Let's dance the news! How the news media are adapting to the logic of TikTok

Jorge Vázquez-Herrero
Universidade de Santiago de Compostela
jorge.vazquez@usc.es
ORCID: 0000-0002-9081-3018

María-Cruz Negreira-Rey
Universidade de Santiago de Compostela
cruz.negreira@usc.es
ORCID: 0000-0001-8945-2641

Xosé López-García
Universidade de Santiago de Compostela
xose.lopez.garcia@usc.es
ORCID: 0000-0002-1873-8260

Abstract

The influence of TikTok has reached the news media, which has adapted to the logic of the platform, in a context marked by the incidental consumption of news, virality and the intermediation of technology in access to information. The popularity of this social network invites news outlets to address a young audience on a platform characterized by visual and short content and dynamics defined by algorithmic recommendations, trending hashtags and challenges. Based on an exploratory search of news media and programmes on TikTok from around the world, we selected 234 accounts and conducted a content analysis of the 19 news media and programmes identified with a verified profile and general thematic scope. The results point to a progressive incorporation of the media since 2019, with the purpose of informing, positioning their brand and adapting to the logic of TikTok in a new approach to journalism for younger generations.

Keywords

Introduction

Journalism exists in a sustained period of change (Franklin, 2016), in a volatile and platform-dominated media ecosystem (Rashidian et al., 2020), which places it in a state of flux and subject to structural changes affecting practice, product and profession (Spyridou et al., 2013). The media landscape is undergoing major technology-driven disruptions (Pavlik et al., 2019) that have fostered a networked journalism (Van der Haak et al., 2012) with a significant impact from social media (Ferrucci, 2018; Hermida, 2016).

Researchers explore new dimensions of journalism through technology (Pavlik, 2019), but beyond technological determinism, they observe renewed that respond to the current context (García-Orosa et al., 2020). Although innovations have been introduced in style, format, production and distribution processes, as well as in business models, these impulses are due to the need for companies to keep up with external forces (Zelizer, 2019). Thus, journalism should be analysed as an activity that uses the technology of the moment – which in turn shapes and is shaped by technologies and platforms (Steensen et al., 2019) – and, consequently, sees how the expansion of channels available for news producers and the development of tools for users to interact modify the news flows through everyday life (Carlson, 2020).

The analysis of this changing reality from the perspective of the Actor-Network Theory (Hemmingway, 2008; Latour, 2005) considers the interrelation of human and non-human actors in the study of social associations, including networks, technologies and digital artefacts as elements that interfere in the system. Journalism studies have implemented this holistic vision to incorporate the role of technology in the analysis of change (Domingo, 2008; Mabrook and Singer, 2019; Plesner, 2009; Schmitz Weiss and Domingo, 2010; Wu et al., 2019), taking into account that contemporary cross-media news work involves the interrelation of actors, performers, audiences and activities (Lewis and Westlund, 2015). Thus, it has awakened interest in "who and what do journalism" (Primo and Zago, 2015), paying attention to the relationships that arise from the confluence of old and new practices mediated by actors that influence the communication process to different degrees, such as the effect of algorithms on access to information, the characteristics and logic of the platforms, and the agency of the actors involved.

Digital journalism, defined by the tensions between continuity and change and between the digital and the traditionally journalistic (Eldridge et al., 2019), is analysed in this article in the emerging and popular platform TikTok, taking into consideration the blurred boundaries between news and entertainment and the changing nature of the journalistic practice (Lee-Wright et al., 2012), as well as the intervention of multiple elements in a network ecosystem where new interactions and forms of communication occur. News media has been responding to the rise of TikTok from 2019 onwards with different strategies and subject to the dynamics of the platform, modelling new ways of bringing journalism closer to the audience.

The growth of the platform, its young audience and the activity of the news media on it are of interest when considering how journalism has responded to the rise of TikTok, in a media ecosystem where platforms gain prominence (Bell and Owen, 2017) in the production, distribution and consumption of information. The research, based on the construction of a database of news media present on TikTok and the content analysis of their publications, raises the following questions:

RQ1. Which news media and programmes are present on TikTok?

RQ2. Are they adapted to the logic of TikTok in terms of aesthetics, language and dynamics?

RQ3. What is the underlying purpose of their activity on TikTok?

Background

Social media and its impact on journalism

The standardization of the use of social networking sites in the media and their popularization among citizens has changed the way information is produced, distributed and consumed (Newman, 2009). The news cycle is accelerating and mainstream media are adapting their routines to obtain maximum audience engagement – understood as user interaction, both in less and more demanding modes (Larsson, 2018), such as acknowledging, sharing or commenting – and to make it profitable in their digital editorial strategy (Newman, 2011).

Given the increase in user-generated content around news events, journalists have incorporated into their routines the revision of social media and their use as information sources, which has made them acquire new skills related to newsgathering, verification and dissemination of content (Johnston, 2016; Paulussen and Harder, 2014). The traditional gatekeeping exercised from newsrooms has been combined with the gatewatching of network users (Bruns, 2011), giving rise to a system in which the action of supra-gatekeepers such as Facebook or Twitter transcends the decisions of the media agents themselves (Shoemaker, 2020). In a process of tension between editorial control and the open participation of users (Lewis, 2012), the media have assumed that the engagement of the audience in social networks is key to building a reciprocal relationship (Xia et al., 2020) of value creation (Lewis et al., 2014).

In the complex search for audience engagement (Lawrence et al., 2018), news media are adapting to a production model in which the social first or social only model is increasingly common (Hill and Bradshaw, 2018) and in which audience-oriented social media publishers are gaining presence (Ferrer-Conill and Tandoc, 2018). The dislocation of news journalism, a process linked to the dependency of news media on platform companies, has made the production of specific and meta-communication content for social networks an imperative (Ekström and Westlund, 2019), while new

visual microformats are developed in which the news is reduced to its minimum unit (Silva et al., 2017). In their adaptation to social networks, the media have: experimented with live blogging or streaming through platforms such as Twitter, Facebook, Periscope or Snapchat (Artwick, 2018; Haimson and Tang, 2017; Hewett, 2015; Matheson and Wahl-Jorgensen, 2020); explored new formats for Twitter (García-Avilés and Arias Robles, 2016); sought a closer relationship with users through private instant messaging networks such as WhatsApp and Telegram (Boczek and Koppers, 2020; Dodds, 2019; Negreira-Rey et al., 2017) and joined in the production and distribution of ephemeral content, first through Snapchat and then with a more solid commitment to Instagram Stories (Anderson, 2015; Bayer et al., 2016; Vázquez-Herrero et al., 2019).

