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Mobile Culture for Tourism Communication

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INTRODUCTION: WHY MOBILE CULTURE FOR TOURISM COMMUNICATION?

Mobile culture is emerging as a new paradigm of social action and discourse. It works as a sort of template for practicing, learning and applying information and knowledge, within multiple economic, political and cultural activities within the urban fabric. This phenomenon involves capitals, persons and objects, which are profoundly on the move across global and local arenas. According to John Urry (2007) and Mimi Sheller (2006), *social mobilities* even constitute the leading process shaping contemporary societies and urban cultures. Likewise, interpretation methods of all social realms are being shaken by quick and deep discursive movements, for instance in what concerns the analysis of cultural heritage (Cessari, 2011; Andrade, 2013) or mobilities (Giannotti, 2008).

However, such mobilities of cultural goods, services and interpretation are not desirable or even possible, without adequate *communication* among the main stakeholders involved in this novel reality. In other words, contemporary societies face a critical *intercultural* process (Piller, 2011; Paulston, 2012), that is, the encounter or clash between national citizens and foreigners, be them tourists (Andrade, 2014) or immigrants (Benson, 2012; King, (2013). And the correspondent communication of local, national or international information and knowledge are being activated, more and more, through *digital mobilities* and the underlying discourses. Among the central instruments which facilitate this communication, *mobile devices* such as cell phones are becoming prominent (Ling, 2009). For instance, according to André Caron (2007), when exchanging text messages, young people don't just share information, but develop verbal performances that create knowledge and culture. And, beyond culture, mobile devices are becoming a cult (Goggin, 2006), a posture that, occasionally, may bring pleasure but also some risks, within the present *risk society* (Beck, 1992, 2008).

In sum, mobile devices are transforming the way we understand and sense urban and intercultural processes. Recently, mobile devices users are dealing with sophisticated new information and knowledge technologies, via *Virtual and Augmented Reality* apps, which may help them to get more and deeper experiences and understanding of their everyday life in urban places, contexts and territories. Following this trend, city planners are developing intelligent strategies for experiencing and interpreting practices, knowledge, culture and arts related with urban mobilities. Such initiatives aim to redefine not just local life and national citizenship, but also, at an international level, intercultural exchanges between the citizen and the Other, that is, visiting foreigners such as tourists or immigrants (Arvastson, 2006).

Within this perspective, the purpose of the following text is twofold: firstly, to define the main ideas and concepts which clarify the process of mobile culture, activated through the use of mobile devices (cell phones, etc.). Secondly, inquiry why and how mobile culture and its devices facilitate or difficult one of the most relevant processes in the contemporary city, that is, *urban mobilities* and its *modes and means of communication*. This text considers just one of such mobilities, the tourism travel, and focus on

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the most relevant social and cultural exchanges of competences and performances among, on one side, native citizens of a destination place and, on the other side, tourists visiting this locality (Andrade, 2017).

BACKGROUND: STATE OF THE ART ON MOBILITY CULTURES AND TOURISM

Mediatization can be briefly defined as a social process which translates, shapes and frames all other processes and discourses within contemporary society. It was studied, among other authors, by André Jansson (2017), in connection with the ideas of individualization and globalization, and mainly in what regards mobile middle-class lives and *post-tourism*. In particular, it is important to know how mediatization is culturally legitimized, in a moment when connectivity and mobility are central elements of self-realization.

Within such media hegemony, *digital media* acquired an even more protagonism. Some practical applications of these ubiquitous digital media include tourism, banking and health. In fact, digital devices are profoundly transforming human experience and knowledge. This is visible at a global geographic dimension, within processes of deconstructing and reconstructing urban environments, local life worlds, infrastructures, networked practices and even global geopolitics. Identities are also changing along subjective, perceptive, and affective levels, in terms of digital users' engagement with the spatial world (Felgenhauer, 2017).

This *digital daily world* is a context based on *mobilities*, which are circumscribed as social processes of displacement among diverse areas of cities, regions, countries or other social spaces, at a local and global levels. Mobilities are simultaneously shaped and feeding economy, politics, culture and all other realms of society. Within this context, everyday life is an arena where examples and applications of such phenomena can be easily found. Sara Paiva (2018) inquires how recent technological innovative platforms may develop daily mobility of visually impaired people. The ultimate aim for these social actors as users of such appliances, is their societal inclusion. In this sense, some practical applications are obstacle detection systems, indoor and outdoor navigation and transportation sustainability systems. At a macroeconomic and policies level, such improvements may be undertaken by companies as well as by municipalities, in order to enhance *global and urban mobility* (Kolke, 2014).

