

Public interest or published interest? Argentine media regulation in economic press

¿Interés público o interés publicado? La regulación de medios argentinos en la prensa económica

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Abstract

The Argentine Legislative Power passed Law No. 26522 on Audiovisual Communication Services (LACS) on October 10, 2009. It called into question the historical relationship among the political, socio-cultural and economic objectives that guided the regulation and represented a new notion of 'public interest'. The process of debate and approval of the Law occupied a significant space on the media agenda, although it was defined from particular frames that formulated diagnoses, evaluations and prescriptions. Analyzing the journalistic treatment of this matter is important because it involved the interests of the field where the media themselves take part. In addition, they are considered publicly prominent co-constructors of social reality, so they collaborated with the production of narratives about the debate around the Law. This work studies the news frames of the LACS in the Argentine economic press, observes the evolution of these frames throughout the debate and approval of the Law and compares how the newspapers defined the aspects under discussion. The quantitative content analysis identified three frames in tension: 'political and institutional dispute', 'sociocultural public interest' and 'business public interest', which behavior varied according to the newspaper and registered fluctuations throughout the period under study.

Keywords

Press, Argentina, regulation, frames, public interest, information.

Suggested citation: Koziner, N. (2021). Public interest or published interest? Argentine media regulation in economic press. *Univeristas*, 34, pp. 147-168.

Resumen

El Poder Legislativo argentino aprobó la Ley N° 26522 de Servicios de Comunicación Audiovisual (LASC) el 10 de octubre de 2009. Esta puso en cuestión la histórica relación entre los objetivos de orden político, sociocultural y económico que habían orientado la regulación y propuso una nueva noción de 'interés público'. El derrotero que siguió el debate y la sanción de la Ley ocupó un lugar significativo en la agenda mediática, aunque fue definido desde marcos particulares que formularon diagnósticos, evaluaciones y prescripciones. Analizar el tratamiento periodístico de este asunto cobra importancia por cuanto implicó los intereses del ámbito del cual los propios forman parte. Además, se los considera co-constructores públicamente destacados de realidad social, por lo cual colaboraron con la producción de los relatos del debate acerca de la Ley. Este trabajo analiza los *frames* noticiosos de la LASC en los periódicos económicos argentinos, observa la evolución de dichos encuadres a lo largo del debate y sanción de la norma y compara las maneras en que los matutinos definieron los aspectos puestos en discusión. A partir del análisis de contenido cuantitativo, se identifican tres *frames* en tensión: 'disputa política e institucional', 'interés público sociocultural' e 'interés público empresario', cuyo comportamiento varió según el matutino y registró fluctuaciones a lo largo del período estudiado.

Palabras clave

Prensa, Argentina, regulación, encuadres, interés público, información.

Introduction

The Legislative Power of the Argentine Nation (LPN) approved the Law of Audiovisual Communication Services (LASC) N ° 26,522 in October 2009. The process of its creation marked a historical milestone in public communication policies and gave them a change of course, since it proposed a new notion of public interest from questioning the historical relationship between the principles of political, sociocultural, and economic order that had guided the regulation of audiovisual communication media until then.

In this context, the purpose of this article is to analyze the treatment of the LASC in the Argentine economic press. Specifically, in *El Cronista Comercial* and *Ámbito Financiero*, two newspapers with a long tradition in the journalistic field. The specific objectives are: a) Identify the specific frames of the LASC; b) Analyze the temporal progress of these frameworks through-

hout the debate and approval of the norm; c) Compare the ways in which both newspapers presented and defined the issues under discussion.

The coverage of the debate, the legislative treatment, and the approval of the LASC in this type of newspaper constitutes an appropriate object of investigation for several reasons. In the first place, these media institutions were involved in this process in their double role: both as economic agents that take part in the market and in the valorization of capital, and as political actors in ideological and social reproduction. Even though they were not directly affected by the norm, it affected the interests of the country's main media, characterized by the high degree of concentration of ownership, both horizontal, vertical, and conglomerate (Becerra & Mastrini, 2018).

