompeu Fabra, in the class "Análisis de discursos persuasivos en la publicidad y propaganda política" from Professor Oliver Pérez Latorre, I did a research called "El Blog Justiciero", analyzing 525 of the 1927 comments from Yoani's Sánchez post from March 23, 2011.

We concluded that from 525 comments, 515 were defending the blogger position. There was a big degree of belligerence. Only 10 from 525 were in favor of the government. Cubans from the exterior believed in Yoani Sánchez as a change factor and as a rival for the officials. Readers against her (Alberto del Río, En Defensa de la Revolución, Omar, Guadalupe, Comunista hasta la muerte, Playa Girón, gothicprince) defined the blogger as one of the first arms of "the enemy".

One of the factors that focused my interest at that research was that 17 of the 525 entries were taking advantage of the comments space to introduce historic or actual news. They didn't have any relation with the post issue.:   They were announcing: The expulsion of student Sayli Navarro from the University of Matanzas, also the separation of their works of professors Marta Bravo, Dario Alejandro Paulino (who opened a Facebook group to discuss situation of the Communication University) and the same situation with Yaxys Cires in Pinar del Río. Also, some of the comments were explaining that some detentions or persecutions to opposition members were taking place, like Guillermo Fariñas, Idania Yanes, or Francisco Sánchez. (Everything, of course, needed confirmation).

Especially interesting for me was the entry of comment number 382, from Toto, about the situation in the department of hematology in the pediatric hospital William Soler in Havana. He was asking for some help for children with leukemia and their families. They were reclaiming some help to obtain food and medicines for the hospital patients, and also he demanded direct help from Yoani Sánchez:

> "I think that one of your sharp comments in the net may cause the run of the hospital direction. In Cuba government journalists don't do any function to improve health situation, because there are afraid of punishment." (Comment 382, March 23, 2011).

3. Conclusions

This advancement of our research reveals some interesting issues we think about the community of active users of both blogs and their role in countries single-party regime and market economy.

In general, it can be said that Wang Keqin's blog is a journalistic space. Even comments from readers, somehow mark the script of future reports, ask for more information, for the entire list of families affected by the vaccines. We might recall that Wang Keqin himself is a journalist and university professor of journalism ready to absorb what they suggest. It is understood that his text is a journalistic initiative report, which has no place in traditional media, and responds to stylistic canons of a certain culture.

The majority of the commentators address the issue, calling for more specifications, asking for responsibilities, he offers to them the phones of the police director, the account number of

the affected parent, and at the same time, the commenter's offer their phones to participate.

They spend the commentary and defend individual activism in this case that moves them, while extolling the value "justice". The sense of public opinion manifested through the comments to blog posts Wang Keqin is summarized in the phrase "may beat the drum to be heard" (comment 11, author Li Tian'er). The author Lin Yutang wrote in 1936 in *A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China* (pp. 16/18). Where summed up, which were the instruments literate citizens had to appeal to the emperor justice against corruption, what Habermas called focus, raising controversy and denounce the unfair situation. In that sense, it seems that commentators serve to insist, chiming in what was denounced by the post, within the Chinese institutional channel, they pray together the central government and the courts to take action.

In the case of Yoani Sánchez blog, the comments space became a meeting point for hundreds, thousands of commentators who simply took advantage of the entries of the the blogger to create a conversation (or an appearance of it) and a certain state of mind without focusing in the post subject.

Blog Generación Y responds to the development of a journalistic genre of opinion. The analysis of its commentators shows that there was a parallel platform and debate. Yoani Sánchez created an arena, where she could not participate, because the difficult access from the island and the number of commentators.

The debate was highly polarized and the vast majorities of comments were against the government and did not claim for any dialogue. It was remarkable the absence of such a debate in many conversation entries. Remarkable is the absence of the concept of "reconciliation", or "dialogue", repeated many times by Yoani Sanchez in her posts during year 2010 offering "to embrace".

Unlike the previous Chinese case, the participants were more commentators that "activists". On some occasions we could see remarkable comments that exploited to expose current issues such as the crisis situation in some hospitals, the lack of connectivity on the island and the exaggerated prices of the telephone bills. References to the blogger were numerous. She was recognized as a certain leadership. Previously, the Diaspora community had not recognized leadership from the island political or religious leaders. In this case, we could see that the political value of its long-term presence was highlighted by the commentators, before any informative or literary value mention of her texts.

8

Interview with the Bloggers

IN OUR ETHNOLOGICAL TRIANGULATION WORK a depth interview with the two bloggers was essential. The two live interviews took place in Beijing and Havana in January 2012, in very different circumstances.

The bibliography of case studies on Chinese blogs was very wide, especially from researches from the University of Hong Kong. But we could find very few direct interviews with its protagonists. Previously, we thought that the most important of our encounters was to find "why", the intention which led them to write their blogs, the capacity of interaction with their public or how their defined themselves. What they think their role or their mission was.

We must mention that there is a gap of one year between the posts (January-December 2010), the comments (March-January 2010) and the interviews with bloggers (January 2012). The meeting was productive to directly complement our historical context. We met them in a moment of euphoria from Wang Keqin after the emergence of micro blogs in China and Yoani Sánchez, regarding the increase of number mobile phones in Cuba. After having studied the interviews we have found the following parameters:

Regarding the moment.

Regarding the media.

Regarding topics and sources.

Regarding the control.

Regarding the public.

Regarding the author.

Self Definition.

Purpose.

1.   Interview with Wang Keqin

Conditions of the interview

Wang Keqin interview was done in January 2012.   Wang Keqin asked us to carry out the interview on Saturday morning around noon. The newspaper building was empty with the exception of the guard at the door. The remaining desks were empty. It was not a great central writing desk; instead, they were many separated small offices with capacity for two to three people each one.

He had asked us to go in Saturday morning, may be for some prudence, obviously for foreign journalists not to be seen. During the interview he did not stop to continue watching his computer, taking some scripts in the screen as a basis for some arguments, or because he was getting messages from different platforms of micro blogs.

Before leaving, a journalist who was writing news story, wanted to consult him, through the computer, how to do it. At lunch, it comes with two students. One student was permanently looking at the mobile the result of the elections in Taiwan. Wang Keqin said to us the he had been forbidden to talk about Taiwan.

One of the young companions studied journalism, *"I always wanted to do"*, the other, studied journalism by chance, he

wanted to study economy. Both of them, dressed completely in black, were fellows without salary. They were looking at mobile nonstop.

Wang complains bitterly, because, at that moment, he could not leave the country, neither Hong Kong. He thought that this ban would last only one year. They have been told that after the last run of conflicting news. I ask the slimmest student about his teacher. He answered:

> "As the host of the Man of the Year award for 2010 Wang said that he is like a big submarine, which is submerged in the waters of the Chinese reality. Given the level of depth, the clarity that he has reached with his items, we can say that he is a very good submarine, with the highest technology."

Regarding the moment: "A new era"

Wang Keqin expressed that he was very optimistic about that time and defined the moment as *"A new era of information"*.

He believed that there was room to work.

> "Countries like mine are a fertile field for the researcher", he said, and was convinced of the role of the journalists as mediators:

> "Irreplaceable, journalists cannot be replaced. They cannot do interviews or balance, balance information".

> We have the institutional media; all belong to the party, which means they were born with the mission of propaganda. Then, we have the public media; I call them "public", because they are not from the state. I think that in these private media, there is relative freedom. They are

carried by companies. At these times, they are the best platform for the expression of citizens.

China is a very fertile field for research right now. There are moments of great change. For the journalist, it is a paradise. Conquering heaven means lot of effort."

Regarding the media

Surprise and enthusiasm with micro blogs

The time of our interviews, with the two bloggers, coincided with a turning point between the use of traditional blogs and the spread of microblogs. Both bloggers, Wang Keqin and Yoani Sánchez, were showing a deep enthusiasm for the rise of the use of micro blogs in China and mobile phones in Cuba. At the same time, they had stopped to prioritize to introduce their written posts in their blogs.

It was March 2010 when Wang Keqin began working with blog and micro blogs at once, through different local platforms. He wanted to emphasize the scandal about dangerous vaccines which affected some children in Shanxi province. It was micro blog company, *Sohu*, local version of *Twitter*, who sought him.

"At first I didn't think a lot in that. I opened my account in March 2010, without thinking much in a target of public. But I realized that it can serve for other kind of information, many people in China acted in the same way than me. We have realized the possibilities while using it. Now, I use both, micro blog and the blog. I put in them what I cannot write in the newspaper."

In this context of euphoria about new forms of communication and expression with micro blogs, Wang Keqin pointed us that he had two and a half millions of followers in a company of micro blogs, and other two hundred and fifty thousand in two other more companies, in total, three million followers. He pointed us he could communicate with them without the custody of his newspaper.

> "The possibility that has been opened is that I am now able to talk to all kinds of people, not just my colleagues. Right now, (while the interview took place), I'm talking to a farmer in Shandong Province. You realize that the Micro Blog, Weibo, is a very powerful platform: a real social media."

At that moment, there were 900 million mobile users in China, 480 million of Internet users.

> "It is not the majority, but that means many people. It is a diversified, free, economic and interactive media. "

Value of micro blog as a warning tool

Wang Keqin was not on *Twitter*, but in other three local micro blog platforms. He highlighted the effectiveness of micro blogs as a tool of distributing SOS for journalists and interviewed people in dangerous situations.

> "I was researching a very famous case. A young girl killed two types in a karaoke. I decided to investigate. It was a complicate case. She was detained. They had allegedly tried to rape her. When I was there, two cars started to follow me. Then there were four. And we were in mountain roads close to a large ravine. Near the cliff

they cornered us. I called some friends, some students. I was told: "you have to put it on Twitter". I could not.

Among my students and friends, they started putting in the net that I was in danger. They alerted about the town where I was. They started to look for police phones. People started to call the police chief. They asked him "Please, you have to save him". The police chief had to come and save me. Neither he nor I, we knew who they were.

Sometimes the persecuted are the interviewed. When I was doing a research on vaccines, the police wanted to "catch" one of the parents; They were following him even in Beijing. I put the situation in the micro blogs. They had to leave."

Regarding topics and sources

He chose his report's subjects from citizen's requests. Journalist as a mediator between citizens

To explain us the value of new sources and topics in social media, Wang Keqin wanted to describe us a concrete example: his post from October 2010 about the case known as: *"I am the son of Li Gang"*. That was a phrase, expressed by a young driver who ran over a girl with a car in a race in the campus of Hebei University. When people rebuked him, he replied saying: "I'm the son of Li Gang". His father was a security official, and that phrase became famous throughout the country, as a symbol of impunity.

"With that phrase, he could appear threatening or defense because he was the son of a leader. In few days, it became a media issue.

I think it is an example case, because it began with citizens, it passed from the citizens to a professional journalist, and then, it returned to the citizens.

It must be October 17, when I was at the University of Canton. I realized I that I had 30 emails related to the topic."

He insisted that through this particular issue and post we could analyze the profit of his blog-

"I received about 30 letters, about the dead of this female student, other students said to me: "We are very angry. We need you to come. We are afraid of security, because there is no justice, they told me.

My first reaction was; with this I cannot make a journalistic piece. My paper would not approve that. But I thought that behind the 30 letters, there could be 300 people, including family and friends, a total of 3000 people concerned.

And I thought: besides journalist, I am also a citizen. I am capable to speak and I have some capacity of influence. I know that writing about this, I can influence. And I decided to travel there. As a citizen, I decided to act through the blog and micro blog.

In the end, the newspaper was forced, - by the number of mentions that appeared on social network s -, to publish the story of Hebei University, in paper".

Wang Keqin insisted:

> "This issue went from being a citizen journalist, and after that, a journalist, but I started being a citizen."

The blog as a shortcut, as a way to bypass censorship in traditional media

For Wang Keqin there was another motivation. He used to use blog and micro blog to bypass censorship in his newspaper.

> "I will explain another issue: A farmer, who had organized protests over land where he lived, was walking in a very narrow road, when he was apparently hit by a truck accident. After that, wheel from a truck beheaded him.
>
> The government said that we could not report that case. I went to the place to do my research. At first, we could not publish this in any media, and only I wrote about that in my blog. At the end, other media echoed that issue from my blog.
>
> I believe we are not only in front of a tool of journalists, otherwise, a citizen's instrument."

New genre or new journalism

Wang Keqin thought that we were moving toward a new genre, that microblogs opened the possibility to hear new sources, give visibility to the journalists work with a tool that, at that moment, beginning of 2012, seemed to evade censorship.

"Twitter has 140 words, the same as *Weibo* (local platform). This, in a way, is forcing you to monitor the quality of the text, content and form, from all points of view. You have to choose well to express your idea. It is a great exercise of journalism."

Wang Keqin was enthusiastic, during the interview, about new journalism possibilities. He didn't hesitate to describe micro blogs as "New Journalism".

Regarding the control

Censors dialogue with the media and also with the blogger

A priori, we might think, that there were some grey moments of relative autonomy for the author, if the newspaper didn't exercise censorship on the texts of his blog. But, from time to time, depending on the issues, censors acted in the newspaper, sometimes in the personal blog, or in both. They were moments when they connected directly with the blogger to persuade him. When the post issue became a national political issue, they directly asked him to stop. He told us that sometimes he admitted the order temporarily, dosing the information, until sometimes later, he perceived he could express himself again.

(Following the case of the University of Hebei, post 10)

"On the 28th of that month we received a notification from the government that we could not publish anything more on that subject. The newspaper said: You cannot keep on ... I then continued writing it in my blog, because

I felt that the fact was not resold. Until the authorities sought to me ... and they said," please, leave it.".

The censor came straight to me",

How they connected? (our question)

"By a phone call.

I could not follow at that time. Then, after some days without publishing, I went back to try to write about it, I thought ...They were not going to censor me.

I was insisting all the time, little by little, until finally there was a trial."

Wang Keqin insisted. He has mentioned against to us the process: the issue was passing from the citizen, to the professional, and from the professional returns to the citizens, and after acquiring resonance, and then, it goes to justice: Justice as a goal.

Analyzing the overall situation, Wang explained to us:

"The overall situation is always in a balance, worse-improving, better-worse, better-worse. My attitude, according to my general sensation is that what it works in our society is between 10/20%, when you come across that 10/20% you dare. Then, you could relax."

Regarding the public

Their first audience, students and colleagues

Regarding their success, we could think that bloggers started their work thinking in a particular audience, citizenship, government, opposition, Internet world. They deny that presumption, they told us that they didn't previously think in a public target. Rather, it is observed, after their

words, that they started heading to his closest circles of influence.

In the case of Wang Keqin, He told us that there was not a certain audience, if not, at first, his students and colleagues in the newspaper and the university, and perhaps he though to achieve some academic and corporative prestige.

Citizen Response. Without interaction

We must remark that Wang Keqin had an office in the newspaper *China Economic News*, where he received hundreds of cases of despair. Hundreds of people, petitioners, that came from different provinces to Beijing asking for a trial to repair local injustices. That means that he and his students had a direct relation with people, direct sources, asking for new issues to be expressed in his post and in his newspaper.

