

“POPULARIZATION” OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE ARGENTINIAN NEWSPAPERS: SOCIAL REPRESENTATION AND EDUCATION

Virginia Mariana SALERNO

ABSTRACT

This paper examines how archaeology is represented in scientific articles of Argentinean newspapers of national circulation published between 1994 and 2006. The aim of this project is to learn about the social construction of archaeological knowledge in these spaces.

In these articles, the archaeological information is reorganized and recontextualized: archaeological concepts are set in relation to other concepts that are not from the archaeological field. In this way other narratives about the past can be made. The newspapers analyzed here, tend to cluster the archaeological articles into groups according to their geographical location or by subject matters of interest to the public.

As informal educators, in Argentine, mass media has played a prominent role in the popularization of science and was one of the most used devices for this purpose. For that reason, they can be seen as a space that allows us to analyze those uses and the social needs concerning archaeology. This information is needed, although it is not enough, to create communication strategies focused on the public and to stimulate the local use of that knowledge.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article examine comment l'archéologie est représentée dans les articles scientifiques des quotidiens nationaux (Argentine) publiés entre 1994 et 2006. Le but de ce projet est de découvrir la construction sociale de la connaissance archéologique dans ces espaces.

Dans ces articles de presse, l'information archéologique est réorganisée et recontextualisée : les concepts archéologiques sont mis en relation avec des concepts d'autres disciplines. De cette manière, il est possible de reconstituer le passé. Les quotidiens analysés dans ce cas, tendent à rassembler les articles archéologiques dans des groupes selon leur appartenance géographique ou par sujet. En tant qu'éducateurs informelle, en Argentine, les médias de masse ont joué un rôle important dans la popularisation de la science et furent un des principaux outils pour la diffusion. Pour cette raison, ils peuvent être vus comme un espace qui nous permet d'analyser cet usage et les besoins sociaux concernant l'archéologie. Cette information est nécessaire, bien qu'elle ne doit pas être unique, pour créer des stratégies tournées vers le public et pour stimuler l'utilisation locale de cette connaissance.

Nowadays, several dimensions of archeological knowledge reproduce and acquire new meanings through different devices of cultural transmission and incorporation. Among these devices we can mention ludic proposals, novels, short stories and comic books, tourist booklets, articles containing demands and reflections on cultural heritage preservation, school books and advertising slogans. In this process of knowledge socialization, mass media have an important role because they act as mediators of human communication in everyday life (WAGNER *et al.* 1999). For this reason, this paper examines the representation of archeology in scientific journalism articles published in newspapers distributed all around the country (Argentine) from 1994 to 2006. In this way, we hope to contribute by

highlighting various uses of socialized archeology in these spaces. The pertinence of mass media as a source of information for this study is linked to the role of these communication devices in the production of social representations and to the educational outcome of the ideas and images circulating in these fields.

Newspapers, together with educational and familiar institutions, provide a context of socialization and they function as places where social agents interact and construct a form of experience in which processes of attribution and acquisition of subjectivity are generated (GONZÁLEZ PLACER 1998).

The analysis presented here is based on the issues and questions that structure archeological concepts in the media discourse. Most of the articles presented here have been produced by Argentine scientific journalists

with the intention to spread archeological knowledge. The way in which scientific journalism articulates different academic and institutional logics is strongly linked to the particular socio-historical context of its development. For this reason, it is necessary to start with a brief debate on the characteristics of the communication of science in Argentine.

SCIENCE COMMUNICATION AND ARCHAEOLOGY IN ARGENTINE

The information published in mass media goes through a process of selection, hierarchisation and reorganization of contents. In the case of scientific knowledge it involves social agents from academic, media and general public spheres (Polino, 2000). These agents are involved in different ways in decisions concerning what, how and how much contents to publish. In this way a slice of reality is made: the news. Regarding the information about science circulating in mass media, we also add the need to articulate two different logics: science and journalism.

In Argentine, science communication dates back to 1960, although its systematic development, promoted through public institutions and universities starts in the decade of 1980, motivated by human resources formation in the scientific journalism field as well as by the planning and development of transference activities (DELLAMEA 2000). At that time mass media were given priority because of their low cost and easy distribution, giving way to several journals specialized in the communication of science and special issues in the daily press (YRIAR 1996; DELLAMEA 2000).

