Analysis of the topics and trends of Spanish journalists on Twitter: Contents on politics, culture, science, communication and the Internet

Análisis de las temáticas y tendencias de periodistas españoles en Twitter: contenidos sobre política, cultura, ciencia, comunicación e Internet

Análise dos temas e tendências de jornalistas espanhóis no Twitter: conteúdos sobre política, cultura, ciência, comunicação e Internet

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ABSTRACT | Twitter has become a source of data and news. But what do Spanish journalists talk about on Twitter? The research is characterized by its descriptive and analytical aim, and its quantitative and qualitative approach. The work presents a retrospective longitudinal investigation that studied a diachronic succession of messages via Twitter produced over a certain period. The study, with a sampling work of one and a half years, designed a categorization system of registration units that were subsequently quantified. The study corpus consisted of 3,500 tweets issued by 20 journalists who were Twitter account holders in seven days over seven weeks, between January 2017 and March 2018, and by 35 newspaper covers that were published in that same period. The sources of the data obtained from the monitoring of the two groups of journalists were structured into two invited and non-probability samples. Based on this, the research analyzes the tweets of Spanish journalists classified into five thematic categories: politics, culture, science, communication, and the Internet. The study has created a unit classification system made up of 35 thematic categories and 1,226 subcategories. The research concludes, among other aspects, that through Twitter journalists offer a thematic scope much more extensive than the mass media. Hispano-America is presented as a stage for political debate against Europe; while crises, especially international ones, condition the media thematic agendas. The non-existence of a cultural information strategy and a leading role of self-promotion are detected.

KEYWORDS: Twitter; journalism; agenda; information; Internet; power; communication.

RESUMEN | *Twitter se ha convertido en una fuente de datos y de noticias. Pero, ¿de qué hablan los periodistas españoles en Twitter? La investigación descriptiva y analítica, con enfoque cuantitativo y cualitativo, estudia desde una perspectiva longitudinal una sucesión diacrónica de mensajes vía Twitter. El corpus de estudio estuvo conformado por dos muestras invitadas y no probabilísticas: 3500 tuits emitidos por 20 periodistas titulares de cuentas de Twitter en siete días a lo largo de siete semanas, entre enero de 2017 y marzo de 2018, y por 35 portadas de periódicos publicadas en las mismas fechas. La investigación analiza los tuits clasificados en cinco categorías temáticas: política, cultura, ciencia, comunicación e Internet. El estudio ha creado un sistema de clasificación de unidades de registro conformado por 35 categorías temáticas y 1226 subcategorías. Se concluye, entre otros aspectos, que los periodistas ofrecen mediante Twitter un alcance temático mucho más extenso que los medios de comunicación de masas. Hispanoamérica se presenta como un escenario de debate político frente a Europa; mientras que las crisis, especialmente las internacionales, condicionan las agendas temáticas de los medios. Se detecta la inexistencia de una estrategia de información cultural y un rol protagónico de la autopromoción.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Twitter; periodismo; agenda; información; Internet; poder; comunicación.*

RESUMO | O Twitter se tornou uma fonte de dados e notícias. Mas o que estão falando os jornalistas espanhóis no Twitter? A pesquisa caracteriza-se por ser descritiva e analítica e por sua abordagem quantitativa e qualitativa, estuda desde uma perspectiva longitudinal uma sucessão diacrônica de mensagens via Twitter. O corpus do estudo foi composto por duas amostras convidadas e não probabilísticas: consistiu em 3.500 tweets emitidos por 20 jornalistas titulares de contas no Twitter em sete dias, durante sete semanas, entre janeiro de 2017 e março de 2018, e por 35 capas de jornais publicadas nas mesmas datas. Com base nisso, a pesquisa analisa os tweets de jornalistas espanhóis classificados em cinco categorias temáticas: política, cultura, ciência, comunicação e Internet. O estudo criou um sistema de classificação de unidades de registro composto por 35 categorias temáticas e 1.226 subcategorias. A pesquisa conclui, entre outros aspectos, que os jornalistas oferecem via Twitter um escopo temático muito mais amplo do que a mídia de massa. A Hispanoamérica é apresentada como um cenário de debate político frente a Europa; enquanto as crises, principalmente internacionais, condicionam as agendas temáticas da mídia. Detecta-se a inexistência de uma estratégia de informação cultural e um protagonismo da autopromoção.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Twitter; jornalismo; agenda; informação; Internet; poder; comunicação.

INTRODUCTION

The expansion of the Internet from the small domain of technologists to the billions of users connected by networks has changed the communication scenario. The vertical and unidirectional communication model, typical of the industrial society and the mass media, has been progressively replaced by a horizontal and multidirectional one, in which individuals are both producers and consumers of content, transmitters and receivers (Bruns, 2008). The new technologies are producing a change in the correlation of forces of the traditional agents and markets of information, communication, and culture (Deuze, 2008). In fact, for the Italian philosopher Gianni Vattimo (2010), postmodernity is properly defined as a kind of informative babel, where communication and the media have a main role: cyberspace and the network of links that it generates allow people to connect with information and with other users, thus forming a new social coordination. The traditional hierarchy between the journalist-sender (unquestionable in its forms and its working periods) and the citizen-receiver, relegated to a passive condition, is being questioned.