Wang Keqin said, that, at first, he identified the readers and some followers but, after some time publishing his blog, the number of readers or commentators was so much that he couldn't communicate with them. In a moment, in his blog, he had stopped interacting with commenter's.

Regarding the author, motivation was consciousness

It was important for us to know why Wang began using the blog as a form of expression. If he did it because an interest of professional specialization, scientific, academic, economic or political, understanding that it means a constant extra work without financial compensation. The two bloggers began their work in 2007 and 2010 matches in one of its times of their increased production and more audience.

In the case of Wang Keqin, who used to write in a daily basis in the *China Economic Times*, we were surprised as soon

as he defined his main motivation in one word: *"consciousness"*. He seemed involved in a mission, to amend the lack of information we had on the printed pages of the traditional media.

When we went deeper into the interview, we asked him: "Are you religious?" And the conversation got tense.

"And you?" He answered.

It was a hard moment, but we continued our dialogue.

"From long time ago I'm at the door of religion. ¿Christianity, Catholicism, Buddhism, may be, 4 years.

There is a very strong spiritual strength in me, that keep me. If not, I do not think I could.

My wife, she is a Buddhist. She says I have good karma. I'm doing well for good karma.

But I do so because I believe I have a mission: "Protecting the dignity of life."

Self-definition: journalist, activist and teacher

In our interview it was imperative that they could express their self-concept. They rejected any political or intellectual self-range. Wang Keqin, journalist and teacher, has noticed that after several years as a blogger, he realized that he became a *"social activist"*. He described himself as a "journalist-citizen" or "citizen-journalist", depending on the media, where he was working on in any moment (he was working as a "citizen-journalist" when he was writing in the blog).

"I will summarize my activities in three parts:

The work

The other project, the N.G.O. on pneumoconiosis

And the third is the University.

(Then, he showed us a short documentary about how the illness pneumoconiosis affects thousands of miners. Their faces in black and white, people seriously affected, their widows in front of their tombs, and photography of lungs invaded by this disease.)

> "It is a work on pollution in mines, miners that were working in the mines and finished with trouble breathing. It is a profession, without preventive measures, that it is just killing them.
>
> Here is the list of people who have recently died cases of workers with respiratory problems. I created an initiative that, through networks, micro blogs, could means an aid for the for the pneumoconiosis affected and their families. I think there are now 6 million people who have given some support. And I started that by myself."

Purpose, introducing journalist tools in the battlefield

From our perspective we might think that their blogs emerged to advertise specific policy options. To provoke government action or social mobilization or to replace traditional media, that was not expressed to us.

In the case of Wang Keqin he had two aspirations: to achieve that the issues from his blog were later published in newspapers or other media (becoming a big media topic, and, for that reason, avoiding impunity as a part of the chain of the "process story" which defined Rebecca Mackinnon); and to reach his second final goal, the most important: to conclude with the actuation of justice (that demonstrate, that, at this time, he believed in China constitutional and legal system).

> "I do not want to leave that field so fertile. I do not want to leave the battlefield.

For the sky, you have to pay a very big price.   We must take great difficulties."

(One year after, In February 2013 he was fired from the newspaper.)

2. Interview with Yoani Sánchez

Regarding the moment: Bad times in the short run

At the beginning of 2012, Yoani Sánchez had very somber opinions in short term, announcing serious confrontations in her country, but more optimistic in the long term expressing that reconciliation in Cuba will became inevitable. She referred directly to the political situation in general not about the blogosphere.

> "I am very pessimistic. Very difficult times are coming, increasing repression, stubbornness from the power, pressure against citizens. That can explode, as in an immigration crisis, as an avalanche in the streets of vandalism, chaos. That's what I fear. I hope that we will not reach that level of social madness and that realism can be reach up there. I hope that they achieve to accelerate reforms, accept plurality and do not lead us to the social fracture.

> But I'm optimistic in the long term. This island has a national component, which must end in happiness. We cannot be so wrong, a beautiful country, a mild climate, a fertile land. Good people, hope people who have to find a formula of prosperity and freedom."

Asked about the future, Yoani Sánchez told us that in her opinion, citizens were empowered. Directly she entered to defend a desire for reconciliation, desire for change.

> "All insults that they are now saying are done from people that want to prolong and delay, they are delaying the hug. Anyone who wants to postpone it, they are wasting their time.

> The hug will come, where all the current trends will be accepted, the current trends as communists, socialist,

from liberal, social democrats, anarchists or no trends. I am considering myself as a postmodern person, from the point of view of ideology."

Regarding the media, the handicap is not censorship but the access

A priori, when we developed our questions, we could think that bloggers had difficulty obtaining or sending contents because of content censorship. But, in the interview with Yoani Sánchez, we realized that there were previous problems. She explained that, in her beginnings, she had major technical difficulties.

> "In 1994 I built my first computer. I remember we called it, - in a little joke, a little seriously-, our "Frankenstein". They were pieces bought in the black market. At that time, I had the need to use technology to express myself."

> The blogger explained that she learned to program in several languages.

> "I dove into the HTML binary code. I started building web pages from a campy way. At first I constructed a flat page that didn't admit interaction. What distinguished me was not the platform from I worked, but how to reach it."

Connection was only possible from an official building, foreign companies, hotels, or Embassies. At first, she did not know that there were platforms for managing blogs.

> "As I did not know, I built a flat rigid page, with no comments. Each time I had to post a text to Internet or

when I wanted to send a new post, I had to put down the old page and upload it again. "

When I had worked for few months, some friends began to write me telling:" Why you do not use Word Press, why are you not using Blogger?". "There, I discovered that there was an infinite world to discover."

It was December 27, 2007 when she installed Word Press.

"From there, I used Word Press, but I could not be connected to my blog, responding comments of those who write, publishing ipso facto a chronic, or some news.

I had a very sporadic connectivity, once the week, one time every ten days. When I was connected, everything has to be done at very fast speed. Every minute had prohibitive prices. Then I had to run, programming texts, in order to come out on the network even when I was not connected. I cataloged myself as a blind blogger and a groping Twitter person. "

She had to work from hotels where the price was 5 dollars per hour. The average public salary in Cuba was from 20 to 30 dollars per month.

The value of Twitter

In a clear coincidence with Wang Keqin, Yoani Sánchez was enthusiastic with the value of Twitter as a tool.

"Twitter allows me the SOS. The message that comes out, and after one minute, is posted on the site. And all of this, through such a rustic, such a basic element as a text message, the "sms" tool.

I have a Cuban phone, like the rest of 1.87 million Cubans that have cell phones. Through sending messages

to the Twitter service number, I managed to publish. That is, they are messages that are issued from a blind way. Why blind? Because I cannot read what *other people respond.* Why blind?, because I cannot interact with other readers."

Phones with no Internet

Her husband intervened remarking that her phone had no Internet connection.

"Amazingly, citizen solidarity helps offset limitations. Many people send me by return SMS with text messages, explaining what is happening.

For example, I remember a very significant day, when Muhammad al Gaddafi was lynched; my phone received more than 300 messages, sending me the news.

When the pocket does not support the charge and the news comes suddenly, what I have to do is to send a sms to friends outside Cuba. Please call me, and then, I dictate my texts by telephone. 40% of my texts from Generation Y have been dictated by phone ... with collateral accidents, for example, some words can be interpreted by others."

Mobile phone revolution

In November 2011, according to official statistics, Cuba had one million eight hundred thousand mobile users. They had just announced a reduction in rates to send phone messages to national rate.

"If with the former prices we could tweet, reporting, narrating reality, with these cuts, the phenomenon can

be triggered. It can get out of hand of the system. In 2008, Raul Castro agreed that we, Cubans, could have cell phone on our behalf. Since 2009 I think Raul Castro never calculated that mobile telephony could be an element of summons or complaint about the difficult reality."

Mobile phones, according to the blogger, could become the most dynamic civic element of the days ahead in the following years.

The Micro blog as a warning tool

At that time, 2012, bloggers agreed on the effectiveness of Twitter or micro blogs as possibility of issuing SOS for dissidents in situation of danger.

"On November 6, 2009, I was intercepted by the secret police, along with two other bloggers and a friend. I was beaten, threatened, when we were being introduced into the car, it was with much violence, and much threatening paraphernalia. One of the bloggers who went with me, Claudia Cadelo, was able to send a message to Twitter saying simply: "We are detained ".

It looked like a bottle thrown into the sea. Who will read it? Who will care about this here in Havana where they were imprisoning, threatening three bloggers? However, after those 15 minutes of terror, when I managed to be in one place and take my mobile, calls began to arrive from all over the world."

Regarding Topics and sources, looking permanently to the streets

In the case of Yoani Sánchez, in her interview she didn't emphasize about the importance of the subjects or sources of the posts. Her main intention was seeking a new form of personal expression and "breaking the government monopoly".

> "My blog allows me the chronic, the daily vignette, which doesn't become outdated so quickly, that doesn't try to be immediate, so informative, but is well more reflective …"

When we were trying to clarify the routine, how long in a day she was dedicated to the job, her answer was clear:

> "24 hours."

> "I'm looking permanently to the streets in a personal way. My eye, my view is a blogger view. Right now I'm thinking about my next tweet. If I could tell the time, I would say "24 hours a day". I'm always in such circumstances, I feel like I'm watching as a blogger, as an observer, as a careful person, a person who can tell. I have an all day job, seven days a week."

Regarding control censorship or surveillance. Physical control

Yoani Sánchez didn't talk about censorship in the content. Instead of that, she insisted about physical surveillance, control through the mobile phone, and also the creation of a platform against her contents from certain blogs. Belonging to her, her blog was censored technologically three years, from March 2008 until February 2011, when trying to be viewed towards Cuba.

"With Fidel you could be bring to court and condemned to 20 years. He would have made a big legal show. With Raul control is more sophisticated. You could observe how many cameras are throughout the city. It is not my paranoia they are not by chance. They are not only to detect the drug selling. They are also to detect who makes political activities, as independent journalists, bloggers passing through a difficult corner, going to a place where something has happened. Control has become more sophisticated, listening, persecuting you through the telephones by geo localization.

Raul is using all ways, in the cyber control with cyber-attacks. There is a real counter blogs platform, to attack us, to demonize us. And, on the other hand, the political police have been militarized."

Regarding the public. Creating school

In the case of Yoani Sánchez, she knew her blog started as an example for students and colleagues, for other bloggers who were beginning, as a part of a movement. Also, it awakes an exercise of expression parallel from the official blogs.

"I have part of the guilt and part of the glory. I am willing to carry both: the guilt of having opened a road, with all the limitations that this entails, and the blame to cast a shadow on those who come after me.

I have given lots of courses of Twitter. I have a course called: "scoop out the maximum potential to your mobile". I'm very surprised, I am very pleased when a student does it better than me. So, yes, I set up school, for better or worse."

Regarding citizen response. Without interaction

Yoani Sánchez also explained that there was a time when she renounced to interact with her commenter's. She identified that her blog had a majority of expatriates. Her mission as a blogger was "*to leave a series of connected spaces.*" She really believed that, with this space defined for comments; there was a *"public sphere"*.

> "Now, when I can connect, it is very difficult to successfully download all the comments of my blog, because my blog is a kind of public square, where a text from myself can have at least about 500 comments. Normally, they are 1000, 1500, 3000. I have a record of 7645 comments. It is very difficult to read to that.

> Then, what have I done? One solution, I have given to my blog's readers my comments space as their own space. I told them: "discuss here what you want. Discuss among yourselves. Have your virtual public square.

> May be, when one day I could connect, I will sum myself to the chorus, to the discussion, to the debate."

Regarding the author. Multiple self-definitions: Hacker, journalist and novelist

In our question we asked Yoani Sánchez about if she was a journalist, an activist or a dissident. In her answer she looked for a multiple formula to escape from a unique definition, adding three practices: "hacker, journalist and novelist".

> "I consider myself as a free electron, halfway between lots of professions, as everything in this post modernity. Now if we take a novel in our hands, you don't know if it is a novel, a witness, a recipe book, a script. Genres have

been mixed. I accept myself as I am in a plurality. And I disown of the academy. I'm a little hacker, a little journalist, a little novelist. I'm halfway to poetry and twit."

Answering to our question, whether she was replacing a journalist or a politician who did not exists:

 "I believe in politics done from below. Many people ask me if I want to dedicate to the politics in a future life. I am not interested.

I am interested in politics done from the word, from the journalism, I think it can greatly influence from there. This country needs to be influenced from there.

I'm making citizen policy from below, by foot, paraphrasing the average Cuban, and especially a policy that is not afraid to point out what you do not like."

If you ask her about who she represents, she answered with the title of her blog *"Generation Y"*, a generation, born and after the Revolution, that their parents put them a letter "Y" in their name as a symbol of freedom. She remarked that she was opposed to high politics, reconciliatory, grateful for her fame and responsible for her awards.

"Real politicians, with collar and tie, lapel hung in the suit, they must get used to citizens like me, informative, linguistic and politically empowered."

Purpose. Motivation. Getting technical recourses to finish with the lack of information

When we addressed the question about her motivation, she referred us to the access conditions of the country. In a country with all technical shortcomings and hardly offline, it was a challenge to demonstrate her technical knowledge and fascination with new technologies.

To demonstrate the use of new tools, she said:

> "My first goal was to jump achieving surpassing technical difficulties", in order to end with the state monopoly on information and achieve "to alert" and "to discuss".

But she also speaks about her "personal need of catharsis and to demonstrate self-esteem" in the desire "to fill the lack of information".

Public sphere? Bubbles of public sphere have been created. The aim to create a newspaper

Yoani Sánchez was optimistic about finding new born spaces of public sphere in political, artistic, academic or technological level.

> "Bubbles of public sphere are being created, sometimes isolated, and disconnected. It seems very disperse. But one of the big surprises of the last four years, was precisely to see how spaces that seemed born for confrontation have finally connect. Spaces, which can be political, artistic, academic, literary, or technological level, and finish begin to connect people looking for their

affinity. Here there are qualitative changes in the way of how Cuban expresses them, in the way to pass out some certain lines of censorship, in the way to not keep quiet."

Regarding the creation of platforms in our interview, she confessed his goal of creating a newspaper on online changing again her role from blogger to publisher.

"It will be a project for the transition journalism. I want to have a newspaper, but not to close the blog. I want to found a newspaper in Cuba, coming soon. I announce you that. I dream of that. I want to consecrate my life to the newsroom of a newspaper. I don't know if I am not flying too high, as El Pais represented so much in the Spanish nation."

(Two years later she founded *Catorce y medio.* http://www.14ymedio.com/

Observations after the interview: Counselor and speaker for the opposition

When we were towards the end of the meeting, she received a phone call, and begins to mourn: "William Villar from Santiago has just died. After 50 days of hunger strike. In November, some months ago, he participated in a street protest, and in a trial he got 4 years for public disorder".

She made a call. She was saying to the other person crying: "Maritza, do not go away from the body," "Do not let them to separate you from the body."

Looking to us: "This is going to be a long night ..."

Her husband told me: "Have you seen the process?

She first had been called from the United States; A person was explaining Sánchez what was happening.