The emergence of social networks has transformed mass media logic (Altheide and Snow, 1979) into social media logic (Van Dijck and Poell, 2013) or network media logic (Klinger and Svensson, 2015), in which "social media have the ability to transport their logic outside the platforms that generate them, while their distinctive technological, discursive, economic, and organizational strategies tend to remain implicit or appear 'natural'" (Van Dijck and Poell, 2013: 5). This social media logic modifies the processes of production, distribution and media usage (Klinger and Svensson, 2015), so that the media employs the news values and narrative techniques that work best on each platform (Strömbäck, 2008; Welbers and Opgenhaffen, 2019).

One of the foundations of the social media logic is virality (Klinger, 2013), a quality that, applied to news, Al-Rawi (2019: 67) defines as the ability to "spread online mostly through social media in a much faster and wider manner than other news stories". In a highly competitive context, journalists adapt to this logic by producing news content that users want to share (Welbers and Opgenhaffen, 2019), a key action in the personal experience of the user in social networks (Hermida et al., 2012). This is how shareability becomes a rising news value – along with entertainment or audio-visuals – closely linked to the generation of positive emotions (Harcup and O'Neill, 2017). Journalism must therefore pursue audience engagement by striking a balance "between abstract factual information and concrete, emotional and personalized storytelling" (Wahl-Jorgensen, 2020: 188).

The capacity of news to be shared depends, besides on its own content, on the characteristics of the platform where it is consumed, with the access points of the interface and its fluidity of sharing being fundamental (Hornecker et al., 2007). The characteristics and experiences of the consumer on the platform also have an influence, determining their degree and form of interaction (Sang et al., 2020), as well as their motivation to socialize and create social relationships (Lee and Ma, 2012).

News consumption on social media

Despite the different national contexts, recent studies point to a global decline in trust in the news media – both in overall news and in news users consume – (Newman et

al., 2020), while the consumption of news on social networks is increasing (Shearer and Grieco, 2019). This situation is even more pronounced among the younger generations, thus the media is interested in reaching them (Galan et al., 2019; Sehl et al., 2018), a goal that is not new (Kramp, 2017). Young people see news as what they should know, but also what is useful, interesting and fun to know (Galan et al., 2019). Generations Z and Y understand the importance of traditional news brands, but are less loyal to them than previous generations and rely more on social media and other algorithmically driven services (Kalogeropoulos, 2019).

These circumstances are compounded by the increase in the number of people actively avoiding the news, up to 32% doing so frequently or sometimes (Newman et al., 2019), linked to the negative effect of news coverage and the inability to change events. Therefore, the media faces a scenario marked by global instability, economic crisis, misinformation, falling trust and renewed consumption habits with a specific challenge to reach young audiences. This scenario implies experimenting with channels, technologies and formats, to approach such an audience in an innovative, attractive, friendly, simple and fun way.

The growing consumption of news on social media confirms the phenomenon – or continuum (Mitchelstein et al., 2020) – of incidental news, when people find information about current events without actively seeking it (Kligler-Vilenchik et al., 2020). This unplanned and unpremeditated consumption is marked by a strong technology-content connection and by the influence of editorial, algorithmic and social filters (Boczkowski et al., 2018). Incidental exposure to news is positively related to increased use and engagement with information on social media (Ahmadi and Wohn, 2018), which presents a potential for publishers, in addition to the relevance of news recommendation algorithms, which determine the content to which users are exposed (Bozdag, 2013).

In the new technology-mediated news encounters, mobile news consumption plays an important role in incidental and serendipitous news (Van Damme et al., 2020), which adds to its growing importance for news – 69% of the participants in the Digital News Report (Newman et al., 2020) use a mobile device to access news weekly. The rise of the mobile device as a space for information consumption and support for social networking apps must be considered a trigger factor, with implications for the mobilities paradigm in journalism (Duffy et al., 2020) beyond distribution and reception.

The rise of TikTok

TikTok is a ByteDance application for the creation and distribution of short videos up to 1 minute long: "a vast global collection of 15-second clips that are changing the way we sing, dance, pose, joke, dress, collaborate and cook" (Poniewozik et al., 2019). The application was born in 2016 in China, where it is called Douyin. Expansion came in 2018 with the merger with Musical.ly – characterized by short videos and lip-syncs – and high popularity in India and China. It is a hit with Generation Z while boomers and

millennials find it difficult to understand (Pellicer, 2019; Schmidt, 2019). There are currently critical discussions regarding TikTok due to issues of censorship, cyberbullying, national security and data privacy, which may dramatically influence the future of the platform.

Its algorithm customizes the recommendations for each user and videos are played as soon as the app is opened, on the so-called "For You" page, advancing with a simple 'swipe'. This agile consumption dynamic leads to the so-called "anaesthetic effect" (Fang et al., 2019), which causes users to consume for long continuous periods fed by curiosity without being fully aware that they are doing so, similar to the effect of the YouTube recommendation algorithm optimized for viewing time (van Es, 2020).

Unlike other social networks such as Facebook or Instagram, where only the content of the accounts you follow (or that is shared by them) is displayed, on TikTok the influence of the recommendation algorithm is more intense. Thus, the use of hashtags is fundamental to classify the content and participate in challenges and trends, on a platform on which engagement (Larsson, 2018) occurs through less-demanding (likes, shares) and more-demanding forms (comments, duets, lip-syncs) and it is also reflected in followers, views and content circulation. Another central element, besides the filters and interaction possibilities, is sound: it can be original, reused from other users or added from the music library. Feng et al. (2019) identified determining features of the app on three levels: emotions – such as attractive music dubbing and funny stories; interactivity – imitation performance, mind relaxing, sharing and liking; and usability – easy to switch between content, powerful effects editing.

TikTok currently has 800 million active monthly users worldwide and is positioned as the 6th most popular social media mobile app by active users (We Are Social, 2020). It surpassed 2 billion downloads in the App Store and Google Play in the first quarter of 2020 (Sensor Tower, 2020), achieving the highest growth of a platform in the history of app stores in one quarter.

