

Spanish journalists on Twitter: Diagnostic approach to what, and how Spanish journalists talk about politics, international affairs, society, communication and culture

Santiago Tejedor Calvo
Laura Cervi
Gabriel Jaraba

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

santiago.tejedor@uab.cat

laura.cervi@uab.cat

gabrieljaraba@gmail.com

Fernanda Esperanza Tusa

Universidad Técnica de Machala

ftusa@utmachala.edu.ec



Submission date: June 2020

Accepted date: October 2020

Published in: December 2020

Recommended citation: TEJEDOR CALVO, S.; CERVI, L.; JARABA, G. and TUSA, F. E. (2020). «Spanish journalists on Twitter: Diagnostic approach to what, and how Spanish journalists talk about politics, international affairs, society, communication and culture». *Anàlisi: Quaderns de Comunicació i Cultura*, 63, 1-18. DOI: <<https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/analisi.3333>>

Abstract

Twitter has become a broad network of news and information. Journalists exploit the possibilities of this network to access information sources, to disseminate messages or participate in debates about current news. The objective of this investigation is to discover what Spanish journalists talk about on Twitter through a comparative study between journalists working in traditional media and in cyber media and determine if there is a difference between their platform usage. This research analyzes 3,500 tweets taken from two samples of Spanish journalists (conventional media professionals and digital media professionals). This comparative study is based on six major thematic categories: politics, international affairs, society, communication and culture, according to a system of classification of registration units consisting of 6 thematic groups covering 35 categories and 1,226 subcategories. The research identifies, among other aspects, a predominance of

content focused on political issues compared to other thematic areas. In addition, there are very homogeneous network utilization dynamics among general media journalists and digital journalists, while there is a growing interest in society and culture issues and a shortage of content about the network and the journalistic profession itself.

Keywords: microblogging; Twitter; current news; debates; Spanish journalists; communication

Resum. *Periodistes espanyols a Twitter: diagnosi de què i com els periodistes espanyols parlen de política, afers internacionals, societat, comunicació i cultura*

Twitter s'ha convertit en una àmplia xarxa de notícies i informació. Els periodistes aprofiten les possibilitats d'aquesta xarxa per accedir a fonts d'informació, difondre missatges o participar en debats sobre actualitat. L'objectiu d'aquesta investigació és saber de què parlen els periodistes espanyols a Twitter a través d'un estudi comparatiu entre periodistes que treballen en mitjans tradicionals i en cibermitjans per establir si existeixen diferències entre ells i quines són les tendències d'ús de la plataforma en cadascun dels grups. Aquesta investigació analitza 3.500 tuits extrets de dues mostres de periodistes espanyols (professionals dels mitjans convencionals i professionals dels mitjans digitals). El treball fa un estudi comparatiu a partir de sis grans categories temàtiques: política, internacional, societat, comunicació i cultura, a través d'un sistema de classificació d'unitats registrals que consta de 6 grups temàtics que comprenen 35 categories i 1.226 subcategories. La investigació identifica, entre altres aspectes, un predomini de continguts enfocats a temes polítics en front d'altres àrees temàtiques. A més, existeix una dinàmica d'utilització de la xarxa molt homogènia entre els periodistes dels mitjans de comunicació en general i els periodistes digitals, mentre que s'observa un creixent interès pels temes de la societat i la cultura i una escassetat de contingut sobre la xarxa i la professió periodística.

Paraules clau: *microblogging*; Twitter; notícies actuals; debats; periodistes espanyols; comunicació

Resumen. *Periodistas españoles en Twitter: diagnóstico de qué y cómo los periodistas españoles hablan de política, asuntos internacionales, sociedad, comunicación y cultura*

Twitter se ha convertido en una amplia red de noticias e información. Los periodistas aprovechan las posibilidades de esta red para acceder a fuentes de información, difundir mensajes o participar en debates sobre actualidad. El objetivo de esta investigación es conocer de qué hablan los periodistas españoles en Twitter a través de un estudio comparativo entre periodistas que trabajan en medios tradicionales y en cibermedios para establecer si existen diferencias entre ellos y cuáles son las tendencias de uso de la plataforma en cada uno de los grupos. Esta investigación analiza 3.500 tuits extraídos de dos muestras de periodistas españoles (profesionales de los medios convencionales y profesionales de los medios digitales). El trabajo realiza un estudio comparativo a partir de seis grandes categorías temáticas: política, internacional, sociedad, comunicación y cultura, a través de un sistema de clasificación de unidades registrales que consta de 6 grupos temáticos que abarcan 35 categorías y 1.226 subcategorías. La investigación identifica, entre otros aspectos, un predominio de contenidos enfocados en temas políticos frente a otras áreas temáticas. Además, existe una dinámica de utilización de la red muy homogénea entre los periodistas de los medios de comunicación en general y los periodistas digitales, mientras se observa un creciente interés en los temas de la sociedad y la cultura y una escasez de contenido sobre la red y la propia profesión periodística.

Palabras clave: *microblogging*; Twitter; noticias actuales; debates; periodistas españoles; comunicación

1. Introduction

Twitter has more than 330 million active monthly users, with 4.9 million profiles in Spain in 2018. Presented in 2006 as a short message system intended primarily to serve as a telephone application. Twitter has become a broad network of news and information (Cervi and Roca, 2017). According to the most recent study carried out by this social network, the profile of the most active Twitter users in Spain is made up of young people with higher education and an above average level of income who give their opinion, are attentive to breaking news and share content.

