Social Issues and TV Scripted Fiction:
An Exploration of Fans' Feedback in Spain

DEBORAH CASTRO[1]
Madeira Interactive Technologies Institute
University of Madeira, Portugal

JOSEPH D. STRAUBHAAR
University of Texas at Austin, USA

Within the ongoing theorization of active audiences, this article analyzes the concept of a new Internet-based social audience for TV and online scripted fiction through the social media buzz generated by 72 Spanish scripted fiction programs. The investigation is focused on the comments posted by fans and, partly, community managers after the release of the programs' finales. Because of the wide range of themes present in the sample (8,103 posts), we focus on those messages that reflect Internet users' interpretations of historical and social issues broached by the programs. Results suggest that period programs invite a larger number of comments related to social issues than do programs about the present. Moreover, support for TV fiction's fidelity to historical events is observed to be contingent on the happiness factor of those events; tragedy seems to be unpopular with viewers wanting to disconnect from their concerns. Finally, viewers enjoy programs critical of current social issues (e.g., political corruption).

Keywords: TV fiction, social audiences, active viewer, cultural proximity, Spain

The reception and interpretation of, and reaction to TV programs has been extensively analyzed within the field of television for decades. In the current convergence era, the Internet has become a powerful research tool, allowing investigators to collect viewers' feedback (Lotz & Ross, 2004) in real time (Harrington, 2014). The impact of social networks (such as Twitter) on the consumption experience of TV programs has popularized the concept of "social audience," which prolongs the life of a text beyond the limits imposed by the act of viewing it as such (Quintas & González, 2014).

Deborah Castro: deborah.castro@m-iti.org
Joseph D. Straubhaar: jdstraubhaar@mail.utexas.edu
Date submitted: 2017–06–02

Likewise, in the era of the Internet, online platforms (e.g., social networks, forums, and blogs) enable and encourage spectators to share the results of their interpretative processes with geographically and chronologically dispersed viewers. According to discursive psychology, the act of watching television is "an active process in which the viewers draw on their store of cultural knowledge to interpret the texts presented" (Madill & Goldmeier, 2003, p. 473). Hence, the process of interpretation is impacted by factors such as viewers' personal experiences (Thompson, 1995), their socioeconomic status, cultural class, gender, ethnic group, and cognitive practices, in conjunction with the context in which the interpretation occurs (Livingstone, 1990, 2004) and the subjects' knowledge about the history of the program or the genre conventions of the text (Baym, 2000).

By virtue of the Internet, contributors to this hermeneutic process are able to interact with people from different backgrounds and unequal levels of engagement with a given text, and able to give visibility to the television culture of a country. In general terms, Internet users usually belong to one of the following categories: (a) fans, or viewers who derive pleasure from the viewing process (Siapera, 2004); (b) audience community managers and other members of the production team who promote the text and, in some cases, play the role of social energizers (Lacalle & Castro, 2016); and (c) antifans, who externalize their detachment from the program (Gray, 2003).

In Spain, television and Internet convergence has been analyzed from multiple perspectives (e.g., De la Cuadra & Nuño, 2010; Grandío & Bonaut 2012; Rodríguez-Ferrándiz, Tur-Viñes, & Mora, 2016). Nevertheless, it was in the beginning of the current decade when academics started to thoroughly examine comments published by Internet users about domestic fiction (Lacalle, 2013a), following international works carried out by authors such as Baym (2000), Bielby, Harrington, and Bielby (1999), Jenkins (1995), Vasallo de Lopes (2012), Williams (2010). Even though the number of investigations in this field has increased notably in Spain (e.g., Tur-Viñes & Rodríguez-Ferrándiz, 2014), to the best of our knowledge, none of these works analyze how Internet users talk about social issues referenced by the text, with the exception of the work being done at the Observatory of Spanish Television Fiction and New Technologies (Autonomous University of Barcelona). This is precisely where the present research aims to contribute.

This article focuses on the two years following the analog switch-off that happened in April 2010, the period when TV and the Internet strengthened their synergies in Spain. During 2011 and 2012, the economic crisis in conjunction with the investment in the development of digital terrestrial television channels drove TV networks to compensate for the high expenses intrinsic to the production of domestic TV fiction with an increase in the number of relatively inexpensive entertainment programs (Lacalle, 2011), mirroring the turn from scripted fiction to reality shows at a certain point in many other countries' television industries. Hence, the number of first-run scripted fiction programs gradually decreased until 2013, with a slight uptick in 2014 for both national and regional productions (see Figure 1).
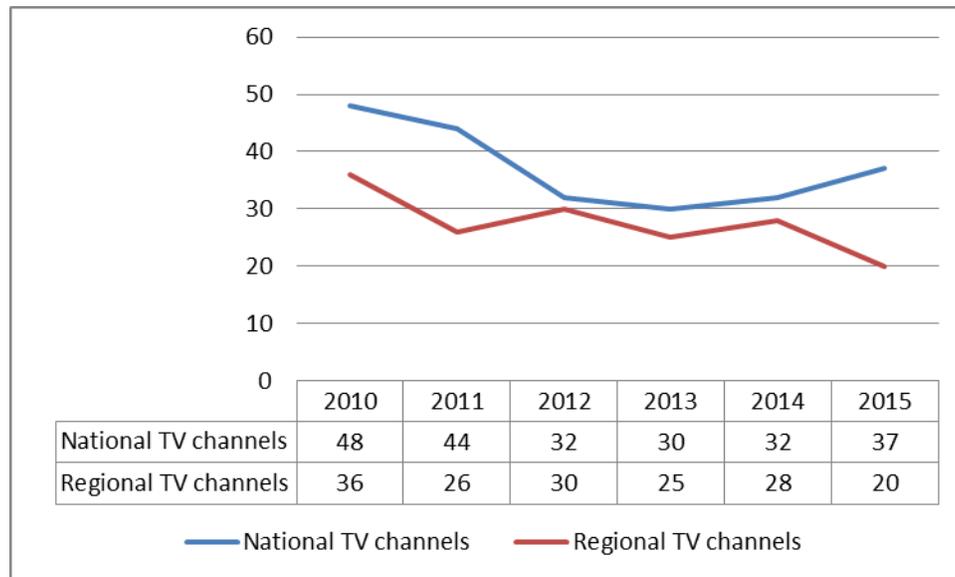
	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
National TV channels	48	44	32	30	32	37
Regional TV channels	36	26	30	25	28	20

Figure 1. Evolution of television fiction programs premiered from 2010 to 2015
(Lacalle, 2011; Lacalle, 2012; Lacalle, 2013b; Lacalle, Castro, & Sánchez, 2014, 2015, 2016).

Televisual stories provide their audiences with "valuable material" to comprehend the world they live in, "without faithfully mirroring reality, and without actually distorting it" (Buonanno, 2008, p. 72). This way, national television fiction builds on the historical nation-building processes of earlier forms of media, such as the newspapers and books in national languages, described by Anderson (1983) for their abilities to build national imagined communities. A number of scholars have described how this function of media in the construction of national identity was carried into television, from its beginnings in the 1950s–1970s (Katz & Wedell, 1976) through its expansion to cover almost all of the national audiences of most countries (Straubhaar, 2007). In the current context, national television still seems to hold up well in its competition against global multichannel television and even more global and proliferated platforms in variations like Netflix or YouTube (Buonanno, 2002; Straubhaar, Spence, Joyce, & Duarte, 2015).