The second element is given by the fact that commercial logic has historically predominated in Argentina in regulating the operation of the media (Mastrini, 2009). From the business point of view, it is then a matter of the agenda for these newspapers.

Third, both newspapers are considered here as political actors with private and legitimate interests (Borrat, 1989). As such, they affect political dynamics and develop representations of the power they exercise and of the society in which they operate (Kircher, 2005). Shapers of opinion, modelers of social experience, and participants in the political field have the ability to question or endorse certain policies and, thus, nurture the role they play in the public sphere (Habermas, 1989).

The creation of the specific frames that organized the debate around the LASC is novel both for the field of Communication Policy studies and for the analysis of media frames. Generally, research affiliated in critical political economy takes for granted the ways in which power disputes are embodied in media discourses. Similarly, the content analyzes of journalistic coverage, even when they address debates about regulation, do not usually relate their work to concerns about public policy (Ali & Puppis, 2018).

The article is organized as follows: first, it presents the analytical procedure carried out to design the research. Second, the aspects related to the method and the corpus of analysis are detailed. Then, the findings of the content analysis are systematized. Finally, the general conclusions are presented.

Analytical procedure for the creation of the frames of the LASC

This research is conceptually inscribed in *Framing*, understood as an investigative program that integrally comprises media communication (Koziner, 2015, 2017). The empirical work starts from the first analytical activities that this type of approach proposes (Van Gorp, 2007): detect and analyze the media frames. In a general sense, it seeks to know what is the interpretation structure of the underlying reality in the journalistic treatment of a case (Mariño & López-Rabadán, 2009).

This task takes place in two moments. First, the notion of framing is defined and the procedure for its operationalization is developed. Then, a matrix is designed in order to comprehensively address the interpretative frameworks in dispute around the definition of the LASC and to know which ones are reflected as legitimate in the coverage.

According to the classical conceptualization of Entman (1993, 2004), framing an event implies selecting certain aspects of what is perceived as reality and giving them importance in a text so that a problematic situation can be defined, its causes are identified, it is morally evaluated, and a type of treatment for it is proposed. Thus, frames diagnose, evaluate and prescribe (Gamson, 1992).

From this conceptualization, we use the epistemological approach carried out by Matthes and Kohring (2008). This includes the collection of data, their processing, and the subsequent creation of the frames of the case under study. The operational nature of the definition allows them to identify four functions that frames perform: defining a problem, morally evaluating it, identifying causes, and recommending a type of treatment. Each of these dimensions is composed of variables of different levels of abstraction and their indicators are tracked in the news content. The ways in which these elements are combined give rise to certain patterns whose recurring appearance makes them frames.

The conceptualization of the elements that make up the frames requires investigating the characteristics of the phenomenon and thus identifying the thematic axes that organize the debate. Consistent with this procedure, in this work, it is considered necessary to know the central characteristics of the discussion around the LASC for the definition of the dimensions and variables that make up the analysis matrix.

To identify the frames, the authors introduce a computerized data processing technique that allows the detection of latent variables (Igartua, 2006) in the texts through the systematic grouping of manifest indicators. In contrast to deductive studies, which attempt to confirm or discard the presence of generic frames, this procedure allows detecting the emergence of new frames typical of the analyzed subject. The process of interpretation and contextualization of such definitions of the situation is the work of the analyst, whose comprehensive look allows him/her to characterize the discursive field in which ideas and arguments make sense.

Analysis matrix for the identification of the frames of the LASC

From the proposal of Entman (1993, 2004), the functions that make up the frames on the LASC, as well as the variables and the values that these can charge in each unit of analysis, are conceptualized below. Of the four *frame elements*, the focus will be on the first and the third, since their definition involves the conceptual dialogue between the perspective of the Frame and the particularities of the case according to the Communication Policy studies. All in all, figure 1 shows the elements, variables, and categories that complete the operationalization process that was carried out.