Newman et al. (2011) explain that, within the journalistic sector, attitudes towards social networks have changed, especially during the period 2009–2011, and news organizations have adapted to these new formats. Several studies (Neuberger et al., 2019) have confirmed that Twitter is the most developed social network as a professional tool among journalists, indicating a steady increase in the use of this network by journalists worldwide. It is currently estimated that around 80% of journalists in Western societies have an account on this platform (Hanusch, 2018).

According to several authors, Twitter plays a critical role in the legitimacy of journalists (Barnard, 2016), and has become a key mechanism to establish positions of hierarchy and prestige (Mourão, 2014). However, as López-Meri (2015) emphasizes, almost all of the investigations on the journalistic use of Twitter analyze journalists who are adept at Twitter and do not capture the vision of professionals who remain on the sidelines. Moreover, although most journalists use Twitter, very few tweets daily (Hedman and Djerf-Pierre, 2013) and the type of activity they carry out on the network can vary. In a survey of 50 Spanish journalists, Carrera Álvarez et al. (2012) indicated that 88% use Twitter to poll the environment and detect trends; 86% to seek information, 84% to engage the public, 80% to viralize their own content, 72% to obtain new ideas and 70% to disseminate information from other media.

Based on this, the objective of this investigation is to discover what Spanish journalists talk about on Twitter through a comparative study between journalists working in traditional media and in cyber media and determine if there is a difference in their platform usage.

2. Theoretical framework

As Vis (2013) emphasizes, since its launch in 2006, Twitter has attracted great academic interest, due to the openness of the platform, easy access to the data and the information such data offer to better understand a range of

communication practices. In general, studies on the journalistic use of Twitter can be divided into two broad areas: the use of this tool by media and the use by journalists. However, most studies focus on how news organizations have adopted Twitter and other social networks as news and information dissemination platforms (Ahmad, 2010; Barnard, 2016; Greer and Ferguson, 2011; Greer and Yan, 2010; Hermida, 2010; Messner et al., 2012; Noguera, 2013).

In Spain, several studies have been carried out on media sectors (Requejo and Herrera, 2014; Said et al., 2013; Herrera and Requejo, 2012; Túniz, 2012) or on specific media (Lazo and García-Idiakez, 2014; López and Alonso, 2013). The results indicate that, in general, Twitter is not used so much as an information tool, but that the media use social networks mainly to distribute their own content and to redirect users to their main website, that is, the use responds to a marketing purpose (Hermida, 2013; Lasorsa et al., 2012).

On the other hand, some studies specifically examine how journalists have adapted to social networks. These studies include surveys of journalists who use the network (Newman, 2013); analyze Twitter accounts of large groups of often «elite» journalists (Holcomb et al., 2011) and specific journalists, such as foreign correspondents (Cozma and Chen, 2013) and political journalists (Hanusch, 2018; Nuernbergk, 2016; Mourão, 2014; Rogstad, 2014) or address gender differences among journalists who use Twitter (Artwick, 2014; Lasorsa, 2012).

Studies focusing on the figure of journalists confirm the *normalization* of the use of Twitter (Lasorsa et al., 2012), that is, journalists have adopted Twitter as part of their normal routines, especially to inform, search for information and find sources (Newman, 2009; Brown Smith, 2012; Lasorsa et al., 2012). Other works have shown that the creation of a journalistic *brand* is becoming a widespread activity on Twitter (Brems et al., 2017; Hanusch and Bruns, 2017; Molyneux, 2015; Molyneux and Holton, 2015; Molyneux et al., 2017; Olausson, 2017; Ottovordemgentschenfelde, 2017) or that journalists struggle to find a balance between self-promotion and information (Olausson, 2018; Brems et al., 2017).

As previously mentioned, the objective of our investigation is to discover what Spanish journalists talk about on Twitter through a comparative study between journalists from traditional media and cybermedia journalists to establish if there is a difference between them and what are the trends of use of the platform in each of them.

3. Methods

The paper presents a retrospective, longitudinal investigation that studies a diachronic succession of messages via Twitter produced over a period of time. The study corpus is made up of 3,500 tweets issued by 20 Twitter account holders between January 2017 and March 2018. The sources from which the

data obtained from the follow-up of the two groups of journalists are structured into two invited and non-probabilistic samples. Three samples have been designed:

1. Traditional media journalists: A sample of ten Twitter accounts corresponding to legacy media journalists. Throughout the study they identify themselves as *media journalists*.
2. Digital journalists: A sample of ten Twitter accounts corresponding to journalists working exclusively in cybermedia. These have been identified as *digital journalists*, although today all journalism is digital to differentiate them from those who make up the staff of a generalist medium with a long history and presence outside cyberspace. Despite his death in 2017, journalist Miguel Angel Bastenier was included due to his relevance, career and activity on Twitter. The two samples of journalists, those who work in mass media and those who do so in cybermedia, are non-probabilistic invited samples (Table 1). The selection of the sample has been carried out based on the following parameters: a) Experience and trajectory in the exercise of the profession; b) Attachment to an influential medium (both in the field of mass media or cybermedia); c) Plurality of the media represented as a whole; d) Denotative background of reflection on journalism, media and communication; and e) Representativeness to a greater or lesser degree of generational professional group, information and opinion trends, exercise of generalist and non-specialized journalism. The journalists that make up the research sample are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Sample of journalists