As stated by Jenkins (2006), the public, emancipated thanks to these new technologies, occupies a space at the intersection of old and new media, and claims the right to participate in culture, to interact, dialogue and collaborate with the media to verify the quality of the service and, finally, to have an active role in the new production processes. Therefore, the survival of journalism increasingly depends on how newsrooms can adapt to new technologies (Chadwick, 2013). The explosion of digital social networks, specifically, puts pressure on journalists to be present and active in them in an uninterrupted way (Hedman & Djerf-Pierre, 2013).

Among the different digital social networks, those of microblogging –specifically Twitter– have become popular among journalists, who use them as a new news service to search for sources (Artwick, 2013), maintain relationships with the audience, discover trending topics (Bruns, Enli, Skogerbø, Larsson, & Christensen, 2016; Lasorsa, Lewis, & Holton, 2012), disseminate their articles (Lasorsa et al., 2012; Newman, 2009; Rogstad, 2014), and as a self-promotion tool. However, the way in which journalists use Twitter differ (Allan et al., 2018; Franklin, 2014).

As suggested by Burns (2010) and Hermida (2010), when interacting on Twitter, information professionals are obliged to mix journalistic norms and practices with those of social media. Thus, they must negotiate their professional practices in a new media format that directly challenges them. Therefore, research should strive to understand how journalism and journalists are affected by digital tools like Twitter. In this regard, various researches have emphasized how –thanks to the opportunity to share information quickly with large audiences through

Twitter– journalists have the ability to include or exclude information as they deem appropriate, frequently filtering news and information without going through the traditional stages such as editors (Farhi, 2009; Hermida 2010a). Other works in the same vein highlight that less responsibility and editorial supervision allow journalists to challenge the norms of objectivity and independence on Twitter (Molyneux, 2015), to express themselves more freely (Tandoc & Vos, 2016), and to use humor and opinion (Dahlen Rogstad, 2014), instead of remaining strictly limited to the informative parameters of traditional journalistic routines and messages (Mourão, Diehl, & Vasudevan 2016).

In this context, this research, which brings together unpublished results from a three-year study, analyzes how Spanish journalists are using Twitter, what they talk about on this platform, and whether changes can indeed be identified between professionals from different media (generalists, cybermedia), as well as trends in the use of this network at a journalistic level.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Research on journalism and Twitter is growing rapidly. Most studies focus on how news organizations have adopted this and other digital social networks as platforms for disseminating news and information (Ahmad, 2010; Barnard, 2016; Greer & Yan 2010; Greer & Ferguson, 2011; Hermida, 2010; Messner, Linke, & Eford, 2012; Noguera Vivo, 2013). The results indicate that digital social networks have been used mainly to distribute the content of the news organizations, i.e., as a marketing tool (Hermida, 2013; Lasorsa et al., 2012).

Other studies have posited the question regarding how and how much journalists have adopted digital social networks (Canter, 2015; Gulyas, 2013; Hedman, 2015; Hedman & Djerf-Pierre, 2013; Hermida, 2013; Holton & Lewis, 2011; Lasorsa et al., 2012; Olausson, 2017) in their daily professional performance. There are studies, based on surveys, that have identified how a large number of journalists make permanent use of digital social networks, although the number of users during 24 hours can be quite small (Gulyas, 2013; Hedman & Djerf-Pierre 2013).

In general, these studies –focused on the journalist– confirm the normalization of the use of Twitter (Lasorsa et al., 2012; Lawrence et al., 2014); in other words, journalists have adopted Twitter as part of their usual routines, especially to report, search for information, and find sources (Brown Smith, 2012; Lasorsa et al., 2012; Newman, 2009). According to Broersma and Graham (2012), journalists "go to Twitter in search of news or ideas for new approaches, just as they go to the court, the city hall, the police station or Congress" (p. 405).

Finally, and more recently, there has been academic interest in the use of Twitter for self-promotion and brand journalism (Brems, Temmerman, Graham, & Broersma, 2017; Hanusch & Bruns 2016; Molyneux, 2015; Molyneux & Holton 2015; Molyneux, Holton, & Lewis, 2018; Olausson, 2017; Ottovordemgentschenfelde, 2017). These works show that the creation of a journalistic brand is becoming a generalized activity on Twitter, and that journalists struggle to find a balance between self-promotion and information (Brems et al., 2017; Olausson, 2018).

At the Spanish level, there are quite a few studies on media sectors (Herrera & Requejo, 2012; Requejo & Herrera, 2014) or on specific media (López & Alonso, 2013; Marta-Lazo & García-Idiakez, 2014; Salgado & Zamarra, 2013). However, few studies have focused on the figure of the journalist. Through an in-depth survey of 50 Spanish journalists with active professional profiles on Twitter, Carrera Álvarez, Sainz de Baranda, Hererro and Limón (2012) show that more than creating new content, journalists disseminate and revitalize preexisting arguments, without taking advantage of the opportunity offered by crowdsourcing to generate information in collaboration with users. These surveys provide an interesting image of how journalists use digital social media. Nevertheless, they are insufficient to show how social media is used in newsrooms. Thus, a deep understanding of how journalists are integrating digital social networks requires a closer examination of the various ways in which they are being used in journalistic routines, and how they can transform traditional journalistic routines or roles, or generate other renewed ones. Only one study (Rodríguez & García, 2013) focuses on the content of Spanish journalists' tweets, highlighting that, on the one hand, professional use is left aside and that only 26.7% of journalists' comments on Twitter are for informational purposes only. In this regard, this research delves into that territory with the aim of analyzing the content and trends of Spanish journalists' tweets and, especially, what they tell us about politics, culture, science, communication and the Internet.