Yoani Sánchez called to the man's family...Them, she started tweeting the fact from there at that moment.

> "Now she is sending the news it to all Twitters and correspondents. This will be a very difficult night"

She said that she noticed that this week some unknown person had recharged her mobile from from Asturias, Spain. (At that moment they were 2 places www.ezetop.com and www.recargascuba.com where people from around the world could finance Cuban bloggers.)

> "It can be recharged to Cubans. I now turn from two days without tweet, if ten percent of my readers contribute once a month. This cannot be converted, at the moment, in something else."

Conclusions: Mediators or diffusers

Once again we find a time and very different conditions. Parker (2014) talked about China, Cuba and Russia saying that in the three countries Internet has helped ordinary citizens to cross the challenges of isolation, fear and apathy. But, we can ask if they could have done without mediators aware of their mission. That is an essential part of these interviews.

Regarding when we find the two bloggers, interviewed a week apart, with very distinct mood. While Wang Keqin thought he was in a new era of information, Yoani Sánchez spoke to a bleak short-term outlook for the consequences of social division and lack of hope in the economic field.

The two do agree on their enthusiasm by the extension of micro blogs. The journalist, with about three million followers, stressed that it was unique in the history that he could communicate with all kinds of people.

In Cuba, however, connectivity was still a challenge. To be connected was already difficult and expensive.

At that time the two kept their blog, but they had a great fascination for the microblog, Weibo, in the case of China, or Twitter, in the case of Cuba. In both cases, there were very useful tools in dangerous situations.

It is very important that Wang Keqin puts emphasis on the increase and diversification of his sources of information. People go to him, identified as mediator, and he knows that his blog and microblog had to be an instrument of the people. That, for him, means a new kind of journalism.

In Cuba the main priority was to reach the network, leaving in second term the purity of the journalistic genres and sources, from chronic in the blogs, and looking for the information on the tweets.

Regarding the control is interesting to note the huge difference. While in China, the authorities pressed depending on the subject, whether it has reached a dimension of political scandal at national level, and that forces the journalist to consider the timing of their posts, in Cuba, they had no problem involved in the censorship of the content. Monitoring was much about the person, in her daily activities off line.

In respect with the public, both bloggers could not reach and answer their commentators, because of the large number of followers, and in the Cuban case, also due by the lack of connection. Perhaps there is a part of prudence.

In the case of Wang Keqin we see some important words in his motivation "consciousness" and "protecting dignity of life". Concepts that we will see again in the commentators of his posts where they added "justice". There is an ethical will of this professional who is auto-defined as a "journalist, activist and professor".

In the case of Yoani Sanchez, she wants to move away from definitions, while she was answering that her fight was to be able to express, and that spook of herself "as a hacker, journalist and novelist". Her main defined purpose had been to overcome the technical difficulties, to reach the outside world. But, thanks to our part of observation, in her practical life, she intervened to help families of the opposition and to do work as a spokes-women when something happens, for correspondents and outside world.

It is very interesting to observe the concept of "citizen" in the two authors. Wang Keqin was surprised and proud of recognizing himself as a "citizen with influence." Yoani Sánchez said she was warning future politicians when they should meet "citizens informatively, linguistically and politically empowered".

In Emily Parker's book (2014, p.123) there is phrase form the novelist Murong Xuecun, about Weibo consequences, which we can be extended to the blogs. Belonging to him, Weibo was helping Chinese people to evolve from "renmin", which means people, to "gongmin", or citizens. On Weibo, people were starting to wake up. We can say that it coincides completely with the proud Wang Keqin expressing to us how he went "from being citizen to journalist, and then, to become citizen again", a kind of a concept of social engagement.

9

Interviews with Correspondents

1. Correspondents in China. Introduction

Interviews with 9 correspondents were held in January 2012. The enthusiasm that was reflected in blogger Wang Keqin due to the emergence and height of the micro blogs was to be found again in correspondents, but with more caution. For the first time in history, more than 300 million people in China had Internet access and could confront domestic problems.

There is a gap between 2010, when still blogs, -led by some journalists of prestige-, were in full swing, and January 2012, when the presence in blogs decayed and when most of the journalist wanted to experience this horizontal and massive way of communication.

Correspondents interviewed in Beijing were working for AP, Isolda Morillo, Wall Street Journal, Josh Chin, TVE, Almudena Ariza, El País, José Reinoso, TV3, Sergi Vicente, La Vanguardia, Isidre Ambrós, EFE, Antonio Broto, and from zaichina.com, Daniel Méndez. Almost all the meetings were held on January 2012.

That euphoria regarding the existence of an unprecedented forum also had its counterpart, the control's administration relaxation times, which started during the preparation of 2008 Olympics Games, were in train to finish.

During 2010 and 2011, the correspondents were able to echo various domestic scandals that reached the national or even international level. But with regard to the authorities, the situation tightened during the revolts of the Arab Spring. After the media tried to cover up what was called the "Jasmine Revolt" they had to go through personal interviews with the authorities who warned them on their work.

After doing to all of them the standardized interviews, we divided the answers on these topics:

1) Internet as a natural forum for discussion and thermometer of the situation.

2) Equality in the emergence of micro blogs like *Weibo.*

3) Different historical cases in 2011.

4) The routine of the correspondents.

5) Blogs and Micro-Blogs as information source

6) The lack of official sources.

7) Control and evolution.

8) The Jasmine Revolution effect.

1) Internet as a natural forum for discussion and thermometer of the situation

Correspondents in China agree that at that moment, micro blogs have filled a vacuum with people's everyday things.

For communicators, looking at that media served to realize about basic problems with social and political implications that might rise. *Weibo* was the best thermometer to measure opinion. It was an open window to show that middle class suffers basic problems, such as inflation, access to housing or prices of food. The government was surprised and dismayed. They were talking about "non-official democracy".

(Correspondents 1 &2) "It may be a germ. It is a debate tool among the middle class when they feel affected by an issue. Not only this. It is expanding civic culture. People are finding things that previously they were not interested in. People who did not read the newspaper and now they look what *Weibo* is putting. And they take it as it was true. There is a democratic factor.

Which is the greatest factor? The online presence of these forums has made rethink the work of the government. It has become much more complicated. They have no choice but to respond to the problems. Before, the "apparatus" told you what was in the agenda. What was really happening was very easy to hide. Now, it is very difficult".

There is a forum

(3) "They have jumped the hierarchy in making news. For the first time, some people have the possibility to say and vote different things to those proposals made directly by the authorities. There was a turning point during the Wenzhou train accident. Then, *Weibo* seemed very new, very revolutionary. It seemed we were in front of a huge platform. During the comments about the train accident the government lost control because the volume of messages."

Possibility to know opinions by polls

(4) "People shares news, shares information, all the hierarchy in the traditional way of making news is skipped. The pools in Internet are an example. Surveys, before, were banned in China, but in the Internet were allowed. Knowing now citizen opinions from the

institutions has meant something unique. An unprecedented space of opinion has been created. With limits, but within them, there is a public opinion real, strong and powerful. It has the power to change what they want in China."

2) Equality in the emergence of microblogs like *Weibo*

In 2011 *Weibo* was one of the most popular activity in China, in use by well over 30% of Internet users, with a same market penetration that *Twitter* in the USA. It was launched by the company SINA Corporation on 14 August 2009, and had more than 250 million registered users as of October 2011.

Correspondents highlighted three things: the phenomenon of the use of micro blogs from equality, the type of public and the capacity of this young middle-class opinion to create opinion spaces naturally.

The profile of users was very young, urban and highly educated. 70% were less than 40 years. The vast majority were between 16 and 34 years. On average, each user on *Weibo* had 98 friends, 287 fans and 25 topics of interest. It was possible to write the messages from computer or mobile, as long as there was Internet. Also it was possible to send photos.

> (5) "A micro blog is a social network. Everyone speaks from the same level. There are not super famous micro bloggers. The micro blog is inserted between everyone. Sometimes, some opinions become so important that jump to the media."

Who were the users? Very significant people

(3) We must not forget who the users of *Weibo* are. They are young people living in cities, white, office workers and government officials. What interests them, does not mean that interests throughout China. It does not cover all people or all the surface of China, but they represent the middle class, a group of very significant people.

Participants in the micro blogs are a group of economically and politically connected people. Consequently, the government has to take the strain continuously. People using *Weibo* is not stupid, illiterate or ignorant. They are clever; they have formulas, ways to get the information. And most surprisingly, they are not afraid to be critical when something affects them directly, for example, in real estate issues, in pollution topics.

Just now, we can see the views of the two richest real estate businesses men in Beijing, Pan Shiyi and Ren Zhiqiang. They have more than 3 million followers. It is important to follow their opinions on topics such as politics, environment and private property. It was impossible to know that before."[1]

Creating niches of natural views

(4) "From the point of view of civil society there is nothing like *SINA Weibo* as a social tool of government control. In my opinion that means the gradual

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[1] (in May 2016, Pan Shiyi's Weibo has 17 million followers, and Ren Zhiqiang, 37 million)

introduction of niches of natural views. The State tries to control it, but civil society is faster. Internet users today have more power than 4 years ago".

There has been a transformation in traditional media

Blogs and micro blogs forced also changes in traditional media and newspapers. From 2010, on some day to day issues, complaints about health, education, about how bad were some schools, were criticized without problem.

(5) "In recent months there were many school's bus accidents, one, with a van that was carrying sixty children in a ten-seat space. Following that out, there are daily reports about school transport conditions. Problems that always were there, but now, they come out. Other example is the complaint about that health care is not free anymore, now even the government allows it, leaving this sort of things".

Digital gap

Correspondents pointed that there was a problem, sometimes forgotten for the Academy. It was the class exclusion factor

(1&2) How many people die in the mines and they do not go on *Weibo*, on Internet? That's because they belong to another social class.

3) Different historical cases in 2011

All the professionals interviewed shared the opinion that the turning point with new media in China was the Wenzhou High Speed train accident, which took place in July 23, 2011. When authorities tried to hide what happened, reactions in the net were enormous, unprecedented.   People began to question the rescue. They left many examples: the locomotive collided and fell over the bridge. Rescuers wanted to bury it.

The lack of credibility of the official media had caused that more people end up believing what were in the blogs and micro blogs. Before the train scandal, the government didn't saw how important the issue of Internet could be for public opinion. That conflict was important for a change of vision.

Turning point. The high speed train accident (July 23, 2011)

(5) "At that moment, circumstances and real number of victims were not published in the traditional media. That was spread thanks to the micro blogs, probably by someone who was there and was able to confirm this. It was a moment of enormous public interest when the essential information came out in the micro blogs."

(1&2) "There was a turning point from the crash. That train was the government flagship project after the anniversary of the Communist Party. Since the accident took place, numbers of victims started coming out. Public begin to question the official data. When the death toll

was determined on forties, we had micro blogs saying: "¿Are you going to believe what the government says'?"

(2) "I was at the press conference of the Premier Wen Jiabao. Never before I had seen Chinese journalists like that. The Chinese press was throwing to his jugular."

The responsible had to resign

(6) "At first, they said 4 deaths, then 14, then 21 dead. They came to say more than 200.The government initially declined to give information. Finally, after all the scandal, they make resign the responsible."

Chinese media went crazy

(4) "Chinese media went crazy. Control of information escaped from the government's hands. It was impossible that people believed in their numbers. At one-time, people, believed more in a hippie from the network, than in the official media. "

It was good for a change of vision

(3) "The train crash was the beginning of the list of trending topics on *Baidu* also on *Weibo*. Everyone in China talked about it. After the phenomenon, state agencies began to discuss about the issue in the *Weibo*. Some created their own account to express themselves. In the Foreign Ministry they did not talk about it, until the volume of comments reached a level that prompted an official government statement on the subject."

3.2 The Beijing pollution case (December 2011, 2012-2013)

One of the main discussion issues in the net, during the interviews days (January 2012), has been the pollution in Beijing. Polemics started at the end of 2011 and has continued in early January 2012. But it was still a current problem in 2013.

From the US Embassy in Beijing they were measuring particles in the air, among other indices they counted particles 2.5 milligrams or smaller. They are those introduced in the blood. Beijing Municipality measured the largest. While the US embassy said pollution was out of control, the municipality answered through official media, that they were against any alarmism.

> (3) "It is interesting to point that it was one of the richest men in Beijing, Pan Shiyi, owner of Soho building complex, which launched the offensive from the net. He expressed that China must have other ways to control and measure pollution. The first reaction from Beijing council was: "It we could have another type of measurement, but the public would not understand, just researchers". After this first answer, the controversy grew."

Then, the municipality argued that they had already scheduled its change of measurement method for 2016. Pan Shiyi answered again. The situation was alarming and that was obvious for any citizen of Beijing. There were polls on the network. Finally, they had to surrender and said that they would install new measurement methods before the Chinese New Year Holidays. That has been a total victory. Certainly it has a clear effect on local politics. In January 2013, the polemic resurfaces again. Pan Shiyi, issued a call on his micro blog, -

which had 14 million followers, asking for a Clean Air Act to be passed in municipal institutions.

When they give information, nothing happens

> (4) "The pollution issue has shown that the local government had to correct the shot. Hopefully they realize that when they give information, nothing happens."

3.3. The little girl who was got not helped (October 13, 2011)

The images of a little girl ran over by two cars, shook the world. The scandal started with some pictures in the net. The memory of the case of this girl, Yué, Yué, who was seriously injured after she was run over two times by cars in southern China is already remembered around the world. Nobody around her, 18 people, took action. The pictures went from the net to the major traditional media. It became an external and internal national image problem.[2]

Some correspondents believed, that, after the accident, girl's mother and father were using micro blogs to explain the day to day in the hospital. But another assured that there were fake accounts, created by the officials, simulating they were the parents.

> (5) "We were all scandalized because many people passed near the young girl and did nothing. It was a problem of image. After that, girl's mother was connected to the micro blog from day one. She counted how she was in the hospital, if people went to visit them. When her

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[2] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=auaWZK_rU-Y

daughter died, she also used the micro blog. I find it amazing that a mother with a child before dying was using the micro blog. But I guess she felt that it was important that everyone knew what was happening".

(Another correspondent tell us it was a false identity)

(7) "After the video of the hit girl, official media, to counter it, began to give examples of citizens who were "good Samaritans". This is a society that surprises for its coldness and pragmatism. The same girl's mother from the hospital began to send micro blogs".

They used fictitious accounts as if they were the parents

(3) "According to *Weibo*, parents had an account. Immediately the story had millions of followers with questions, comments, donations. Curiously, the father and mother had an account. The father made a public letter saying: *"I have been a bad father ... I apologize to the society.* Why he wrote that?

Then, they asked the real father and he said: *No, I have not written that*. It was not him. It was a fictional account, probably written by the authorities. Someone insight *Weibo* or within the authorities themselves were written as if they were the real parents, who obviously were taking care of her daughter in the hospital.

I think in *Weibo* you have to be very careful to confirm authors and information".