Traditional media journalists	Digital journalists
Miguel A. Bastenier (@MABastenier)	Ignacio Escolar (@iescolar)
Andreu Farràs (@afarrasc)	Montserrat Domínguez (@MontseHuffPost)
Jordi Évole (@jordievole)	Silvia Cobo (@silviacobo)
Francisco Marhuenda (@pacomarhuenda)	Principia Marsupia (@pmarsupia)
Ana Pastor (@_anapastor_)	Rosa Maria Artal (@rosamariaartal)
Hermann Tertscg (@hermanntertscg)	Ricardo Galli (@gallir)
David Jiménez (@DavidJimenezTW)	Ramón Lobo (@ramonlobo)
Mayka Navarro (@maykanavarro)	Manuel M. Almedia (@mmeida)
Carlos Cuesta (@carloscuestaEM)	Iñigo S. Ugarte (@Guerraeterna)
Carlos E. Cué (@carlosecue)	Gumersindo Lafuente (@sindolafuente)

Source: Own elaboration.

The methodology used is content analysis based on the contributions of classic authors such as Berelson (1971), Krippendorff (1990) and Holsti (1969), and applied to cyberspace according to the proposals of Berganza and Ruiz San Román (2005) or Vilches (2011). For this two-year study, we have

designed a categorization system of registration units that have subsequently been quantified. The content analysis was carried out based on a categorization common to all the aforementioned materials, expressed in thematic criteria related to current affairs, according to the journalistic tradition of classifying informative content. For the sake of operability, the category table is structured into groups of categories (see Table 2). In total, six thematic groups covering 35 categories have been defined as follows:

Table 2. Thematic categories

Politics	International affairs	Society
Spanish politics	International politics	Social problems
Government	International crisis	Economy
The Crown	Jihadism	Work
Institutions	Human Rights	Industry
Corruption		Healthcare
Terrorism		Education
		Solidarity
		Environment
Communication	Culture	Miscellaneous
Media	Cultural institutions	Mixed topics
Media and Politics	Arts	Human interest
Journalism	Religion	Show business
Internet	History	Humor
	Sciences	Crime
	Sports	Disasters
		Local information

Fuente: Own elaboration.

Together with the 35 main thematic categories, 1,226 subcategories were established with the objective of accessing a descriptive level of greater depth. The discursive logic of the social networks on the Internet constitutes an extraordinarily complex fabric in which the need to discern the subjective and the objective puts the methods of investigation and its practitioners to the test.

The content analysis is based on the system of categories explained above. The investigation also uses subcategories, supplementary to the registry units already categorized, in order to provide the analysis with greater descriptive potential and help to clarify the quantitative analysis. In this way, thanks to the combination of categories and subcategories, we deepen into the qualitative analysis. The use of subcategories combined with categories is another original contribution of this research that enables adapting the content analysis method to the new realities of the social media of Web 2.0 and particularly to the operability required to transform quantitative elements into qualitative elements from content as succinct as tweets comprising 140 characters.

The indicated categories have been defined based on a terminological dimension. Despite the fact that the thematic taxonomy established by the journalistic profession has consolidated the general use of categories such as

those used in this research or similar ones, it is necessary to fully specify their meaning in our particular application of content analysis. The increasing evolution of some informative formats has meant that in some media there is a designation of the thematic rubrics that can sometimes lead to confusion, given the generality of topics that may include or confuse terminology. For all this, the study has opted for, given the risk of vague thematization, for terminological accuracy. The thematic scope of the respective categories is as follows:

- 1) Spanish politics: Political parties and general political activity in Spain, including that of the autonomous communities and municipal politics. Politicians and protagonists of political life, including people who momentarily attract attention by being associated with political circumstances. Electoral processes with their preparation, implementation and monitoring.
- 2) Government: The action of the government of Spain and those of the autonomous communities.
- 3) Crown: Public activity of the Spanish Royal House.
- 4) Institutions: News about public institutions in the country excluding those that belong to the structure of the executive branch, whose activity is included in the *government* category. Armed forces, police, judiciary, university, professional associations. The characters linked to it, the legislation that includes and regulates them.
- 5) Corruption: Cases of corruption and its protagonists, public or private persons.
- 6) Terrorism: Facts, characters and opinions about terrorist activity in Spain. Jihadist activity and the activities of Islamist fundamentalists that do not translate into violent acts, which are included in the *Jihadism* category, are excluded.
- 7) International policy: Political activity in foreign countries excluding situations and moments of special tension, which correspond to the category *International crises*.
- 8) International crises: Situations, processes and moments of conflict in foreign countries, which, although they may be local phenomena, have a critical, international reach. It includes armed conflicts, but also peaceful confrontation through diplomacy.
- 9) Jihadism: Terrorist activity practiced by violent Islamist groups is differentiated in the Near East, which falls under the category *International Crises*.
- 10) Human rights: State of human rights in the world.
- 11) Social problems: Social situations that lead to widespread problems in the country: unemployment, poverty, social deprotection. Also issues related to demography, mortality and population movements. Health issues are excluded and an independent category (*Health*) is included due to the strong institutional and economic weight of public health in Spain.