One theoretical explanation for the continued attraction of national television, including scripted fiction, is cultural proximity (Straubhaar, 1991). This predicts that audiences will tend to prefer cultural productions that seem culturally closer to them. It builds on elements of attraction such as shared language, history, cultural symbols, religious traditions, stars, ethnic types, and conventions of humor and music (Straubhaar, 1991, 2007). These shared cultural bases of national television reflect not only audience desires but also efforts by states, cultural industries, and advertisers, among others, to build national imagined communities, their underlying structures of cultural and media political economy, and their shared sets of symbols. A frequently cited example is the conscious construction by the broadcasting and advertising industries of a pan-Latino television audience in the United States, building a relatively coherent audience out of diverse immigrants from Mexico, the Caribbean, Central America, and South America, based on the shared Spanish language and a relatively similar set of historical and cultural backgrounds

(Rodríguez, 1999). Also central to this process are the authors and producers of televisual texts, who can choose to emphasize certain themes, including the historical ones that this research will explore.

In his seminal book, Anderson (1983) noted how states cooperated with print capitalists in the 19th century, or even earlier, to standardize national languages, to build cultural industry capacity, and to create shared cultural elements of identity. States reinforced this with their own resources for building education curricula, holidays, museums, maps, national heroes, and so on (Anderson, 1983). Cultural industries built up in layers of novels, newspapers, theater, chapbooks, common literature (Martín-Barbero, 1987), traveling shows and circuses (Sodre, 1972), musical and comedic traditions, and so forth. All of these reinforced national identities, and regional ones in cases such as Spain. According to Anderson, and other theorists of cultural proximity, television and other media can be used to create and appreciate a shared sense of national history that makes audience members feel part of something unique and central to their identities. Part of this study is to examine the degree to which online discussions pick up on current social issues and historical facts in television fiction to confirm whether this sense of history is, in fact, central to them.

A critical historical literacy (Street, 1995) seems to be crucial to a sophisticated sense of national identity. Certainly, nations do tend to define and redefine themselves through historical debates, such as the debate over whether Germans were more manipulated by propaganda (Horkheimer & Adorno, 2002) or more shaped by a history of anti-Semitism (Goldhagen & Wohlgelernter, 1997) into being, at least partially, willing participants in the Holocaust. Such historical debate is crucial, so what can the role of television fiction be in this process? Some major successes are visible, like the debate in the United States that took place after airing of the docudrama *Roots* (1977) about slavery. In the case of Spain, the Spanish socialist government (2004–2011) bet on the production of TV fiction set in the past[2] to promote reclamation of historical memory while challenging society's preconceived ideas about these earlier ages (Rodríguez-Mansilla, 2015). This does reflect a notable intent by a central government to permit and even encourage critical examination of history on television. Indeed, as we will see when we get to the results obtained in this investigation, period programs generated more comments focused on social issues than programs set in the present. However, this study has also found evidence of resistance to critical interrogation of major historical events.

With regard to this, a recent study (Georgiou, 2012) has found that diasporic audiences, such as the Arab population in London, had a tendency toward cultural proximity to the home culture based on history, language, and other factors. Nevertheless, diasporic viewers have also come to have a much more critical sense of proximity; a willingness to feel a tie but also to criticize key elements of homeland culture shown in homeland soap opera and drama. Our study underscores an underlying subtlety: internet users are more willing to engage critically with TV shows that depict current social issues and less eager to view criticism of historical events.

---

[2] In 2011, 30 programs (four of them historical) were set in the past. After the victory of the right wing in 2012, these numbers dropped to 17 (four of them historical). In 2015, period programs increased to 24 (four of them historical).

Additional to the construction of national identities, the effort to narrate historical and social issues embraces the concept of cultural pedagogy, "which refers to the idea that education takes place in a variety of social sites including but not limited to schooling" (Steinberg, 2011, p. 17). In fact, many investigations have presented TV content as a good resource for informal learning (see, for example, Bandura, 1977; Chicharro, 2011; Medrano & Cortés, 2007), but its teaching potential is contingent on the perceived plausibility of the reality presented (Buckingham & Bragg, 2004). Not surprisingly, the more realistic a fictional text is perceived to be, the higher degree of pedagogic authority it possesses (Buckingham & Bragg, 2004). Although not included in the sample, it is worth mentioning *El Ministerio del Tiempo* (*The Ministry of Time*; La1, 2015–2017), a TV series that combines historical, science-fiction, and adventure genres and narrates the adventures of a time-travelling patrol whose role is to prevent alterations to Spanish history by disturbing elements. Full of historical, cultural, and social references, this TV show has been widely celebrated for its educational value and has generated a strong fandom movement online (see Cascajosa, 2015).

In sum, television fiction talks to, and about, us (Buonanno, 1999) by "select[ing], refashion[ing], discuss[ing], and comment[ing] on issues and problems of our personal and social life" (Buonanno, 2008, p. 72). Moreover, TV scripted fiction programs are hybrid and dynamic, as is the force of cultural proximity that helps them attract audiences. Cultures and forces building or diminishing cultural proximity change over time (Iwabuchi, 2002). In a hybrid form, they incorporate traveling narratives, stories and ideas from outside the nation, renewing its cultural base and keeping it innovative (Buonanno, 2004). One of the interesting possibilities of current television production and consumption is whether and how new forces, such as social media used by fans and community managers, play a role in this ongoing hybrid (re-)creation of national television fiction. Because of this, we will carry out an analysis of Internet users' reactions to the social issues talked about on domestic programs; these reactions allow viewers to construct, process, and deepen the understanding of themselves and their collective identities.

Based on the literature discussed so far, we will pursue the following research questions:

RQ1:   *With regard to Spanish scripted fiction, what are the main topics Internet users talk about?*

RQ2:   *How do social audiences respond to the national imagery represented by domestic TV fiction in Spain?*

To examine these issues, a codebook was inductively created and imported into Atlas.ti. Subsequently, the variety of topics that factor into users' discourses were dissected and organized into relevant groups; the Results section illustrates this subdivision through a long-tail figure. The term *long tail* (Anderson, 2006) is a statistical concept used in the field of business that represents a cultural and economic "shift away from a focus on a relatively small number of hits (mainstream products and markets) at the head of the demand curve" toward a "huge number of niches in the tail" (p. 52).

This article presents, hence, a selection of the results obtained as part of a broader investigation of the social audiences of Spanish television fiction. Specifically, this paper is focused on the analysis of those posts that reflect Internet users' opinions on social issues broached either by the programs' storylines

or raised by external circumstances that spin around them (for example, the political control over the TV schedule). We next present the method used, and then the results obtained. Finally, we draw conclusions and highlight the limitations of this work. Practically, data presented here is relevant to researchers in the fields of TV studies and digital media, and it should also be of interest to screenwriters, social institutions, and TV networks curious about understanding how Internet users interpret the representation of social issues in TV fiction.