News media began publishing explainers before progressively joining TikTok. Some had already been active on Musical.ly (BBC Radio 1 and Teen Vogue), and others joined TikTok directly, such as NBC News' Stay Tuned and The Washington Post (Schmidt, 2019). This second case is paradigmatic and shows how legacy news media adapts to build a loyal audience on the new platform (Zaffarano, 2019), in the same way as digital-native media (Scire, 2020). In Latin America, media such as Clarín and Pulzo are also joining the experimentation on TikTok (González, 2020).

The platform has been scarcely explored in academic research due to its novelty, although characteristic features (Feng et al., 2019; Nie et al., 2019), effects on the audience (Fang et al., 2019; Ma et al., 2019) and its application in specific areas such as health communication (Zhu et al., 2019), as well as political communication (Serrano et al., 2020) have been analysed. However, no research has yet focused on news media analysis on TikTok.

Methods

Both the rise of TikTok and the progressive incorporation of news media on the platform, within the current influential social media scenario, arouse interest to study which media are present and to analyse what form their activity takes, specifically in terms of news media and programmes.

First, it is necessary to carry out an exploratory-descriptive study and to build an initial database of media companies (TV, radio, newspaper and digital-native) on TikTok. The search system on the application is limited and does not allow a systematic approach, so we started from a review of media reports and publications mentioning the term "TikTok" (González, 2020; Pellicer, 2019; Schmidt, 2019; Scire, 2020; Zaffarano, 2019) to identify a first group of pioneer organizations: BBC Radio 1, Buzzfeed, Clarín, Dallas Morning News, ESPN, NBC, Pulzo, Teen Vogue, and The Washington Post. From there, we reviewed the recommendations of similar accounts for each profile (30) and, in a linked process, we expanded the network by deepening to the fifth level in the suggestions. The resultant database was developed in February 2020 and encompassed 234 media and programmes profiles. The majority are TV programmes and channels (51.7%), followed by digital-native media (22.7%). In terms of origin, the majority were European (47.0%), Asian (23.1%) and North American (19.2%), although there was also the presence of media from Latin America (7.3%), Oceania (1.7%) and Africa (1.3%).

Subsequently, we selected the news media and programmes with a verified profile – as a guarantee against accounts that use the name of the media entity but which are managed by others – and general thematic scope (n=19; Table 1). For each profile, we randomly selected 10 of the last 100 publications (or of the total if the medium had fewer than 100), with none more than six months old (October 2019 – April 2020). The identification sheet (Appendix 1) was applied to obtain global data on engagement, management, frequency and volume of publication. Subsequently, we performed a content analysis on the sheet (Appendix 2) – designed *ad hoc* after an initial tentative analysis and the pre-test coding, making reference to previous research on TikTok (Serrano et al., 2020; Zhu et al., 2019) – with the 184 publications that made up the sample. Aspects of engagement, use of mentions and hashtags, elements and resources employed in editing, use of audio, purpose and theme of content, as well as aspects of format were addressed.

Table 1. News media and programmes on TikTok

User	First post	Organization	Fans	Hearts	Videos	Country	Type*
staytunednbc	05/02/19	Stay Tuned NBC	600.5K	18.9M	261	US	TVP
20minutesfrance	02/04/19	20 Minutes	2.2K	9.9K	20	France	P
washingtonpost	21/05/19	The Washington Post	452.9K	21.5M	316	US	P
cairo24	26/06/19	Cairo24	54.9K	154.7K	260	Egypt	TV
ytnnews	02/07/19	YTN News	27.2K	1.2M	282	South Korea	TV

sadaelbalad	02/07/19	Sada El-Balad	109.5K	383.2K	153	Egypt	P
hindustantimes	09/07/19	Hindustan Times	16.0K	130.7K	86	India	P
lefigarofr	09/08/19	Le Figaro	1.8K	16.0K	34	France	P
guardianaustralia	16/08/19	Guardian Australia	16.8K	283.4K	50	Australia	P
dailymail	01/10/19	Daily Mail	639.7K	16.4M	315	UK	P
brutofficiel	01/10/19	Brut	130.6K	1.4M	127	France	DN
gma	11/10/19	Good Morning America	365.1K	3.9M	105	US	TVP
lanacioncom	16/10/19	La Nación	4.6K	60.5K	23	Argentina	P
usatoday	04/11/19	USA Today	605.4K	14.2M	188	US	P
tagesschau	20/11/19	Tagesschau	484.1K	8.2M	78	Germany	TVP
br24	12/12/19	BR24	7.4K	146.1K	37	Germany	RTV
a3noticias	19/12/19	Antena 3 Noticias	23.2K	140.4K	43	Spain	TVP
cbsthismorning	20/01/20	CBS This Morning	43.9K	771.5K	11	US	TVP
huffpost	21/04/20	HuffPost	53.8K	12.7K	4	US	DN

* DN (Digital-Native), Press (P), TV Channel (TV), TV Programme (TVP), Radio&Television (RTV).

Results

Identification and management

The profiles of the media analysed appeared progressively throughout 2019 and 2020 – 13 out of 19 in the second half of 2019 – but began frequent and continuous activity in the first quarter of 2020. They usually use as their TikTok nickname their own denomination, but there was one case that broke the general rule: The Washington Post uses "We are a newspaper". This detail says a lot about the intention of the medium on TikTok, a platform for a very young audience that is moving away from traditional news spaces and which the traditional media is trying to bring closer. In their signature, the profile owners provide more details about the profile and express themselves more creatively: "USA Today, TikTok Tomorrow" or "We are not a newspaper" (The Guardian Australia).

Regarding the management of TikTok, we identified two profiles that had a single person in charge of them (The Washington Post and YTN News), while others occasionally featured journalists or presenters. Most often, TikTok profiles feature familiar faces – such as anchors Jan Hofer of Tagesschau or Gayle King of CBS This Morning – or journalists who become familiar because of their continued presence on this platform – Dave Jorgenson of The Washington Post, Park Hyun Sil of YTN News, Ash Percival of HuffPost or several journalists from La Nación.

The frequency of publication was diverse, with a tendency to upload new content several times a week. Calculating the average number of videos published in the profile's activity period, we see that 12 out of 19 published at least two videos per week and the others more than four times per week.

Basic characteristics and engagement

The median duration of videos published on TikTok by news media and programmes was 22 seconds: an audiovisual microformat ranging from 6 seconds to 1 minute in length. Each published video was accompanied by text (caption), and usually worked as a hook without information to create expectations about the content, as well as indicating a series of related hashtags.