In analyzing the way in which the training in communication and scientific journalism fields for college students developed in Argentine, Dellamea (2001) proposes that these educational programs are characterized by an unquestioned reproduction of scientific stereotypes. This aspect is of special interest in this paper because as stated by Dellamea (2001) one of the consequences of this educational bias is the high representation and appreciation of exact, natural and biomedical sciences, in contrast to social and human science, including archaeology, as a science that informs about human past.

On the other hand, it is important to mention that as part of the functioning logic of mass media, different interests come into play in giving value to certain information in order to transform it into news¹. In

this sense VARA (2007) noted that the argentinian press tends to select information on the basis of the "news value": the unusual, the extreme (negative or positive), that affecting a lot of people, or a famous or important person, things out of the ordinary, things that happen for the first or last time. In the same vein, it has been noticed that Argentinean newspapers don't always have the economic and political resources to avoid the influence that agencies and political relations often try to exert in this selection process (VARA and HURTADO DE MENDOZA 2004). Finally, these authors have also proposed that Argentinean scientific journalism puts into practice a "protection strategy" through which the press coverage of local science approaches those aspects considered positive, such as achieving results improvements and publications, at the expense of a more integral vision which contributes contextual data in order to generate a critical position, or a revision of the scientific knowledge produced in the country.

Scientific journalism in Argentine is a recent intellectual field that was initially developed in the frame of public institutions and universities through graphic mass media. In the last decade an increasing development was registered, reflected not only in the multiplication of spaces oriented to the formation of scientific journalists but also in the use of other spaces for the transmission of science (television and internet). Moreover, during the last years, projects for the diffusion of science involving the development of more detailed diffusion materials such as audiovisual documentaries and diffusion collections were initiated with the promotion of public universities and publishers. However an issue related with this paper is that, among the mass media, newspapers is the field with the most scientific journalism trajectory.

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL TOOLS

Transforming a paper for the popularization of science comprises cognitive tasks that lead to the production of a discourse with scientific concepts renamed and re-structured in new conceptual Networks. These networks involve knowledge of the readers discourse (CASSANY *et al.* 2000). According to this conceptualization, the analysis of the articles

(2007) Valer y valor. Una exhumación de la teoría del valor para reflexionar sobre la desigualdad y la diferencia en relación con la escuela. *Revista de antropología social*, 16, 117-158.

¹ This concept is used in the sense of DÍAZ DE RADA, A.

presented here aims to report those conceptual relations that organize archaeological contents in the newspapers. As a starting point we consider that this reorganization and re-contextualization of contents is part of the social construction of knowledge.

Following the theory of social representations, the social construction of knowledge is developed in a communicative process whose products (social representations) symbolize social organization systems (MOSCOVICI 1988; MOSCOVICI and HEWSTONE 1983). There is an agreement on the fact that through mass media communication, consensual universe is constructed, this in turn, functions as a theoretic basis for social representations (LASZLO 1997; MARKOVA 1996; JODELET 1986). In this way, the media have a fundamental role in facilitating the spread and production of ideas within a community and in allowing the participation of heterogeneous social groups (CASTORINA and KAPLAN 2003). In other words, mass media take part in the creation and movement of objects of social representation objects (MOSCOVICI and HEWSTONE 1983). On this basis, it can be said that archaeological concepts and images in the media are objects of social representation, and in this sense, they form a reference system and are part of the daily life of the social agents at the discursive as well as at the practical level (PÉREZ 2004).

In this paper we divide the articles between “significant information” and “information on findings”. These categories are the extremes of an ideal schema proposed by the author (SALERNO 2008b) and they are based on the idea that archaeological articles in mass media are distinguished by the level of importance attributed to archaeological findings, in many cases, to the detriment of the information generated through those findings. In those cases identified as “information on findings” (IF), the sole data presented refers to findings. On the other hand, cases identified as “significant information” (SI) are the articles centered on publishing contents about the revision/presentation/diffusion of a concrete subject, without the finding being central to their organization. Eventhough newspaper articles usually include both aspects we consider as the classificatory criterion the aspect that predominates in the discourse: the description of finds or the proposal of explicative frames of reference. In this analysis we specially take into account: the concepts presented in the articles, the sources used to develop them, the selection issue, the origins of the investigations circulating as IF or SI, the characterization of the archeological work, the links established between past data and present/current reality.