3.4 Girls from Yihuang escaped from the police

New media were very important monitoring one case in Yihuang. In the county of Jiangxi, where three people from the Zhong family set themselves on fire to protest for the expropriation of their house, (September 10, 2010) without receiving any compensation. Although the *Southern Metropolis Daily*, dared to explain the news, the story was later censured. Micro blogs were essential to save two girls from the family that wanted to travel to Beijing to denounce their problem. (2)

> (4) "Three members of the Zhong family were seriously injured in the hospital, allegedly set them on fire because they would not leave their home. Two young family girls Zhong Rucui (钟如翠) and Zhong Rujiu (钟如九), tried to travel to Beijing to defend their case and went to Nanchang airport. Yihuang government sent the police to the airport to intercept them. Then, they, desperate, got into the bathroom; and could take a selfish, and raised it to *Weibo*".[3]

The denunciation of these two young girls ran like wildfire over the Internet. It came to important journalists, and the great attention of the net citizens served to make it appear in national news. On September 17th, central government announced that local officials implicated in the self-immolation case in Yihuang, were being formally punished.

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[3]See:
http://www.baobeihuijia.com/https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r6zV7LEtMk4 and http://cmp.hku.hk/2010/10/12/8021/

This case illustrates perfectly the power of "Weiguan" (to observe in circle), the new public opinion, which has in *Weibo* users one of its most important tools.

The routine of the correspondents

One of the main parts of our interview was to know if blogs and micro blogs had become part of the regular routine of the correspondents to obtain their sources. Surfacing blogs and micro blogs was essential for all of them, but, as a general view, as a starting or as a finish point, always comparing it with official media. They explain to us a big handicap. Some of the correspondents didn't know Chinese language. Then, the overview was absolutely depending on their assistants.

As a thermometer, first, micro blogs, then, blogs

(2) "First I ask myself who I have to follow: teachers, activists, people who I must identify and who are not censored. Very few Chinese are in *Twitter*. First, I put the *Weibo* as a thermometer, to know what is said and then, I go to Internet and blogs to find specific cases that we have already located".

1) Identified people's Blogs	2) Twitter	3) Weibo

First, big continental media to finish with blogs and microblogs

(7) "I have under my responsibility all the area of Asia-Pacific. Therefore, I start reading the three or four major references newspapers in Asia: *Asia Channel, Straight Times* (Singapore), *South China Morning Post* (Hong Kong), *Wall Street Journal* and *BBC*. From there, I follow

people who write blogs in English. Then my assistant looks at the Chinese press, in Chinese, also from Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore.

After, we look at the micro-blogs. Micro blogs have become sources. Blogs are much more controlled. With micro blogs we have a difficulty. As main are in Chinese, most have to be found by our assistants. They will know the routes and they are not known for having great capacity for initiative. We have to say: Have you followed the micro blogs? I trust in him, and I trust in his judgment. Therefore, you have the information from Chinese micro blogs, but always from the point of view of your assistant."

1)Big Asia Press	2)Blogs in English	3)Chinese Mainland Press	4)Chinese Press gral.	5)Micro blogs

First we look at *Weibo* and, at the end, the government website

(6) "We have been working on the issue of Beijing pollution and the route has been very clear: First we looked *Weibo* online, then the official *Xinhua news agency* and then, the newspapers, after that, the government websites. It is interesting to compare *Weibo* and the national news agency *Xinhua*.

Within our routine you have to observe a set of sources, but certainly it is thanks to Internet in general, that you can find the pulse of what's going on. It's all a

set, *Weibo, SKYPE, QQ, mail, ICQ.* Sometimes, people who are under house arrest, they can connect by *Skype*."

1)Weibo	2)Official News Agency	3)China Newspapers	4)Government Websites

Starting point

(3) "I am in charge of my company blog in China. For my work I have to surf the net, to find any type of stories, that lather we might study. For me, micro blogs are important as starting points. It is getting up every day knowing from early in the morning what matters to Chinese people. In the *Baidu* platform, http://www.baidu.com/, they have a list of trending topics. In *Weibo*, http://www.weibo.com/ they have also a list of trending topics. I usually start looking boths if there is any scandal.

In the *Weibo,* you're going over to the people you follow. Before of that, you have the choice, also in the official *Xinhua news agency*, to start looking for "the more commented"' issues. Now that option no longer exists. They have hampered the search. Then, you have to start from a more general search. Our work is becoming more difficult. There is a possibility, that, suddenly; the topic of your interest disappears.

I follow then *Twitter.* When something is in *Weibo*, also is in *Twitter.* But in some critical issues, such as the girl who was hit two times and died, I first met that on *Twitter.* Part of the population speaks two languages,

Chinese and English. You have to crawl on *Twitter*, because some critical news can be put before on *Twitter*. Thirdly, I look the official newspapers *China Daily, Global Times*, the big issues."

1)Weibo/Baidu	2)Twitter	3)Big Newspapers

First, news portals in Chinese, then, micro blogs

(4) "I start the day reading first Chinese news portals on the Internet. Second, I am seeking in the Micro Blogs; Third, I look at bloggers, (among the traditional bloggers, Wang Xiaofeng, Li Xu Hu), and then, traditional media, by journalists, by fields. I go then to *"the 10 more commented issues"*. On the portals pages we have the lists of the most read issues in 24 hours, hours and months. Fourth, I go to the press, I buy it, also, on Thursday, the weeklies.... *Darlin, Zenly, New Century*. I also look at the front pages of the newspapers.

Fifthly, and from there, I go to the foreigners, through RSS. *The NY Times China, China Wall Street Journal, The Guardian China.*From there, I go to the alternative websites, *Sanwey, China Geeks, Chino Chano, José Reinoso, Angel Villarino*..Finally, at the end, I also look at the Embassy press."

1)Chinese news portals	2)Micro Blogs	3) Traditional bloggers	4) Traditional media
5)the weeklies	6)Foreign Press	7) Alternative websites	8) Embassy press

4) Blogs and Micro-Blogs as information source

Blogs and micro blogs were all of them in the daily routine of the correspondents, but they were very cautious to use them as information source.

There was a division between correspondents. Some of them were very critical. They said that it was worth as a barometer, but not as a source.

For others, it was a starting point, first source to be checked, but it was not sufficient without going to the streets. They could be useful to create doubts. For them, it could be very practical to know the general state of mind more than as a source. But, they wanted to contrast.

You need to talk to players and context it

(5) "Few years ago I liked this kind of information on websites, in blogs, but I've become a little conventional. I got tired of Internet. I've come back to more normal information.

If there is a video that is a phenomenon in the network, because has so many visits, you have to go and talk with the protagonist. Sometimes, they believe that a blog is enough to make news, but it is not, you must accompany this with the context."

It is one more source to be checked

(8) "As a journalist I think that copying directly what internet put, has no value. It is one more source that

needs to be checked. You can say: This may be the beginning of something.

I will tell you an anecdote that happened with the Tibetan blogger Tsering Woeser[4]

During the riots in Tibet, someone sent her and hung on her blog a photo of some young man busting a police car. *La Vanguardia* reproduced it. Some friends from Barcelona told her and she got a lot angry. Weaser then, sent a letter to the correspondent saying: Someone sent me the photo. I hung it up and did not have time to be sure of the authenticity. You need to know:

1. I am not a media

2. My blog is like an open environment for Tibetans to hang their things.

3. I am not responsible for what people can hang on the platform.

4. As a journalist, you could tell me if you were going to use it, and secondly, to be sure of the authenticity."

That could open an interesting on the role and ethics of bloggers and journalists."

It is useful to realize the state of opinion of the day to day problems

(5) "For us, following micro blogs is a useful tool for its immediacy to know reality. And it has been shown that when the administration tries to cover a particular case with a string of absurdities, immediately the truth rises. Thanks to the eyewitnesses of *Weibo*, comes to light."

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[4] http://blog.daqi.com/weise / http://oser.tibetcul.net

It is not useful as a source without going to the streets

(2) *"Weibo* is very interesting as a source but the problem is how to check what it says without going to the streets. That is why one or another spread rumors. It may be a first source to be checked, but it is no good without going outside."

It serves to create doubts to be cleared

(6) "The information we receive from micro blogs serves to create doubts which we have to clear. It is important to contrast."

Starting Point

(3) "We must be very careful. I think as journalists we should only use *Weibo* as a starting point. If it is a credible author, as Wang Keqin, there is no problem. But we must make a series of calls to confirm the story."

Forum and thermometer, no source

(4) *"Weibo* is a first step. But, with no *Facebook*, no *Twitter*, you have to take it carefully. There is a lot of variety of issues and much irrelevant topics, but also the opinions of journalists, Internet users, people of the cultural world and, above all, a specific Chinese profile. I consider it a forum, but I do not consider it a source of information. For example, it is not a place to rely about if inflation has gone up. It can be important to take it as a global barometer."

5) Without official sources

Correspondents, especially those who had just arrived to China from Western countries, highlighted the lack of official sources.

(4) "There is a daily call for press conference from the Exteriors Minister, but with very short answers to their questions. They complained that they had a hard daily work without government sources. They pointed out that it could be counterproductive for the administration because it could benefit the spread of rumors.

However, government agencies have realized the importance of the new technologies. The ministries and the city of Beijing, the police also, have created informative units of micro blogs. They have seen that they could not stop the phenomenon and they have to give their information and counter information systematically."

You cannot count on official sources

(6) "Unfortunately, you cannot count on official sources. In the Foreign Ministry, they would answer the phone now, but they don't use to tell you anything. Most of the time, you cannot call other units of the administration or they do not answer. If we want opinions about something, we only have to search for experts or teachers."

In its official microblog they post what they would say in a press conference

(3) "Keep in mind that, in China if you call to a ministry, he never responds. Recently, they have a practice that official point, may be posted in its micro blog They express exactly what they would say in a press conference, with two terse sentences. That does not provide much more information, but, it is useful for agencies."

There are daily press briefings but with very little answers

(7) "Some advances had been made. From a year and a half, each ministry appointed a spokesman. Now they give you a name and a phone number. This did not exist before. The meetings, press briefings for correspondents at the Foreign Ministry, have become daily, but the answers to each topic are very limited.

This is not a normal country. The problem is that you have no way to verify the information. You have to check any information before spreading it. But the thing is that you do not know who is transmitting the rumor. They say: Wait till you know the version of the official *Xinhua* news agency. But there is no time; may be that official statement came out two days later.

The government is very concerned about the rumors. This is a society, only with official press, where rumors have a great ride. In a society like this, "socially violent", rumors can end up causing riots, rumors that are not true, and therefore they try to control it."

6) Control

The first reaction of the Chinese government to the great display of micro blogs was to order to stop the citizens working by nicknames. Each user had to provide their real name. They could be sued by the authorities or other users if they observe bad practices. The same company workers could shut them down the page.

In January 2012, the general interpretation was that control was being worse. After the days of the "Jasmine Revolution" the administration found a new interpretation of the"pre-Olympic Wen Jiabao decree" from January 6, 2007, which said that if the journalists wanted to go to a province to do an interview, they should do this, only requesting permission to the interviewed 'zaifeng'. After the Olympics, the administration changed and said that they needed to ask permission to the person and to the 'danwei', the organization. (Province's officials). Correspondents believed that on this year, 2011, they experienced a regression.

Twitter and *Facebook* were prohibited even before Olympic Games in 2008. Users had to use VPN or Proxy to go through the barrier.

Real name belongs to your privacy

(9) "In My Micro Blog I do not write my real name. I asked to be a member before the order. The real name belongs to our privacy. We do not want to use our real data. However, people like me, yes; we put real photos, in order my friends and college classmates could recognize me."

No access to Twitter without VPN

(8) "You cannot access to *Twitter* without a VPN, but is not censored. Instead, in *Weibo* they reach to delete words."

Greater control

(1&2) "At the end of 2011 they realized, that *Weibo* had already grown exponentially, even exposed to censorship. From then, there is an active censorship, when words or images are introducing sensitive issues. And there is a passive censorship from the companies themselves."

Introduction of fictional personalities

(8) "Chinese government realized that they had to enter in this forum and then decided to introduce fictional personalities, characters who were posting as if they were activists, in a place where many shared experiences, as the Liu Xiaobo's wife. (The Nobel Peace Prize, who was imprisoned)"

Personal control against professionals

(8) "After that year (2011) very tough for internal competition in my company, I had been with so many dissidents, that they threatened me. They followed me. I had to go to therapy. Self-help meetings were held with the Foreign Correspondents Club. I told my company, "or I am stop doing this kind of work, or I go.""

More Control

(1&2) "Control has increased. Even before the Olympics, alarms jumped with the conflicts in Xinjiang and Tibet. Exponentially, we are not better, but, thanks to micro blogs, we know more. After the Jasmine Revolution, they warned us directly and indirectly. This has been a pretty bad year. Many activists have been silent. In the long term, situation advances or recedes space by day to day.

With the activists they are relentless.

With sensitive issues, they are preventive.

With the day to day, they are permissive.

The policy has tightened, but people know more.

Control has worsened

(7) The control has worsened. It has grown, especially during 2011, after the Arab Spring. Everything has happened this year. The press has taken it seriously. This October will be held the Conference of the Communist Party, where the party leadership will change. They said that one of the objectives will be to promote cultural policy. This will eventually result in a greater control over the Internet.

As a consumer I can tell control has gotten worse. They relock news images from CNN, TV3 and German TV. You notice more direct control in the networks. When I work on my computer, if I work with proxy it is very slow. Instead, when I look *China Daily*, the official media, it comes quickly "like a cannon".

In the official press you realize a series of public opinion campaigns. They are counteracting campaigns made by the West to block China's rise, a symbol of rampant nationalism. You notice the pulse with Japan during the past three weeks by the litigation over the islands.

They have ordered Chinese television to reduce the entertainment programs "to not follow Western culture."

Now, there is a new way of pressuring foreign companies. There is a new rule requiring foreign companies to pay social security for foreign workers. It seems that there is a will to not make concessions to foreigners (these days was taking place the democratization of Burma)."

Your computer stops with sensitive words

(6) "Since the Arab revolts control have uprising, the Internet goes much slower. Before, the messages were not removed. *Google* falls. There are many 'sensitive' words that make that your computer stops working, like the word 'jasmine'. Many dissidents have been directly detained."

They have many people working on it

(3) "Man, the Chinese Communist Party will not lose controls deliberately. With no doubt, micro blogs have caught their attention. I will not anticipate, but control it is going up, going down, fluctuates. But I definitely do not think that a phenomenon, like the Wenzhou train scandal, can be repeated. Now they have many people

working on it. They already pay close attention, because they know that micro blogs produce politics".

Progress in freedom of expression

(5) I think we have advanced enough in freedom of expression. People have seen that they can criticize some things to some extent, above all, local authorities. For example, cases of food security, have being much criticized. When critics reach a certain point, the government takes action. They may close a blog, detain somebody. You never know where that limit is up. It is not known where the point is.

Many people believe that there is freedom and they begin to criticize, until one day they stop you. But, hey, this is not North Korea, neither Iran. Here criticism is permitted to some extent and to certain sectors. Worldwide Internet has served to give voice to the ordinary people. There is not generic criticism against the regime. People, now, are more critical than five years ago. They do not ask for a revolution but changes in specific policies, against a politician in particular.