Likewise, tourism is an activity where mobilities are to be found in the most unexpected ways, within the intersections of globalized mobility and everyday *mobile tourist* practices. Kaya Barry (2017) points out the apparently irrelevant action of packing a bag for a travel. The author shows how idealized tourists destinations influence their daily actions, and specially their everyday experiences of movement such as this minimal action of preparing a bag for a voyage. To prove such thesis, Barry uses multiples photographic documentation and interviews collected with tourists in hosteling accommodations.

Many of these mobility phenomena are more systematized within one of the seminal books written by John Urry and Jonas Larsen, with the title *Mobilities, Networks, Geographies*, and published in 2016. The authors defend that, as for social mobilities, physical meetings aren't less fundamental to human life than virtual travels. In effect, both are interconnected and equally necessary. Moreover, the book establishes an interesting typology of modes of mobility, in our world where there is a substantial increase in long-distance travels and in communicating through mobile phones, text messaging, emailing and videoconferencing. These geographies of social networks include the following five *interdependent mobilities*: physical travel of people; physical movement of objects; imaginative travel through mass media; virtual travel inside cyberspace; and communicative travel via other more primitive means e.g.

letters, telegrams and telephone. These interconnections between different mobilities require efficient systems of coordination among them.

Another synthetic essay, conducted by Adriana de Souza Silva and Mimi Sheller (2014), criticize the way previous studies cope with mobility, by focusing on virtual mobility and personalized communication. On the contrary, it is necessary to concentrate on mobile media in context, such as people using transportation networks, navigating urban spaces, and sharing content and messages within social networks or inside mobility events such as tourism travels. In sum, it is crucial to emphasize the relations among location, mobile technologies and mobility, in order to redefine *mobile communication* and *mobile sociality*, operated through *locative media*. In this way, concrete applications of mobility in the social fabric (such as mobile art, mobile gaming, architecture, design and urban planning) may better connect citizens and tourists to their urban contexts.

In fact, mobilities are defining a new lifestyle, predominant and maybe dominant in the present world. Scott Cohen and collaborators (2014a) argue that, among other phenomena on the move, *mobile lifestyles* include the reshaping of information, knowledge and cultural values. This process unfolds through everyday repetitions and routines, such as daily bodily performances, that produce new meanings to our lives. Even social sciences are being transformed, via *mobile methods* and through a reconceptualization that articulates the ideas of mobility, immobility, belonging and mobile identities (Urry, 2000).

It is crucial to note that our mobile world includes *gendered mobilities*. Tim Cresswell (2016) interconnects gender with mobility and social justice, underlying that women can reach more agency and freedom through mobile activities inside health, education and political participation. Ultimately, women's wellbeing is associated with mobile actions conducted both socially and geographically.

Several practical applications of mobilities are developed by urban designers. The METPEX research project, conducted by Coventry University, aims to resolve transport and traffic problems that European cities are experiencing, which cause environment damages. For such purpose, the project members developed a *mobilities design* approach, where they consider needs of transport users in balance with urban sustainability targets. This aim was pursued through a specific instrument developed for measuring passenger experience, which reports and analyses the passenger journey. The practical results indicate how to attract travelers to use more public transportation, in order to reduce traffic congestion (Tovey, 2016).

Such concern for the organization of urban mobilities is so urgent that several *practical guides* are being published along last years. One of the most complete was written by Sachin Date (2015). It covers a plethora of application fields pertaining to *wireless communication*: digital cellular networks definitions of "digital" and "cellular", mobile apps ecosystems, how to evaluate consumer mobile apps, etc. For decision makers, and especially in the case of corporate professionals, the author explains how to develop *mobile marketing*, in order to increase sales, obtain customer satisfaction and operational efficiency, and how to reach a true enterprise *mobility*. In particular, in the areas of Hospitality, Travel and Tourism, multiple advices are suggested on brand projection and about mobile enabled websites, augmented reality or GPS based selling techniques. More advanced strategies include *mobile enabled ecosystems*, e.g. 'wearables' for automotive mobility and activities inside the Internet of Things (Fortino, 2014).