METHODOLOGY

The research is characterized by its descriptive and analytical nature and its quantitative and qualitative approach. The work used a retrospective longitudinal investigation that studied a diachronic succession of messages via Twitter, produced over certain time periods, and analyzed a selection of newspaper covers published in the same periods. 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 (2005) or Vilches (2011).

With a sampling work of a year and a half, the study designed a registration categorization system of units that were subsequently quantified. The content analysis was conducted from a common categorization of all mentioned materials, expressed in thematic criteria related to current affairs, according to the journalistic tradition of news content classification.

The corpus of study was made up of 3,500 tweets issued by 20 journalists having Twitter accounts in seven days over seven weeks, between January 2017 and March 2018, and by 35 newspaper covers published during the same period. The data sources of the two groups of journalists were structured in two invited and non-probabilistic samples. Three samples were designed:

1. Generalist media journalists: a sample of ten Twitter accounts of journalists working for the mass media. Throughout the study, we identify them as *media journalists*.

2. Cyber journalists: a sample of ten Twitter accounts of journalists who work exclusively in cybermedia. These were identified as *cyber journalists*, although today all journalism is digital, to differentiate them from those who work for a generalist medium with a long history and presence outside of cyberspace. Despite his death in 2017, we decided to keep in the sample, due to his relevance, career and activity on Twitter, the journalist Miguel Ángel Bastenier.

3. Covers: a sample made up of the covers of five mainstream newspapers, published in the period in which the field work conducted. Throughout the study, they are identified as *covers*.

The sample of newspaper covers was made up of: *El País*, *El Mundo*, *La Razón*, *La Vanguardia*, and *El Periódico*. Three of them are published in Madrid and two in Barcelona, and their news and editorial lines cover the main news topics mostly published and followed in Spain. Each newspaper cover, as a unit of analysis, includes various registration units (headline, photo news, headline with lead, information summary, header sentence). The investigation excluded the newspapers' self-promotion spaces, as well as advertising. Each record unit included a category and one or more subcategories. The categories were allocated according to thematic criteria and the subcategories were established with a descriptive intention of the content context and its protagonists.

The two samples of journalists, those who work in mass media and those who work in cybermedia, were non-probabilistic invited samples (table 1). The journalists selection was made based on the following criteria: a) experience and trajectory in the exercise of the profession; b) affiliation to an influential medium

Media journalists	Cybermedia 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 (@hermanntertsch)	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)

Table 1. Selected journalists' sample

Source: Own elaboration.

Thematic group	Categories
Politics	Spanish politics; government; Crown; institutions; corruption; terrorism
International	Foreign politics; foreign crisis; Jihadism; human rights
Society	Social problems; economy; labor; industry; health; education; solidarity; ecology
Communication	Media; politics in media; journalism; Internet
Culture	Cultural institutions; arts; religion; history; science
Miscellaneous	Various facts; human interest; show; humor; delinquency; catastrophes; local information

Table 2. Thematic categories for analysis

Source: Own elaboration.

(both in the field of mass media or cybermedia); c) plurality of the media represented as a whole; d) background denoting reflection on journalism, the media and communication, and e) representativeness to a greater or lesser degree of: generational professional group, trend in the information line and opinion, exercise of general and non-specialized journalism.

The category table (table 2) is structured into category groups, for the sake of operability. In total, six thematic groups were defined, encompassing 35 categories.

Along with the 35 main thematic categories, the research designed 1,226 subcategories to access a deeper descriptive level. The discursive logic of Internet social networks constitutes an extraordinarily complex fabric, in which the need to discern the subjective and the objective puts research methods and their practitioners to the test.

Approach and objective of the methodological proposal

Adding subcategories to the categories of the analysis allowed the incorporation of more specific elements and made qualitative analysis possible. During the process of samples' categorization, we assigned subcategories to the recording units in addition to the categories. Since it was not feasible to establish quantity comparisons between it and the samples of journalists' tweets due to the quantitative nature of the registration units, the research used the sample of selected covers as a denotative context of the current affairs according to the conventional media (role assigned to that sample in the research design). Thus, by using the subcategories and with the sample of newspaper covers, the study analyzed the following segments through subcategories.

This more detailed choice of segments responds to the following objectives:

1. Political attention focuses: the research seeks to know the trends related to the attention topics in which politicians and parties focus their interest. Specifically, we studied the treatment of issues of Spanish politics, the identification of the most mentioned public figures, and the link of these issues with the current context shown by the mass media. We intended thus to specify the details related to the attention that journalists pay to political issues and to specify which topics they talk about most on Twitter within each of these areas. The research made comparisons between the two samples of journalists regarding the focus of attention in the political sphere.