- 12) Economy: General economic activity, banking, business, government and state; public and private. The result or cause of specific government actions, which are included in the *Government* category, are excluded. Finance, banking, the stock market. It refers strictly to economic matters, especially macroeconomic ones and excludes industrial and technological issues related to companies, which are dealt with in *Industry*.
- 13) Work: The problems of the labor world, claims, conflicts, union activity. Issues related to working conditions, salaries, job security. Unemployment and associated circumstances, which are part of the *Social problems* category, are excluded because their social impact exceeds the labor framework to reach all citizens.
- 14) Industry: The activity of companies especially in regard to production, marketing and technology. Industrial innovation, problems caused by innovations in production and consumption.
- 15) Health: The state of health in Spain and health, private and public services. Health related to social security, the public sector and state services. Its economy, structure and management policies. Budgets and administration policies. Coverage, types of assistance and scope of beneficiaries.
- 16) Education: Public education policies, educational services and public education. Budgets, administration, economics and management policies.
- 17) Solidarity: The activity of NGOs dedicated to solidarity. Campaigns and solidarity actions, including those undertaken by the media. The state of the matter in the third sector, public policies that foster or hinder solidarity. Debates about the nature and scope of solidarity actions. People who participate, organize and start them.
- 18) Environment: The preservation of the environment, demands of environmentalism, both political and conservationist. The activity of environmental organizations. Events of national and international scope, about the global problems of the planet. The Climate Summit held in Paris.
- 19) Media: The activity of the media, especially related to its role in the public sphere.
- 20) Media in politics: The activity of the media directly linked to politics: when they inform of party activities, of controversies or political debates, of electoral matters. Media issues fall into this category when they denote a direct link to current issues, especially electoral, and the controversies associated with it. We establish the difference between the categories *Media* and *Media in politics* because in the latter the issues that are addressed are not so linked to media activity and informational content in general, but correspond exclusively to political information.
- 21) Journalism: The exercise of journalism by professionals, the news featuring them. Reflections on the profession and its exercise, issues related to journalistic writing, deontology, the information process.

- 22) Internet: The network, phenomena and dynamics of web 2.0, platforms, cybermedia, technologies. Sociotechnical phenomena propitiated by the Internet, current debates, questions regarding social transformations favored by the network. Problems that monopolization on the Internet poses to democracy.
- 23) Cultural institutions: Cultural, public and private entities. Cultural industries, issues arising from general cultural activity and associated economic, political and technological problems. Very prominent personalities who, regardless of whether they may be creators, play a quasi-institutional role in this field.
- 24) Arts: The artistic activity of all kinds, not only that corresponding to the fine arts but also to interpretive activities that take place in stages and shows and are disseminated by means of reproduction or communication.
- 25) Religion: Activity of religious denominations and their protagonists.
- 26) Sports: Sports activities.
- 27) History: Disclosure of historical facts. Information or comments about historical museum pieces, works of art or books. Observations about episodes of the story, characters from other eras.
- 28) Science: Scientific dissemination, advances and innovations.
- 29) Mixed topics: Various issues of news interest, anecdotes and diverse circumstances of everyday life. Scenarios of urban life, occurrences and curious cases. Although the French journalistic tradition uses the term *faits divers* to refer to what is called here events or police chronicle, we prefer to collect the latter facts in the category *Crime*, which designates them with more precision.
- 30) Human interest: Facts starring people of the commons, without notoriety, which themselves give rise to feelings of sympathy or adhesion. Goodwill actions, examples of humanity, sympathetic anecdotes. Also dramatic cases that lead to suffering in which the empathic capacity of the human condition is highlighted. Although some diverse facts could be considered included in this category only those that are strongly personalized and starred by anonymous people are.
- 31) Show business: News featuring famous artists or people dedicated to show business, related to the spectacularization rather than the practice of arts that may entail. The shows that are characterized by the performance of performing arts appear under the category *Arts*.
- 32) Humor: Jokes, occurrences and humorous sayings. Cartoons of humor or political and social criticism published in the media, comic strips and drawings. The comic as a genre is part of the *Arts* category.
- 33) Crime: Facts and news starring criminals. Acts against the property, security or life of citizens. Police and judicial chronicle. Non-political violence Episodes related to prison life. Issues generally known as *Events* but restricted to the sense described herein are included here.

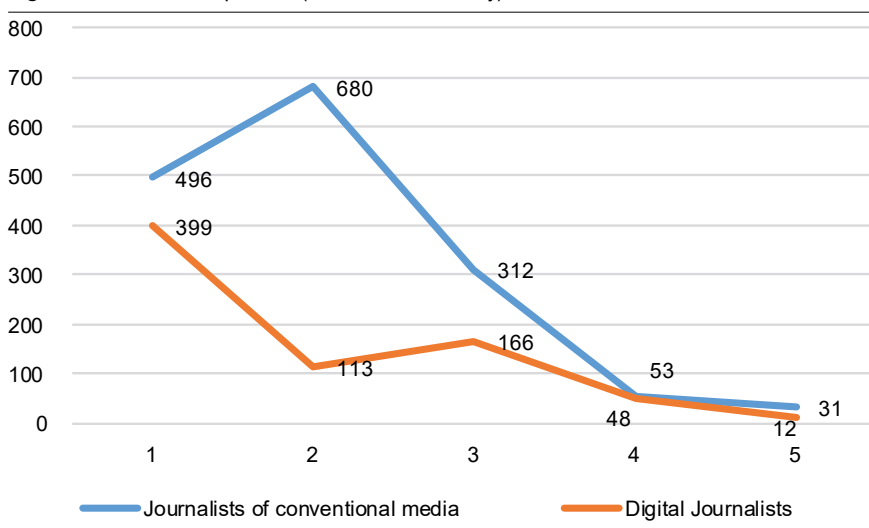
- 34) Disasters: Natural or man-made phenomena that result in destruction, devastation or loss of property, natural spaces or human lives. Fires, earthquakes, hurricanes, storms, destruction.
- 35) Local information: News circumscribed to the cities in which the medium is published.