ARGENTINEAN NEWSPAPERS CLARÍN AND PÁGINA 12

Both of the newspapers used in this analysis are edited in the Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires (national capital) but they are distributed all around the country. For the period selected in this paper (1994 – 2006), these newspapers are among those with the widest national distribution. At the same time, both newspapers represent different media traditions and have a contrasting way of approaching the information about science, not only because of the place they give it, but also because of the amount of information they publish and the type of manuscripts they select. In another work (SALERNO 2008a) it was observed that the representativeness of archaeology in these newspapers, by comparison to information about other sciences, is higher in Clarín than in Página 12. However, in both newspapers archaeology has a high representativeness in comparison to other human and social sciences, but lower in relation to the information regarding Health, Exact and Natural Sciences, Astronomy, Biology, Engineering and Technologies.

Clarín and Página 12 are very different newspapers in relation to their styles and profiles and their productions are addressed to different social sectors. The first one is one of the most read newspapers in the country with buyers and readers of all the socio-economic sectors, Página 12 has its readers with high educative level, mainly university students and graduates, most of them from social and human studies (DELLAMEA *et al.* 2001).

Clarín was established in 1945 and nowadays plays one of the principal roles as one of the leading mass media groups in Argentina; being present in written media, radio, television, audiovisual productions, graphic industry and Internet (Clarín SA Group). Página 12, in turn, appeared in 1986 as part of the “New journalism” movement of North America (WOLFE 1998), this newspaper was born with the democratic period in Argentine. Eventually, in the 1990’s, this newspaper was incorporated in a media group and though it kept its distinctive profile, its sales fell by one-third (KORNBLIT and VERARDI 2004). Since mid 2000 Página 12 changed its perspective, abandoning its original critical style.

For this study the main section and the science supplements of Clarín and Página 12’s written editions between January 1st of 1994 and December 31 of 2004 have been examined; also the science supplement of Página 12 published between 2005 and 2006. Clarín and the main section of Página 12 between 2005 and 2006 were examined through their

digital editions searching for the following words: science, finding, discover, find, discovery, scientific, research, researchers, archaeology, archaeological, prehistory, what's new.

Archaeology, as scientific information to be broadcast, is only one of the ways in which archaeological contents appear in newspapers. For example, in these newspapers there are also articles where archaeological information appears included in metaphors (SALERNO and PUPPIO 2008), in jokes (SALERNO 2006), as a touristic promotional object or as a preservation object in itself. The articles considered in this paper are only those referring to archaeology that are presented in newspapers as articles with scientific content. The analyzed sample includes 393 articles in Clarín and 220 in Página 12.

**ARTICLES ABOUT
ARCHAEOLOGY**

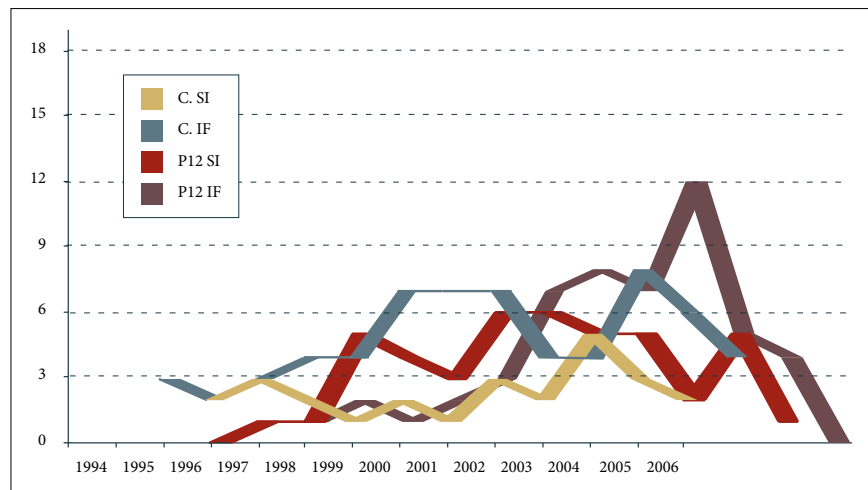
In this section the analysis of articles about archaeology is presented. Firstly, we discuss their representativeness in relation to the proposed categories: “significant information” (SI) – “information on findings” (IF), and the amount of space that newspapers give to these notes. It is useful to observe the frequency of SI/IF in order to evaluate in which way the information is organized, and which are the contents that are given priority. A more important proportion of IF over SI, for example, is related with a presentation of the data without contextualization, and with a tendency to “over showing” them. We understand this last concept as the result of assigning characteristics to something so it is considered uncommon, such as: “the most ancient”, “the weird”, “unique in its specie”, among others.