I think that evolution has been for the better, however, if you tell me regarding censorship. Chinese censorship had grown up; *Facebook* 4 years ago was not blocked, or *Twitter*."

Improved information sources in non-official information

(3) "I think also there has been a transfer of power. Before, foreign journalists in China, we swam between the protection of the Foreign Ministry, who understood the need for exterior prestige and the police, security

always was there, but in second term. Today the seconds are in charge. Chinese Foreign Ministry has lost influence to defend foreign correspondents".

Before the Olympics they open a little hand

(4) "Now the general feeling is that since the Olympics, control has worsened. Maybe it has joined the circumstances of the next change of government. As for the local press in Beijing, they were afraid. Instead, other media located in the cities of the provinces *Xin Xin Bo, Den Fan Daily, Kunming Daily*, they had more margin.

We cannot return back. We are in the middle of something very Chinese, among a few steps forward and few steps back, among the control to people and the decontrol of opinions; in this balance between official media and commercial media; in the battle for information in China between institutions and real society. There is a government that will continue trying to regulate involving more people. But it will find with some commercial media, newspapers or the Internet portals that will continue to find embers. It is impossible to close *Weibo*.

And, it is sure, sure, that despite attempts to control, people will continue to find new formulas".

7) After Arab Spring episodes

Between February and March 2011, after the events in Arab countries, foreign correspondents received several anonymous calls or through the networks, which they were summoned to

different concentrations. After the third one, the authorities invited them, personally, for a meeting.

Associated Press said on February 2011, that 20 calls were made in 13 Chinese cities. But only 200 people gathered in Beijing and 100 in Shanghai in the first demonstration. US Ambassador to China John Huntsman, was seen at the meeting point.

After the police response on the 20, the 27th, a silent walking demonstration was called. The meeting was scheduled in front of a McDonald's restaurant also in Wangfujing street, but several metal fences were installed there. In Shanghai seven people were arrested and they retained some journalists.

On March 6 Beijing was under heavy security measures because it coincided with the sessions of the National People's Congress. 180,000 policemen and 560,000 volunteers were mobilized. DPA, Deutsche Presse Agency reported that a hundred demonstrators were surrounded by security forces.

Turning point from the Arabic Riots

(4) "During the Jasmine Revolution in the Arab countries, I analyzed how the press in China was relating the riots. Official media said: there was a chaos. They note there the lack of stability, how different from other countries, like us. Somehow, they differed "chaos" versus' 'stability". In the networks, only a very small part of bloggers wanted to compare it.

As for the demonstrations calls in Chinese cities, it seemed that foreigners were really interested. Correspondents, they still did not know who had sent them the call for the demonstrations. Only that they were spreading it. You realize then the enormous control

the administration can exercise. Internet was collapsed completely."

From Arab Spring to the Jasmine Revolution

(7) "I went to the demonstrations three weeks. The first week was convened in 12 cities. It was called in front of the MacDonalds in Wangfujing street in Beijing. People walked silently in front of these sites. It was called by an email and a text in the micro blog.

The second week was when there were many problems. It was very obvious that they were going to hunt journalists. The site was closed with controls where the passport was requested. They did not let bring camera, and interestingly, in the area in front of MacDonalds, they were doing construction work. Inside, they were 60% of police officers, 30% of journalists and 10% of workers. There was a great display about 200 landfills with audio equipment and groups of supposed Chinese tourists filming us".

The third week, the Public Security Bureau called all televisions teems for a meeting where they were filmed. They were speaking in a "polite" way. They make them to sign a sorry paper telling that they were not going to do it again. They were told "You are provoking the news." German television journalists came there with the press chief of the embassy, but they did not let her to enter.

In Shanghai, they detained for 2 or 3 hours Aritz Parra, correspondent from *El Mundo*. Finally, they let him go. After two or three weeks, they presented him excuses. They said they had preferred to keep him to protect him from some police or paramilitary forces.

Since then, you cannot record with a camera anywhere in Beijing without asking permission to the municipal authorities".

Some media arrested

(8) "In the Jasmine riots in Wangfujing, they arrested a few media including *BBC, Bloomberg*. The *Bloomberg* camera was hit, but he had some images. He did not reach to broadcast them, to send it to the world, because his company didn't let him arguing that they had many businesses with China".

"Your life in China can be affected"

(1&2) "If you observe in your computer screen the word "Jasmine" no longer exists in networks in China.

The first call for the Jasmine demonstration was just a skirmish. It was made from *Weibo*. The press that we were there mostly we were wondering: There are some famous? There were some people walking, some 20 people maximum and 50 foreign journalists. Later I received a call. I was told: "Chinese law says you have to ask permission to shoot".

In the second demonstration day, they were far beyond. They pushed the *Bloomberg* camera and the *BBC* one.

After that, the authorities called us one by one for a meeting. There was a Spanish translator. First, you had to admit that you were there. Then, they made us a warning about Chinese law. "We called you to remind it. You had

to ask permission from the bureau to film. We had a discussion. Then there was a shy threat; "If you persevere, your life in China can be affected"

I asked immediately:

"My Life or my work?" -" Your work" they answered.

Selectively, they were calling especially TV crews.

They said to us: Citizens are happy why did you go?

(6) "After the demonstrations in Wangfujing, they called us and recorded the interview. They told us: "You must know that in China there will be no revolution. Citizens are happy with the system. Why you have gone to Wangfujing? They'd just said:" If you are carrying on following this path, life in Beijing will be very unhappy".

"Perhaps they did it because they thought there was a germ. There were also many arrests of Christians. "

How was made the call for the demonstrations?

"We received the Jasmine call by the *Twitter*. "

(Every correspondent mentions different sources).

1.   Interviews with Correspondents in Cuba

Four interviews with correspondents from Cuba were requested in January 2012. They were scheduled in a difficult moment in the relationship between administration and foreign press, above all, Spanish press. One of the most important media correspondents was invited to leave the island; the authorities didn't renew his visa.

At that moment, I only reached to do three live interviews. Another correspondent received us. He/she agreed to speak about general work context but refuse to give an interview.

After some time, we achieved to do two other more interviews to correspondents from a Spanish media. In total, five interviews. All of them asked not to be identified. This is a fact to be taken in account.

The access to Internet was still difficult. Correspondents complain about the big difference with other countries in relation with connectivity. Even having an account, access to the net was still very difficult and slow. Only government members, professionals, university professors had access, in addition to, they might be registered with their name, and the semi stately company ETECSA, gave them a password.

We interviewed a dissent opinion from a correspondent that believed that access was much easier that occidental countries could think. People enter in the picaresque to obtain lines and passwords. It is also very interesting to remark the situation of networking groups that get contents and distribute them off line, by hand, around the island.

In respect with connectivity we have to mention that from middle 2015, authorities installed 80 points *WiFi* outdoor already in the island. That connection access is used, above all,

to talk to relatives. Purchasing one hour cards, to connect there is expensive for Cuban standards, 2 or 3 dollars, when the regular public worker's salary may be from 20 to 30 $.

We could find in Cuba a similar euphoria we observed in China with the spread of micro blogs but about the extension of the mobile phones in the population, although the lack of Internet connectivity.

Correspondents also pointed us that it was a situation of an absolute absence of institutional sources or communications. For them, working as journalists was very hard, because the lack of contrast possibility. After some time, pro-government micro blogs or blogs assume the task of official spokesman.

At the end of the interviews, all the correspondents asked us not to identify them. After doing the standardized interviews, we divided the answers on these topics:

1) Difficult access.

2) Internet, historically a matter of national security.

3) Increasing number of Mobile phones.

4) Historical Cases.

5) Correspondent's routine.

6) Blogs and Micro Blogs as a source of information.

7) The lack of official sources.

8) Official reactions.

1) Difficult access

(1) "Cuba is not as elsewhere. There is only access to the Internet from universities, international firms, etc. There are pages that cannot be opened and the speed is very slow. There are computers in technology clubs and in the hotels, but at very restrictive prices. And in case you can access, you enter in a controlled Intranet.

I achieve accessing the Internet from my Spanish BlackBerry and from my office; where I have a wide band which is fine. But you have to have the government of Cuba controlled Intranet. The line can only be purchased through the semi state company ETECSA. But there are tools that I cannot use, such *Skype*."

The government blames the blockade

"Officially, the government blames the US blockade of the low capacity for input and output. They recently built a cable under the sea to Venezuela, which gives them many possibilities. But so far, we do not notice it. Internet access is very limited because administration is well aware that they "have the enemy in front."

Easier connecting from Spain

(2) "Sometimes it is easier for me, to connect from here to the Spanish Internet".

Accessibility, impossible Youtube

(3) "To interact with the United States, I use *VPN*. *Skype* calls are blocked in Cuba. Internet is so extremely slow. For example, to download a history from *You Tube*, it would take months".

There is much more accessibility which is believed

(4) "There are more users than is believed. Government agencies, businesses, and, now, cooperatives, are entitled to have internet. It is attached to the server; its costs are $ 5 a month for companies.

Official statistics say that there are 1.8 million users, it can be true. There would be some 300,000 users in homes, but in every house there are 5 people, and if you multiply the result are 1,500,000 potential users. Then, you must add people who prorated *Wi-Fi* from hotels or business centers. Cuba is the country with less connectivity in Latin America, but also is the one with most computer science graduates. We must notice that somewhere".

The Cuban phenomenon of off-line content distribution: *"El paquete"*

(2) "Internet does not have a standardized access. It was considered a tool only for professional use, for doctors, professors. But despite of this, all young people in Havana goes with a USB hanging in their neck, to

share films. In Havana, in the street, in every corner, in
every entrance there are music and internet games
sellers. There are people dedicated to download movies
and games, to burn records, and to bring them a cover to
distribute it."

There is a massive distribution of content of information,
with the capacity of one tera, called *El Paquete*. It is sent across
the country with hard drives. It emerged in 2007. They began
in Havana, in a four people central desk with help from
colleagues in provinces. They are adding new material every
day. There is a deadline, every week, on Monday, at 7 a.m., all
Cuba has to have *"El Paquete"*. Citizens can participate calling
for some material. There are folders of music and video,
documentaries, sports, series and shows. Some journalistic
websites like web page *On Cuba* are in the package. They are
tolerated. It reaches 40,000 people. Weekly, *El Paquete* cost 2
CUCs, 50 Cuban pesos. Per month, it is about 200 Cuban
pesos. Bus drivers distribute it around the country.[5]

Internet, historically a matter of national security

Internet in Cuba was considered an issue of national
security. Indeed, from the nineties when the administration
accused the US of trying to help dissent through social
networks.

(4) "Blog" was considered a bad word. When I started
writing mine, the authorities told me: "You, too, you are
going insight there?"

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[5] See https://www.cubanet.org/reportajes/el-paquete-semanal-manda-en-
los-hogares-cubanos/ and
http://www.diariodecuba.com/cuba/1447283402_18071.html

Having satellite dishes is forbidden

(2) "Here it is strictly forbidden to have satellite dishes to receive images from outside and the municipality controls it".

US was accused of supporting dissent with networks

(1) "Tension rose around June 2011. On the official Cuban Television, they passed a program called *"the Cyber war reasons"*. Different camouflaged agents that had contacts with the American citizen Alan Gross, surfaced. They wanted to show how from the United States tried to introduce satellite dishes, even on surfboards.

What worries the officials in the times of "cyber war" is that accessibility reaches the middle class. But they are conscious international image remains badly damaged. That's what worries them about Yoani Sánchez".

Internet, considered ideological battlefield

(1) "There has been an evolution in dealing with dissidents after the issue of the 'cyber war". First, the "blogs boom" took Cuban government by surprise. After that, they are now very concerned with the entry of equipment. A phenomenon like Yoani Sánchez is especially disturbing for them. She has a *Twitter* school. She says she works blindly. She is super active".[6]

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[6] See http://www.cubadebate.cu/noticias/2011/03/21/vea-el-capitulo-ciberguerra-de-la-serie-las-razones-de-cuba-video/

3) Increasing number of mobile phones

The increasing the number of cell phones did mean a turning point. And it happened in a very normal way in a very short time, from 2010 to 2012.

> (1) "Everyone in the city of Havana has now his mobile, although for many it is expensive. Cuban Mobile phones do not have internet, but they are able to communicate with each other. The company has announced that they will lower rates. And above all, they have removed a terrible formula used until now. I was that who was getting calls also had to pay.

> (2) "The phenomenon of cell phone extension had taken place in two years. It's a real "boom". But, even, what is more interesting is how young people they communicate among themselves, with photos, DVD's, games, etc."

> (2) In regarding Internet I am still I not optimistic. It is extremely slow and with unfair tariffs. Instead I am optimistic about the extension of mobile phones. They have also announced messages' price cuts from February". (2012).

You notice much more interactivity between mobile phones

> (3) "Mobile phones and messages including *SMS*, have become a phenomenon in Cuba. From a year, 2010, it has spread incredibly. We can notice much more this kind of interactivity relationship than not the one from the

Internet. They will try to establish the same control, although it will be more difficult".

4) Historical Cases

While blogs were very polarized in the so-called "battle of ideas", they had a large audience from abroad, much more than insight due to the lack of access, and a detailed internal monitoring from official bodies. The absence of official sources and the exercised control over traditional media has caused that lately some news and specific allegations first appeared on blogs than in the press.

Correspondents (as researcher Gretel Ráfuls in her recent work (2015), has noticed us how in more recent times the authorities pay great attention to the blogs and try to solve quickly the specific problems that caused complaints related in the posts.

One of the most important examples of the Cuban blogosphere announcing news was when a Cuban blog *Penultimos Días,* from an expatriate in Spain, Ernesto Hernández Busto, released a comment telling that some patients were dying in the Havana Psychiatric Hospital.

4.1. Death by starvation in the Havana Psychiatric Hospital (January 2010)

(4) "On January 13, 2010, the blog *Penultimos días,* made from Spain, insinuated the starvation situation of between 20 to 31 people in the Mazorra Psychiatric Hospital in Havana. Apparently, workers from the hospital were separating and selling their food in the

black market. The next day, it was confirmed in Havana, by the Cuban Commission for Human Rights and National Reconciliation.[7]

And on the 15th January, when it was already *vox populi* throughout the capital, the Ministry of Public Health, through the official newspaper *Granma* had to admit the death of 26 people. An investigation was then opened. A year later, the Psychiatric Hospital responsible team was on trial".

4.2 News from the National Assembly from Micro Blogs (December 2011)

Thanks to pro official micro blogs, International Press correspondents, who couldn't be in the Assembly, knew the massive prisoners relieve.

> (1) " Last December, suddenly, we received through the networks: "Raúl is announcing a massive pardon". Imagine how important the issue was and we did not know how to contrast it. And it was absolutely true. It was during a meeting of the National Assembly.