Method

This investigation analyzes the social audiences' feedback to 72 first-run Spanish TV programs and Web series that aired from 2011 to 2012. This work offers one of the first overviews of the social audiences generated by Spanish TV fiction in a period of incipient convergence between TV and the Internet. Of these programs, 61% (44 titles) were TV series and soap operas broadcast on national channels (Antena3, La1, Tele5, laSexta) and on TV3, the regional network that premiered the most domestic TV fiction in the period explored (Lacalle 2012, 2013b). Another 39% (28 titles) of the programs were Web series broadcast on the small screen or hosted on Spanish TV channels' sites, including TNT's initiative called Adult Swim Made in Spain.

The collection and analysis of the sample was performed in four steps: identification of the most active sites, collection of the posts, coding of the messages' contents, and, finally, interpretation of the data. To identify a suitable set of dedicated sites, two queries on Google.es and on social network search engines were made; the first of them included the title of the TV program (for example, "*Cuéntame Cómo Pasó*" [*Tell Me How It Happened*]), and the second also included the name of the television network (for example, "*Cuéntame Cómo Pasó*" + "La1"). The first five pages of the Google search results and the first page of the social network results were filtered according to several predetermined criteria for selecting the most widely used or seemingly most important sites (for instance, Facebook pages with fewer than 1,000 followers were excluded). In general, the official microsite, the pages on the main social networks (Facebook, Tuenti,[3] and Twitter), and the most active forums and blogs dedicated to each of the programs were analyzed.

The research is focused on the analysis of the opinions generated after the broadcast release of the program finales or the season finales (denoted by "day μ"), deemed a "significant event" (Barkhuus & Brown, 2009), which attracts viewers to celebrate the closing of a program series (Williams, 2015). To create a reasonably sized sample, the 40 last comments published on day μ on each of the sites were collected. When the number of comments available was less than 40, the sample was enlarged prospectively (day μ + 1, day μ + 2 . . .) until the maximum of 40 posts was reached. The total number of comments analyzed can then be calculated using the Equation 1.

---

[3] Tuenti was a Spanish social network well liked among young people. Popularity of Facebook caused Tuenti's decline and, eventually, its transformation into a mobile virtual network operator.

$$N = \sum_{\substack{1 \le i \le 72 \\ P \in \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{Facebook,} \\ \text{Site/Microsite,} \\ \text{Twitter,} \\ \text{Tuenti,} \\ \text{Forum,} \\ \text{Blog} \end{array} \right\}}} nu_P^i + ncm_P^i$$

Equation 1. Sample of the comments analyzed.

In Equation 1, nu_P^i and ncm_P^i are the numbers of comments posted by the fans and the community managers, respectively, on the site *P* for the *i*[th] program of the corpus. It is worth mentioning that the nicknames used by the users and the transparent way in which official sites identified their community managers simplified classification of the posts by authorship.

Copying and pasting the comments into .doc files (primary documents) tackled the short-lived nature of the online content through the creation of static copies of the 8,103 units extracted from 251 sites. The content was coded using a codebook inductively designed with an intention to create grounded theory and for the qualitative analysis software Atlas.ti and refined through a pilot study focused on *Los Protegidos* (*The Protected Ones*). The final version of the codebook applied to all programs analyzed is composed of 47 variables (8 mutually exclusive, and 39 mutually nonexclusive; see the Appendix) related to the narrative world, expressions of self and collective identity of the fans, social issues, and so on. The codebook is organized into six groups:

a. Descriptive codes, which indicate the authorship and the type of platform the comment was published on. These are mutually exclusive.
b. Expressive signs, such as smileys, which report the elements Internet users used to express and strengthen their points of view.
c. Expressions of collective identity, which dig into the fans' interactions and their sense of community derived from the consumption of TV fiction.
d. Narrative world, focused on the analysis of the storylines, the characters, the actors, and the settings (storytelling level) but also on the study of the text as a commodity through variables such as extratextual extensions (e.g., events related to the program) or viewing metrics (commodity level).
e. Expressions of self-identity, to explore how TV fiction and the (pseudo)anonymity of the Web invite fans to disclose personal information online, such as their empathy or sympathy for a character (emotional identity), device used during the viewing experience (light identity), or their interpretations about the social issues represented in the TV program. The last is this article's object of study.
f. Other issues, such as those unrelated to TV fiction or the discursive censorship by the community managers.

Even though the usage of Atlas.ti has reduced the margin of error intrinsic in manual coding, the complexity of the message content (in both meaning and signifier) justifies human intervention in this process. The content of each post was subject to the scrutiny of the first author of this article, who has in-

depth knowledge of the shows. In the last stage of the process, data were filtered by variable and, ultimately, interpreted. The inductive creation of categories and its refinement within Atlas.ti is important. These Atlas.ti categories are used to generate simple totals and percentages of the number of fan or community-manager messages falling into each category. These percentages are then used to compare different kinds or categories of fan activity.

Because a significant number of sites offer open access to the user-generated content and a large portion of the subjects consider these sites private (Lotz & Ross, 2004), some deontological measures that guarantee users' privacy were taken. Specifically, the contents of the posts were rephrased as they were translated from Spanish or Catalan into English, and certain data, such as the fans' nicknames, were removed for this article to protect the privacy and anonymity of the fans.

Results

Internet users' discourses reference the storylines of the programs the most, as is shown in Figure 2 below.
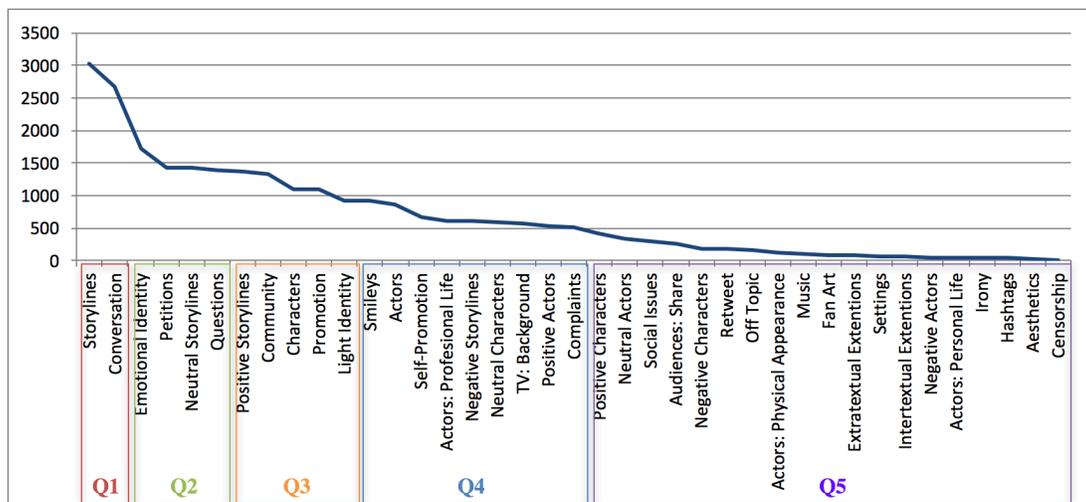

Figure 2. The long tail of social audiences.