The first component involves an arena or area where the action takes place, a topic in which the event and the actors who are the protagonists in it can be classified through what they say and/or actions. The arenas around the LASC can be legislative, executive, political, judicial, business and financial, civil society, and media. For those areas not considered in the aforementioned categories, the possibility of computing another area is included.

The topic refers to the specific issue that summarizes the main event that the news¹ is about, which is clearly observed in the text. As shown in figure 1, seven topics are identified in the debate around the LASC, to which is added an eighth category for others whose frequency of appearance is low.

The sources of information and the main and secondary actors constitute the last four variables that make up the definition of the problem. Although the categories designed for both are the same — and, in fact, they may coin-

1 An event or event is a discrete event that is limited by time and space (Rogers & Dearing, 1988).

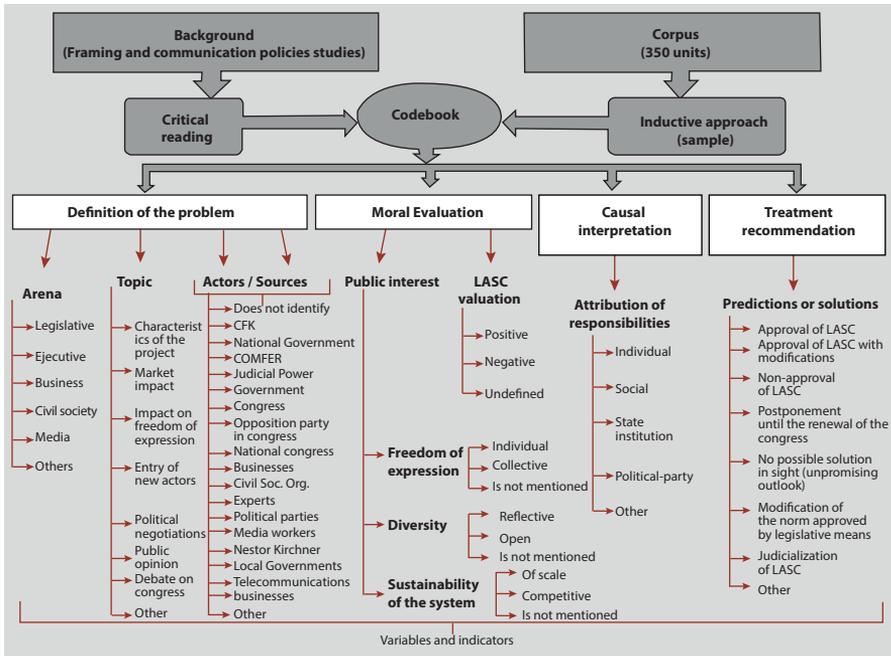
cide— they both point to different roles in the news story. Sources are those whom the journalist observes or interviews and contribute information as members or spokespersons for groups with different levels of organization (Gans, 2004). The actor, on the other hand, is the individual or collective person directly involved in the events reported or presented as the subject of the action. For this work, a categorical system of 16 options displayed in figure 1 was developed based on the recurrences observed in a qualitative induction to a corpus sample.

The moral evaluation constitutes the second central dimension for the creation of the frames of the LASC. These are expressed as statements about what should be considered good, and the duties that this entails, and about what should be considered bad (Schmitt, 2009) for the community. Thus, the most important aspects of the three constitutive values of the LASC around which the public debate revolved are traced in the notes: the economic sustainability of the media system, diversity, and freedom of expression.

Each of these principles is part of one of the three types of well-being that a regulatory framework for audiovisual media must pursue in seeking to promote the public interest: political, socio-cultural, and economic (Van Cuilenburg & McQuail, 2003). Although the public interest constitutes an elastic, vague, and complex concept (Iosifidis, 2011; Just & Puppis, 2012; Papathanassopoulos & Negrine, 2010), it identifies contributions to understand the normative paradigm shift (Elfades, 2015) that embodies the LASC for the regulation of the audiovisual sector. In abstract terms, there is consensus in the positive evaluation of the three values protected by the LASC. However, a good part of the positions taken by the various actors involved in the public discussion for the approval of the Law were based on different views on them and on the relationships, they weave with each other. For that reason, this frame element is made up of four variables.