4. Results

The general results derived from the six thematic categories that make up the study (politics, international affairs, society, communication, culture and miscellaneous) indicate that there are important differences between the sample of generalist media journalists and digital journalists in the number of mentions from areas such as politics, international information or communication content.

In all of them (see Figure 1), media journalists present in their *conversations* a number of mentions far superior to those of digital journalists. This trend, although with a smaller difference, also occurs in the contents of the thematic categories of culture and miscellaneous and only a greater number of mentions of digital journalists than media journalists is detected in the thematic block of *society*. It is important to point out that in this diagnostic analysis the election day was not contemplated due to the particular characteristics of this type of event that thematically abuses the totality of the activity of journalists. However, the data below are presented taking into account the elections and their impact.

Figure 1. General comparison (without election day)



Fuente: Own elaboration.

The results of the analysis contemplating the election day only indicate that, in the six days prior to that day, media journalists tweeted more about politics than digital journalists. In contrast, during the election day the result was the other way around. In this regard, it follows that digital journalists are more constantly engaged in offering information to readers during a social event of this nature.

In the first six days of the follow up (see Table 3), the media reporters indicated that they tweeted a remarkable amount of messages on international affairs. In these cases, there is a tendency to tweet about the current events of certain countries as a way of discussing Spanish issues. This deduction is reinforced by checking the data of the *International Affairs* category on election day and the significant decrease in tweets included in it.

The significant decrease in the number of tweets in the category *Society* observed on election day with respect to the previous six days (2 in each of the samples) indicates the increased interest in political issues. Something similar can be deduced from the fact that in the category *Communication* the tweets fall by almost half (tweets categorized in *Media in politics* contribute a significant amount to the group). As for *Culture* and *Miscellaneous*, these groups maintain the proportions corresponding to the previous days. Therefore, the study verifies two aspects. On the one hand, the current focus on the political issues of the electoral day reinforces the general trend of polarization around political issues. On the other hand, the election day continues to preside over the tweet of the days in which today does not have this special inclination. The political polarization is presented as a constant throughout the monitoring period of the samples regardless of the general election day.

Table 3. Number of mentions to the categories in the coverage of the electoral day

Sample	Politics	International Affairs	Society	Communication	Culture	Mix
Conventional media journalists	263	43	2	166	17	3
Digital journalists	393	7	2	72	5	4

Fuente: Own elaboration.

Next, a set of segmented analyses is presented with the objective of defining the existing tendencies beyond the political polarization indicated. In this way, the study deepens in the comparative analysis aimed at identifying innovative trends in journalism, in the use of the network, in its positioning, in the general information agendas, in the breadth and thematic variety of the current event treatment. The research aims at comparing:

- 1) Society and culture: The research compares the categories *Society* and *Culture* with the other groups of categories. The study analyzes the position of the issues of these two groups of categories in the set of the two samples.

- 2) Communication: The research compares the categories of the *Communication* group with each other. Thus, the study studies the proportions between the elements related to the internet, journalism and the media.

Regarding the comparative study between the groups of categories: *Politics*, *International Affairs*, *Society* and *Culture* belonging to the two samples of tweets, in which their quantitative proportions are established (see Figure 2). The investigation allows us to point out that, beyond the quantitative imbalance between political and international information and that of society and culture, there is a tendency towards homogeneity in this matter in the two samples of journalists. In this sense, the study shows that the set of categories included in the *Politics* group (which are not *Spanish Politics*) receive similar or even lower attention than those of society or culture.

For example, the *Arts* category contains more tweets than the *Politics* category with figures comparable to those of *International crises*. This result denotes a remarkable presence of the performing arts, literature and cinema in the informative concerns of both samples of journalists. In the same vein, the study shows that the thematic category of *Economy*, included in the *Society* group, attracts almost twice the amount of digital journalists' attention. Finally, the number of tweets corresponding to *Social problems* is almost three times higher in digital journalists than media journalists (see specific results for each category in tables 4, 5, 6 and 7).