For its part, the *Routledge Handbook of Mobilities* (Adey, 2014) has a more *encyclopedic* purpose. In particular, the authors highlight the relevance of mobilities as a central concept and keyword within the *social sciences*. Multiple approaches and debates, as well as methodologies and techniques innovation, case studies and reconceptualizations, are described and evaluated. A *typology of mobilities* include infrastructure, services and events mobilities. This research can be applied to multiple fields and activities, e.g. transport, migration, tourist and feminist studies.

In some way, the book by Vogl's team (2013) takes a step further: mobilities are rehearsed here within the *mobile discourse* that presided at the very realization of this collective work that, in occurrence, analyzes mobilities. In fact, the book allows the sharing and *mobility of meanings*, among the analyses produced by researchers from different origins, such as social sciences, artists and art theorists. Concretely, such cross-disciplinary mobility, while adopting a mixed media and visual representations approach, uses texts and images to debate regulation and structure of mobility, mobility policies of global corporations, bicycle policies on public space and migration flows, among other issues.

Therefore, it seems that, within contemporary societies, social and cultural mobilities, and in particular *mass tourism* (Bramwell, 2004; Blackman, 2005; Buhalis, 2011; Conrady, 2012), happens to be some the most important activities that mobilizes mobilities. Pau Pons (2012) shows that Mediterranean region, the largest tourist destination in the world, owes its economic success to parallel cultural and aesthetic phenomena. There, tourists' experiences are articulated with (and remade by) mobilities and performances conducted by local actors and cultures inherent to destination places.

Such mobilities' social processes induce important consequences and teachings. In what concern *Tourism Studies*, another essay (Molz, 2012) intends to shake research routines on mobilities within this field. The author argues that classical concepts on tourism no more translate the present situation, such as landscape, the tourist gaze, hospitality, authenticity and escape. These notions can profitably be replaced by the following terms: smart tourism, the mediated gaze, mobile conviviality, re-enchantment and embrace. In particular, togetherness may be reached through interactive travel. This last idea can be defined as a voyage where the traveler aims to be in touch simultaneously with friends, family members and strangers, via new practices such as location-aware navigating, travel blogging, etc.

Likewise, travel writers are rebuilding their practice (i.e. the writing that involves voyage, migration, mobility and displacement), by creatively using experimental techniques. The confessed target is to overcome colonial or Eurocentric tradition in *travel writing* (Edwards, 2012).

Ultimately, the concept of tourism itself and the connected leisure patterns were put into question by Peter Burns (2008). New articulations must be made among mobility, media and citizenship, in order to take in account the new realities of post-modern youth, independent mobility and hypermobility within global space.

Last but not the least, for applications of mobile cultures in the economic world, in order to develop and practice a sustainable *mobile business*, see: Bhuvan, 2008.

FOCUSING ON MOBILE TOURIST COMMUNICATIONS

Departing from previous considerations on cultural mobilities, it is important now to focus on one of its more profoundly related ideas, i.e. *tourism communication*. In fact, mobile culture, although revealing to be an end in itself, often works as a means to achieve a deeper communication between citizens and tourists across a destination place.

One *tourism communication* issue, somehow unsuspected, is climate change. Indeed, at the macro-social level, tourist industry and global mass tourism, and at the microsocial level, daily tourist behaviors while communicating with locals, influence the climate of the places of destination, in the long term (for instance, via the increase of traffic pollution). It is therefore necessary to change tourism policies in conjunction with sustainable climate policies (Cohen, 2014b).

This and other real problems lead to questions pertaining to the *morality of tourism* (Mostafanezhad, 2014). Any tourism encounter presupposes a moral encounter. And during touristic voyages, exchange experiences hide power relations, that often dictate moral reconfigurations within visited societies.

Language is other powerful instruments of human communication, especially in what regards tourism communication. An emerging field, Sociolinguistics of tourism, debates how language constitutes identity, power and social difference in the context of tourism mobilities. Some sources are used by Jaworski (2007) to demonstrate this argument: on one hand, classical sources such as interviews with tourists, service encounters, analysis of postcard messages and guided tours; on the other hand, sources involving recent methodology, e.g. TV holiday programs or digital interactional data.