First, the type of assessment of the LASC is revealed. Positive and negative judgments refer to cases in which the debate or the implications of the approval of the standard are valued as convenient and/or desirable, on the one hand, or inconvenient and/or undesirable for society, on the other. Undefined or ambiguous judgment is computed, negative or positive judgments cannot be clearly identified. It is also computed when negative and positive judgments are balanced on the same note.

Figure 1
Analysis matrix of the frames of the LASC



Source: Own elaboration

Second, the assessment of freedom of expression is investigated (Van Cuilenburg & McQuail, 2003). Two² possible expressions of this variable are contemplated in the texts: individual and collective or social.

The first refers to the possibility or impossibility that some specific media or journalists have to freely express their opinions and ideas based on the actions of the State, it considers that divestment processes have an impact on the exercise of freedom of expression and/or refers to press freedom, consistent with the free speech tradition (Loreti & Lozano, 2014). The social or collective character is computed when mentioning the importance of a grea-

2 The variables related to public interest values contemplate a third category: “not mentioned”, for those cases in which no type of reference to the value appears.

ter participation of various social actors in the media, the need to limit market forces and/or the plural discussion of the law, in line with the conception proposed by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (1985).

The second variable points to pluralism and diversity of the media system and contemplates two categories: the principle of reflective diversity indicates that the variety of opinions and issues expressed by the media must respond to what audiences prefer to consume. Open diversity, on the other hand, refers to the fact that the media must represent as fully as possible the range of voices, issues, and opinions that circulate socially, beyond what the audiences demand (Van der Wurff & Van Cuilenburg, 2001).

The last variable that makes up the definition of public interest refers to the sustainability of the media system. This can assume two values: economies of scale or competitive market. It is difficult to find these values explicitly expressed in the texts, given their technical nature, which is why the presence of arguments related to these principles is observed. In the first case, it is considered that the measures that seek to limit the concentration of ownership undermine the profitability of the media or, even more, the sustainability of the companies (Llorens-Maluquer, 2001). According to the second value, opening the market to new players has a positive impact on its operation. It is also computed when concentration is characterized as an economic problem that erodes competition and market efficiency (Doyle, 2002).

Corpus, codification and reliability

The corpus of the study is made up of all the journalistic articles published about the LASC in *El Cronista Comercial y Ámbito Financiero* as of the first day of the month in which the draft law was presented —March 1, 2009, and the last of the month in which the regulation was approved — October 31st. In total, 350 units were collected.

All units subjected to quantitative content analysis were selected and coded according to the same detailed and explicit rules (Colle, 2011; Igartua, 2006). The qualitative immersion (Neuendorf, 2002) that was carried out on a sample of 50 units - 14.3%³ of the marks - allowed to identify the “critical

3 Although there is agreement among content analysis theorists that the sample should be 10% of the units, it is recommended that this be not less than 50 units in total (Igartua, 2006).

variables” of the study (Igartua, 2006) in dialogue with the characteristics of the LASC and the newspapers.

The quality of the data obtained through this technique is linked to three aspects: a precise conceptualization and operationalization of the variables, the training of those who will carry out the coding, and the levels of “inter-coder reliability”. This measures the levels of agreement between the data collected by different researchers who addressed the same contents with the same codebook (Igartua & Humanes, 2004).

In this work, four coders participated in the data collection. To measure the degree of agreement between the variables, two coefficients were used: Krippendorff’s alpha (α) and Cohen’s Kappa (κ)⁴. All the calculations of the reliability coefficients (Krippendorff, 2004) were above 0.85.

Analysis and results. The frames of the LASC

This phase of the work seeks to shape the LASC’s media frames in economy newspapers, analyze their evolution and compare coverage. First, a statistical analysis of conglomerates or clusters is carried out. This method seeks to group the units in sets as similar as possible. The processing identifies, through mathematical algorithms, sets of related characteristics in a universe of cases that appears to be heterogeneous (Vilà-Baños et al., 2014). As a result, each case is assigned to a specific group that ultimately forms a frame.