Nonetheless, the gamut of themes that viewers talk about is expansive, ranging from their own emotional identities to soundtracks of the programs and including the characters, the actors, and social issues.

Within the storytelling level of a text, the story (what is going on in the plot) is the most talked about category (Q1), followed by the characters (Q3) and the actors (Q4). Internet users talk about the storylines and the characters mostly in a neutral and then in a positive way, and the other way around when it comes to the actors. Likewise, social audiences hardly speak about the characters' aesthetics, as opposed

to the physical appearance of the actors (Q5). Social audiences prefer to chat about actors' professional lives (Q4) rather than their physical appearance (Q5) or personal lives (Q5). In general, negative comments about the storytelling level (e.g., badly orchestrated finales) are rare, as are the posts focused on the settings (Q5).

Regarding the commercial level of a program, data indicate that promotional comments are principally written by fans (Q3) rather than community managers (self-promotion, Q4). The rest of the categories at this level answer Q5, such as audiences share, music, extratextual extensions (e.g., exhibitions), and intertextual extensions (e.g., a book that expands the narrative world), which shows their relative insignificance from the social audiences' perspective.

Fans share online hints of their self-identities, with a special focus on the empathy or sympathy and the emotions generated by the program (emotional identity, Q2) primarily through its storylines and characters. At a slightly lower level are petitions (posts where fans manifest their commitment to action, Q2; for example, through the creation of a Facebook page to request the return of a character), community (to express the sense of identity they share with other fans, Q3), light identity (which offers minor personal information, Q3; for example, the devices used to watch a program), complaints (Q4; for example, about changes to the time of broadcast), and fan art (Q5).

The fact that conversation is the second most common category (Q1) suggests that a significant percentage of the comments refers to a topic brought up by a discussion person (Welser, Gleave, Fisher, & Smith, 2007), usually initiated through a question (Q2; for example, about aspects of the plot that fans did not clearly understand). The dialogue between Internet users is one of the pillars of fan communities, and their sense of identity was particularly clear in the comments tagged as *community* through, for example, their self-organization under a particular name sometimes proposed by the officials (for example, "Los Amantes" [The Lovers], a group of fans of the soap opera *Amar en Tiempos Revueltos* [*To Love in Troubled Times*]).

Finally, comments of the social audiences approach face-to-face interactions (Baym, 2010) through the inclusion of smileys (Q4), which reinforce a wide range of emotions (happiness, confusion, surprise, sadness, etc.) in conjunction with the use of capital letters, vowels, exclamation marks, and word and letter repetitions. Categories from the miscellanea group, such as censorship (Q5) by the community managers, form the end of the long tail.

Even though only 3.7% of the comments (*n* = 300 posts) included references to social issues (Q5), we want to concentrate our analysis on this category to see how both fans and, to a lesser extent, community managers talked about content that had social significance, particularly comments and contents that had national, cultural, or historical significance related to our research questions about cultural identity and cultural proximity. Deeply rooted in the society, television illustrates, explains, and makes accessible to its viewers the events that constitute their common heritage (Casetti & Di Chio, 1997/1999). In this context, fiction becomes a crucial TV genre not just in the representation of national identities but also in the preservation, construction, and reconstruction of daily life (Vasallo de Lopes, 2008).

Of comments on this kind of issue, 91.3% (*n* = 274 posts) were posted by fans and 8.7% (*n* = 26 posts) by community managers. Although these constitute a small portion of this study's sample (*N* = 8,103), their analysis reveals viewers' perceptions about the role assumed by TV fiction in the representation of reality. Arranging by the platform type, the social networks Facebook, Twitter, and Tuenti, gathered 41% (*n* = 122 posts) of the references to social issues; microsites gathered 30% (*n* = 91 posts);[4] forums 25% (*n* =75 posts); and blogs 4% (*n* = 12 posts). This pattern, reflecting the popularity of platforms, is consistent with the trend observed for the entire sample. It should be noted that Facebook was the platform that gathered the most diverse comments from a thematic point of view, with emphasis on storylines, characters, and fans' identities. On the other hand, the microsite was Internet users' favorite platform type on which to publish comments related to social issues, whereas forums, where fans tended to use more emoticons, allowed conversations among fans to emerge. Twitter, however, was the platform most used by both community managers and fans to promote the programs, with both actively reminding the social audience of the next telecast.

Posts that refer to social issues were organized in two big groups sorted by the period the posts referred to, that is, the past age and the current age of Spanish historical and social contexts. Both are significant to audiences' interpretations of social issues in Spain. However, it should be taken into consideration that one of the characteristics of these Spanish social audiences' discourses is the brevity of their messages and the lack of criticism (Lacalle, 2013a; Lacalle & Pujol, 2017). This is pretty common in the case of social networks, with some of them restricting the length of the messages and where the act of "sharing [the messages posted by others] is more commonly used than leaving comments" (Tur-Viñes & Rodríguez- Ferrándiz, 2014, p. 127). As explained in the Conclusions, this suggests the need to complement online ethnography with offline methods, such as interviews. Finally, and because of the tiny number of comments generated by Web series' viewers (*n* = 19 posts), the results presented here are mostly applicable to TV fiction programs.

The Past Age

The analysis of social audiences demonstrated that a TV show's faithfulness to the historical facts can lead to feelings of both satisfaction and dissatisfaction for spectators. On one hand, viewers appreciate accurate portrayals by underlining the educational role of TV fiction and its power to complement or offer alternatives to the mainstream educational discourse. For example, a fan of *Amar en Tiempos Revueltos* (La1) explained that it was through this soap opera that she learned about the existence of smuggled goods and ration coupons in the period after the Spanish Civil War. Similarly, some view deviations from historical facts as cause for concern because they believe that some individuals may find discerning reality from fiction difficult, especially when a program holds the tag of "historical" drama. This has to do with some fans' assumption that Spanish society has a low level of cultural awareness. Perhaps it is for this reason that *Hispania: La Leyenda* (*Hispania: The Legend*; Antena3), which modified the way Viriato, the leader of the Lusitanians who fought the Roman expansion, was murdered, met with such criticism.

---

[4] We are using the concept of "microsite" to refer to those sites focused on a specific show (e.g., *Isabel*) hosted by the site of, for instance, the parent TV channel (Radio Televisión Española).

On the other hand, some fans expressed their gratitude to those adaptations that made for less painful viewing experiences, even if they were aware of historical accuracy being sidelined. This way, TV fiction allowed them to disconnect from their personal discomforts and, as stated by some users, "horrible" reality. Some fans even asked for the nonrenewal of a program just to avoid watching the "terrible" episodes of Spanish history on TV. This was, for example, the case of a fan of *Isabel* (La1) who suggested that the TV series should conclude right after the queen's coronation to avoid narrating how the Catholic kings expelled the *moriscos* from Spain.