2. Public figures and settings: the study determined which international public figures, which crisis scenarios, which countries and which global issues attract the attention of journalists from the two samples analyzed. Thus, the research has tried to define the scope of this attention in global terms and infer possible interest nodes or trends. In the same way, the work has established comparisons between the two journalists' samples.

3. Interest in culture and science: the research has approached the details that show an interest in culture and science to identify elements that can denote perception areas of innovative subjects and attention to advanced trends.

4. Communication and Internet: the work has defined the communicational universe in which the journalists of the two samples live. Thus, the study has analyzed which professionals, and of which media, talk on Twitter to infer their motives for attention and even their interests. To this end, the research has studied promotional and self-promotional attitudes, and has defined their concerns regarding the profession and about the present and future of the Internet.

Study segments	Explanation
National politics	Analysis of politicians and parties that appear in Twitter threads.
Foreign politics	Analysis of politicians, world public figures, countries, foreign conflicts.
Culture, arts and science	Analysis of public figures, artistic and scientific disciplines.
Communication	Analysis of professionals, media, programs, journalistic concerns, Internet affairs.

Table 3. Study segments based on categories and subcategories

Source: Own elaboration.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The public figures of Spanish politics

The listing of the names of the most mentioned Spanish politicians in the sample of media journalists and in that of digital journalists within the analysis period (figure 1) places Mariano Rajoy and Pedro Sánchez as the two politicians with the greatest prominence in the Twitter conversations analyzed[1]. In the results of the sample of cyber journalists, the conversations show that Mariano Rajoy and Rivera are the ones with greater prominence[2]. The study of the covers that make up the sample indicates that Mariano Rajoy and Artur Mas (with 10 and nine references respectively) are the most present politicians, followed by Albert Rivera (nine), Pedro Sánchez (seven), and Pablo Iglesias (four).

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1. Among the politicians mentioned on two occasions are: Esperanza Aguirre, Ana Botella, Francisco Franco, Miquel Iceta, Oriol Junqueras, Patxi López, Eduardo Madina, Laura Pérez, Alfedro Pérez Rubalcaba, Adolfo Suárez y Beatriz Talegón. Appearing only once: Javier Arenas, Inés Arrimadas, José Luis Ayllón, José María Aznar, Antonio Baños, Uxue Barcos, Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo, Toni Cantó, Jordi Cañas, Sofía Casanova, Tomás Cuesta, Marta Domínguez, J. A. Duran Lleida, José I. Echaniz, Íñigo Errejón, Carme Forcadell, Isabel Garcia Tejerina, Pedro G. de la Serna, Alberto González, Felipe González, Andrés Herzog, María Teresa de Lara, J. López de Uralde, Dolores López Gabarro, Neus Munté, Jaime Mayor Oreja, Álvaro Nadal, Arnaldo Otegi, Lluís Rabell, Miguel Ángel Rodríguez, Josep Antoni Rosell, Javier Ruperez, María San Gil, Juan Carlos Vera, Jorge Verstryge, Celia Villalobos, Juan Pablo Wert, Guillermo Zapata.
2. Among the politicians mentioned on two occasions are: Luis Bárcenas, Ada Colau, Felipe González, Patxi López y Artur Mas. Appearing only once: Francisco Álvarez Cascos, José María Aznar, Zaida Cantera, Carme Chacón, Cristina Cifuentes, Rosa Díez, Íñigo Errejón, Carme Forcadell, Francisco Franco, Xavier Garcia Albiol, Ignacio González, Alfonso Guerra, Yayo Herrero, Andrés Herzog, Irene Lozano, Artur Mas, Javier Nart, Arnaldo Otegi, Emiliano Page, Raül Romeva, Sol Sánchez, Edurne Uriarte, Begoña Villacís, José Manuel Villegas, Juan Pablo Wert.

There are differences between the three samples that constitute the research and, therefore, it is possible to speak of a different prominence of political leaders. Nevertheless, regarding the previous classifications, the research shows that a name with a greater number of mentions does not imply a positive evaluation, nor are these classifications evaluative in any way. The lists are not popularity rankings, but rather indicators of a specific aspect of how current affairs are reflected in the tweeting of the two samples of journalists. Likewise, the research has as its reference context –within the current events portrayed by the mass media– the classification of politicians' names in the newspaper covers sample.

Putting names and surnames to the predominantly political content that conforms the two samples of journalists confirms both the fact that the tweeting of these professionals is strictly linked to current affairs, as well as the treatment they do of the latter, often controversial. The name most cited in both samples is Mariano Rajoy, at a time when the presidency of the Government seemed to be at stake in the middle of the electoral campaign. In the sample of media journalists, Pedro Sánchez and Pablo Iglesias follow him as the most cited, followed by Artur Mas, former president of the *Generalitat de Catalunya*, highly mentioned in a context of general current affairs throughout Spain. Catalan politician Artur Mas also appears in the sample of cyber journalists, but in last place (26th), which may indicate a significant difference in this regard. Mas is followed –after Albert Rivera– by Manuela Carmena and Ada Colau (23rd in the sample of digital journalists), at the time when the two female mayors were a brand novelty. The presence of Raül Romeva, counselor of the *Generalitat de Catalunya* at the time of the study, and currently in prison for the independence process in Catalonia, in the tenth position of the list of media journalists, reinforces this perception. These examples are illustrative and allow us to consider these classifications in the context of the period to which they are circumscribed. However, it would be problematic to subject them to objective analysis, since many elements of subjectivity are involved, constituting very diverse and difficult to control variables. Nevertheless, it is an evidence of great value, since the lists show the names that constituted the current affairs of the moment, and reproduce at their level the general political image of the imperfect two-party system that prevails in Spain.