A typical publication from the analysed media reached a median of 23.1K views, was shared 13.5 times, and accumulated 1.4K likes.

The analysis of the visualizations of the posts allows us to classify the media according to the circulation of their publications (Table 2). The median of views per video was calculated and weighted according to the number of followers, since there were media with a high number of followers whose contents did not comparatively achieve such high levels of viewing, and vice versa (views/fans allows us to identify higher circulation relying on algorithmic recommendation rather than followers).

Table 2. Content circulation levels

Circulation	User	Views (median)	Fans	Views/Fans
High	cbsthismorning	398.5K	43.9K	9.1
	huffpost	200.5K	53.8K	3.7
	tagesschau	587.4K	484.1K	1.2
	sadaelbalad	111.3K	109.5K	1.0
Medium	a3noticias	18.3K	23.2K	0.8
	hindustantimes	11.6K	16.0K	0.7
	guardianaustralia	10.1K	16.8K	0.6
	ytnnews	13.6K	27.2K	0.5
	20minutesfrance	1.0K	2.2K	0.5
Low	lefigarofr	0.6K	1.8K	0.3
	brutofficiel	44.5K	130.6K	0.3
	br24	1.6K	7.4K	0.2
	staytunednbc	121.2K	600.5K	0.2
	lanacioncom	0.9K	4.6K	0.2
	washingtonpost	79.7K	452.9K	0.2
	dailymail	49.2K	639.7K	0.1
	cairo24	3.4K	54.9K	0.1
	usatoday	25.8K	605.4K	<0.1
	gma	12.1K	365.1K	<0.1

The average number of likes that a content published by a media outlet receives was 8% of the number of views. The videos that exceeded 20% were viral content – curious situations, or those starring animals or with a high emotional charge – and current issues – the first patient recovered from COVID-19 in Virginia (USA Today) or the words of the deceased NBA player Kobe Bryant about his daughters (CBS This Morning).

Content tagging

Those media that have a high level of circulation position their content in hashtags that are currently trending and manage to be recommended to more users. Shared content contributed little to views – The Guardian Australia (1.1%) and Tagesschau (0.8%) obtained the highest data.

A detailed analysis of the content that accumulated the highest number of visualizations, weighted by followers, allows us to identify a series of characteristics that support the circulation based on their content and hashtags:

a) content with TikTok influencers, such as 16-year-old Charli d'Amelio, with more than 50 million followers – the Stay Tuned NBC publication in which it appeared reached 7.4 million visualizations – or celebrities (Niska, Jennifer Lopez, Lizzo, Akshay Kumar);
b) outstanding trends and hashtags on the platform, also related to current events (#lockdownlife, #ripkobe, #foodwehate, #seeyousoon, among others);
c) current issues of global resonance labelled with trending hashtags (COVID-19 pandemic: #coronavirus #covid19; fires in Australia: #australia);
d) challenges (#dedoschallenge #morph);
e) the #foryou #foryoupage #fyp or #PourToi hashtag: it is said that its use makes it easier to be positioned among recommended content.

A total of 402 hashtags were used in the 184 publications analysed, and 87.0% of the publications included at least one hashtag. Of these, 47.5% included trending hashtags with large viewing volumes, as shown in Appendix 3. Occasionally, publications also used their own hashtags related to their brand or programmes (#usatoday, #20minutes, #ytn, #Antena3Noticias, #hindustantimes, #cbs, among others); Appendix 4 shows the hashtags most used by the media analysed (except aforementioned media brands).

Edition

TikTok has several editing features in the application itself, such as visual filters, transitions and effects, stickers and text. The most common element is the native text – introduced in the app itself with the text tool – as shown in Table 3. Transitions in videos were common, followed by animated stickers and GIFs, visual filters and emojis.

Other elements used were the native TikTok stickers (allowing the use of masks that overlap the user's face), multi-screen and time and frame rate altering effects.

A third of the posts (33.2%) did not use any elements and almost half demonstrated external editing elements (47.3%), such as the insertion of animated titles with custom fonts and styles, bumpers, graphics and logos that cannot be inserted in the app. Specifically, 41.8% of the posts showed the brand's logo, while half of the media analysed did not include it regularly.

Table 3. Resources used by news media

Resource	Posts	
Text	79	42.9%
Transition	45	24.5%
Stickers/GIF	24	13.0%
Visual filter	21	11.4%
Emojis	19	10.3%
Time	13	7.1%
Sticker (filter)	9	4.9%
Split	8	4.3%
Poll	0	–

Sounds and songs

Sound is a central resource in creating content for TikTok. In the analysed media, 61.4% of the publications used an original sound, which meant it was not previously published (Table 4 details composition).

Among the original sounds, different types were combined, including music, which was present in half of the publications. Since it was not integrated from the TikTok music library, it was not linked to other publications that used the same song and limited the circulation of the video through sound tagging.

This function also allowed users to make use of content created by the media, a not very widespread practice that allowed us to observe interesting behaviours, as when users used the same audio and even video to split the screen and show their face's reaction simultaneously (duet) or to record lip-sync performances.

Regarding the reutilization of sounds from other users or songs from the music library, 38.0% did this in response to trends or viral challenges on TikTok that already had an associated sound: The Washington Post participated in #ultrainstinct, USA Today in a homemade beats trend, Good Morning America in #characterselect, and Antena 3 Noticias in #dedoschallenge, among others. However, the media also use songs that are popular among users on TikTok, highlighting titles such as "Dance Monkey" by Tones and I (used in 6.7 million videos), "Feeling" by BCD Studio (5.9 million) and

"Rumors" by Jake Miller (5.6 million). Regarding lip-syncs with sounds from other users, we identified only 8 examples.

Table 4. Categorization of original and non-original sounds

Sound	Type	Posts	
Original	Ambient	27	23.9%
	Effects	10	8.8%
	Voice	59	52.2%
	Music	64	56.6%
Non-original	Ambient	7	10.0%
	Effects	2	2.9%
	Voice	12	17.1%
	Music	65	92.9%
	Mix	1	1.4%
No sound		1	–

Content

In the analysis of the publications, we observed the implicit purpose of the message in order to classify it based on open categories (Table 5) with the objective of differentiating the information. Four main uses of TikTok have been identified: information; distribution of funny and silly videos; promotion; and participation in challenges.