Fans also shared information with their peers (e.g., about the origin of the term "Hispania," *Hispania: La Leyenda*), posed questions to supposed historians belonging to the fan community (e.g., a viewer wanted to know if Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba's affection for the Catholic queen was based on true facts, *Isabel*), or aimed to evaluate Internauts' cultural background (e.g., via questions such as "Where is Madrid represented within the Spanish badge?," *Isabel*).

The discourse on social issues underscores the subjective nature of the interpretation, influenced by viewers' experiences, of TV fiction. For example, a scene in which Antonio, one of the main characters of the dramedy *Cuéntame Cómo Pasó* (La1), goes to register at the National Institute of Employment generated some passionate discussions online. One fan interpreted the happiness reflected on Antonio's face as a hint of optimism intrinsic to the idea of starting a new life from scratch, but others saw disrespect toward people who suffer the consequences of unemployment.

Finally, community managers' comments aimed to strike a balance between pedagogic and promotional responsibilities with posts such as, "Our historical consultants explain to us how the coronation happened. Did you know that Pacheco died of throat cancer? We will tell you the problems Isabel will deal with as a queen" (*Isabel*, La1) and "the success of this TV show lies in the frame their stories are set, the Spanish post–Civil War, a hard period never treated on TV before" (*Amar en Tiempos Revueltos*, La1).

The Current Age

TV fiction programs set in the present were observed to refer to ongoing social issues concerning the Spanish population, such as the economic crisis, the privatization of hospitals, and the political corruption. In the period analyzed, social audiences eulogized the drama *Crematorio* (*Crematorium*, Canal+/laSexta), which, based on the homonymous novel by Rafael Chirbes, accurately portrayed the corruption and the urbanistic speculation that led to the economic crisis, with devastating consequences.

Spanish comedies echoed some of these matters. Coque, the unwise caretaker and gardener from *La Que Se Avecina* (*What Is Yet to Come*, Tele5) lambasted Spanish politicians and bankers, calling them "avaricious" and "deceivers," and held them responsible for the problems Spanish society is dealing with, as the next excerpt from his discourse shows:

> The bad guys in this movie . . . are not the citizens. The bad guys are the politicians and the bankers, who have sunk this country with their greed, who lie to us in the elections so that we vote for them. And, then, they do what they please. . . . The bad guys are

sitting in the Congress, in the Autonomous Parliaments and in the offices of the banks.
(Coque, *La Que Se Avecina*, Tele5)

The outburst was embraced by the social audiences with comments like "what truth!" and "Coque for president."

In some cases, references to social issues arose out of the fans' dissatisfaction with the finales. For instance, a fan suggested that the idea of Héctor losing his position in the public hospital and getting a new one in a private medical center would explain his unjustified absence from the last episode of the drama *Hospital Central* (*Central Hospital*, Tele5). This comment alludes to the polemic law approved by the Spanish government that authorizes the privatization of hospitals and health centers.

Física o Química (*Physics or Chemistry*, Antena3) and *La Pecera de Eva* (*Eva's Fish Bowl*, Tele5), both dramas targeted at young people and set in an educational context, were viewed favorably for their realistic storylines and the social issues tackled (e.g., homosexuality, anorexia, immigration). An Internet user suggested that *La Pecera de Eva* should be screened at educational centers to enlighten the community on gender violence and to improve the relationship between parents, students, and instructors.

However, results indicated that the treatment of socially sensitive issues, such as those closely related to one's identity, causes discomfort within the audience. For example, a movement for sovereignty that emerged in the town of Gran Nord (*Gran Nord* [*Grand North*], TV3) mirrored the Catalan independence movement (which pursues the separation of Catalonia from Spain). The reactions of an immigrant character who feared an armed conflict would follow independence were considered, by some viewers, to be a "ridiculous" parody of the Catalan independence. The judgmental nature of the messages published on Twitter grabbed the attention of the press, which subsequently covered viewers' reactions in articles such as "The Finale of *Grand Nord* Outrages the Independence Supporters" (*El Món*).

The cancellation of programs that end up being critical of the government or that treat certain social topics innovatively upset the audience. For instance, some fans suggested that the cancellation of *Infidels* (*Unfaithful*, TV3), which talks about romantic relationships and sex from a "realistic" and "innovative" point of view, was related to control exerted by Convergencia i Unió, a mid-right political party, over TV scheduling.

The traditional audience measurement system was also criticized because, as some fans asserted, it excluded the online viewership from its metric and, hence, did not represent the success of a program accurately. Some viewers considered the popularity of reality shows to be a sign of Spanish audiences' "low intelligence quotient." Ultimately, the general reputation that Spanish TV fiction carries (for instance, it is considered to be noninnovative) explains why some fans feel the imperative to state "yes, it is Spanish" or "we know how to make TV shows" when commenting on what they consider high-quality texts. Criticisms of the presence of American programs on the Spanish TV guide and requests for enhanced support for domestic programs were also observed in the analyzed sample.

Community managers often shared content published by third parties. For example, Facebook's community manager of *Crematorio* (*Crematorium*, LaSexta/Canal+) shared news published by *La Nueva España* in which the writer, Menéndez Salmón, argued that literature must approach "uncomfortable" issues. Salmón gave *Crematorio*, the novel on which the homonymous TV series is based, as an example.

Finally, 60% (6 titles) of the top 10 programs that invited the most references to social issues were set in the past (*Amar en Tiempos Revueltos*, *Isabel*, *Cuéntame Cómo Pasó*, *Hispania: La Leyenda*, *Gran Hotel* [*Grand Hotel*], and *Toledo: Cruce de Destinos* [*Toledo: Fate Crossing*]). Arranging by TV network, 40% (4) titles were broadcast by La1, the main public TV channel (*Amar en Tiempos Revueltos*, *Isabel*, *Cuéntame Cómo Pasó*, and *Los Misterios de Laura* [*The Mysteries of Laura*]), and 30% (3 titles) by the private channel Antena3 (*Hispania: La Leyenda*, *Gran Hotel*, and *Toledo: Cruce de Destinos*). See Figure 3.
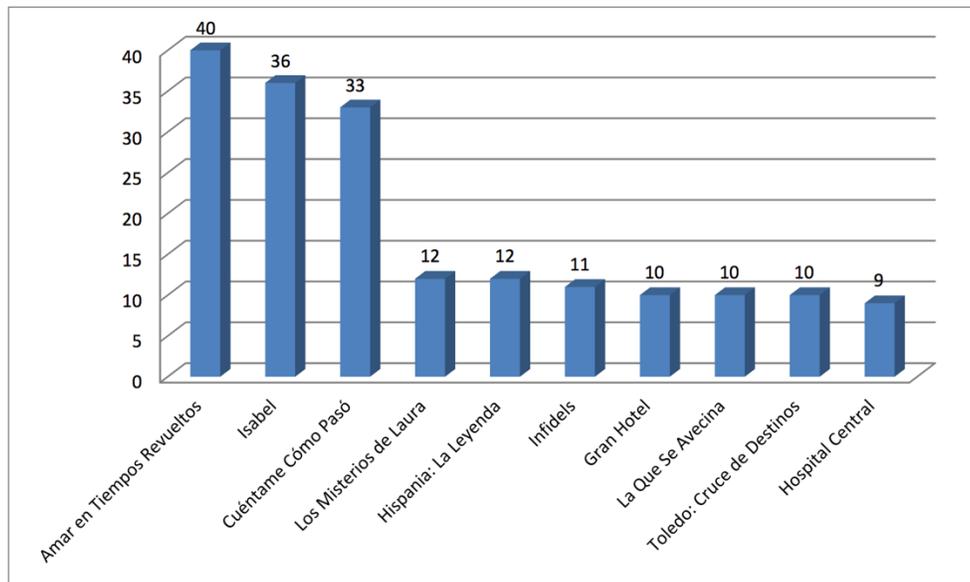

Figure 3. Top 10 programs with references to social issues.