In the first five positions of the two lists corresponding to each of the journalists' samples there is always a presence of the four most well-known leaders, although in different positions (but always led by Mariano Rajoy, Pedro Sánchez, Pablo Iglesias, and Albert Rivera). Juan Carlos Monedero (Podemos) appears in fifth place on the list of digital journalists; thus, political leadership is perfectly represented in the content of journalists on Twitter. Only two female ministers –Soraya Sáenz de Santamaría and María Dolores de Cospedal– and two male ministers
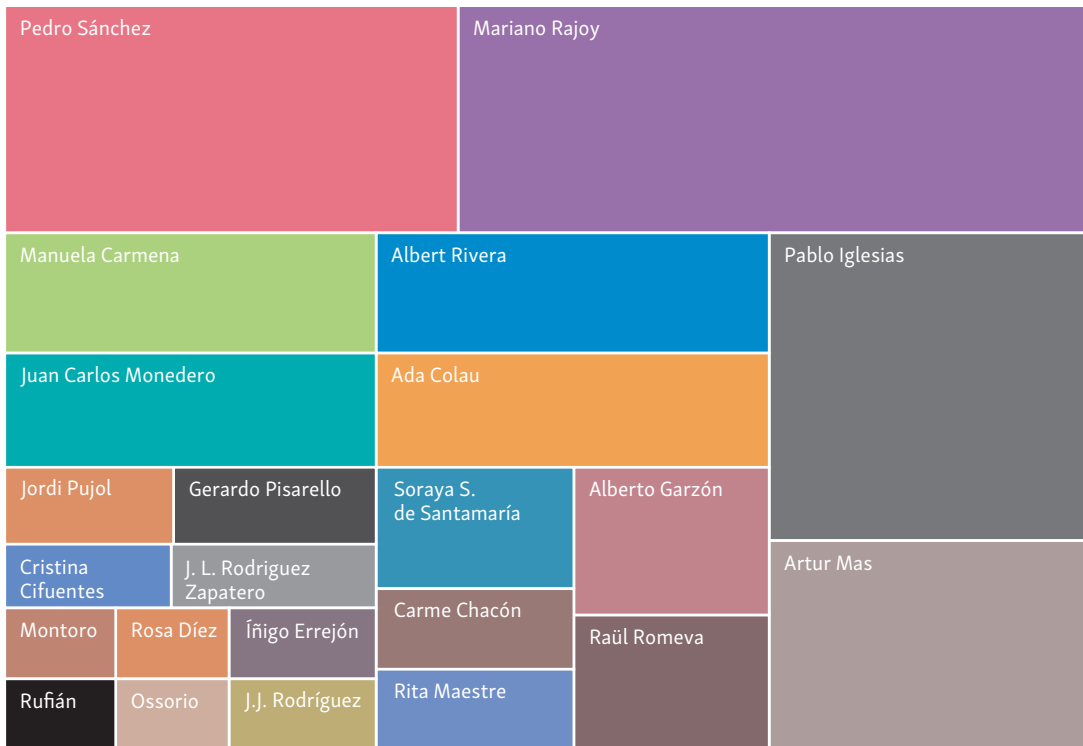
Figure 1. Spanish politicians most mentioned by media journalists
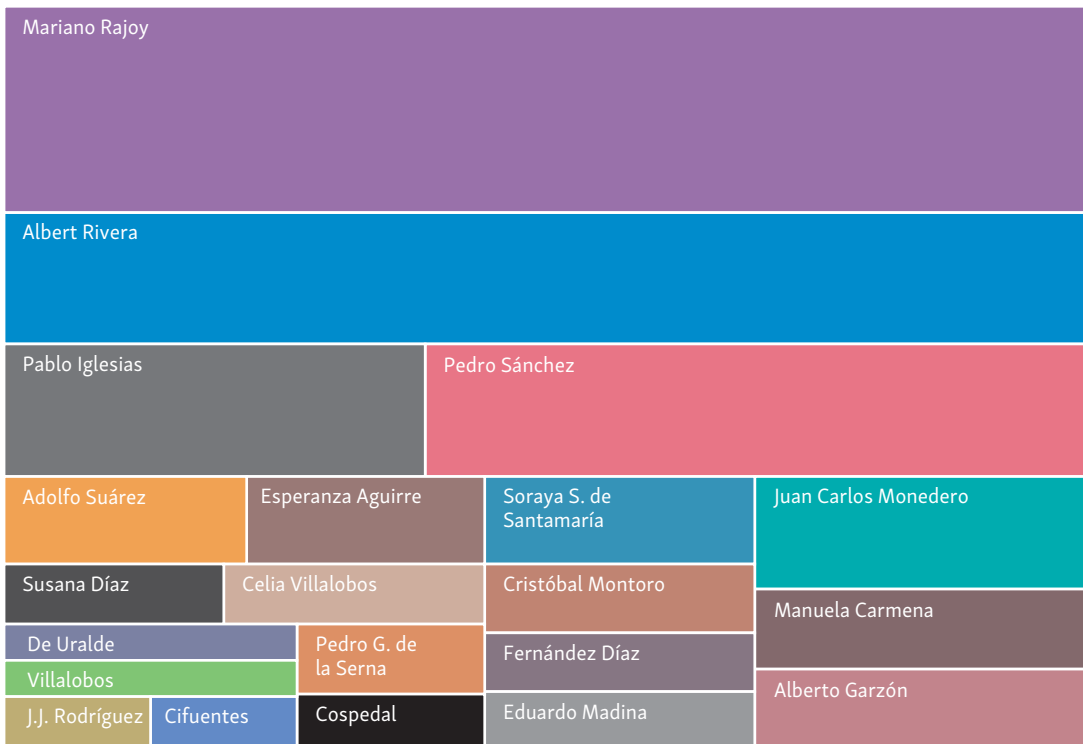
Source: Own elaboration.