Following the central idea of this general differentiation between SI-IF we can move forward in the analysis of the different subjects according to which the articles are organized and the characteristics attributed to them in the analyzed newspapers. These differences in the content organization are related with special uses and meanings of archaeology in these spaces.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of SI-IF articles for each newspaper and the changes in their representativeness through time. While in Clarín the information on findings predominates in every

year, with 64% of the total sample, in Página 12 the distribution is balanced: 46% of the articles are SI. However, in Página 12 we observe a tendency to publish more information about findings in the last years, at the expense of significant information.

The more important role of findings in the organization of archaeological contents is related to two aspects: first of all, with the aforementioned



1. Percentage of articles about archaeology separated in Significant Information (SI) and Information on Findings (IF) in Clarín (C) and Página 12 (P12) through time.

criteria used in newspapers to select the information and transform it into suitable news to publish and, secondly, with the amount of space given to the information about science by each newspaper. In this context, the presence or absence of a supplement specialized in science is the result of a complex editorial decision where different issues are evaluated, such as the need to keep their readers and to obtain a new public, the cost of producing information, the availability of human resources, the newspaper's prestige, the availability of space in relation to other kinds of contents, among others.

In both of the newspapers presented here, we can consider two particular tendencies that changed through time. Clarín used to have a supplement on science that was replaced in June of 1997 by a weekly section named “The New”, which was granted one page. Finally, in 2002 this kind of article was incorporated within the general information of the newspaper, and the section “The New” disappeared. On the other hand, Página 12 has preserved its weekly section named “Future” with a length of 4 pages. Since 2005 this supplement started to incorporate more advertising and the

space devoted to articles on science shortened. While in Clarín only 11% of the information on archaeology is placed in the space devoted to science, in Página 12, 82 % of the articles are part of the science supplement. Clarín’s strategy of publishing most of the information about science in the main section of the newspaper allows the selection of more data about science, although its content must compete with other type of articles. This forces it to select knowledge based on “news value” parameters. At the same time, this strategy has the advantage of easily winning new readers. In turn, the strategy followed by Página 12 of setting almost all the information about science in a weekly supplement has the advantage of leaving more time for producing news, and more space for its publication, but makes it poorer in quantity, and as the information is located in a separate area it can oversupply the average reader causing less impact on them.

The role that findings play in the organization of articles about archaeology can also be linked to certain assumptions on what is understood by “archaeology” and how the knowledge of this discipline is constructed. Most articles of information on findings refer to the discovery of an object in certain place, that is to say, to the *finding of material things*. This is the case of 85% of the articles on findings in Clarín and 78% of them in Página 12. The material discovery is sometimes presented as a random find by non specialized people; for example: the archaeological material was found by workers drilling a street. In other cases, the material discovery is presented as an unexpected and surprising episode, even if a group of researchers was working in the area. On the contrary, *findings as ideas* are products of interpretation, so their existence requires previous research. Therefore, in most IF articles, objects are presented as the starting point to construct knowledge. Archaeological investigation takes over at the moment when the finding’s existence is recognized, so the work made before the excavation phase is not acknowledged.

As for the thematic diversity of the articles, two types of approaches are noticed: the ones that are organized in relation to spatial references and those that are organized around certain questions and subjects assumed to be of common interest to the audience. In this last case, the focus is not the findings or the archaeological research in a certain place, but the subject of inquiry. Table 1 details the representativeness of each of the subjects.

It is noticeable that in both newspapers, thematic distribution is similar: most of the articles on archaeology as a science are organized in relation

	CLARIN	PÁGINA 12
Spatial References	47%	41 %
Hominization	19 %	32 %
Egyptian World	11 %	10 %
Forensic Anthropology	1%	3 %
Biblical Archaeology	4 %	2 %
Inkaic World	6%	-
American Peopling	4 %	3 %
Sub aquatic Archaeology	7 %	3 %
Archaeology	1 %	5 %

Table 1. Percentage of articles clustered according to subjects.

to the spatial references that contextualize findings and researches. Then the information is organized around thematic cores. In both newspapers, the hominization process is the most represented subject while the others are the focus of very few articles.