The informative purpose matched 58.2% of the posts – almost half of all posts were news and public service information. 37.4% of the informative posts included or acknowledged sources, in half of the cases they provided data (54.2%) and temporal references (45.8%).

The most common category was news, used to communicate facts and data relevant to citizens and generally linked to current affairs (60.5% of news). The most frequent news topics were COVID-19 (19.7%) and celebrities (18.4%), taking into account that all publications of Sada El-Balad on TikTok corresponded to the latter category – although the media on other platforms had a general thematic scope – and generated a slight distortion in the sample. The thematic variety of news on TikTok included politics, science and environment, society, large-scale events, education and TikTok-related news.

Public service information was also present in the news media and programmes content on TikTok, especially linked to measures against the spread of COVID-19. Interview fragments highlighted the participation of personalities in the media programmes and channels. Other categories also appeared, including fragments of programmes, declarations by personalities in response to current events or informative summaries, although these appeared less frequently.

Table 5. Purposes identified in news media and programmes posts on TikTok

Purpose		Posts	
Information	News	76	41.3%
	Public service	14	7.6%
	Interview	11	6.0%
	Program fragment	3	1.6%
	Statement	2	1.1%
	Summary	1	0.5%
Funny and silly things		45	24.5%
Promotion	Behind the cameras	12	6.5%
	Newsroom scene	9	4.9%
	News coverage announcement	5	2.7%
	Brand	5	2.7%
Challenge		1	0.5%

Apart from an informative purpose, news media developed promotional work along different lines. On the one hand, they show what happens behind the cameras, what is not seen or show guests backstage. They also published scenes in the newsroom and involving news staff, which may be anecdotal or show work tasks, such as the design of the front page of 20 Minutes. Another promotional purpose was announcing special news coverage or content for the next programme and also publications aimed at presenting their own brand.

The category funny and silly things included banal videos of a humorous or surprising nature, which did not respond to informative facts. In these cases, the media approached the most common content circulating on TikTok, as well as participating in dynamics that show everyday life through simple situations and humour.

In the set of analysed posts, 39.7% included a temporal reference. Referring to a specific moment in time might make it difficult to consume and circulate the publication, taking into account the randomness in the order that videos are shown to the user who follows the medium or news programme.

Regarding the call for participation, we identified only five examples in the sample (2.7%), inviting users to follow the coverage of an event, to send questions, to upload lip-syncs of the published content, or to participate through a hashtag or in a livestream on TikTok.

The visible presence of a journalist or presenter from the news media or programme occurred frequently (39.1%). Furthermore, in the interest of introducing themselves to the audience, they used their logo (42.9%), showed the editorial staff (13.0%), a product (8.7%) – such as the newspaper or the website – and other elements such as

the programme tune, merchandising or the social networks on which they were present.

Creation, co-creation and adaptation

The content was original – created especially for TikTok – in 85.3% of the publications analysed. The remaining content was adapted from another channel or platform: (1) from an external platform such as Storyful, YouTube or ViralPress, a frequent practice in the Daily Mail; (2) 1:1 video format from Instagram and other social media; and (3) through adaptation of audiovisual content in landscape or broadcast television format. Some of the publications were generated by other users (8.2%) and distributed by the news media and programmes. Despite the variety of origins, 98.4% of the posts analysed showed content adjusted to the format of the platform and correctly displayed.

Discussion and conclusion

News media and programmes have taken up positions on TikTok, a social network that is gaining popularity, especially among the younger generation. On an exploratory basis, we identified 234 organizations – including TV, press, radio and digital-native – from around the world (RQ1), of which 19 were general news media and programmes, and on which we focused our analysis.

TikTok is a clear example of the implications of social media logic (Van Dijck and Poell, 2013) beyond the platform and in all phases of production, distribution and consumption. Its own characteristics, especially related to language and aesthetics, are adopted by news media in their posts (RQ2) by making use of the editing possibilities of the platform and its most popular elements (text, transitions, filters and visual effects, stickers and GIFs). In this way, we observe uncommon media practices – such as funny and everyday videos or challenges – together with adaptations of more classic formats– such as news or interview fragments. Sometimes, the content moves away from journalism to approach young audiences in their natural habitat. They do not literally dance the news, but they position the brand and show work behind the scenes in a casual and musical atmosphere that seems appropriate for the TikTok audience. Moreover, they do so with a fun, simple and attractive tone, seeking a balance between factual information and positive emotions and empathy, in line with current trends (Harcup and O'Neill, 2017; Wahl-Jorgensen, 2020).

The dynamics of TikTok (RQ2), defined mainly by hashtags, challenges and sound tagging, have been assumed by news media and programmes, noting the significant presence of practices mediated by non-human actors (Lewis and Westlund, 2015; Primo and Zago, 2015) in the "fluid and heterogeneous nature of news production and content" (Hemmingway, 2008: 15). The content recommendation algorithm plays a

central role in this platform as the main selector of the content that the user sees as soon as the application is opened. However, the media recognizes the dynamics and adapts its practices by participating in the trends of the moment to support the virality of its content, as an upward value (Al-Rawi, 2019; Harcup and O'Neill, 2017). In this sense, they make use of trending hashtags to position their content and reach higher levels of circulation. In contrast, shared content contributes little to views. Similarly, they reuse popular sounds – usually linked to challenges – to generate current content in the context of TikTok. Therefore, we observe a media response that is highly conditioned by the technology and the use that is made of it, showing an interest in integrating into a networked system with very particular features.

The adaptation of news media to TikTok's logic also conditions its activity, as it is not possible to consider the same purposes as in its main platform or on other social networks (RQ3). In this case, four main uses have been identified: information; distribution of funny and silly videos; promotion; and participation in challenges – 58.2% of posts have an informative purpose and 48.9% of all posts are linked to current events. Although some organizations try to move the agenda and report the daily news, it makes no sense when the platform does not prioritize recent content. TikTok is not the platform to become informed or find the latest events, but it can be the place where finding information through indirect consumption works, not searched for or intentional, according to the incidental consumption of news (Ahmadi and Wohn, 2018; Kligler-Vilenchik et al., 2020; Mitchelstein et al., 2020). In this sense, the media lose their function as gatekeepers on the platform, partly due to users assuming the role of gatewatchers – contributing to the virality of some contents over others –, as well as to the action of TikTok as a supra-gatekeeper, whose algorithm determines what content reaches the user (Bruns, 2011; Shoemaker, 2020). Although news media outlets cannot drive traffic to their websites through this platform, some take advantage of the platform for other objectives, such as giving visibility to their brand among the young public, integrating themselves into the logic of the platform in a natural way, although distant from their usual journalistic practices. The presence on TikTok already requires specific strategies and resources for this third-party platform, delving into the dislocation of news journalism (Ekström and Westlund, 2019).