Figure 2. Spanish politicians most mentioned by cyber journalists

Source: Own elaboration.

–Cristóbal Montoro and Jorge Fernández Díaz– appear within the framework of these leaderships. No other minister is present in the list, which indicates that occupying a position in government does not necessarily entails access to popularity or a presence in current affairs, but that what is important is individual activity, strongly focused on each characters' personality.

International politics: global public figures

In the case of journalists from the mainstream media, the list comprises 14 leaders. From the fifth position appear: Cristina Fernández (eight mentions), Leopoldo López (also eight), José Mújica (same number), Pope Francis (seven), Barack Obama (six), Helmut Schmidt (five), François Hollande (four), Hafed el Assad (three), and Daniel Scioli (three). In the case of cyber journalists, only five leaders are mentioned, shown in the figure. In the newspapers covers, along with the five mentioned, there is also one mention to Leopoldo López, Angela Merkel, Vladimir Putin, Dilma Rousseff, Antonis Samaras, and Lula da Silva (table 4).

By detailly observing this section we can see an instrumentalization of international political information by some media journalists to address Spanish political issues. This explains that Nicolás Maduro, subject to a constant disqualification in opinion tweets throughout the monitoring period, ranks first. As for cyber journalists, the first place is occupied by Recep T. Erdogan, who at the time of the analysis had strong tensions with Russia and its leader, Vladimir Putin. Therefore, we can see that, in these accounts, journalists are more faithful to the informational imperatives of the international arena. On the other hand, the perimeter of the global news of media journalists is perceived as limited to the Hispanic American world. For example, we have detected that number two on the list of media journalists is Mauricio Macri (at that time, candidate to succeed Cristina Kirchner as president of Argentina, and a person of no global relevance outside of Latin America). The list of media journalists includes six characters from Latin America out of 14 (seven if we count Pope Francis). It is not until fifth place that a European politician, David Cameron, appears while the then president of the United States appears in tenth position. It must be highlighted that Brazil does not appear in that Latin American universe, even though the country generates strong current events news, starring characters such as Dilma Rousseff and Lula da Silva, who do appear among the most mentioned in the sample of newspaper covers. In any case, we must point out that Nicolás Maduro appears in second place in the sample of newspaper covers, which indicates not only that the Venezuelan president was currently occupying the news of the Spanish press, but also that the trends of the sample of media journalists are consistent with the general ones of professionals in Spain.

Media journalists	%	Cyber journalists	%	Newspaper covers	%
Nicolás Maduro	36	Recep T. Erdogan	6	Recep T. Erdogan	5
Mauricio Macri	23	Francois Hollande	4	Nicolás Maduro	4
Vladimir Putin	12	Donald Trump	3	Francois Hollande	3
Angela Merkel	9	David Cameron	2	Barak Obama	2
David Cameron	8	Helmut Schmidt	2	Hillary Clinton	1

Table 4. Most mentioned foreign politicians

Fuente: Elaboración propia.

In the case of international politicians, there is a clear divergence in trends between the sample of media journalists and that of cyber journalists. The latter mention an even narrower range of names and there is no Hispanic American personality among them, which further highlights the opposite trend already noted in the case of media journalists. However, it is striking that only five names are mentioned more than twice in the list corresponding to digital journalists. All of them appear for informational reasons related to conflicts: the Turkish-Russian clash, the jihadist attacks in France, British mistrust regarding the European Union, and the Syrian conflict. All this draws a reduced perimeter regarding international news and the concern for global affairs, same as in the case of media journalists: in both, issues of global scope that occupy the constant interest of those who care about the 21st century's immediate future are absent.

International politics: processes and crisis areas

In addition to the names of international politicians, the subcategories assigned to the registration units of the three samples also include mentions of countries and international conflicts. In this section, we present the results of their quantification and we analyze them.