ARTICLES REFERRING TO PLACES

In those articles that give a fundamental importance to spatial reference, the reader is invited to read about archaeology through the data that gives him the spatial location as well as detailed descriptions of the materials found or short technical descriptions of the researches. In general, these articles discuss different subjects without continuity or even relation with other articles. In this situation, an article on the discovery of a flute in China may appear with another on a colonial cemetery in Buenos Aires, and a third one on a Roman road in England. Consequently, on several occasions, the information is published as an interesting data in itself. It is important to highlight that 75% of Clarín’s articles and 67% of Página 12’s information are on findings, in other words, information without contextualization and focused on discoveries.

At the same time, temporal reference is made in two ways: in some cases, there are judgments that locate findings in the past, in a general sense: “the most antique”, “in the darkness of history”, “thousands of years ago”. In other cases, findings and researches are located within a social and universal temporal development scheme: “the primitive man”, “The Ice Age”, “The Bronze Age”; “Roman Times”. In the first type of articles, where temporal location is general, the spatial reference is the only contextual information of researches and findings. In the second type of articles an implicit knowledge is instead recognized about the importance of researches in a specific moment.

In other words, those articles organized in reference to spatial locations are different from those that only propose a general temporal location to findings and to those that propose a historical development by recognizing several temporal moments. Even so, neither of the article types displays much explicit data about the history of research that includes a broader approach about those procedures and meanings that motivated archaeologist to investigate in a certain place, or a specific aspect of the material culture and, as already shown, most of them belong to IF.

This approach to archaeological knowledge allows us to assess the existence of the data as an exterior reality that attests to the human past in a certain location, instead of as a reality constructed through the work and research techniques of the archeologists, at a specific historical moment. From these articles we can draw a map of territories with different representativeness of past evidences. While some territories can only be identified as places where something happened in the past, other territories are displayed as main characters of its own historical trajectory, through the designation of specific temporal moments.

Once again, in both newspapers the delineation of this hypothetical classification of territories acquires similar properties. Most of the Argentinean articles refer to findings on the urban life in the Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires and only a few relate this scenario to the native population. In the case of the American Continent, scenarios present three dimensions of the past: 1) those that happened thousands of years ago and which are named in a general and ambiguous manner; 2) the development of Maya, Aztec and Inkaic civilizations; 3) Columbus discovery. The first dimension includes also articles about American peopling; and the second one, articles about the Inkaic World. Western Europe, in turn, is the subject of scenarios where more historical episodes are named: Palaeolithic, the Ice Age, the

Bronze Age, Vikings Times, and the Roman Era.

The Near East is displayed as the witness of civilizations whose most significant trace is that they don't exist anymore and that they were the cradle of certain knowledge or features that are valued nowadays. For example, writing in the case of "The Indus Valley Civilization" or "the first cemetery" in the Sumerian Civilization. In the same manner, the Balkans are mentioned in relation to the "Roman Era" and "Antique Greece". Eastern Europe is included in this scheme as a place characterized by the origins, the region which houses "the father of modern astronomy", "the people living there before Christ" or "the oldest modern human complete specimen remains".

Articles on Africa appear related to the idea of the place of human origins. This continent is associated with "the most ancient ornaments of humanity", "most ancient monument", "Art origins". It is important to emphasize that this continent, as the location of the origins of humanity as well as of "civilized" worlds, is represented in the articles about the hominization process and in those about the Egyptian World. An interesting aspect of the articles organized according to place in the African Continent is that this is the only case in which spatial references are made through the designation of geographical regions such as "Sahara Desert" "African Savanna", instead of by the name of the countries. At the other extreme, Asia and Oceania are found as spaces of more ancient and exotic places: "relics zone", "distant past", or "the region of a lost tribe".