The conclusions point to an adaptation of the news media and programmes to the logic of TikTok with complementary objectives to the dissemination of information, especially aimed at reaching a new audience that moves away from the traditional spaces of news consumption. In a certain way, news outlets establish new relationships with audiences, through the renewed and current brand message of its original content and the dynamics of viralization and co-creation on TikTok – trending hashtags, audio tagging, participation in challenges, lip-syncs and user reactions from its publications – to which the participative actions are punctually added.

At present, TikTok is under scrutiny for issues relating to privacy, censorship, cyberbullying and security issues, as well as concerns about social media addiction, encouraged by algorithmic recommendations, which could have an uncertain long-term effect on the activity and reputation of news media on the platform. However, the

format has already been copied and implemented as Instagram Reels, so TikTok's style has already extended beyond the platform itself. From news media's perspective, the challenge is to translate its role into the language of the platform in order to build the loyalty of the audience of the future. The exploration of business models and reception studies, attending to the interests and preferences of users, are fields of special interest for future research in order to understand the evolution of the of-the-moment platform and to investigate the possibilities for further journalistic developments.

Funding

References

Ahmadi M and Wohn DY (2018) The Antecedents of Incidental News Exposure on Social Media. *Social Media + Society* 4(2): 1–8. DOI: 10.1177/2056305118772827.

Al-Rawi A (2019) Viral News on Social Media. *Digital Journalism* 7(1): 63–79. DOI: 10.1080/21670811.2017.1387062.

Altheide DL and Snow RP (1979) *Media Logic*. Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE.

Anderson KE (2015) Getting acquainted with social networks and apps: Snapchat and the rise of ephemeral communication. *Library Hi Tech News* 32(10): 6–10. DOI: 10.1108/LHTN-11-2015-0076.

Artwick CG (2018) *Social Media Livestreaming: Design for Disruption?* London, New York: Routledge.

Bayer JB, Ellison NB, Schoenebeck SY, et al. (2016) Sharing the small moments: ephemeral social interaction on Snapchat. *Information, Communication & Society* 19(7): 956–977. DOI: 10.1080/1369118X.2015.1084349.

Bell E and Owen T (2017) *The Platform Press: How Silicon Valley reengineered journalism*. New York.

Boczek K and Koppers L (2020) What's New about Whatsapp for News? A Mixed-Method Study on News Outlets' Strategies for Using WhatsApp. *Digital Journalism* 8(1): 126–144. DOI: 10.1080/21670811.2019.1692685.

Boczkowski PJ, Mitchelstein E and Matassi M (2018) "News comes across when I'm in a moment of leisure": Understanding the practices of incidental news consumption on social media. *New Media & Society* 20(10): 3523–3539. DOI: 10.1177/1461444817750396.

Bozdag E (2013) Bias in algorithmic filtering and personalization. *Ethics and Information Technology* 15(3): 209–227. DOI: 10.1007/s10676-013-9321-6.

Bruns A (2011) Gatekeeping, gatewatching, real-time feedback: new challenges for Journalism. *Brazilian Journalism Research* 7(2): 117–136. DOI: 10.25200/BJR.v7n2.2011.355.

Carlson M (2020) Journalistic epistemology and digital news circulation: Infrastructure, circulation practices, and epistemic contests. *New Media & Society* 22(2): 230–246. DOI: 10.1177/1461444819856921.

Dodds T (2019) Reporting with WhatsApp: Mobile Chat Applications' Impact on Journalistic Practices. *Digital Journalism* 7(6): 725–745. DOI: 10.1080/21670811.2019.1592693.

Domingo D (2008) Interactivity in the daily routines of online newsrooms: dealing with an uncomfortable myth. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 13(3): 680–704. DOI: 10.1111/j.1083-6101.2008.00415.x.

Duffy A, Ling R, Kim N, et al. (2020) News: Mobiles, Mobilities and Their Meeting Points. *Digital Journalism* 8(1): 1–14. DOI: 10.1080/21670811.2020.1712220.

Ekström M and Westlund O (2019) The Dislocation of News Journalism: A Conceptual Framework for the Study of Epistemologies of Digital Journalism. *Media and Communication* 7(1): 259–270. DOI: 10.17645/mac.v7i1.1763.

Eldridge SA, Hess K, Tandoc EC, et al. (2019) Navigating the Scholarly Terrain: Introducing the Digital Journalism Studies Compass. *Digital Journalism* 7(3): 386–403. DOI: 10.1080/21670811.2019.1599724.

Fang J, Wang Z and Hao B (2019) Analysis of 'Anesthesia' Mechanism in Mobile Short Video Applications. In: *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research, Volume 309*. Wuhan: Atlantis Press, pp. 348–351.

Feng Y-L, Chen C-C and Wu S-M (2019) Evaluation of Charm Factors of Short Video User Experience using FAHP – A Case Study of Tik Tok APP. *IOP Conference Series: Materials Science and Engineering* 688: 055068. DOI: 10.1088/1757-899X/688/5/055068.

Ferrer-Conill R and Tandoc EC (2018) The Audience-Oriented Editor. *Digital Journalism* 6(4): 436–453. DOI: 10.1080/21670811.2018.1440972.

Ferrucci P (2018) Networked: Social media's impact on news production in digital newsrooms. *Newspaper Research Journal* 39(1): 6–17. DOI: 10.1177/0739532918761069.

Franklin B (2016) The Future of Journalism. *Journalism Studies* 17(7): 798–800. DOI: 10.1080/1461670X.2016.1197641.

Galan L, Osserman J, Parker T, et al. (2019) *How Young People Consume News and The Implications For Mainstream Media*. London.

García-Avilés JA and Arias Robles F (2016) Journalism genres in Twitter's visual formats: a proposal for classification. *Textual & Visual Media* 9: 101–132.

García-Orosa B, López-García X and Vázquez-Herrero J (2020) Journalism in Digital Native Media: Beyond Technological Determinism. *Media and Communication* 8(2): 5–15. DOI: 10.17645/mac.v8i2.2702.