In the sample of media journalists, the prominence acquired by the situations of Venezuela and Argentina, respectively, stands out. Both issues are in the spotlight and explain the deep tendency to deal with Hispanic American affairs. On the other hand, there is also a focus on issues related to the conflicts in the Middle East. In the case of the European Union, it focuses on bombings or British Euroscepticism. Germany is present through the leadership of Angela Merkel and the death of Helmut Schmidt, and the United States, because of the California attacks. The study corroborates, once again, the concern of digital cyber journalists about the conflicts related to Turkey, and shows the presence of Asian issues related to China, India, and Burma, which breaks the trend of focusing on Hispano-America that ends up being general. Colombia appears in the same place in both samples, an aspect that denotes a similar interest in its peace process.

When approaching the major conflicts of international scope (table 5), we see that jihadist attacks are the focus of both samples, as well as the conflict in Syria, the refugee crisis, the Near East hot zone and Turkey's potential for conflict. This shows an outline of international conflict absolutely focused on the moment's current situation, of which past conflicts are not part, but are latent, such as the Ukraine-Crimea issue, the Balkan tensions, or the FARC subject, whose entry into the peace process makes it perceived outside the immediate conflict zones. The matter of the international arms trade appears only as a concern in the sample of digital journalists. Outside these conflict zones, other countries are considered by the journalists because they offer points of tension, such as the crisis of the Passos Coelho government in Portugal, the arrest in Switzerland of a Vatican official for corruption, or the death of Helmut Schmidt in Germany. Therefore, we observe that the strict adherence to the daily news of media journalists and digital journalists configures a map of their concerns of an international nature, very linked to the main lines drawn by the mass media's agenda. Thus, there is an absence of conflictive issues such as those related to Africa, especially the Sahel area, Maghreb, and the north of the continent, with Egypt, Tunisia, and Libya still in shock after the Arab springs, the post-Gaddafi era, and the remission of refugees to Italy. Similarly, Chinese border tensions in Nepal, India, and Pakistan, not to mention Burma and its attempt to overcome the hegemony of the military junta, lack prominence.

In the case of media journalists, the other most commented issues are Daesh (six mentions), the downing of a Russian plane (eight), the California attack (six), the tension in France due to the Islamic terrorist threat (six), the anti-jihadism pact (five), the peace process in Colombia (four), the political situation in Russia (four), the Cairo attack, the political situation in Saudi Arabia, and the Yemen conflict (with two). As for cyber journalists, along with the five topics listed in the figure, there is the issue of refugees (six mentions), anti-terrorist measures in France (four), the Air France bomb (four), the migratory phenomenon in Europe (same number), the situation in Turkey (same number of mentions), the Iraq war (two), the French attack on Syria (two), the attacks in Belgium (two), the political crisis in Saudi Arabia (two), and the Iranian sociopolitical scene (same number). Regarding the covers, along with the five most mentioned topics, there is also the Venezuelan situation (four mentions), Chavismo (three), the United States international policy (three), the decisions of the European Union (two), the political scene in Brazil (one), the peace process in Colombia (one too), the crash of a Russian plane (same amount), the crisis in Greece (one), and the war in Syria (one).

Media journalists	%	Cyber journalists	%	Newspaper covers	%
Paris attacks	53%	Paris attacks	29%	France's support against Daesh	24%
Refugees	15%	Embassy bombing in Kabul	26%	Terrorist attacks consequences	24%
Embassy bombing in Kabul	14%	France's support against Daesh	25%	Embassy bombing in Kabul	21%
Syrian war	9%	Syrian war	11%	Turkey	17%
Turkey	9%	Arms trade	9%	Venezuela	14%

Tabla 5. Listado de los conflictos más mencionados

Fuente: Elaboración propia.

Culture, arts, and science

This section presents the results related to the names of the disciplines (table 6) and artists, creators, scientists, and various protagonists of the creative and scientific specialties that attract the attention of journalists in their Twitter conversations. The lists made with the references collected from the registration units draw a very precise image of their centers of interest. In these cases, within the framework of the research, we decided not to include the mentions on the newspapers covers since they are usually very scarce and there is no prevalent current agenda that can be considered established and common in the media (beyond certain mass events related to culture and entertainment industries).

Based on this, in what concerns the mentions to matters of culture, arts, and sciences, the study corroborates that it is a scenario of great subjectivity, in which it is difficult to perceive significant and –much less– a general trend. We can see that no journalist in the two samples maintains a regular news line concerning these topics –as it does occur in others–, and therefore no other inclination than their personal preferences can be inferred from their tweets.

Nevertheless, there are data that can have a certain minimally objective meaning. For example, the presence in both samples of the street art artist Banksy (table 7), the only name common to both. On the other hand, the characters mentioned in the sample of cyber journalists are entirely contemporary, while in that of media journalists there are figures such as Sigmund Freud, William Shakespeare, Amedeo Modigliani and, from a recent past, Edgar Neville (although the news regarding current names of culture is also more important in the tweeting of media journalists).

Media journalists	Cyber journalists
Architecture	Cinema
Animal experiments	Comic
Astronautics	Documentary
Astronomy	History
Cinema	Homeopathy
Circus	Literature
Comics	Mathematics
Drawing	Music
History	Painting
Literature	Paleoanthropology
Meteorology	Photography
Music	*Street art*
Painting	Television
Songs	
Technology	
Theater	

Table 6. Most mentioned disciplines (in alphabetical order)

Source: Own elaboration.