More specifically, *tourism discourse* has been analyzed and interpreted for several years, as one central part of tourism communication's teaching and research. Corpus including spoken, written and visual texts, were used to clarify the ideas and practices of space and representation within the tourist experiences or performance, as well as to reflect on the pursue of tourist identity via the authenticity of destination places (Jaworski, 2005).

The following example corroborates this power of tourism discourse: reflexions on several case studies demonstrated that *tourism marketing* often promotes insignificant places as desirable tourist destinations. Such propaganda uses language from diverse cultures in relation with the concept 'tourism gaze', among other ideas (Held, 2018).

In sum, the whole *tourism industry* has been profoundly transformed with the advent and dissemination of electronic technologies and the correspondent communication phenomena (Reilly, 1990). The effects of digital communicative processes and methodologies cover economic, social, regional, social, marketing and cultural branches of tourism activities (Pease, 2007).

Moreover, for other specific reflections and empiric analysis on tourism communication, e.g. on accessible tourism for disabled people, see Westcott (2004).

SOLUTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

On Technologies and New Media for Tourism

This section intends to clarify some more intense articulations between mobile cultures and tourism communication, the two subjects treated in the precedent pages. In this confluence, the reported issues, controversies and problems require the definition of means and methods that could substitute complexities, biases and abuses perpetrated with such appliances, with more practical and democratic uses.

Debates on tourism technologies

Previous discussions: states and European policies stakeholders, city planners, scientific communities, corporations, among others, have been debating for several years the impact of information and communication technologies in tourism, related with contextual variables, within periodic conferences and other regular events. For example, in what regards sustainable local development, environmental and climate change, cybercities, second homes (Graham, 2004; Hall, 2004, 2005; European Communities, 2005; Gössling, 2006; Girard, 2009; Hannam, 2010; Cunha, 2011; Francesconi, 2014; Hanna, 2015).

Following anterior editions, in 2006 a major event took place in this subject at Bilbao, the *conference ENTER - International Conference on Information and Communication Technologies in Tourism* (Klein,

1996). The scope was to rethink the whole process of touristic goods and services, from a technological point of view. For instance, connect, on one side, telecommunication and information systems in tourism, to, on the other side, the dissemination of information for eventual users. In particular, the redesign of touristic products and the redefinition of standardization norms, could help to restructure tourism values. The target public was composed by researchers, system developers, principals, tour operators, travel agents, customers, among other users.

Another conference in a connected direction tried to report the recent impressive technological metamorphoses related to mobilities, occurred in the last years of the 21th century first decade, and the respective impacts on society (Cunha, 2011).

In 2013, the series of conferences more focused on Information and Communication Technologies in Tourism was retaken (Cantoni, 2013). The subjects discussed testify advances in two interconnected fields: (a) on one hand, digital media in general: for instance, web site and search engine optimization, eLearning, recommender systems, technology adoption and diffusion, online communities, social media and Web 2.0, user generated content; (b) on the other hand, digital media applications on tourism activities: for example, electronic tourism marketing, tourism management and decision support, mobile technologies and applications in tourism, e-intermediaries and networks in tourism, customer research in e-tourism.

Such particular themes were developed in 2014. Other themes were added, e.g. electronic distribution for hospitality and travel products, virtual travel communities, to name just a few (Xiang, 2014).

In 2015, new debates considered big data and analytics, mobile sensors and geosocial services, augmented reality, wearable computing, smart tourism, responsive web design and management, and eTourism for development (Tussyadiah, 2015).

Two years later, more recent controversies were debated, such as semantic technologies, electronic distribution and online travel reviews, eGovernment, sharing economy, digital strategies within digital economy. Research advances and innovative ideas were reported, as well as industrial case studies (Schegg, 2017).

In 2018, besides some recurrent themes, the latest research was publicized (Pesonen, 2018), e.g. about online travel reviews, gamification (Flanagan, 2009; Burke, 2014; Jin, 2016), electronic distribution, online education and learning

Finally, in 2019, the focus was directed to virtual reality, peer-to-peer accommodation, hotel technology, robotics, and recommendation systems (Pesonen, 2019).