An optimal solution of three clusters or frames arises from the data processing. The interpretive reading of each group allowed them to be called ‘political and institutional dispute’, ‘business public interest’, and ‘socio-cultural public interest’.

The first cluster groups 55.4% of the cases in the universe. The frame refers, fundamentally, to the disputes and negotiations that take place between the different political forces within the framework of the LPN, an area in which the normative project was debated. Table 1 summarizes the most important categories in this frame.

It is observed that most of the notes that cite two sources, face opposite positions before the LASC, which contributes to the conflict compo-

4 In order to know the Krippendorff Alpha (α), the SPSS version used was macro 3.0, in line with what was proposed by Hayes and Krippendorff (2007).

ment. Identical behavior is evidenced with respect to the leading actors of the news.

Table 1
Frame elements and variables
of the ‘Political and institutional dispute’

Elements and variables		Categories
Definition of the problem	Arena	Legislative
	Topic	Treatment of the project in Congress Political negotiations
	Main source	Political opposition in the LPN Political officialism in the LPN
	Secondary source	None Political opposition in the LPN Political officialism in the LPN
	Main actor	Political opposition in the LPN Political officialism in the LPN
	Secondary actor	Political opposition in the LPN Government of the Nation
Causal attribution	Attribution of responsibility	Institutional Political
Moral evaluation	LASC evaluation	Not defined or ambiguous
	Freedom of expression	-
	Diversity	-
	Sustainability	-
Treatment recommendation	Proposed solution	No mention is made LASC approval LASC approval with modifications.

Source: Own elaboration

The high degree of institutionalization in this frame is related to the “authority-disorder bias” (Bennett, 2012, p. 63), a tendency that can be com-

bined with personalized, dramatized, or fragmented news episodes. This is because its central feature consists of the high emphasis of the news on the actions of the authorities — if they take the reins or lose control, if they win, lose or negotiate— and in establishing “if the situation in question seems to move in one more orderly direction and reassuring or disorderly and disturbing”. Thus, the details of the public policy debate are not as important as the dramatic and controversial aspects that surround it. The indefinite assessment of the initiative debated in Congress and the zero frequency of appearance of the values that make up the types of well-being included in the notion of ‘public interest’ are consistent with the general features of this frame.

The level of generality of this frame allows it to be linked to the definition of “script” proposed by Entman (2004). That is, as a standardized information processing model that journalists use to deal with matters of public interest. The main difference between “scripts” and “frames” is that the former channel the stories, while the latter promote definitions of the situation that involve moral evaluations and propose a type of treatment for the events reported (Entman, 2004, pp. 6-7). Indeed, the dispute over the LASC and its political-partisan implications take center stage to the detriment of the moral evaluation of the measure and the forecasts around it.

Table 2
Frame elements and variables of the ‘Business public interest’

Elements and variables		Predominant categories
Definition of the problem	Arena	Business and financial Political power
	Main topic	Impact of the law on the media market Characteristics of the project / LASC
	Main source	Communication companies Government of the Nation
	Secondary source	Communication companies Government of the Nation
	Main actor	Government of the Nation Communication companies
	Secondary actor	Communication companies Government of the Nation

Causal attribution	Attribution of responsibility	Political Individual
Moral evaluation	LASC evaluation	Negative Positive
	Freedom of expression	Individual
	Diversity	Reflective
	Sustainability	Economies of scale
Treatment recommendation de tratamiento	Proposed solution	No solution in sight Judicialization of the Law

Source: Own elaboration

The second cluster accounts for 25.5% of the cases. It is called ‘Business public interest’, as it sets the parameters for the debate based on arguments that privilege economic criteria over political and cultural ones. The prioritized values correspond to a contradictory view with the principles supported by the normative text. Table 2 summarizes the most important categories of the frame.