The foreign press could not attend the meeting and they were bloggers insight who were not identified, that send the information. They had their *Twitter* account, but I didn't know them. They were the ones who told us the president was going to pardon nearly 3,000 political prisoners.[8]

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[7] http://www.penultimosdias.com/2010/01/13/muertos-en-el-hospital-psiquiatrico-de-la-habana/

[8]   http://www.cubaencuentro.com/cuba/noticias/el-gobierno-cubano-publica-los-nombres-de-presos-indultados-en-la-gaceta-oficial-272249

4.3. Death of the dissident William Villar (January 2012)

Officials recognized the death of William Villar, first by *Twitter*, then from an official blog. After that, it was a debate in the net about if he was really a political prisoner.

(1) "On the issue about the death, after a hunger strike, of William Villar, the government briefing note did not appear first in the newspapers, but in the official blog *"Cubadebate"*, all prior to any release.

In that case that the death took place in the city of Santiago, we have had very little information. Elizardo Sánchez himself, the speaker from the National Commission on Human Rights, when I asked him, he told me that this man was not among his previous lists of political prisoners. He replied: "without comments".

There is an official network use

(2) "These days with the case of William Villar, the late activist who died after the hunger strike, that has been officially recognized half an hour before the official reaction, through *Twitter*. That does not mean that micro blogs are a reliable source, but you have to be alert".[9]

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[9] See https://www.cibercuba.com/noticias/2012/01/21/murio-el-disidente-cubano-wilman-villar; http://solidaridadcuba.blogspot.mx/2012/01/fallece-william-villar-en-hospital-de.html;
http://debateando.blogspot.mx/2012/01/fallecio-el-delincuente-wilmar-villar.html

4.4 University fraud case (May 15, 2014)

In the last times, there are many cases of internal blogs with local denounces, that are almost immediately answered by the administration.

> (4) "In May 17, 2014, blog *La Chiringa de Cuba* denounced a supposed fraud in the entrance examinations to the University (May 15). Immediately an investigation was conducted, confirmed it, and the tribunals judged eight teachers."[10]

4.5 Rafael needs medical attention abroad (Sept.4, 2014)

"That's the explanation of a case that could have similarities with a plea from a social TV program in an occidental country. Thanks to the blog *Cartas de Cuba* exposition, a Cuban child could obtain medical assistance abroad.

There was the case of a child who needed of medical care abroad, Rafael Botalín Díaz, 15's years old. He needed urgently radio surgery.

In the Cuban public health system, - as a principle-, the administration pays medical attention abroad if any operation could not be done insight. On Thursday the doctors responsible told the parents, that the budget for this kind of trips for that year was finished. After that, it was published in some blogs like *Cartas de Cuba.* The administration watched it and studied the case immediately, and, the same week, that Saturday, Rafael, was flying to Spain".[11]

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[10] http://chiringadecuba.com/2014/05/15/hubo-fraude-en-las-%C2%A8pruebas-de-ingreso-2014%C2%A8/

[11] http://cartasdesdecuba.com/el-presupuesto-y-la-salud-de-rafael/

5) Correspondent's routine

Reading blogs and micro globs was a common and necessary practice in the correspondent's routine. Lately, increasingly, they start to look if they were any official announcements form the pro-governmental blogs, and after that, surfing for different blogs, pages and traditional newspapers, from insight Cuba, and also, the counterpart, Miami, Washington and the rest of the world.

Researching blogs, a routine

(1)   "Consultation with blogs is a routine for us, to monitor them, but considering them as a tool. In this limited framework from certain time, we have to study some "official blogs" on some websites, in case they inform us. The non-governmental, in most cases, are not so important because they in general give opinions".

1) Official Blogs	2) Dissident blogs

You need to read the official blogs

(2) "On that routine in the morning you have to see what the pro-government bloggers say, who are not exactly dissidents. We must be aware of networks, people who move in spheres of government. There have been a group of specialists in the Interior Ministry that have already being formed with internet tools and are very active".

1)Official Blogs and webs	1) Dissident blogs

Looking also at the other side, Miami

(3) "In my routine, I try to check first *Google Earth*, but it works very slowly, then the blogs, then international reactions. Within the Internet, although it works extremely slow-, you can get the newspapers from Miami like *El Nuevo Herald.*"

1)Google Earth	2)Official Blogs	3)Dissident Blogs	4)Local newspapers	5)Newspapers from Miami

Doing a tour of all kinds of blogs

(3) "You need to surf a tour by all kinds of blogs. For example, last week, the online journal made in Miami *"Café fuerte"*, founded by Wilfredo Cancio and Yvette Leyva, and filtered a document on the case of US citizen detained on the island. They explained the intervention Allan Gross's wife".

Following blogs, but not the old ones

(4) "Yes, I follow daily the blogs in what comes to be a trickle of news, but not the more traditional blogs that were famous before, they are subsidized by one side or the other. Every day, internal blogs are richer and more divers".

First, the official media

(5) "Ordering my priorities first we look the official traditional media, the newspaper and the two agencies, Prensa Latina and Agencia Cubana de Noticias. Lately, I always check Cibercuba, a blog that brings many

unofficial notes, but sometimes it cannot be trusted because we have found that in some notes failed. But, in general, thanks to that, we knew situations that other blogs or portals didn't reflect. We don't consult the Yoani Sánchez digital newspaper with special assiduity".[12]

1)Prensa Latina	2) Agencia Cubana de Noticias	3)Cibercuba

6) Blogs and Micro Blogs as a source of information

Most of the correspondents coincide telling that blogs and micro blogs could not be considered sources. They cannot replace direct access to different direct sources, and a wide view of reflection from the correspondent. According to them, there is no source without mediation.

We have to observe that there is a paradox, as they are convinced that blogs or micro blogs were not real sources; they had to take some official blogs and twits as real sources, because they don't have other possibilities to interact with the administration.

The correspondent's version is essential

(1) "What we can find in a blog is a declarative proposal and we can wheedle their view, but then, nothing replaces the criteria of the correspondent, who may have a broader perspective. As the official version of what happens is very limited, observation and reflection

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[12] https://www.cibercuba.com/quienes-somos

from the correspondent remains essential to complement the vision of a story".

Blogs are not sources

(2) "I do not dare to say that we can find sources in the blogs. They are not sources, but we must watch to take them into account. We must be very alert".

Caution should be exercised to use it. It may be the beginning, but cannot be a source unmediated

(3) "In my agency we never considered and used *Twitter* as real news. It may be the beginning. But there is no other way of working but to send a reporter. Obviously, bloggers can give information but it cannot be considered source without mediation. Likewise, we must take care, with some radio reports because you never know if the information is intentional".

Criticism about using Yoani Sánchez as a source

(4) "There are pages you cannot trust. On March 20, 2012 Yoani Sánchez said there was a shooting in Havana. She said the Venezuelan ambassador had been shot in his head. At the end, it was a stone which hit his car. That fact was denounced by the pro-government blogs.

The same situation occurs when the death of a dissident in March 2011, Juan Wilfredo Soto Garcia in Santa Clara. Some dissident sources told that he died because a police beating. It was not sufficiently checked. She was strongly criticized from the Blog, *La joven Cuba"*

Numerically are not important

(5) "I don't believe blogs are replacing the official information, because the problem is that you need to have Internet. The citizens that don᾽t have Internet, who are the majority, they can᾽t consult blogs.

I tell you that we do not use blogs as sources of information, only, in some cases, in issues like culture or sports. *Cubasí* is an official portal that we have cited sometimes. [13]

The one we are always monitoring is *Cubadebate,* because is a page with official information that we can cite".[14]

New Media

(4) "In recent months, some correspondents have highlighted the importance of a web page created in 2012 *On Cuba*.[15]

It is a portal made by the Cuban entrepreneur who lives in Miami, Hugo Cancio. It has hired 20 journalists in Cuba. It is considered a very good source medium. It is information that comes from outside, but can be quite reliable at things from within, for example, food prices."

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[13] http://cubasi.cu/
[14] http://www.cubadebate.cu/
[15] http://oncubamagazine.com/

8) The lack of official sources

All the correspondents strongly complained that it was very difficult to work without official agenda and sources. An inconvenience that foreign correspondents told us they have in Cuba is that we have very little official information from municipal, provincial or state level. In journalistic terms they could not get what is essential: the official point of view in concrete terms. In consequence, they explained that they were not writing many stories that were not necessarily conflicting issues, because they will not publish a story that has no official confirmation.

There is not a public official agenda

(1) "To exercise our work as a journalist we have to be very careful. We have very little access to official sources. To give you an idea, we don't have a prior official agenda from any branch of the administration. And the activities they call us to go sometimes have no interest.

Other possible sources are some *SMS* that the person who is in charge of us in the International Press Center sent to us, by SMS, or by Email. When Fidel will come out on television, then, they advertised us through *SMS*."

Even at street level

(1) "When there is an accident in the city, as, for example, the collapse of a building in Infanta Street, in the scene, neither firefighters nor police, nor the hospital, wants to talk. We asked them with no results to give an

official version of the number of injuries and deaths. We could only know it through an official radio report from "Radio Reloj". Only, from that way, we could know one official source".

That day, Yoani Sánchez reported in her blog, that there were 6 dead. She was wrong, there were four. Although she said and she warned that she would try to confirm it. It is incredibly difficult that a charge of the administration may grant an interview to you. And Raul Castro speaks in public speeches maybe twice a year. You might know the resolutions of the council of ministers a week later".

In the end, information is obtained, thanks to official bloggers

(2) "The main problem in our daily routine is that here there is no official information, neither for important issues or dates, like the National Assembly. The official newspapers *Granma* or *Juventud Rebelde* or the official blog *Cubadebate*, they publish official notes, but sometimes two days after some accident has taken place".

Lack of official sources benefits rumors

(3) "The lack of official information causes that many senseless rumors spread; rumors that can never get checked. If we could reach the contrast, if we have official information, we could eliminate false information.

Our agency is distinguished by two things: "Speed and veracity". We even have the ethical practice, although a newspaper has published something, we go there to

confirm it. That haunts me. There would be no problem if they could open up to give official explanations directly from the government".

The administration begins to communicate across networks

(3) "Now we can observe a new phenomenon: we started to receive Twitter or email with the official reactions. Given the lack of official sources in the ministries, which some of them sent through new technologies from the administration or from official spokespersons, it serves us as a source".

It takes months for an interview; for a statistic, weeks

(3) "You do not have access to official sources. To achieve to interview an official economist it might takes you months; to get some statistics, weeks, when in the West you would have it in an hour. When you ask for any concrete member of the administration they may give you the interview the same year.

An example: we wanted to do a story about an NGO with children with Down syndrome, which somehow is led by the director of the National Ballet of Cuba, Alicia Alonso. We asked if we could do the story and it was forbidden. Why? It's stupid!"

There is no prior censorship, but without the possibility of contrast

(3)" Regarding censorship, we can get and write what we want. But I repeat: our reports, our stories, we are doing it just without the necessary confrontation. It is incredible that a government that it is opening the economy, they are losing the information opportunity".

8) Control and evolution

After a scenario of confrontation, when government encouraged internal journalists and students to participate in the blogosphere, on last years it was a phenomenon of the spreading of new and more diverse voices insight the island.

(4)" It seems that in the administration there are two different opinions in respecting blogs. Press and Blogs depend primarily on the ideological department of the Central Committee of the Party, led by Colonel Rolando Alfonso Borges.

In the government there are two currents: On one side there is the hardest branch, which is the ideological department of the Central Committee of the Party, and, on the other, the supporters of an opening policy. At this time, there is still no any regulation on blogs and press. But both branches of the government, the hardest current, and the other more open, they both want to regulate the issue of the press and the Internet with a future Press Law."[16]

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[16] http://www.diariodecuba.com/cuba/1433514667_15002.html

Control attempts

(4) "When I started writing my blog, one of the workers of the International Press Center said, "We want to talk to you about the blog". I said to him: "No, it is a personal creation, and I only want to consult about it with my pillow. If you want to do it as a reader, we can. But not as an official who attends a journalist. " I do not know how far could go the future Press Law, but my position is that if you want to control my blog, I will close it, and that's it".

Distrust even with the pro-government bloggers

(4) "Not long ago, they decided to close the group of bloggers *La Joven Cuba*. Even the same Cuba's Vice President Miguel Diaz-Canel, went to appear in a photo with the editors to defend them. They are young Communist Party members and defend the Revolution, but they want to have their own voice."[17]

The control also depends on the platform

(4) "Inside Cuba many people read bloggers who had the domain "cu", but that also means more control. Recently, they wanted to close the blog *El Colimador*, which was working within the group *Cubava*. There is a

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[17] http://cartasdesdecuba.com/contigo-en-la-distancia/

complain editorial on March 7, 2016: "Hasta aquí he llegado"[18]

New phenomenon: "official" professionals expressing their views through their blogs

Insight the official press, there are movements from conscious professionals that look their personal blogs as an alternative to what they cannot publish in their newspaper. The newspaper *Granma* spent six days without talking the phenomena of Cuban migrants in Costa Rica. Well, then, Sergio Alejandro Gomez, his International section chief, decided to write about this in his blog.[19]

The Editor-in-Chief of the Newspaper *Trabajadores,* Francisco Rodriguez, presented in an open letter his criticism about the process how the VII Congress of the Communist Party was prepared. He did it from its blog *Paquito el de Cuba*.[20]

Lilibeth Alfonso, from the newspaper *Venceremos* reported a few months ago, that the distribution of *El Paquete* was unilaterally banned in Guantanamo. Thanks to that, Abel Prieto, culture president's advisor, gave countermanded.[21]

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[18] http://elcolimador.cubava.cu/
http://elcolimador.cubava.cu/2016/03/07/hasta-aqui-he-llegado/
[19] https://medium.com/@sergioalejandrogmezgallo

[20] https://paquitoeldecuba.com/2016/03/28/carta-abierta-a-raul-castro-o-aplazar-hasta-julio-el-vii-congreso-del-partido/

[21] https://eskinalilith.wordpress.com/2015/06/07/prohiben-en-guantanamo-venta-de-informacion-en-discos-extraibles-un-adios-quirurgico-al-paquete-semanal/

Blogs Content pushes official media

(1)" The content on blogs also pushes the official media. The official television newscast finally had to broadcast images of the building collapse in the Infanta Street, after some blogs did it. In some respects, it seems that the official media feel also the obligation to improve.

Now from the official media, they also begin to report about bad news. Two years ago, the evening news in the official TV informed about the plane crash. The website of an official power of the area and the blog *Cubadebate* were providing more data".

Official media believe that competition from digital will sink them

(4) "Official newspapers, at a meeting in common, said that their main problem was now the unfair competition from alternative media. Because blogs can write things that another media are not allow to. They see them as a threat. They should see it as an opportunity. They came to say that they were running out of readers."

Conclusion: Different times, similar routines and complaints

After those structured interviews, we observed that there is a huge difference between the Internet accessibility between the two countries. The emergence of the use of micro blogs was massive in China. It was a turning point that changed the habits and routines of all the journalists.

The timing is also different. That euphoria created for the micro blogs in China is comparable to the widespread use of mobiles phones and portable memory sticks in Cuba, although they did not have internet access.

There is something in common that matches in historical cases named in these years, it was the vacuum of the official press to be the first to get accurate data in scandal cases, like in the Wenzhou train case or the Havana Psychiatric Hospital story.