The following table shows the percentage of representativeness of each geographic point. To distinguish the different territories named before, a continental division criteria was used as follows: America, Asia, Oceania, Africa; in the case of Europe, due to its high representativeness, it was considered important to differentiate between

	CLARIN	PÁGINA 12
Argentina	14 % - (65 % IF – 34% SI)	9 % - (38 % IF – 65 % SI)
America	6 % - (89 % IF – 11 % SI)	9 % - (70 % IF – 30% SI)
Asia	3 % - (87 % IF – 13 % SI)	5 % - (75 % IF – 25 % SI)
Oceania	1 % - (100% IF)	1 % - (100 % IF)
Africa	2 % - (100 % IF)	2 % - (50 % IF – 50 % SI)
Western Europe	10 % - (85 % IF – 14 % SI)	9 % - (75 % IF – 25 % SI)
Eastern Europe	1 %- (100 % IF)	1 %- (100 % SI)
Balkan Peninsula	2 % - (72 % IF – 28 % SI)	3 % - (58 %IF – 42 % SI)
Near East	3 % -(79 % IF – 21 % SI)	2 % - (100 % IF)

Table 2. Percentage of articles according to the places they name.

Eastern Europe (represented by Bulgaria, Poland; the Czech Republic), Western Europe (represented by Germany; Austria; Denmark; Spain; France; Ireland; Italy; Monaco; Great Britain; Cyprus; Sweden and Switzerland), the Balkan Peninsula (represented by Albania; Slovenia; Greece; Macedonia; Romania) and finally, the Near East (represented by Iran; Iraq; Israel; Turkey and Kuwait). The articles referring to Argentina were also separated given their high representativeness because this is the place of origin of the analyzed newspapers.

ARTICLES REFERRING TO SPECIFIC ISSUES

In the articles organized around the hominization process representations about which behaviors define humans are constructed. In *Página 12* this issue is approached through discoveries as well as through significant information articles, which brings to the readers consideration the theories discussed by different researchers and the diversity of techniques and studies involved with hominization. This approach revolves around human origins in itself: When? Where? How? and also around the Modern *Homo sapiens*. From these articles can be perceived the need for integrating different disciplines along with the idea of knowledge in constant production and change. *Clarín* in turn, displays this same approach only in a few articles, while most of them (67%) belong to information on findings without a broader contextualization.

On another scale, the other issue that deals with problems connected to the origins is the peopling of the American continent. The question here is not related to human origins anymore, but to the first inhabitants of the continent. In these articles there is a broader difference regarding the approach made by each newspaper: while in *Página 12* most articles discuss the subject through SI, in *Clarín* they do it mostly through IF. In the first case articles invite a constant reflection about the colonization process. In this way the question of who were the first Americans is used as a starting point to propose that “the real American Conquest” happened thousand of years before Columbus. In *Clarín* on the contrary, the issue is treated with more emphasis on the movement of *Homo sapiens* around the world, and in only a few articles is a parallel drawn with the colonization process of the XVth century.

For articles about both the hominization process and the American peopling, discussions from the academic realm are resumed and re-structured: When? Where?

Who? The search for a general consensus is explained as a “competition” between researchers, which results are defined by their findings. In this context, ideas are “eliminated”, “resisted” or “rejected”. Once again, the prominent role of findings appears.

These thematic approaches contrast sharply with the articles about sub-aquatic archaeology where the common subject is adventure and “expeditions in search for treasures”. Legends are constructed not only with the treasure data, but also with the adventures gone through to discover it. In the case of *Clarín*, the focus is on the detailed description of the findings and the legends preceding them. However, in *Página 12* the information about treasures is followed by those aspects related to the work of the “expeditionists”: how they live and how the sub-aquatic search is made among other aspects. In the same vein, in the articles about Egyptian archaeology appears the concept of adventure, but in this case associated with the possibility of revealing the “Egyptian’s secrets” and understanding their lifestyle. Mummies study is the central topic. In *Página 12* the emphasis is on the information that can be obtained from those studies and in the application of new technologies. In *Clarín*, the articles approach the “mysterious” Egyptian world through more varied issues related to Egyptians everyday life. Moreover, in *Clarín* the Inkaic world is presented as a subject in itself, which is not the case in *Página 12*. These articles are presented in a way similar to those of the Egyptian world, in a tone of mystery and discovery of an ancient civilization.

The poor representation of forensic anthropology is depicted in a few articles where the core is the possibility to identify victims of the last dictatorship in Argentine, and the excavations to find and identify Ernesto Che Guevara. In these articles, *Clarín*’s approach is centered only on the information on findings as data that substantiates the historical account. In contrast, *Página 12* publishes significant information where forensic procedures and methodologies are explained. In this newspaper forensic anthropology is used in the same manner as in the articles on American peopling: as a means reflecting about other moments of the past. In this case the military governments and the politic struggle associated with Che Guevara. In both newspapers, forensic anthropology is presented as a technique applied in search for the “truth”. The same can be said of the articles referring to biblical archaeology: it is presented as a mechanism that allows confirming or refuting of the “veracity” of a religious tale. Also in both newspapers, this issue is organized around

the information on findings, treated as fundamental evidence about the past reality.