The news action evokes situations that revolve around the features of the text of the LASC aimed at regulating the functioning of the media market, as well as the economic-financial consequences that the regulation would have for the dynamics of that market. Frequently, the leading role of the national government is associated with political-party or individual causes — or responsibilities — much more than with its institutional role. This accounts for a trend in newspapers to “personalize” (Bennett, 2012), that is, to develop stories more focused on the actors than on the events themselves. In contrast, personal or political party motives and intentions are overestimated in attributions of responsibility, while the role played by context is underestimated (Iyengar, 1991).

The individual view of freedom of expression, reflective diversity, and economies of scale are not explicitly mentioned in the texts. Instead, freedom of the press is mentioned and the potential threat to its exercise within the framework of the democratic system that the LASC would mean is no-

ted. In addition, it is argued that the restructuring of the system that would impose limits on the ownership of licenses or the obligation to produce local content, would affect the plurality of voices of the commercial private sector and it is considered that the duty to divest would entail a serious danger to sustainability or the legal security of companies or media groups that exceed the limits established by law.

Table 3
Frame elements and variables
of the ‘Sociocultural public interest’

Elements and variables		Predominant categories
Definition of the problem	Arena	From civil society Legislative
	Main topic	Project / LASC characteristics Impact on freedom of the press and/or expression
	Main topic	Civil society organizations Specialists
	Main source	There is none
	Secondary source	Civil society organizations Government of the Nation
	Main actor	Government of the Nation Civil society organizations
Causal attribution	Secondary actor	Institutional Political
Moral evaluation	Attribution of responsibility	Not defined Positive
	LASC evaluation	Collective
	Freedom of expression	Open
	Diversity	Competitive market
Treatment recommendation de tratamiento	Sustainability	LASC approval

Source: Own elaboration

The last cluster groups 19.1% of the cases in the universe. The frame represents the view in which socio-cultural and political values are prioritized over those of economic well-being and tends to coincide with positions favorable to the LASC. Table 3 summarizes the most important categories of the frame.

State actors and those belonging to civil society acquire greater prominence as agents capable of influencing the development of the events that are reported. The moral evaluation that this framework promotes is consistent, in general terms, with the public interest approach protected by the text of the LASC. Thus, the collective view of freedom of expression is combined with an open approach to diversity and pluralism and an understanding of the media market in competitive terms. However, this assessment of the public interest does not necessarily result in a positive judgment of the SCA bill, as contradictory views coexist. From this, it follows that the general argument promoted by this frame cannot be linearly related to the support of the legislative initiative, although it coincides, in general terms. It happens that some critical positions to the norm are based, precisely, on the same values that it seeks to protect.

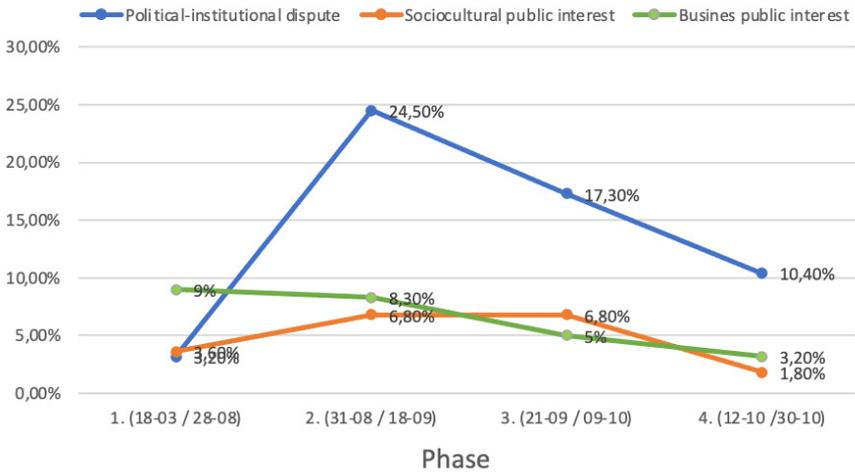
The second specific objective of the work was to analyze the temporal evolution of the frames throughout the debate and the sanction of the norm. This is represented in figure 2, according to four stages of development of the case: 1) of public debate: from the presentation of the bill (March 18) until its submission to the National Congress (August 28); 2) treatment in the Lower House: between August 31 and September 18, one day after having obtained a half sanction; 3) treatment in the Senate: from September 21 to October 9, one day before becoming law⁵; 4) of repercussions: between October 12 and 30, 2009.