In the dairy routine from correspondents, following blogs and micro blogs have proved necessary, indispensable. But, the majority believes that only as a starting point, as a doubt, and, above all, as a thermometer to know main problems worries for an important new social class. But every subject should be subject to scrutiny, test and contextualization of the journalist.

In the case of Cuba, it may seem a paradox. In a country where the problem of the lack of access remains, where blogging has been intensively criticized during years ("blog" is a bad word"), it is easier to get the version of what is happening through official web pages or certain Twitter sites rather than directly addressing the administration or

ministries. Official blogs have become source replacing direct spokesmen from the government.

We were testimony of a common complaint, correspondents in both countries pointed the lack of official sources, in government, in the ministries, that there was not an official agenda, which facilitates the dissemination of rumors. Here we might ask whether the system of government implies the lack of a communication policy.

Regarding the control, we might observe that at the time we did the interviews, pressure increased in China after the Jasmine Revolution in the Arab countries, when all the correspondents received a strange call to cover demonstrations. The most liberal era before the Olympic Games had passed and some had to assist to face to face interviews with the administration.

In the case of journalists in Cuba, pressure on correspondents should be strong, at that moment, when they did not want their name to appear in this research.

We pointed at the beginning both countries were living very different timing in respect with Internet. However, Cuban correspondents were stressing that the plurality in the ecosystem of blogs in Cuba have being increased lately, even the variety of opinions and the possibility of divergence within those who defend Cuban system. We have to mention coincidence between last interviews with Gretel Ráfuls's work in the UAB (2015). Careful scrutiny made by the authorities of blogs and news that are broadcast in them, is causing a quicker reaction of the administration, solving some of the problems denounced, concerned about its image on the network. Something that traditional press is lagging behind. From the network different voices are replacing its control function.

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Conclusions

IN THE BEGINNING OF OUR APPROACH we said that these blogs constituted a unique type of communication online, in a moment of unique development of new technologies in the world, especially in China, not in Cuba, where the tempus of general personal access has not arrived yet. Even working in difficult conditions for obtaining sources of information Wang Keqin defined that time as "A new era of Information".

After the content analysis of the blogs and comments, the interviews with the authors and the correspondents we will try to arrive to some conclusion analysis starting with the questions we drew in our first approach to research. And finally we will set general incognita we raised at the beginning of our work about whether the Internet could have led to a certain kind of public forum, in countries like in China and Cuba.

Primarily, let ask again the questions:

1)   How we can define those Blogs as mass media, their impact and genre.

We would start remarking the relevance of our authors. In Emily Parker's book (p.121) Kai Fu Lee, founding president of Google China, said:

> "If you have 10.000 followers in Weibo is as you have created a magazine. If you have 100.000, in every Weibo you post, you get as much of attention as if it appeared at local newspaper. When you reach a million fans, your voice will be as powerful as the headline of a national newspaper".

When we interviewed Wang Keqin, he told us he had tree millions of followers in different micro blogs platforms. Yoani Sánchez, belonging to newspapers source, had in one month, 14 million readers all over the world. Wang Keqin got two peaks of attention throughout the year 2010: with the scandals of vaccines and milk powder in bad condition in Shanxi province, and, above all, from October, the case of the son of a police officer who ran over a young girl student in Hebei university campus.

After being required by the students, the Blogger went to the scene, he wanted to be direct witness, he did his proper research, and his blog was the platform for raising several probes from the accident which could lead the audience to know the contradictions and guilt.

We can consider that most of his works were Interpretative Features. He was very careful never to express himself in the first person singular or plural in his posts. He was always speaking about "journalist-correspondents" in the third person, but certainly his personal intentionality is denoted in each post.

The journalist considered that for a real investigative report it was required the existence of a contradiction or unfair situation, and the action of the journalist going to the scenes, collecting sources, most of them unofficial, giving voice to the victims, and reconstructing the story, which will allow that this situation of conflict can be brought to the courts.

Instead, most posts by Yoani Sánchez were comments and reflections from an event with conflict or contradiction that was taking place. Most of her posts were based on a real situation that she observed, brook down, always expressing personal feelings and some ironies, although, in our sample, there are other journalistic genres as interviews or also romancing narratives.

In our work, due to the importance of the blogger, we proposed to take in consideration, tow more genres, not only comments, the article, with her photo at the screen, because the resonance of her signature. And even, the editorial, if we consider that she conveyed her message as a part of a group, either generational or ideological. It is remarkable, in our

lexicon research that sometimes she started some posts speaking in first person of singular, and she finished her story in first person of plural. Thus, she gave herself a representative action.

Second question:

2) Posts as new form of expression. Can we find new Subjects, Sources, links, novelty?

First of all, we should stress that both blogs were raised as alternative media. That is, Wang Keqin, after an investigation, used his blog to avoid some control, and to explain what could not be expressed, at that moment, in the pages of his newspaper, in an exercise to double censorship and to get other media were made echo of the case.

Yoani Sánchez was looking for a global platform to express opinions that had no place, at that moment, in the official media of her country.

In this context, it has been interesting to see if they have used new sources of information, links and contacts with other media and the degree of novelty in the content of what they expressed.

From our observation, one of the most important characteristics of Wang Keqin work was that almost in all cases he tried to work with many non-official citizens' sources,

although he looked for a contrast opinion in administration's offices, even if sometimes he didn't receive answer. Neighbors, workers, students, independent experts might be credible witnesses to injustices or illegalities.

In her posts, Yoani Sánchez, used as object of reflection her own observation, then she was her main source. There are some cases, like the one with the mother of the deceased opponent, where direct source is the interviewed, but there is a minority. When she got first-hand sources is when she talked about people and events of the opposition movement. She does not seek official sources, but, in the case she uses the exact official answers, she reproduced it textually with an ironic content in her post.

In some contentious issues, Wang Keqin introduced some links from another media, like Phoenix TV from Hong Kong. That means he was not looking for exclusivity. He was aware that, as Rebecca Mackinnon said, in China every investigative work from a journalist becomes part of a "story process". The access to information sometimes is so difficult that there are not "breaking exclusive news", they know they are part of a chain.

They were not many links, but he included some surprising data to encourage the participation of readers. What caught us more attention is how, looking for an active role of its followers, Wang Keqin posted the phone numbers of victims and persecutors, and even the made public the bank account numbers from the affected families.

In Yoani Sánchez page, there were some permanent links that target the pages of other bloggers belonging to the group DesdeCuba.com, but in her posts we found very few links, understandable in a country with little access. We found two posts addressed to YouTube with audiovisual content. Going to international platforms guaranties her diffusion and prevalence.

In all Wang Keqin post, there is some novelty factor, considering it a change in the system. This may be because he did not start a story without seeing a contradiction or mystery that may arise some novelty after his research.

Even in the reports about the consequences of natural disasters (the Yushu earthquake or landslide in Gansu), there was novelty, because the subjects were the rescue workers and the solidarity between people and not big numbers, official statements or authority's visits.

In the case of Yoani Sánchez, there was novelty if we focus in the public living outside Cuba, who was the vast majority of her readers. Many everyday situations she explained were already known by the people living on the island, but not by a public that had received only headlines about Cuba.

Third question:

3)   To whom bloggers sent their message? Their blogs and micro blogs were useful for the flow of Information, for correspondents?

It is clear from our interviews that Wang Keqin started his blog as an amateur activity teaching cooperatively with students, also in contact with some colleagues from another media, with some pedagogic will. When he reached a point of dissemination and influence, and his writings on the blog could be more advanced than what he published in his newspaper, he realized than his post could be an instrument to certain power elites in Beijing to discover phenomena of provincial corruption.

Without scientific certainty we can advance that those two hundred thousand readers that Wang have in some posts, or one hundred thousand in other cases, were no from a low social extraction, if not, belonging to this new young social class, executives from cities, administration workers, even from the party, interested in being informed and able to take decisions.

It is remarkable, then in some cases, depending in the subject, posts from Wang Keqin were reproduced by "bridge posts" and international organizations. But his purpose was intern. Give evidences to people insight the party and the system to change unfair situations in provinces.

Yoani Sánchez said she had to act blindly sending messages to the net. We have been saying that Cuban blogosphere is understood as the one which speaks about Cuban subjects around the world. The one made within and outside the island.

In United States live more than 1.110.000 Cubans, in Spain about 128.000. Most writing or reading blogs, as commentators, have found a sense of community and some possibility of dialogue and participation. During decades there have been an enormous interest in the international community on Cuba, its survival as a nation although the embargo from the first world power and its leader's charisma.

In this context, internal opposition had a minimum capacity of resonance abroad. Blogger and her support knew that they could have a multiplicative tool, which in turn, was supported by major international media. For this reason, and for the lack of access inside, it is clear that her writings, at that time, were aimed at the international audience.

After our structured interviews to the correspondents, it was obvious the huge difference between the Internet accessibility in China and Cuba. The use of micro blogs was massive in China. For the correspondent's work, the irruption of important blogs and the spread of micro blogs was a turning point that changed the habits and routines of the news desks.

In their day to day work, following blogs and microblogs have proved not only necessary, but indispensable. First, the important names in the blogs sphere, and then, the trends and main topics in micro blogs. They considered it as a minimum as a thermometer, because it represented what an important new social class was thinking. They were very demanding in quotidian problems, like pollution. May be the role of this debates of new young middle class of owners had some similarity with the discussions of the first bourgeois in salons in the times after the first Industrial Revolution in occidental countries.

In the case of Cuba, as a paradox, even the lack of access, the progressive importance that the authorities gave to the blogosphere, has bring till today situation, when correspondents have to relay in official blogs and micro blogs to be sure of administration decisions. First, some decisions are announced in some blogs or micro blogs than not in press conferences or interviews, because there is a lack of direct contact.

In our fieldwork we have been witness to a common complaint from both countries' correspondents. They said there were no official sources of information, a normal channel from the ministries, or from the government, even for the most common issues. Neither were they provided of an agenda in advance. Although there were regular press conferences in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, sufficient information was not available. This lack of official information facilitated the spread of rumors, a non-desirable situation also for the governments.

In this regard the official press was so often limited from a supervised edition that they could not advance news. In some historical cases, like the high-speed accident train in Wenzhou, or the patient's death in the Havana Psychiatric Hospital, blogs and micro blogs took over the official press, although, at the beginning, they were unable to contrast what happened. One of the correspondents concluded:

> "It is incredible that a government that it is opening the economy. They are losing the information opportunity."

In this sense all correspondents emphasize that for their work, the study of blogs and micro blogs was necessary, but could not be taken as a source without a personal verification. There was a consensus that it supposed a "starting point", but

not sufficient without a contrast effort, and their personal reflection and professional contextualization.

It is important to note how, in slower development timing than in China, in Cuba lately there were emerging a greater number of blogs, that beyond the pro and the antisystem debate, denote a greater plurality of opinions and topics even in pages that were not considered dissidents. The case of *La Joven Cuba* and others highlights the contradiction whether it is possible to have free opinion within the system.

Four question:

4)   *Did they manage to focus attention in constant issues?*

In most of his post Wang Keqin was defending victims, people who were looking for justice. One example is when he was speaking about health problems, with kids dying in Shanxi province after having received vaccines and milk powder in bad state. As a journalist and defender, he believed that giving publicity to those parents meant protecting them. That's why he gave, through his blog, their name, showed their faces, their poor home, even telephone numbers or bank accounts. In some cases, Wang acted as a defendant also publicizing a list of unknown's circumstances, his observation and research finished with collecting evidences, when there was a lack of investigation from officials.

But, behind it, the most remarkable, in ten on twelve cases of our sample, is that there was a clear secondary message: Local authorities were allowing the illegal facts

and/or hiding them. That seemed to be a permanent objective from the blogger.

In that period of tolerance for the press, when central Chinese government, leaded by president Hu Jintao and premier Wen Jiabao, were trying to fight against economical enormous gap, calling for an "Harmonious society", and also fighting against provincial corruption, Wang Keqin wanted to put on, in his newspaper, and if he could not, in his blog, some exemplary cases. The journalist was taking advantage that he was working in a newspaper *China Economic Times*, from the State Council, and he believed that there was room to insist on the application of justice in some cases of lawlessness and impunity of the powerful.

In respect of Haberma's arguments about the lack of focus in Internet, that research has us concluded that Wang Keqin Post show periodical and systematical insistence in some subjects. For example, in the vaccines case, or the accident in the University of Hebei, known as "My father Is Li Gang". There were not sporadic reports. He was following the stories until from his denouncement, to center the attention of the net citizens, till a certain resolution, in different posts as stages. At that time, he also aims to draw attention of the Beijing central government about that serious local problems that jumped becoming national scandals, thanks to the ecosystem of media (the chain of blogs, traditional and international media). He seemed to insist, until the issue went to justice.

In the case we studied in Yoani Sánchez I will start pointing in her insistence. It is quite obvious that 146 posts in a year, in a country with very difficult access, shows a clear will of act as a regular media. We noticed her clear persistence in

denouncing the social division in the Cuban society. She was worried about the repression against the dissidents. In her reports about the day to day life, she showed the very difficult situation of subsistence in the streets, criticizing the slowness of the new economic reforms. She wanted to break up the myths about social unanimity and happiness around the Revolution.

Also, there was a subtopic that was explicit in tree on twelve posts on our sample from 2010, but implicit and permanent in all her narrative: the irremediable passage of time, something that we can associate with "change".

Fifth question:

5)   *Did they reach the creation of debate?*

One of the most interesting parts of this thesis has been the study of the comments, for the richness of its results. In the case of Wang Keqin was evident that comments were not an isolated phenomenon, but a part of this "process story". He himself animated readers to participate, and they insisted in the subject, in a reciprocal help to construct new journalistic news.

Comment from readers, somehow mark the script of future reports. The majority of the commentators address the issue of the post, they were calling for more specifications (for example, asking for the complete number of children affected by the vaccines), they were requesting for responsibilities. But not only that, the blogger offered to them the personal telephone number of the police officer, his desk phone number

and the bank account of the affected parents, encouraging citizens to enter in the story. There were commentators who also offered their telephone, others who offered themselves to contribute with money. An individual activism, in first person, was defended. They were sharing the value of "justice". That sense of public opinion was manifested through the succession of comments with the phrase: "We may beat the drum to be heard", something that sometime later, Weibo multiplied.

They were summing, raising controversy and denouncing an unfair situation. Within the Chinese Institutional channel, they were asking central government and the tribunals to take action. Journalist and Professor Wang Keqin, was recognized as an indispensable part of the chain to obtain justice.

Speaking about discussions in Internet Peter Dahlgren (2005, p.160) said that discussion may take the form of deliberation, with various degrees of success, but what is more important in this context is that conversation among citizens is the catalyst for the civic cultures that are fuelling this engagement.   We observed the sense of this key word: "engagement" in the majority of the sample of 250 commentators in Wang Keqin post.

The author pointed that such interesting process of transit from being "people" to become "citizens", how they come to see themselves as members and potential participants in societal development. In that sense, blogs contribute to create a civic culture (p.158).