Solution / recommendation: these and other conferences, as well as seminars and other scientific events, testify the dynamic debate that is being conducted on these urgent issues. Therefore, such effort must go on and be supported by states, municipalities, intercultural scientific and technological communities, corporations and, ultimately, diverse segments of users. Furthermore, articulations between the multiple subjects of cutting-edge research and its inclusion within education and learning institutions must be encouraged, e.g. at public and private universities, polytechnic courses and grammar schools.

Tourism communication via mobile devices

A recent controversy: tourism communication is more and more conducted using *digital mobile devices*, through the so-called electronic and internet-based *e-tourism* and the more mobile oriented *m-tourism* (Egger, 2010, 2011). After all, mobile devices contribute not just to change culture, as stated here in the section on mobile cultures, but also to transform communication itself. New types of social relations emerge from the use of cell phones in all realms of everyday life. For example. a new literacy results

from the combination of textual features of mobile phones to the use of, say, its ringtones. Moreover, a clear dialectic emerges between two articulated processes, that aren't always consensual: on one direction, outstanding technologies become suddenly ordinary and even necessary, as the use of cell phones by all social classes, which is often judged as an aberration of everyday communication. Inversely, ordinary technology often seems mysterious or discussable, e.g. the belief that mobile phones can communicate with the dead, in some regions of Africa and Asia (Katz, 2008).

Solution / recommendation: more studies must be pursued on the utilization of different or opposite opinions, about mobile devices by tourists, within diverse contexts across various destination places, and inside specific situations where communication happens among tourists and local citizens (Lew, 2004; Meng, 2005; McWatters, 2009; Nyerges, 2011; Perkins, 2011; Paganoni, 2015). For instance, case studies and theoretical research on mobile cultures influencing physical or digital interactions during multiples types of tourism: mass tourism, beach tourism, mountain tourism, eco-tourism, cultural heritage tourism, creative tourism, etc.

Broader solutions

It is not feasible to enunciate here all the possible applications of mobile culture into tourism communication. Thus, just some broader considerations including possible trends and respective solutions will be stated below.

We noticed that mobile digital information, knowledge and culture are more and more produced and consumed within multiple and diverse locations of cyberspace, e.g. at sites, wikis, virtual museums etc. And nowadays this is done, extensively and intensively, through mobile devices. These appliances disseminate different configurations of digital information, knowledge, culture and arts, according to the subjects and means of expression implemented in its apps, among other factors.

Cyberspace and cybertime

In order to understand this new social and cultural conjuncture, it is necessary to note the following. Cyberspace, circumscribed by William Gibson (1984), does not exist without cybertime (Andrade, 1996). *Cybertime* is a social process and concept defined as a set of temporalities browsed by Internet users, such as the synchronous rhythm of a chat, an almost synchronous beat of a social network, or the asynchronous rate of a web page. The societal and conceptual constellation cyberspace / cybertime hosts a number of new institutions, organizations, associations and groups, e.g. virtual museums and galleries, which constitute new places of production, exhibition, sharing and criticism of digital culture, knowledge and arts (Parry, 2009).

Web 2.0 and Web 3.0

Among other virtual localities, the user travels across *Web 2.0* (or Social Web) dispositives such as the social network Facebook, or along *Web 3.0* (Semantic Web) instruments e.g. Wikipedia. *Web 2.0* means the so-called second age of the internet, which had a notable development after 2001, and where users became apparently more active than in the precedent decade. In other words, in addition to reading information, they also write content, e.g. posts and comments in blogs, or messages to other users within social networks. That's why *Web 2.0* is also named '*reading/writing Internet*'. *Web 3.0* consists of a network mode, which is censed to foster a new style of reception and production of information,

knowledge and meaning. It is often nominated *Semantic Web*, because its main aim is to construct social semantic sites and networks where their own underlying model of meaning and knowledge is manifest and described (Andrade, 2011).

FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Finally, in this section, some emerging directions and opportunities of research are reported, in order to progressively test the viability of the corresponding paradigms.

Virtual, Augmented, Mixed and Hybrid Realities

In these last years, mobile phones have been enabling applications including some articulation among different reality modes, configurations or constellations. For instance, virtual reality allows immersion of a user into virtual worlds, while augmented reality blends some virtual objects or scenes with physical or social reality. Mixed reality means a fusion of virtual and augmented realities. Beyond this, *Hybrid Reality* transforms the very nature of media involved in a given process. In other words, originating or ordinary (initial) media will be mutated into original (new, innovative) media.