The graph shows that the three frames are present during the 36 weeks studied, although the behavior of each one varies in a singular way. The political and institutional dispute fluctuates concomitantly with the general frequency of the case. Meanwhile, the business public interest presents a lower overall frequency, which decreases as the weeks progress. Finally, the sociocultural public interest frame is the one with the lowest level of appear-

5 The LSCA was approved during the early hours of Saturday, October 10, the day the economy newspapers are not published. For that reason, the phase closes on Friday the 9th, when both newspapers anticipate that the project would become law.

rance in general terms, although it remains stable during the most relevant phases of the case.

Figure 2
Temporal evolution of frames according to stages of the period
(March 1-October 31, 2009). *El Cronista Comercial*
y *Ámbito Financiero*



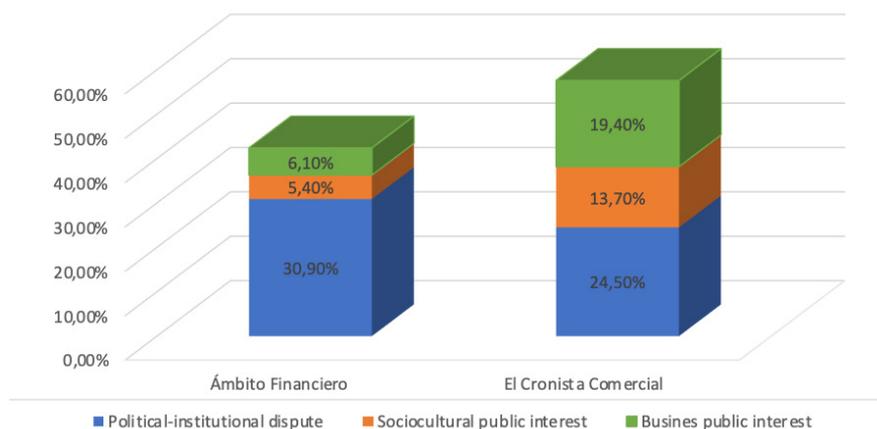
Source: Koziner, 2017.

The last specific objective aimed to compare the treatment that both newspapers gave to the case. In this sense, the data shown in figure 3 are eloquent: although the three frames are present in the two newspapers, in *Ámbito Financiero* seven out of ten articles are framed as a political and institutional dispute, reserving significantly less space for the frames specific to the LASC. The *Cronista Comercial*, on the other hand, not only offers global coverage more abundant but also more heterogeneous regarding the ways of framing the debate by the Law.

In these differences, it is possible to observe the traces of the editorial profile of the newspapers. In the *Ámbito Financiero*, the controversial component that usually characterizes all coverage of political affairs prevailed widely and less attention was paid to the specific aspects of the case. Even

though *El Cronista Comercial* also dominated the political and institutional dispute frame, the other two were also relevant. Especially, the business public interest, which was highlighted in the notes of the argumentative genre and, within these, in the editorials.

Figure 3
Presence of the frames ‘Political and institutional dispute’, ‘Business public interest’ and ‘Sociocultural public interest’ (March 1-October 31, 2009). *El Cronista Comercial* and *Ámbito Financiero*



Source: Koziner, 2017.

Discussion and Conclusions

This article set out to analyze the treatment that the Argentine economy newspapers made of the course that the LASC process of debate and sanction that followed, assuming that the matter is of great interest to this sector of the media, both for integrating the field of actors achieved by the law, as for constituting a matter with economic consequences for a large part of the sector.