Conclusions

Our data reveal that members of the social audience prefer to talk about plots of the scripted TV fiction they consume. This shows that they are engaged social audiences, using social media to discuss issues related to the programs they care about the most. This is also highly related to our questions about whether social audiences can use issues embedded in plots about either past or present national stories to engage with questions about national identity (Anderson, 1983) within a frame of attraction of shared cultural proximity (Straubhaar, 1991).

Analysis of the messages that include references to social issues reveals viewers' perceptions about the representation of reality on domestic TV fiction. Even though posts that specifically refer to social issues constituted less than 4% of this investigation's sample, an increase of 3 percentage points was observed with respect to a previous investigation that used comparable categories (Lacalle, 2013a). This may show a small increase in interest in issues of cultural heritage, history, and national identity and would also reinforce the importance for fans of two of our primary theoretical points of reference: cultural proximity (Straubhaar, 1991) and the construction of a national imagined community (Anderson, 1983).

In the case of cultural proximity, this study has shown that fans do express some preference for, and some social media–based reference to, issues of national history. This is one of the bases of a constructed social proximity, shared national or regional historical experiences that are also related to a broader sense of a shared culture. Cultural proximity seems, hence, related to the pride of identifying quality TV series made in Spain and to a proclivity to actively discuss in social media the depicted social and historical issues. This might be considered part of the very process of construction of a national imagined community. Anderson (1983) describes that as happening in the first instance in the 19th century through newspapers and novels. Other scholars have described the expansion of that same process through national broadcasting in both news and fiction in the 20th century (Katz & Wedell, 1976). Spain, Brazil, and other countries have been shown as examples of how national imagined community construction proceeded in some large part through national fiction based on history. Although this study does not aim to prove that cultural proximity and online fandom are correlated, it is a step toward showing how this process of imagining national community through scripted fiction now takes place additionally through the combination of national television and social media and other online platforms.

Despite the brevity of the comments, fans and community managers' posts suggest both the value of domestic TV fiction to comprehend and question the society one is part of, and the idea of TV fiction being a source of knowledge, particularly in terms of past questions about national history. Interestingly, the data show that programs set in the past generate a larger number of postings related to social issues than do programs set in the present, even though most of the domestic scripted TV fiction programs were set in the present (Lacalle, 2012, 2013b). This seems to indicate that, although current issues can be engaging to fans, discussion of history is a primary means of debating questions about national identity.

Similarly, period programs may engage and challenge spectators to debate about the past and even double-check their historical knowledge. Nonetheless, data reveal that fans are relatively more positive about critical remarks and themes such as characters who criticize current politicians' behaviors, in the text focused on present social issues. In contrast, they are sensitive to the treatment of historical issues that are closely related to their own identities (e.g., the independence of some Spanish regions) and are also less willing to be exposed to themes in shows that refer to obscure episodes of Spanish history.

As indicated in the results, some fans even request the nonrenewal of series that might potentially end up depicting such events and offer a negative image (in their opinion) of the country. Interestingly, this seems to reflect that people do not want a particular part of their cultural proximity with Spain to be disturbed by critical content in historical fiction. At the same time, they like criticism of current social issues,

maybe because it helps them vent some of their frustration. Finally, social audiences seem to also enjoy broadcast media texts that present certain topics in an innovative fashion (e.g., sexuality).

Viewers' preferences about the accuracy of programs related to historical events seem to be contingent on how the ending affects their happiness. Although some of them express their disappointment toward historically inaccurate finales, if the historical ending of a story is sad, the audiences might prefer an adaptation of the facts that offers them an ending that is not unsettling. This way, sad finales seem to be unpopular with viewers wanting to disconnect from their realities.

In line with previous studies (Diego, Etayo, & Pardo, 2011), social audiences generated by Spanish TV fiction seem to be slightly more satisfied with domestic than with American productions, which seems to support the idea of cultural proximity. Data also show that some viewers underline the quality and national origin of their favorite programs to counter antifans' criticism. Through this practice, Spanish TV fans externalize their pride of belonging to a national community capable of producing (what they consider) quality domestic TV and aim to "valorize their chosen fan texts and to validate their own prolonged attachment to such shows" (Williams, 2015, p. 79). Similarly, "by insinuating that the program appeals to intelligent audiences and is diametrically opposed to the 'lowest-common-denominator' programming of reality television and game shows, these fans clearly associate themselves with such traits" (Williams, 2015, p. 92).

To sum up, the strength of domestic scripted fiction seems to be the cultural proximity of the stories and the characters (Diego et al., 2011), as they fit into the sense of Spanish culture and into the ongoing construction of the historical side of the national imagined community. Likewise, the results obtained confirm domestic TV fiction's potential to provide "an ideal catalyst for provoking debate about the meaning of specific social objects" (Madill & Goldmeier, 2003, p. 474), as the history-related questions posted by the members of the social audience indicate.

The limitations of this article reside in its focus, that is, the analysis of the social audiences in 2011 and 2012. Even though the objective of examining the Spanish social audience in its early stages was achieved, further research focused on the following years is required to assess its evolution. Researchers' noninvolvement in the online discussions together with Internet users' lack of awareness that their messages may be analyzed favors and captures the spontaneous discourses of social audiences. However, this intentional distance between researcher and Internet users limits the access to Internauts' personal data, such as their nationality or place of residence, which may have a direct effect on the interpretation of the social issues depicted in the TV series and, consequently, the comments posted.

The combination of the method described here and the usage of offline ethnographic methods (such as in-depth interviews) and textual analysis of the programs would provide a deeper understanding of the complex synergies between TV fiction, social issues, and viewers' interpretations. Results presented in this article offer valuable data to inform the construction of questionnaires to be used in semi-structured in-depth interviews with fans. This would enable researchers to (a) further analyze the way TV programs mediate viewers' understanding of current and past social issues, (b) explore the degrees of cultural proximity that exist among viewers and texts (e.g., members of the Spanish diaspora may have a different

relationship with and knowledge about Spanish historical and social issues than those viewers that are not part of this population group), (c) analyze how the current international and market-driven media system (Jansson, 2002) contributes to the materialization of transnational and deterritorialized cultural communities (see Meyrowitz, 1985), and (d) collect further details about fans' interpretations to compensate for the brevity that characterizes an important volume of Internet users' comments. Finally, further research could also thoroughly examine the specificities of the community managers' discourses about social issues, which would require a distinctive theoretical framework from the one followed in this article. Analysis of a bigger sample of posts published by community managers than the one used in this work is highly recommended.