Haimson OL and Tang JC (2017) What Makes Live Events Engaging on Facebook Live, Periscope, and Snapchat. In: *Proceedings of the 2017 CHI Conference on Human Factors in Computing Systems*, New York, NY, USA, 2017, pp. 48–60. CHI '17. Association for

Computing Machinery. DOI: 10.1145/3025453.3025642.

Harcup T and O'Neill D (2017) What is News? *Journalism Studies* 18(12): 1470–1488. DOI: 10.1080/1461670X.2016.1150193.

Hemmingway E (2008) *Into the Newsroom: Exploring the Digital Production of Regional Television News*. Abingdon, New York: Routledge.

Hermida A (2016) Social Media and the News. In: Witschge T, Anderson CW, Domingo D, et al. (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Digital Journalism*. London: SAGE, pp. 81–94. DOI: 10.4135/9781473957909.n6.

Hermida A, Fletcher F, Korell D, et al. (2012) Share, Like, Recommend: Decoding the social media news consume. *Journalism Studies* 13(5–6): 815–824. DOI: 10.1080/1461670X.2012.664430.

Hewett J (2015) Live-tweeting: the rise of real-time reporting. In: Zion L and Craig D (eds) *Ethics for Digital Journalists: Emerging Best Practices*. USA: Routledge, pp. 115–129. Available at: https://openaccess.city.ac.uk/id/eprint/13923/.

Hill S and Bradshaw P (2018) *Mobile-First Journalism: Producing News for Social and Interactive Media*. London, New York: Routledge.

Hornecker E, Marshall P and Rogers Y (2007) From entry to access. In: *Proceedings of the 2007 conference on Designing pleasurable products and interfaces - DPPI '07*, New York, New York, USA, 2007, p. 328. ACM Press. DOI: 10.1145/1314161.1314191.

Johnston L (2016) Social News = Journalism Evolution? *Digital Journalism* 4(7): 899–909. DOI: 10.1080/21670811.2016.1168709.

Kalogeropoulos A (2019) How Younger Generations Consume News Differently. In: Newman N, Fletcher R, Kalogeropoulos A, et al. (eds) *Digital News Report 2019*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford, pp. 54–59.

Kligler-Vilenchik N, Hermida A, Valenzuela S, et al. (2020) Studying incidental news: Antecedents, dynamics and implications. *Journalism* 21(8): 1025–1030. DOI: 10.1177/1464884920915372.

Klinger U (2013) Mastering the Art of Social Media. *Information, Communication & Society* 16(5): 717–736. DOI: 10.1080/1369118X.2013.782329.

Klinger U and Svensson J (2015) The emergence of network media logic in political communication: A theoretical approach. *New Media & Society* 17(8): 1241–1257. DOI: 10.1177/1461444814522952.

Kramp L (2017) "We Need to Keep Moving": Strategies of News Media to Attract Young Audiences in Germany. In: Tosoni S, Carpentier N, Murru MF, et al. (eds) *Present Scenarios of Media Production and Engagament*. Bremen: Edition Lumière, pp. 107–122.

Latour B (2005) *Reassembling the Social*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lawrence RG, Radcliffe D and Schmidt TR (2018) Practicing Engagement. *Journalism Practice* 12(10): 1220–1240. DOI: 10.1080/17512786.2017.1391712.

Lee-Wright P, Phillips A and Witschge T (2012) *Changing Journalism*. Abingdon, New York: Routledge.

Lee CS and Ma L (2012) News sharing in social media: The effect of gratifications and prior

experience. *Computers in Human Behavior* 28(2): 331–339. DOI: 10.1016/j.chb.2011.10.002.

Lewis SC (2012) The tension between professional control and open participation: Journalism and its boundaries. *Information, Communication & Society* 15(6): 836–866. DOI: 10.1080/1369118X.2012.674150.

Lewis SC and Westlund O (2015) Actors, Actants, Audiences, and Activities in Cross-Media News Work. *Digital Journalism* 3(1): 19–37. DOI: 10.1080/21670811.2014.927986.

Lewis SC, Holton AE and Coddington M (2014) Reciprocal Journalism. *Journalism Practice* 8(2): 229–241. DOI: 10.1080/17512786.2013.859840.

Ma L, Feng J, Feng Z, et al. (2019) Research on User Loyalty of Short Video App Based on Perceived Value—Take Tik Tok as an Example. In: *2019 16th International Conference on Service Systems and Service Management (ICSSSM)*, July 2019, pp. 1–6. DOI: 10.1109/ICSSSM.2019.8887751.

Mabrook R and Singer JB (2019) Virtual Reality, 360° Video, and Journalism Studies: Conceptual Approaches to Immersive Technologies. *Journalism Studies* 20(14): 2096–2112. DOI: 10.1080/1461670X.2019.1568203.

Matheson D and Wahl-Jorgensen K (2020) The epistemology of live blogging. *New Media & Society* 22(2): 300–316. DOI: 10.1177/1461444819856926.

Mitchelstein E, Boczkowski PJ, Tenenboim-Weinblatt K, et al. (2020) Incidentality on a continuum: A comparative conceptualization of incidental news consumption. *Journalism* 21(8): 1136–1153. DOI: 10.1177/1464884920915355.

Negreira-Rey M-C, López-García X and Lozano-Aguiar L (2017) Instant Messaging Networks as a New Channel to Spread the News: Use of WhatsApp and Telegram in the Spanish Online Media of Proximity. In: *Recent Advances in Information Systems and Technologies* (eds Á Rocha, AM Correia, H Adeli, et al.), Cham, 2017, pp. 64–72. Springer.

Newman N (2009) *The rise of social media and its impact on mainstream journalism*. Oxford.

Newman N (2011) *Mainstream media and the distribution of news in the age of social media. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism*. Oxford.

Newman N, Fletcher R, Kalogeropoulos A, et al. (2019) *Digital News Report 2019*. Oxford.

Newman N, Fletcher R, Schulz A, et al. (2020) *Digital News Report 2020*. Oxford.

Nie L, Liu M and Song X (2019) Multimodal Learning toward Micro-Video Understanding. *Synthesis Lectures on Image, Video, and Multimedia Processing* 9(4): 1–186. DOI: 10.2200/S00938ED1V01Y201907IVM020.