We found three frames: ‘political and institutional dispute’, ‘business public interest’, and ‘sociocultural public interest’. The political and institutional dispute could be thought of less as a frame and more as a “script”, in the sense defined by Entman (2004, p. 6).

The business public interest manages to print a negative view of the LASC, while the sociocultural public interest synthesizes a position related to the arguments supported by the initiative, but not totally aligned with it. It was not by chance that this frame had been the least relevant, given that, in keeping with the provisions of the Law, it proposed a renewed vision of how the regulation in audiovisual communication should be morally evaluated. Thus, it was contradictory with the Argentine normative tradition of the field, favorable to the commercial and private logic of operation.

The temporal evolution of the three frames was not homogeneous; nor the relevance that they gained on the surface of the newspapers. The behavior of the 'political and institutional dispute' frame fluctuated concomitantly with the general frequency of coverage of the Law, for which it was strongly linked to the evolution of events. Thus, it is inferred that a fundamentally episodic approach prevailed, focused on specific events with a high degree of controversy and drama.

The interpretation of the behavior of the frames in each newspaper can be related to two central aspects: the way in which the regulatory initiative dialogued with the history and situation of each one and the editorial traditions of economic journalism in which they could be affiliated.

The LASC took up some points of a historical claim against *Clarín* by Julio Ramos, creator of *Ámbito Financiero*, for the conformation and exponential growth of the business group from the nineties (Ramos, 1993; Ulanovsky, 2011).

However, the critical stance towards this type of process, even when it was stated that they impacted on freedom of expression, was based on a conception of public interest slightly divergent from that proposed by the LASC. From that point of view, free competition and antitrust rules are the central values for any media policy, so state intervention should be limited to guaranteeing those conditions.

In general terms, *Ámbito* positioned himself as an external observer of a political debate that only indirectly involved him. The specific frames of the LASC could be considered more as leaks of the ways of defining the measure by the sources and the actors who participated in the debate and less as definitions shared by the editorial line of the newspaper.

The ownership structure of *El Cronista Comercial* placed this journalistic institution in a particular situation, since its owner, Francisco De Narváez, was in violation of the Law for being a national deputy and licensee of the television channel *América TV*. Its institutional position was compatible

with the definition proposed by the business public interest and was expressed, to a large extent, in the editorials dedicated to the matter. In line with this, a greater presence of the business sector was observed on its pages, as a source and as the protagonist of the reported action. The coverage of *El Cronista* was more heterogeneous than that of its competitor in terms of the frames present in the news treatment and the sources and actors involved.

In addition to the differences, the centrality of the official actors, the hierarchy of the legislative and executive arenas over the debates in civil society, and the controversy as the central axis of the news were elements common to both newspapers.

Finally, in both newspapers it is possible to find traces of the two original models of economic journalism: the American, in *El Cronista* and the British, in *Ámbito*. In the latter, information is mixed with analysis, comments, and predictions. In addition, it is characterized by the frequent use of *off the record*. The American, on the other hand, tends to separate information from opinion more clearly and the former is accompanied by a greater number of sources, generally institutional. Opinion is usually articulated with external voices and experts in the field.

In addition to the specific findings to which this work has arrived, it is interesting to emphasize a factor in relation to the frames: the creation, crystallization, and circulation of these organizing patterns of the news meanings are the result of dynamics in which various factors interact —Cultural, economic, political— that go beyond the texts, although they are reflected in them. The frames are persistent principles that integrate all the instances of the communicational process and that must be shared at some level by the societies in which they develop in order to be meaningful and communicable. It is necessary to consider, then, that, although the frames of the treatment of the LASC were not born in the analyzed press, they were powerful keys in the organization of the meaning of its contents.

Research support and financial support

Entity: National Council for Scientific and Technical Research (CONICET)

Country: Argentina

City: Autonomous City of Buenos Aires

Subsidized project: PG 11 doctoral scholarship 2012-2017

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Submission date: 2020/10/31; Acceptance date: 2021/01/18;

Publishing date: 2021/03/01