References

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. New York, NY: Verso.

Anderson, C. (2006). *The long tail: Why the future of business is selling less or more.* New York, NY: Hyperion.

Bandura, A. (1977). *Social learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Barkhuus, L., & Brown, B. (2009). Unpacking the television: User practices around a changing technology. *ACM Transactions on Computer-Human Interaction*, *19*(3), 1–22. doi:10.1145/1592440.1592444

Baym, N. K. (2000). *Tune in, log on: Soaps, fandom, and online community*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Baym, N. K. (2010). *Personal connections in the digital age. Digital media and society series*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Bielby, D. D., Harrington, C. L., & Bielby, W. T. (1999). Whose stories are they? Fans' engagement with soap opera narratives in three sites of fan activity. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 43*(1), 35–51. doi:10.1080/08838159909364473

Buckingham, D., & Bragg, S. (2004). *Young people, sex and the media. The facts of life?* Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Buonanno, M. (1999). *El drama televisivo: Identidad y contenidos sociales* [Televisual drama: Identity and social contents]. Barcelona, Spain: Gedisa.

Buonanno, M. (Ed.). (2002). *Convergences: Eurofiction fourth report*. Napoli, Italy: Liguri.

Buonanno, M. (2004). Foreign fiction: From threat to resource. Toward a new critical theory of international television flows. *Studies in Communication Sciences, 4*(1), 31–47.

Buonanno, M. (2008). *The age of television: Experiences and theories*. Bristol, UK: Intellect Books.
    Cascajosa, C. (Ed.). (2015). *Dentro de El Ministerio del Tiempo* [Inside *The Ministry of Time*].
    Madrid, Spain: Léeme.

Casetti, F., & Di Chio, F. (1999). *Análisis de la televisión: Instrumentos, métodos y prácticas de
    investigación* (C. Lacalle, Trans.) [Analysis of television: Tools, methods and research practices]*.
    Barcelona, Spain: Paidós. (Original work published 1997)

Chicharro, M. (2011). Aprendiendo de la ficción televisiva: La recepción y los efectos socializadores de
    Amar en tiempos revueltos [Learning from television fiction: The reception and socialization
    effects from watching loving in troubled times]. *Comunicar, 18*, 181–189. doi:10.3916/C36-
    2011-03-10

De la Cuadra, E., & Nuño, M. V. (2010). Análisis de la visibilidad de las series de televisión en la web
    [Analysis of the Web visibility of television series]. *El Profesional de la Información, 19*(6), 658–
    666. doi:10.3145/epi.2010.nov13

Diego, P., Etayo, C., & Pardo, A. (2011). La percepción sobre la calidad de las series televisivas en
    España: Contraste entre el público y los profesionales [Quality of TV fiction in Spain: Audience's
    versus professionals' perceptions]. *Zer: Revista de Estudios de Comunicación, 16*, 69–88.
    Retrieved from http://www.ehu.eus/ojs/index.php/Zer

El Món (2015, September 8). El final de Gran Nord indigna els independentistes [Grand Nord's finale
    leaves supporters of independency indignant]. *El Món*. Retrieved from
    http://elmon.cat/politica/el_final_de_gran_nord_indigna_els_independentistes_87373

Georgiou, M. (2012). Watching soap opera in the diaspora: Cultural proximity or critical proximity? *Ethnic
    and Racial Studies, 35*(5), 868–887. doi:10.1080/01419870.2011.628040

Goldhagen, D. J., & Wohlgelernter, M. (1997). Hitler's willing executioners. *Society, 34*(2), 32–37.
    doi:10.1007/BF02823096

Grandío, M. M., & Bonaut, J. (2012). Transmedia audiences and television fiction: A comparative approach
    between *Skins* (UK) and *El Barco* (Spain). *Participations: Journal of Audience & Reception
    Studies, 9*(2), 558–574.

Gray, J. (2003). New audiences, new textualities: Anti-fans and non-fans. *International Journal of Cultural
    Studies, 6*(1), 64–81. doi:10.1177/1367877903006001004

Harrington, S. (2014). Tweeting about the telly: Live TV, audiences, and social media. In K. Weller, A.
    Bruns, J. Burgess, M. Mahrt, & C. Puschmann (Eds.), *Twitter and society* (pp. 237–248). New
    York, NY: Peter Lang.

Horkheimer, M., & Adorno, T. W. (2002). The culture industry: Enlightenment as mass deception. In G. S. Noerr (Ed.), *Dialectic of enlightenment: Philosophical fragments* (pp. 94–136). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Iwabuchi, K. (2002). *Recentering globalization: Popular culture and Japanese transnationalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Jansson, A. (2002). The mediatization of consumption: Towards an analytical framework of image culture. *Journal of Consumer Culture, 2*(5), 5–31. doi:10.1177/146954050200200101

Jenkins, H. (1995). Do you enjoy making the rest of us feel stupid? Alt.tv.twinpeaks, the trickster author and viewer mastery. In D. Lavery (Ed.), *Full of secrets: Critical approaches to* Twin Peaks (pp. 51–69). Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press.

Katz, E., & Wedell, G. (1976). *Broadcasting in the third world.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Lacalle, C. (2011). Spain: Banking on big productions. In G. Orozco & M. I. Vasallo de Lopes (Eds.), *Obitel yearbook 2011: Quality in television fiction and audiences' transmedia interactions* (pp. 142–160). São Paulo, Brazil: Globo Comunicação. Retrieved from http://obitel.net/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/obitel2011-english.pdf

Lacalle, C. (2012). Spain: 2011: New strategies, new markets. In G. Orozco & M. I. Vasallo de Lopes (Eds.), *Obitel yearbook 2012: Transnationalization of television fiction in Ibero-American countries* (pp. 331–382). Porto Alegre, Brazil: Sulina-Globo Comunicação. Retrieved from http://obitel.net/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/obitel2012-english.pdf

Lacalle, C. (2013a). *Jóvenes y ficción televisiva: Construcción de identidad y transmedialidad* [Young people and television fiction: Identity construction and transmediality]. Barcelona, Spain: UOCPress.