In this perspective and paradigm of multiples realities, apps may target consumer profiles such as youngsters and tourists: i.e. they can show real locations in images, video, or 3D, and real-time information or knowledge about them. This trend inaugurates an *augmented / hybrid urban culture* and an *augmented / hybrid tourism*, where the reality of leisure (free time from working hours) is enhanced or blended by the combination between (a) spectacular entertainment and (b) relevant information or knowledge on places visited and on cultural events.

Worldwide cities have been supporting such intelligent development strategies for mobile societies and cultures, e.g. through programs UNESCO Creative Cities and Smart Cities. And research will find here proficient opportunities to develop innovative reflections and novel applications to multiple economic, social and cultural uses.

BRIEF CONCLUSION: MOBILE TOURISM COMMUNICATION, A NEW FORM OF ACTION AND KNOWLEDGE?

The preceding sections circumscribed the main issues and debates on the subjects in question. Some concluding remarks are the following:

Firstly, mobilities, mobile cultures and tourism communication, not just constitute recent and somehow unexplored networks of *mobile social practices*. They also emerge as webs of subjects in constant *reflexive mobility*, convoking multiple areas of information and knowledge, such as economy, management and social sciences.

Secondly, such perennial movement of practices and discourses circumscribes a specific *style of tourism communication*, which is becoming not just *intercultural* in the confluence of citizen and tourist cultures, but more and more a somehow *hybrid communication*. This means that communication in the area of tourism is using different instruments and methods, that are blended in order to organize and do the management of diversified and complex contacts, decisions and messages shared and exchanged among the stakeholders involved in tourism activities.

Thirdly, this hybrid nature of mobile tourism communication, may constitute pertinent reflections within new *savoirs*, such as *Hybridology* (Andrade, 2015). This term means the interpretation of all kinds of hybrid entities, within our interconnected world, which shares, mix and fusion all local and global processes, structures, contexts, events, actions, subjects and objects.

In sum, all conclusions proposed inside this mobilities realm are, so far, inconclusive. Therefore, the present text just intended to furnish some clues to the possibilities, but also to the limitations, of this mobile debate on contemporary social processes such as mobile culture for tourism communication, that are irreversibly mobilizing and transforming our contemporary mobile world.

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KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Citizen: A social actor who inhabits within a democratic society. (S)he may establish pacific or conflictual relations with other city inhabitants or visitors, such as tourists or immigrants.

Cybertime: The rhythms that an internet user activates when s(he) explores digital network's territories within cyberspace.

Hybrid Reality: A fusion of various configurations or constellations of reality, e.g. Mixed Reality and the so-called "Real Reality".

Mixed Reality: This concept signifies a fusion of Virtual and Augmented Realities.

Mobile Culture: A recent mode of production and consumption of information, knowledge and culture, articulated to social mobilities and discourses on the urban, and mainly activated through digital mobile devices, such as cell phones.

Mobilities: In our contemporary world and societies, all processes, capitals, actors, and things, and even spaces and places, are permanently on the move and being transformed.

Tourism Communication: This concept is based on three main modes of communication: (a) *interpersonal face-to-face interactions* among tourists and inhabitants, citizens and immigrants within a physical and social destination place; (b) *classical mediated communication*, undertaken by tourists through tourism institutions (tourism central or local offices), tourism organizations (tourism agencies) and via mass media e.g. newspapers, television; (c) *digital media*, for instance tourism sites and social networks and, recently, digital mobile media. Mobile devices are the main tool that contribute to the emergence of both the so-called electronic and internet-based *e-tourism* and the more mobile oriented *m-tourism*.

Tourist: A social actor, originating in a departure society and culture, that visits destination societies and cultures, within (her)his leisure time.

Web 2.0: The so-called second age of the internet, that had a notable development after 2001, and where users became apparently more active than in the precedent decade. That is, besides reading information, they write content, e.g. posts and comments in blogs or messages to other users in social networks (Facebook, etc.). That's why Web 2.0 is also named '*reading/writing internet*'.

Web 3.0: This network mode is censured to foster a new style of reception and production of information, knowledge and meaning. It is often nominated *Semantic Web*, in that its main purpose is to construct, deconstruct and reconstruct social semantic sites and networks, where their own underlying model of meaning and knowledge is manifest, described, narrated, and interpreted.