Paulussen S and Harder RA (2014) Social Media References in Newspapers. *Journalism Practice* 8(5): 542–551. DOI: 10.1080/17512786.2014.894327.

Pavlik J V. (2019) Advancing Engaged Scholarship in the Media Field. *Media and Communication* 7(1): 114–116. DOI: 10.17645/mac.v7i1.1984.

Pavlik J V., Dennis EE, Mersey RD, et al. (2019) Conducting Research on the World's Changing Mediascape: Principles and Practices. *Media and Communication* 7(1): 189–192. DOI: 10.17645/mac.v7i1.1982.

Pellicer M (2019) TikTok: Cómo puede ayudar a los medios de comunicación. Available at:

https://miquelpellicer.com/2019/07/tiktok-como-puede-ayudar-a-los-medios-de-comunicacion/.

Plesner U (2009) An actor-network perspective on changing work practices. *Journalism: Theory, Practice & Criticism* 10(5): 604–626. DOI: 10.1177/1464884909106535.

Poniewozik J, Hess A, Caramanica J, et al. (2019) 48 Hours in the Strange and Beautiful World of TikTok. *The New York Times*, 10 October. Available at: https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/10/10/arts/TIK-TOK.html.

Primo A and Zago G (2015) Who And What Do Journalism? *Digital Journalism* 3(1): 38–52. DOI: 10.1080/21670811.2014.927987.

Rashidian N, Tsiveriotis G, Brown PD, et al. (2020) *Platforms and Publishers: The End of an Era*. New York. DOI: 10.7916/d8-sc1s-2j58.

Sang Y, Lee JY, Park S, et al. (2020) Signalling and Expressive Interaction: Online News Users' Different Modes of Interaction on Digital Platforms. *Digital Journalism*: 1–19. DOI: 10.1080/21670811.2020.1743194.

Schmidt C (2019) Meet TikTok: How The Washington Post, NBC News, and The Dallas Morning News are using the of-the-moment platform. *NiemanLab*, 18 June. Available at: https://bit.ly/2WsybF4.

Schmitz Weiss A and Domingo D (2010) Innovation processes in online newsrooms as actor-networks and communities of practice. *New Media & Society* 12(7): 1156–1171. DOI: 10.1177/1461444809360400.

Sehl A, Cornia A and Kleis Nielsen R (2018) *Public Service News and Social Media*. Oxford.

Sensor Tower (2020) TikTok Crosses 2 Billion Downloads After Best Quarter For Any App Ever. 29 April. Available at: https://sensortower.com/blog/tiktok-downloads-2-billion.

Serrano JCM, Papakyriakopoulos O and Hegelich S (2020) Dancing to the Partisan Beat: A First Analysis of Political Communication on TikTok. *CoRR* abs/2004.0. Available at: https://arxiv.org/abs/2004.05478.

Shearer E and Grieco E (2019) *Americans Are Wary of the Role Social Media Sites in Delivering the News*. Washington.

Shoemaker PJ (2020) Gatekeeping and Journalism. In: *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Communication*. Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.1093/acrefore/9780190228613.013.819.

Silva A, López X and Toural C (2017) iWatch: the intense flow of microformats of "glance journalism" that feed six of the main online media. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social* 72: 186–196. DOI: 10.4185/RLCS-2017-1160en.

Spyridou L-P, Matsiola M, Veglis A, et al. (2013) Journalism in a state of flux. *International Communication Gazette* 75(1): 76–98. DOI: 10.1177/1748048512461763.

Steensen S, Grøndahl Larsen AM, Hågvar YB, et al. (2019) What Does Digital Journalism Studies Look Like? *Digital Journalism* 7(3): 320–342. DOI: 10.1080/21670811.2019.1581071.

Strömbäck J (2008) Four Phases of Mediatization: An Analysis of the Mediatization of Politics. *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 13(3): 228–246. DOI: 10.1177/1940161208319097.

Van Damme K, Martens M, Van Leuven S, et al. (2020) Mapping the Mobile DNA of News. Understanding Incidental and Serendipitous Mobile News Consumption. *Digital Journalism* 8(1): 49–68. DOI: 10.1080/21670811.2019.1655461.

Van der Haak B, Parks M and Castells M (2012) The Future of Journalism: Networked Journalism. *International Journal of Communication* 6: 2923–2938.

Van Dijck J and Poell T (2013) Understanding Social Media Logic. *Media and Communication* 1(1): 2–14. DOI: 10.12924/mac2013.01010002.

van Es K (2020) YouTube's Operational Logic: "The View" as Pervasive Category. *Television & New Media* 21(3): 223–239. DOI: 10.1177/1527476418818986.

Vázquez-Herrero J, Direito-Rebollal S and López-García X (2019) Ephemeral Journalism: News Distribution Through Instagram Stories. *Social Media + Society* 5(4): 2056305119888657. DOI: 10.1177/2056305119888657.

Wahl-Jorgensen K (2020) An Emotional Turn in Journalism Studies? *Digital Journalism* 8(2): 175–194. DOI: 10.1080/21670811.2019.1697626.

We Are Social (2020) Digital in 2020. Available at: https://wearesocial.com/digital-2020.

Welbers K and Opgenhaffen M (2019) Presenting News on Social Media. *Digital Journalism* 7(1): 45–62. DOI: 10.1080/21670811.2018.1493939.

Wu S, Tandoc EC and Salmon CT (2019) Journalism Reconfigured. *Journalism Studies* 20(10): 1440–1457. DOI: 10.1080/1461670X.2018.1521299.

Xia Y, Robinson S, Zahay M, et al. (2020) The Evolving Journalistic Roles on Social Media: Exploring "Engagement" as Relationship-Building between Journalists and Citizens. *Journalism Practice*: 1–18. DOI: 10.1080/17512786.2020.1722729.

Zaffarano F (2019) *TikTok without generational prejudice*. Available at: https://www.niemanlab.org/2019/12/tiktok-without-generational-prejudice/.

Zelizer B (2019) Why Journalism Is About More Than Digital Technology. *Digital Journalism* 7(3): 343–350. DOI: 10.1080/21670811.2019.1571932.

Zhu C, Xu X, Zhang W, et al. (2019) How Health Communication via Tik Tok Makes a Difference: A Content Analysis of Tik Tok Accounts Run by Chinese Provincial Health Committees. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 17(1): 192. DOI: 10.3390/ijerph17010192.