Figure 2. Comparative study between the Politics, International Affairs, Society and Culture categories

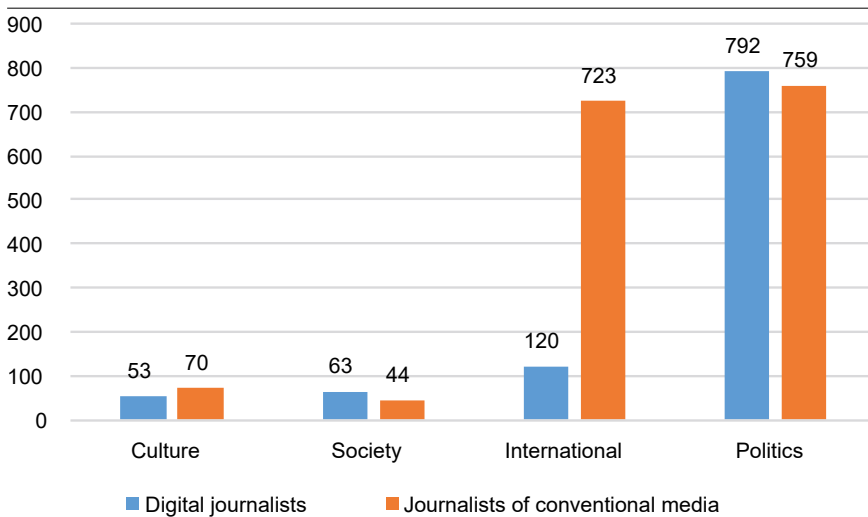


Table 4. Subcategories under «Politics» (number of references)

Category	Spanish Politics	Government	Crown	Institutions	Corruption	Terrorism
Conventional media journalists	659	0	0	8	0	1
Digital journalists	770	5	5	11	2	2

Fuente: Own elaboration.

Table 5. Subcategories under «International Affairs» (number of references)

Sample	International politics	International crisis	Jihadism	Human rights
Conventional media journalists	422	65	174	3
Digital journalists	34	32	33	1

Fuente: Own elaboration.

Table 6. Subcategories under «Society» (number of references)

Sample	Social problems	Economy	Work	Industry	Health-care	Educa-tion	Solidarity	Environ-ment
Conventional media journalists	6	14	0	1	0	1	14	6
Digital journalists	17	23	2	5	5	0	3	8

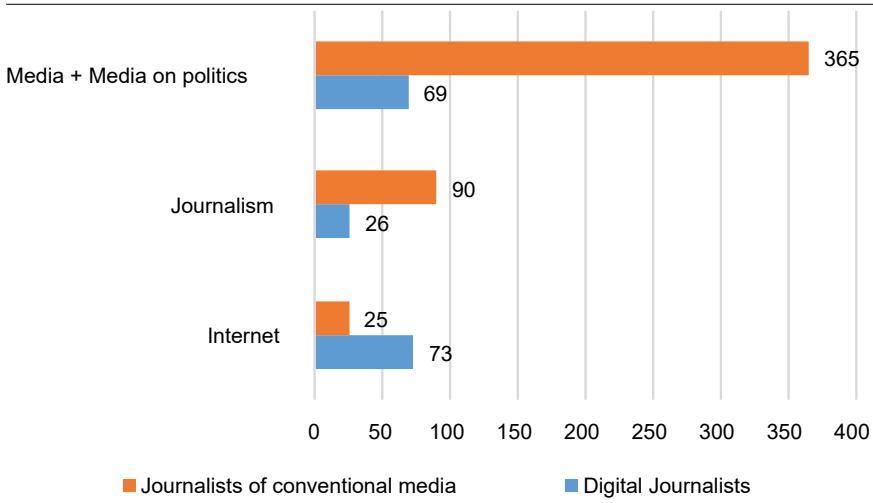
Fuente: Own elaboration.

Table 7. Subcategories under «Culture» (number of references).

Sample	Cultural institutions	Arts	Religion	History	Sciences	Sports
Conventional media journalists	4	36	8	5	8	12
Digital Journalists	1	34	0	2	9	5

Fuente: Own elaboration.

The comparative study with the thematic category of *Communication* was intended to identify elements of innovation or trend exploration and observe the concern that journalists show about when incorporating the theme as content of their tweet. The categories *Media* and *Media in politics* appear here merged (with the tweets of each added and gathered in a single block) to facilitate comparisons, since in this section the differentiation between tweets about media in general and tweets about political issues related to media are considered irrelevant (see Figure 3 and Table 8).

Figure 3. Comparative study of «Communication» subcategories

Fuente: Own elaboration.

Table 8. Subcategories under «Communication» (number of references)

Sample	Media	Media and politics	Journalism	Internet
Conventional media journalists	218	156	84	21
Digital journalists	66	73	26	73

Fuente: Own elaboration.

With regard to the data, it is important to note that, in the context of the investigation, the high number of media-dedicated tweets in the sample of media journalists is due to the promotional use they make of Twitter for the dissemination of the newspapers and television outlets where they work. In the case of digital journalists, this trend is smaller, although it also occurs.

The differences in the amount of content dedicated to the media compared to those of journalism and the Internet are in favor of the first category. Additionally, the tweets about media in both samples do not correspond to reflections on communication but to information, dissemination or references regarding the contents of the tweets, which concern the current events reported by the media. One would expect such reflections to be found in the *Journalism* and *Internet* categories, but they only do so in the first. The contents related to the network are also mention dissemination (especially allusions to cybermedia) and there are no contents about new trends in the network.