Lacalle, C. (2013b). Spain: Fiction resists the crisis. In G. Orozco & M. I. Vasallo de Lopes (Eds.), *Obitel yearbook 2013: Social memory and television fiction in Ibero-American countries* (pp. 265–304). Porto Alegre, Brazil: Sulina-Globo Comunicação. Retrieved from http://obitel.net/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/obitel2013-english.pdf

Lacalle, C., & Castro, D. (2016). The promotion of Spanish television fiction on the Internet: Official and unofficial strategies. *El Profesional de la Información, 25*(2), 246–253. doi:10.3145/epi.2016.mar.11

Lacalle, C., Castro, D., & Sánchez, M. (2014). Spain: The boom of fiction set in the past. In G. Orozco & M. I. Vasallo de Lopes (Eds.), *Obitel yearbook 2014: Transmedia production strategies in television fiction* (pp. 267–308). São Paulo, Brazil: Globo Comunicação. Retrieved from http://obitel.net/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/obitel2014-espanol.pdf

Lacalle, C., Castro, D., & Sánchez, M. (2015). Spain: The internationalization of fiction. In G. Orozco & M. I. Vasallo de Lopes (Eds.), *Obitel yearbook 2015: Gender relations in television fiction* (pp. 365–404). São Paulo, Brazil: Sulina-Globo Comunicação. Retrieved from http://obitel.net/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/13-08_Obitel-2015_espanhol-color_completo.pdf

Lacalle, C., Castro, D., & Sánchez, M. (2016). Spain: Innovation and tradition. In G. Orozco & M. I. Vasallo de Lopes (Eds.), *Obitel yearbook 2016: (Re)Invention of TV fiction genres and formats* (pp. 377–414). Porto Alegre, Brazil: Sulina-Globo Comunicação. Retrieved from http://obitel.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/obite-ingles-2016.pdf

Lacalle, C., & Pujol, C. (2017). Online communication and everyday life: Female social audience and TV fiction. *Universum, 32*(2), 117–132. doi:10.4067/S0718-23762017000200117

Livingstone, S. M. (1990). *Making sense of television: The psychology of audience interpretation*. Oxford, UK: Pergamon Press.

Livingstone, S. M. (2004). The challenge of changing audiences: Or, what is the researcher to do in the age of the Internet? *European Journal of Communication, 19*(1), 75–86. Retrieved from http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/archive/00000412

Lotz, A. D., & Ross, S. M. (2004). Toward ethical cyberspace audience research: Strategies for using the Internet for television audience studies. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, 48*(3), 501–512. doi:10.1207/s15506878jobem4803_9

Madill, A., & Goldmeier, R. (2003). Text of female desire and of community. *International Journal of Cultural Studies, 6*(4), 471–494. doi:10.1177/136787790364005

Martín-Barbero, J. (1987). *De los medios a las mediaciones: Comunicación, cultura y hegemonía* [From media to mediations: Communication, culture and hegemony]. Mexico City, Mexico: G. Gili.

Medrano, C., & Cortés, A. (2007). The teaching and learning of values through Television. *Review of Education, 53*, 5–21. doi:10.1007/s11159-006-9028-6

Meyrowitz, J. (1985). *No sense of place: The impact of electronic media on social behavior.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Quintas, N., & González, A. (2014). Audiencias activas: Participación de la audiencia social en la television [Active audiences: Social audience participation in television]. *Comunicar, 22*, 83–90. doi:10.3916/C43-2014-08

Rodríguez, A. (1999). *Making Latino news: Race, language, class*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Rodríguez-Ferrándiz, R., Tur-Viñes, V., & Mora, K. (2016). The tube on YouTube: TV series, media strategies, and user tactics in a transmedia environment. *International Journal of Communication, 10*, 1991–2013.

Rodríguez-Mansilla, F. (2015). "Tiempo de pícaros": La picaresca en El ministerio del tiempo ["Times of pícaros": Picaresque in *Ministry of Time*]. *Impossibilia, 10*, 74– 96.

Siapera, E. (2004). From couch potatoes to cybernauts? The expanding notion of the audience on TV channels' websites. *New Media & Society, 6*(2), 155–172. doi:10.1177/1461444804041446

Sodre, M. (1972). *A comunicação do grotesco* [The communication of the grotesque]. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Editora Vozes.

Steinberg, S. R. (2011). Kinderculture: Mediaging, simulacralizing, and pathologizing the new childhood. In S. R. Steinberg (Ed.), *Kinderculture: The corporate construction of childhood* (3rd ed., pp. 1– 54). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Straubhaar, J. (1991). Beyond media imperialism: Asymmetrical interdependence and cultural proximity. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication, 8*, 39–59. doi:10.1080/15295039109366779

Straubhaar, J. (2007). *World television: From global to local*. Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications.

Straubhaar, J., Spence, J., Joyce, V., & Duarte, L. (2015). *The evolution of television: An analysis of ten years of TGI Latin America (2004–2014)*. Austin, TX: University of Texas.

Street, B. V. (1995). *Social literacies: Critical approaches to literacy in development, ethnography and education*. London, UK: Longman.

Thompson, J. B. (1995). *The media and modernity: A social theory of the media.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Tur-Viñes, V., & Rodríguez-Ferrándiz, R. (2014). Engagement fiction series and social networks: The case of Pulseras rojas's official Facebook page (Antena 3, Spain). Cuadernos.info, 34, 115–131. http://cuadernos.info/index.php/CDI/article/view/cdi.34.549/589

Vasallo de Lopes, M. I. (2008). Televisiones y narraciones: Las identidades culturales en tiempos de globalización [Television and narratives: Cultural identities in the globalization age]. *Comunicar, XV*, 35–41. doi:10.3916/c30-2008-01-005

Vasallo de Lopes, M. I. (2012). A case study on transmedia reception: Fandom on Facebook and social issues in the Brazilian telenovela *Passione*. In *Anàlisi: Quaderns de comunicació i cultura* (pp. 111–132).

Welser, H. T., Gleave, E., Fisher, D., & Smith, M. (2007). Visualizing the signatures of social roles in online discussion groups. *The Journal of Social Structure, 8*(2). Retrieved from http://www.cmu.edu/joss/content/articles/volume8/Welser/

Williams, R. (2010). Good neighbours? Fan/producer relationships and the broadcasting field. *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies, 24*(2), 279–289. doi:10.1080/10304310903576366

Williams, R. (2015). *Post-object fandom: Television, identity and self-narrative*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic.

Appendix A

Codebook for the Dissection of Posts' Contents

Category	Variables	
Descriptive Codes		
Authorship	#fan, #community-manager	
Web resource	#site/microsite, #blog, #facebook, #tuenti, #twitter, #forum	
Expressive Signs		
Signs	#smileys, #hashtag	
Expression of Collective Identity		
Community	#conversation, #questions, #community, #irony	
Narrative World		
Storytelling level	#storylines	#positive-storylines, #negative-storylines, #neutral-storylines
	#characters	#positive-characters, #negative-characters, #neutral-characters, #aesthetics
	#actors	#positive-actors, #negative-actors #neutral-actors
		#actors-appearance, #actors-personal-lives #actors-professional-lives
	#settings	
Commercial level	#intertextual-extensions, #extratextual-extensions, #music, #promotion, #self-promotion, #audience-share	
Expression of Self-Identity		
Self-reflection	#light-identity, #emotional-identity	
Mobilization	#petitions, #complaints	
Social issues	#social-issues	
Fan art	#fan-art	
Other		
Miscellany	#out-of-topic, #TV-background, #retweet, #censorship	