To conclude, there are those articles where archaeology is the focus of the information: here all the information is significant. The same approach is observed in both newspapers: explanations that deal mostly with experimentation issues or with the application of technology to the study of specific problems, repeating the mummy's analysis topic. The information about what archaeology is and the general explanations about its working methods are absent.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Most of the articles presented here relate archaeological contents to the idea of adventure. In this way, archaeology is represented as a *mise-en-scène* whose results are uncertain or risky. Uncertainties and risks involved in adventure are related to the possibility of knowing distant and exotic places, as is the case of the articles without contextualized data, and organized around findings in a specific location, without precise temporal references. The selection of the territories presented in this last way, as well as those territories chosen and proposed as main characters of a historical development, are the same in both newspapers. Consequently, this selection is not random but it reproduces representations that exist far beyond the media: representations of *otherness* in the first case, and of identities in the second one.

This dimension of archaeological information can be considered in relation to the initial role of archaeology during the last part of the XIXth century, at a time when modernity and the scientific knowledge of social sciences were consolidating. Its promotion was linked to the need of defining the way human societies changed in a temporal dimension (Hernando, 2002). In this sense, archaeology provided an empirical reference to generate images about cultural and different "others" that preceded the present society in the temporal dimension (Fabian, 1983). However, in the XXIst century, in the context of Argentinean scientific journalism, the representations of "otherness" and identities based on archaeological information circulate along with other types of information and representations that question them. That is the case, for example, of American peopling information in Página 12; its approach enables the reader to put into question and re-think in a more complex manner, the linear trajectory represented in the selection of territories which "leads historical development".

At the same time, all the information that appears in these spaces is mediated by the need to construct news. Based on this effect, the meaning of the geographical distance involved in most of the articles presented here can be analyzed. It is important to consider the work of BELENGUER JANÉ (2002) who analyzes the use of the references to places as a resource to display science in scientific journalism writings. The author shows that the idea of traveling makes it possible to show scientific activity as an activity that involves the spatial geographical displacement transforming it in a "captivating semantic core" in itself. In this way, the researcher is situated within "the image of adventurer scientist, traveler, eager, risky, expeditionary, the erudite of the XVIIIth century or the romantic of the XIXth century" (BELENGUER JANÉ 2002, p. 59). In the same way, the idea of adventure linked to moving and discovering distant places and treasures is related to articles on sub aquatic archaeology and to the approaches proposed for the Egyptian and Inkaic worlds.

These images, as well as the tiny difference in the construction of archaeological knowledge between the two analyzed newspapers draws attention to the media as a space of reproduction of social representations and as a space of informal education. This commonplace is not only related to adventure but also to the recognition of the existence and development of various "others" and "we". Existence and development are represented in fragmented and isolated data, and confirmed by the presence/absence of objects-witnesses. Because of this, the scarcity of articles where archaeology is displayed explicitly as a process that allows the establishment of a veracity criterion is surprising. This is the case of the articles on forensic and biblical anthropology.

To conclude, I want to express my wish that this work gives theoretical and intellectual tools for the study of the construction of archaeological knowledge in mass media. The differentiation between the categories of "information on findings" and "significant information" are of special utility to approach and systematize this study, considering the way in which contents are organized especially when working with a high number of articles. However, these categories are not as useful to study the contents more in depth. At the same time, the concept of social representation offers an enriching approach to the analysis of the images about archaeology circulating in mass media, because it focuses on the process of formation of common sense and in the complex relation between scientific and common knowledge.

Further consideration should be applied to the micro

scale study of the articles presented here (which reaches 613 writings). Some questions can be suggested in the following terms: How is the human and non human defined in the articles about the hominization process? Can different ways of representing archaeological knowledge be seen as evidence of symbolic inclusion and exclusion of social groups and/or representational categories of those groups? In which manner can this information be transformed into profitable input to re-think the strategies developed by research teams aiming at socializing archaeological results? And finally, in which ways could these representations of archaeological knowledge be involved in the processes of their production in the academic field?

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