At a general level, tweets about communication, in general, focus on the present and on a current approach that closely follows the information agenda of the mainstream today. Journalists are not, therefore, agents of information about new trends nor do they provide elements that involve the search

for new fields of action or approaches. A thorough reflection on the profession and journalistic practice is detected in only some cases of the media journalists sample (journalistic writing and deontology, specifically). However, in the case of digital journalists, no example is detected despite the fact that the sample includes distinguished professionals who have played a pioneering role in the dissemination of the network in Spain and in the creation of cybermedia. In this sense, it is important to note that the absence of references related to innovation in communication would respond more to the conception and use of Twitter bounded on a daily basis.

5. Conclusions

Based on the results presented above, the research allows us to draw a set of conclusions from the comparison of the thematic areas with special reference to the electoral day and its relationship with the *conversations* of the journalists included in the two samples on Twitter. In this sense, some concluding remarks are warranted:

1. First of all, political tweets are the most recurring. In the case of the election day, digital journalists tweet about politics since they strive to inform their readers more frequently of the development of events, especially the publication of election results. The larger number of tweets dedicated to politics on election day by digital journalists denotes a greater understanding of Twitter's potential to deliver immediate information and information coverage service. The election day denotes a sharp decline in attention to issues that have nothing to do with politics, but to a lesser extent with regard to communication, given political use of communication related issues. It could be said that the attention toward politics during the electoral period is not an exception, but corresponds to a general trend that is maintained over time. The decrease in attention to matters unrelated to politics is a timely finding of tweets on election day, but this decrease also corresponds to the general trend observed for this issue on the days the samples were monitored.
2. Homogeneous dynamics: Based on the comparisons made, the trends of the media journalists and digital journalists samples do not differ regarding tweeting on political issues.
3. Growing interest in society and culture issues: Journalists are more interested in content related to society and culture than other topics (except for issues related to politics). Interest in the performing arts, literature and cinema is greater than other institutional and social categories, and is higher in the case of media journalists.
4. Little online content on the Internet: Media journalists tweet more about journalism than the Internet, while digital journalists do the exact opposite. The desire to cover real-time events, which is reflected

in the tweets of the two samples, prevents addressing issues related to innovation in communication or new perspectives on the Internet. Due to this phenomenon, references to and treatment of the media are promotional, instrumental or strictly informative. Journalists, whether media or digital, do not use Twitter as a platform to air their concerns about the future of the media and the network.

Bibliographical references

- AHMAD, A. (2010). «Is Twitter a Useful Tool for Journalists?». *Journal of Media Practice*, 11 (2), 145-155.
- ARTWICK, C. G. (2014). «News sourcing and gender on Twitter». *Journalism*, 15 (8), 1111-1127.
- BARNARD, S. R. (2016). «Tweet or be Sacked': Twitter and the New Elements of Journalistic Practice». *Journalism*, 17 (2), 190-207.
- BERELSON, B. (1971). *Content analysis in communication research*. Nueva York: Harper.
- BERGANZA, M. Z. and RUIZ SAN ROMÁN, J. (2005). *Investigar en comunicación. Guía práctica de métodos y técnicas de investigación social en comunicación social*. Madrid: McGraw Hill.
- BREMS, C.; TEMMERMAN, M.; GRAHAM, T. and BROERSMA, M. (2017). «Personal Branding on Twitter». *Digital Journalism*, 5 (4), 443-459.
- BROWN SMITH, C. (2012). «#Memstorm: Twitter as a Community-driven Breaking News Reporting Tool». #ISOJ *The Official Journal of the International Symposium on Online Journalism*, 2 (2), 1-28.
- CARRERA ÁLVAREZ, P.; SAINZ DE BARANDA, C.; HERRERO, E. and LIMÓN, N. (2012). «Journalism and Social Media: How Spanish Journalists Are Using Twitter». *Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico*, 1 (18), 31-53.
- CERVI, L. and ROCA, N. (2017). «The modernization of the electoral campaign for the general elections of Spain in 2015. Towards Americanization?». *Comunicación y Hombre*, 13, 133-150.
- COZMA, R. and CHEN, K. (2013). «What's in a Tweet?». *Journalism Practice*, 7 (1), 33-46.
- GREER, C. F. and FERGUSON, D. A. (2011). «Using Twitter for Promotion and Branding: A Content Analysis of Local Television Twitter Sites». *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 55 (2), 198-214.
- GREER, J. D. and YAN, Y. (2010). «New Ways of Connecting with Readers. How community newspapers are using Facebook, Twitter and other social tools to deliver the news». *Grassroots Editor*, 51 (4), 1-7.
- HANUSCH, F. (2018). «Political Journalists' Corporate and Personal Identities on Twitter Profile Pages: A Comparative Analysis in Four Westminster Democracies». *New Media & Society*, 20 (4), 1-18.
- HANUSCH, F. and BRUNS, A. (2017). «Journalistic Branding on Twitter: A Representative Study of Australian Journalists' Profile Descriptions». *Digital Journalism*, 5 (1), 26-43.
- HEDMAN, U. and DJERF-PIERRE, M. (2013). «The Social Journalist: Embracing the Social Media Life or Creating a New Digital Divide?». *Digital Journalism*, 1 (3), 368-385.