These can come or not to have some political consequences. But a civic culture and a commitment to the victims' families in that case remained open. Only one commenter on 250 was directly asking for democracy. But, the most important was that "engagement", and that sense of "caring community", which in some cases were identified themselves as "citizens of shit".

In the case of Yoani Sánchez, we are speaking of an average of 3.898 comments each month in 2010. The situation was very different, because the enormous amount of comments and the lack of capacity of access from the blogger. The comments space on her blog became a platform for debate, a meeting point for thousands of commentators who create a discussion led by some of them that seemed to be habitual. The debate was highly polarized and the vast majority was against the government. In this debate, the blogger could not participate.

It is remarkable that the majority of the comments didn't follow the subject of the post. Their desires were directed more to the general policy of the country, rather than in specific issues. It was a space more for catharsis or opinion more than a call to action. It was remarkable the absence of the value "reconciliation", in contrast with Yoani Sánchez desire, - asked repeatedly in her posts -, when she is offering to embrace. References to the blogger were numerous. She was recognized of a certain leadership in the island from the expatriates.

We should mention that sometimes in this space of discussion, some comments were also warnings about detentions, or the situation of shortages in some parts of the island, about all, in some hospitals. We found news with the participation of some citizens in an opinion space that we could not found in traditional media.

Six question:

6)   *What seem to be their role?*

From a narrative analysis in most of the posts Wang Keqin acts as a homodiegetic witness. Thanks to his presence we can discover illegalities. However, his role change dramatically in the three posts where he defended directly the parents affected by de scandal of the vaccines in bad state. There, he became homodiegetic second protagonist, because he decided to act as an active defender, even raising funds.

We found the most interesting part were the three last posts of our sample. Apparently, Wang Keqin and his student Feng Jun, were only witness, but, after their research, they rebuilt how the accident that killed the student Weng Xiaofeng took place. With their final interrogation questions addressed to the public, we might consider that they acted in a role of a prosecutors before going to Court. We can conclude that the blogger took a protagonist accuser role.

In all post the blogger was a donor. He gave essential information through his specialized media, to amplify the issues from local to national level. He became the speaker of the most needed people.

Above all the stories we had some sort of confrontation. Blogger went to the scenarios because there was a deterioration of the situation with an obstacle which required the presence of the journalist. It had been a moment of disturbance, a turning point when the blogger discovered the illegality. In the role distribution, local authorities, who permitted illegalities, might be considered the "traitors revealed".

We may conclude that in the case of Yoani Sánchez, in what she described as an atmosphere of intransigence, she stands herself as a spokeswoman for dialogue. In half of the post we considered her as a homodiegetic witness, and in the other half, homodiegetic protagonist.

In all posts the blogger was a donor. In different situations, she advocated in favor of coexistence, she gave essential information about the use of Twitter, acting as a "magical achiever", she explained to foreign readers the intransigence of the system or the hard day to day economic situation. But, in the most remarkable post from a narrative point of view, 13, 24 and 18 and 15, she offered the possibility of a better life in the future, and in post 18, she provided her will to dialogue directly with Cuban officials and their followers to speak about the future. She could be a counterpart, as spokeswomen, insisting

in her predisposition for reconciliation. Even outstanding in the post title: Long Arms. The Blogger left her appearance of external analyst, to offer herself for a dialogue, assuring that hug is inevitable.

Here we could agree with the author Ana Brenda Jacobsen (2013) when sais that her discourse was acquiring a political dimension, because "her objective is the same: to persuade."

From a certain distance, we can observe that there is a "wedding". The blogger shows her conviction that a hug day will come sooner or later. She tells the audience, internal and external, that national dialogue will come and it is supposed that she wants to be there.

Seventh question:

7) *Why they created a blog? What was their purpose or motivation?*

Wang Keqin used his blog, to expand, to disseminate, or include information that could not publish in his newspaper, also it was a teaching tool. We can observe that he was not only teaching journalism techniques but commitment. In his interview we observed two big purposes: "consciousness" and "protecting dignity of life". Some values that we could see again in the comments of his post. There was an ethical will in this professional who wanted to be defined in three dimensions: journalist, activist and professor.

In the case of Yoani Sánchez, she was very elusive about definitions. She explained that her will was to be able to express, to overcome all the technical difficulties, to reach the outside world.   She spoke about herself, as a "hacker, a journalist and a novelist".

It is very interesting the recognition that they make of the concept "citizenship". They were surprised of having become "citizens with influence". Yoani Sánchez considered herself a "citizen informatively, linguistically and politically empowered".

Especially remarkable was our part of observation after the interview. After the death of Wilman Villar, she was counseling the family of the dead and then, instantly, twittering to journalists and correspondents what was happening, working directly as an opposition speaker. We could then observe two facets of Yoani Sánchez work, first as a blogger, as a creator of debate, an then, as an activist, who parks de debate, to focus in alert the international community on some facts against the opposition.

It did was Public Sphere

Habermas defined the public sphere as a domain of non-coercive conversation oriented toward a pragmatic accord. Thanks to what we have been studding until now we could conclude that with the development of Internet, and the permanence of investigative journalism blogs like the one from Wang Keqin a deliberative atmosphere was created to resolve specific issues of injustices in which the journalist was an essential part as focuser and mediator of the debate.

In the expressions on their commentators we found their willingness to actively participate, their commitment, and the concept of belonging to an empowered community that wanted to make changes.

All this allows us to point out that, thanks to the development of Internet, there were possibilities of public sphere in certain subjects at certain times, in nondemocratic systems. That doesn't mean big political changes, but a new type of relationship between citizens and between citizens and power than previously had no precedent. We analyzed in his blog in 2010 phenomena of health problems, impunity of the powerful in front of the justice, environmental or work security scandals.   That continued later, in short term debates discussing about pollution in micro blogs communities.

Peter Dahlgren (2005) said that the public sphere per se is no guarantee for democracy, there can be all kind of political information and debate in circulation, "but there must be structural connections- formalized institutional procedures- between these communicative spaces and the processes of decision, making", as Colin Sparks (2001) argued.

In a very realistic approach about the micro blog extension in China, Jinrong Tong and Landong Zuo,(2014) studied the impact of the microblog platform Weibo in two mass protests incidents in Wukan and Haimen villages, in Guangdong, in September-December 2011. They concluded that in the Wukan case, communication went from local young people to national elites and that chain was crucial for the length and the

intensity of Weibo discussion. That is what was reached, during certain time, from the "citizen with influence" Wang Keqin, was able to influence elites and national media.

The case of Cuba is very different, starting from the lack of connectivity at that time that implied the impossibility of creating a community to establish a debate from within the country.

The type of journalism from Generación Y was anchored in the commentary, the personal article or the editorial, and that did not allow targeting and focus on resolving specific issues. But for the persistence and the international resonance of the figure of the blogger Yoani Sánchez, it had become a unique phenomenon. Studding her comments space, we can think that it was an enormous pre-deliberative platform where despite the enormous polarization there was a sense of community between expatriates and people interested in Cuba and some recognition of the other. We might observe that a majority recognized in Yoani Sánchez an authorized dissent from inside Cuba, something that had not happened historically, where the most extreme voices in exile wanted to dominate the opposition.

A unique period of time

What the Internet permitted during certain time was that Wang Keqin and Yoani Sánchez, had become known as some citizens with influence, the first, in his country, the second, around the world.

Perhaps, we have not found better definition after studied the Chinese comments and Yoani Sánchez posts that was called by professor Guiomar Rovira from México (2015), who call that last year's movement on the net, "democracy of appropriation", "democracy in first person." She was speaking about the net assault in democracy regimes, but it would be comparable with that unique moment in China and Cuba.

> "Politics stops it associated with a restricted area of social life inhabited by parties, institutions and opinion leaders or even space run by the mass media, with journalists as gatekeepers of what is said and what is omitted. The "any policy" is not a matter of anti-government or organized groups of activists with well-developed ideas emancipation, appears with unusual radicalism, not a requirement of delegation, an imperative to act and speak in the first person. Anyone can say what he/she thinks".

Rovira mentions Joan Subirats which defines it as:

> "Democracy of appropriation", based on processes of collective and personal involvement in public affairs and trying to correct, compensate and change the traditional separation between rulers and ruled, which is at the base of representative democracy, going beyond the mere transmission of mandate or delegation. (Subirats 2015, 165).

In the traditional definition of democracy, Pillippe Schmitter and Terry Karl (1991) said that democracy is a system of governance in which rulers are held accountable for their actions in the public realm by citizens, acting indirectly

through the competition and cooperation of their elected representatives. The authors criticize the popular definition that equates democracy with regular elections, what they call "electoralism". But (p.5) belonging to them, democracy's freedoms also encourage citizens to deliberate among themselves to discover their common needs and to resolve their differences without relying on some supreme central authority. This phenomenon of cooperation and deliberation via autonomous group activity was rubricated as "civil society".

That, was, Internet permitted, at certain moments in authoritarian countries, deliberating, telling opinions and common needs without prior supervision. In that sense, for them civil society:

> "Not only can restrain the arbitrary action of the rulers, but can also contribute to forming better citizens, who are more aware of the preferences of others, more self-confident in their actions, and more civic-minded of their willingness to sacrifice for the common good."

What these research has been discovering is that incredible moment in which, thanks to new technologies, and the central role of journalists and activists, it emerged a kind of civil society in the net, where citizens had the possibility and the right to look for different information sources and had the right to express for themselves, with a sense of community, democratic conditions that could or not be translated in the streets. What this study demonstrates is that Internet opened constitutional freedom guaranties in any regime or as a minimum evading the restrictions resulting from the political status of a nation-state.

Here we would like to refer to an outstanding expression highlited in the work of Gabriel Jaraba (2013), at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, where he studied the participation of journalists in Twitter. He emphasizes the concept of "alchemy of crowds", which is an attitude towards the current Web and a willingness to intervene to participate in its evolution as attentive actors and active users. For the first time in the history of information and communication, humanity has an space on which each participant can affect humans and cause effects on the evolution and transformation of societies. All this means a real challenge for journalists, for the exercise of their profession, their level of participation and their attitude.

In the case of Wang Keqin, the problem was that he acted as a mediator of sources and causes of the humblest, and that causes a clear contradiction of another part of the mediation, the media, his official newspaper. Therefore, after sometime, he was expelled. Then, he opted by commanding a foundation, form miners affected by pneumoconiosis. And from then, communicating directly with affected and donors through the micro blogs. He was transporting his maximum of "consciousness" from journalism to social work.

In the case of Yoani Sánchez, who we defined as a editorialist, she also has evolved to an project; As she announced in our interview, she wanted to create a digital newspaper, 14ymedio with the purpose of "leading a collective media in a transition time".

After this job, I would suggest some questions that remained open for our further research. One might ask how it has evolved the massive development of micro blogs in China, whose strength was evident after the Wenzhou train accident. If the community still continues with that ability to influence, and if that unique situation of net citizen's discussion is still remaining when that times of greater permissiveness had passed. Obviously, we will be interested in following the evolution in Mainland of the investigative journalism and his role.

It is very interesting to observe how in recent times, in Cuba, from the extreme polarization called "battle of ideas", they have passed to another stage with much more plurality in the network within the country. That unique situation, not reproduced in the traditional press, makes clear its influence in some quick decisions from the government, when some phenomenon leaps to network. Even blogs defined as "intermediate" or "healthy", are still considered alternative. Authors highlighted "their vocation of public service". That means that the gray area to defend citizen's interests is growing up, a big debate about transparence and freedom of opinion is located now in the net, not in the papers. We might follow the study moving away from the prejudices about blogs colors, admitting, that may be, not in the land, but in the net, there is already a multi-chromatic system.

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Appendix

I worked as a Spanish TV (TVE) correspondent in Havana, from December 1997 to January 2001, and in Beijing, from December 2003 to August 2007. In both countries I lived the beginning and development of Internet. Two anecdotes from my professional life pushed me to start researching in that issue.

First, on June 15, 2005. Villagers from Shenyou, Hebei province, 100 kilometers away from Beijing, had a conflict with the electrical company Hebei Gouhuà Power. The firm had acquired their land with the complicity of local authorities. People occupied the land. The company hired some men in Beijing to go to this land to attach and expel the villagers, to "give them a lesson". Then, an incredible battle took place. That would have been one of the 87.000 anonymous conflicts in Chinese countryside of this year, if one of the victims didn't have a mobile phone. That afternoon, we were advised that those impressive images existed, and the Washington Post gave us a copy. Images were impressive. The battle for the land finished with six local and one attacker dead and forty-eight people injured. As one step more of this role of mediators against impunity we broadcasted the attack in our news program, "Telediario", and then it was send to Eurovision. I realized that something extraordinary new was happening, a person with a phone, a new tool, could be crucial against injustices.[1]

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[1] http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/video/2005/06/14/VI2005061401932.html

The second fact was our first meeting with Wang Kegin. It was January 2007. On 10th January 2007, Lan Chengzhang, a Chinese journalist, employee of Zhonquo Maoyi Bao, (China Trade News) was beaten to death in front of an illegal coal mine near Datong, in Shanxi province. We went there for filming a report, but with few results. Few people in the national or international press were interested in this case. Following the net, I had access to China Daily Times, a web page, edited in California. They translated and article from Wang Keqin where finally we saw some photos from Lan Chengzhang and his funeral, what was very useful for our news report. After that, we decided to interview Wang, reputed research journalist, to know a bit more about the subject.

That interview, done in company with the senior producer Isolda Morillo was not easy. We were insisting in Lan Chengzhang death and the illegal mine problems in Datong and Wang was showing us a post explaining the Aids problem situation in the province of Henan and that doctor Gao Yaojié was in domiciliary arrest. Doctor Gao was one of the first public figures to denounce the spread of AIDS epidemic in Henan between the poorest population. They got AIDS after selling their blood in plasma banks without conditions. She was explaining her situation of house detention in a letter in Internet. It was a strange interview. We were asking for another subject, and he was insisting to show us his computer screen with the image of doctor Gao. Before we finished the interview, that page was blocked. And he expressed happily:

"I have had four hours, I had four hours".

That phrase shocked me and still remains in my memory: "I have had four hours". Four hours were sufficient for other blogs or web pages around the world to copy and translate what was happening. Later, other media, like us, asked the government about veteran doctor Gao's situation. Two days later, the province

of Henan changed its mind and finished the domiciliary arrest to doctor Gao. Central Chinese government permitted her to go first to Beijing, and then to Washington where she received the "Global Voices" prize from Hillary Clinton.

I finished my interview asking Wang Keqin…It was difficult to work as a Chinese journalist in China?

His suppressive answer was:

> "China, with all its contrasts, with all this crazy economic development, is the best place in the world to do research journalism".

Wang Keqin post ended up being essential to liberate doctor Gao. We realized something transcendent and unique was happening in the net during those years. I can only express my gratitude to Universitat Pompeu Fabra and Doctor Javier Díaz Noci to allow me to study with some method that phenomenon during this unique period of time. That thesis made me think not only about new technologies, but, above all, about the rigor of our work and our attitude as a journalist, and beyond, our responsibility as citizens.

Begur, July 26, 2016

Vicenç Sanclemente