- HERMIDA, A. (2010). «Twittering the news: The emergence of ambient journalism». *Journalism Practice*, 4 (3), 297-308.
- (2013). «#Journalism». *Digital Journalism*, 1 (3), 295-313.
- HERRERA, S. and REQUEJO, J. L. (2012). «10 Good Practices for News Organizations Using Twitter». *Journal of Applied Journalism and Media Studies*, 1 (1), 79-95.
- HOLCOMB, J.; GROSS, K. and MITCHELL, A. (2011). «How Mainstream Media Outlets Use Twitter: Content Analysis Shows Evolving Relationship». *Project for Excellence in Journalism*. Retrieved from: <<http://www.journalism.org/node/27311>>.
- HOLSTI, O. R. (1969). *Content analysis for the social sciences and the humanities*. Boston: Addison-Wesley.
- KRIPPENDORFF, K. (1990). *Metodología del análisis de contenido*. Barcelona: Paidós.
- LASORSA, D. (2012). «Transparency and Other Journalistic Norms on Twitter». *Journalism Studies*, 13 (3), 402-417.
- LASORSA, D.; LEWIS, S. C. and HOLTON, A. (2012). «Normalizing Twitter: Journalism Practice in an Emerging Communication Space.» *Journalism Studies*, 13 (1), 19-36.
- LAZO, C. and GARCIA-IDIAKEZ, M. (2014). «Professional Use of the Social Networking Service Twitter in Composing the Spanish Newspaper *El País*». *Palabra Clave*, 17 (2), 353-377.
- LÓPEZ-MERI, A. (2015). «El impacto de Twitter en el periodismo: un estado de la cuestión». *Revista de la Asociación Española de Investigación de la Comunicación*, 2 (4), 34-41.
- LÓPEZ, X. and ALONSO, S. (2013). «Los periódicos gallegos en las redes sociales virtuales: presencia y posicionamiento en el nuevo escenario comunicativo». *Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico*, 19 (2), 1001-1016.
- MESSNER, M.; LINKE, M. and EFORD, A. (2012). «Shoveling Tweets: An Analysis of the Microblogging Engagement of Traditional News Organizations». *The Official Research Journal of the International Symposium on Online Journalism*, 2 (1), 76-90.
- MOLYNEUX, L. (2015). «What Journalists Retweet: Opinion, Humor, and Brand Development on Twitter». *Journalism*, 16 (7), 920-935.
- MOLYNEUX, L. and HOLTON, A. (2015). «Branding (Health) Journalism: Perceptions, Practices, and Emerging Norms». *Digital Journalism*, 3 (2), 225-242.
- MOLYNEUX, L.; HOLTON, A. and LEWIS, S. C. (2017). «How Journalists Engage in Branding on Twitter: Individual, Organizational, and Institutional Levels». *Information, Communication & Society*, 21 (10), 1-16.
- MOURÃO, R. (2014). «The boys on the timeline: Political journalists' use of Twitter for building interpretive communities». *Journalism*, 16 (8), 1107-1123.
- NEWMAN, N. (2009). *The Rise of Social Media and Its Impact on Mainstream Journalism*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
- NEWMAN, N.; DUTTON, W. and BLANK, G. (2011). *Social Media in the Changing Ecology of News Production and Consumption: The Case in Britain*. Oxford: Oxford Internet Institute.
- NOGUERA, J. M. (2013). «How Open Are Journalists on Twitter? Trends towards the End-user Journalism». *Communication and Society*, 26 (1), 93-114.
- NEUBERGER, C.; NUERNBERGK, C. and LANGENOHL, S. (2019). «Journalism as Multichannel Communication». *Journalism Studies*, 20 (9), 1260-1280.
- NUERNBERGK, C. (2016). «Political Journalists' Interaction Networks: The German Federal Press Conference on Twitter». *Journalism Practice*, 10 (7), 868-879.

- OLAUSSON, U. (2017). «The Reinvented Journalist: The Discursive Construction of Professional Identity on Twitter». *Digital Journalism*, 5 (1), 61-81.
- (2018). «The Celebrified Journalist». *Journalism Studies*, 19 (16), 2379-2399.
- OTTOVORDEMGENTSCHELFELDE, S. (2017). «Organizational, Professional, Personal: An Exploratory Study of Political Journalists and their Hybrid Brand on Twitter». *Journalism*, 18 (1), 64-80.
- REQUEJO, J. L. and HERRERA, S. (2014). «Retroceso en la creación de comunidad entre los diarios generalistas españoles en Twitter (2011-2013)». *Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico*, 20 (1), 229-248.
- RODRÍGUEZ, A. and GARCÍA, J. (2013). «Uso y funciones de Twitter en periodistas españoles». *Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico*, 19, 963-969.
- ROGSTAD, I. D. (2014). «Political News Journalists in Social Media: Transforming Political Reporters into Political Pundits?». *Journalism Practice*, 8 (6), 688-703.
- SAID, E.; SERRANO, A.; GARCÍA DE TORRES, E.; YEREZERS'KA, L. and CALDERÍN, M. (2013). «La gestión de los Social Media en los medios informativos iberoamericanos». *Comunicación y Sociedad*, 26 (1), 67-92.
- TUÑEZ, M. (2012). «Los periódicos en las redes sociales: audiencias, contenido, interactividad y estrategias comerciales». *Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico*, 18 (1), 221-239.
- VILCHES, L. (2011). *La investigación en comunicación. Métodos y técnicas en la era digital*. Barcelona: Gedisa.
- VIS, F. (2013). «Twitter as a Reporting Tool for Breaking News». *Digital Journalism*, 1 (1), 27-47.