Media journalists		Cyber journalists	
Name	**Profile**	**Name**	**Profile**
Joan Baez	Singer	Banksy	*Street art artist*
Banksy	*Street art artist*	Luis Buñuel	Filmmaker
Cirque du Soleil	Circus company	Ignacio Cirac	*Astrophysicist*
Jorge Luis Borges	*Writer*	Greg Constantine	Photographer
Chemical Brothers	Music band	Enya	Singer
Norman Foster	Architect	José Luis Garci	Filmmaker
Sigmund Freud	Psychoanalyst	E. González Macho	Film producer
Carlos Fuentes	Writer	Almudena Grandes	Writer
Gabriel García Márquez	Writer	Roy Lichtenstein	Painter
Antoni Gaudí	Architect	Niños Mutantes	Music band

Jessica Heredia	Dancer	Juan María Rodríguez	Journalist
Eric Hobsbawm	Historian	Mose Scarlett	Musician
Màxim Huerta	Writer	Frank Sinatra	Singer
Steve Jobs	Computer scientist and designer	Allen Toussaint	Musician
Javier Lafuente	Journalist	Enrique Vila Matas	Writer
Liniers	Cartoonist	Gabriela Wiener	Writer
George Lucas	Filmmaker		
Amedeo Modigliani	Painter		
Alanis Morissette	Singer		
Edgar Neville	Writer and playwright		
Ricardo Piglia	Writer		
Claudio Rodríguez	Writer and poet		
Daniel Samper	Journalist and writer		
Pete Seeger	Singer and folklorist		
William Shakespeare	Playwright		
Manuel Vicent	Writer		

Table 7. Names of the culture in the journalists' samples (by surname alphabetical order)

Source: Own elaboration.

The media and their professionals

In this section, we have analyzed the data related to communication, specifically the most mentioned media, products, programs, and professionals. We compare the media and programs, and present lists with the most cited professionals of the two samples, in quantitative order. We also propose non-quantitative lists, one for each sample, of the newsworthy issues of more interest for media and digital professionals. Therefore, the study aims to bring the research objective closer to the world of communication, reflected by the professionals themselves in their tweeting, according to their informative tasks, their promotional actions, and the diversity of preferences and tastes, philias, and phobias. This is a terrain where subjectivity prevails on a platform that favors it (see table 8). The high degree of subjectivity present in tweeting about the media is seen by verifying that it is not possible to contrast the recording units related to that matter with a general context other than the existence of the media themselves. In any case, the general consideration regarding them, their audience ratings, and the depth of their prestige are elements that should be considered in a possible objective perspective of this field.

Among the five most mentioned media and programs in the tweets of the sample of media journalists, we verify that a high number of mentions correspond to the journalists' self-promotion strategies. In the case of the sample of cyber journalists, the diagnosis is different: national public television is the most cited medium, a cybermedia appears in third place, and international mainstream media such as The New York Times and The New Yorker are also mentioned. In addition, fewer media are detected among the most mentioned, but those that obtain a single mention include a variety of very different newspapers. The same happens at this level in the sample of media journalists: newspapers, televisions, and radios that are singled out only once form a very plural list. The international reference media are represented in both samples. For all the above, it is possible to affirm that, although the general attitude of media journalists is self-promotion or mutual support between peers, when this practice does not occur, the sample reflects the same plural variety of media mentions that occurs in the sample of digital journalists.

On the other hand, the newsworthy issues that attract the attention of professionals are very similar in one sample and another (censorship, freedom of expression, deontology, among others). It should be noted that only the sample of digital journalists alludes to issues related to journalism on the Internet, like cyber journalism and social media; at the same time, they are interested in the closure of kiosks and the informational role of television. Internet-related issues are absent from the sample of media journalists. In it, on the other hand, there is an issue as urgent as the murders of journalists in Latin America, which does not appear in the sample of cyber journalists, due to the aforementioned Hispanic-American vocation of the former.

As for cyberspace, the sample of media journalists includes 20 mentions concerning Internet issues, while the sample of cyber journalists has 63. This shows a greater interest of the latter professionals towards the Internet, and when reviewing the categories' specifications, we can also see a greater thematic diversity. Media journalists mention two cybermedia, while digital ones mention four. The latter refer to five platforms, while the media journalists do not mention any, not even some as popular as Spotify and WhatsApp. The presence of Blendle, dedicated to paid journalism, in the sample of cyber journalists, shows some attention to a point of high relevance in the current reflection on journalism and the Internet. In the same vein, Twitter is the only social network mentioned by media journalists in a specific way, in addition to referring to general network issues. In contrast, cyber journalists do not just talk about Twitter, they also talk about Google, Yahoo, cyber journalism, cyberwarfare, virality, or programming and network security issues.

	Media journalists	N	Cyber journalists	N
1°	Ana Pastor	132	Bertín Osborne	3
2°	Hermann Tertsch	36	Maruja Torres	3
3°	Antonio G. Ferreras	27	Silvia Cobo	2
4°	Jordi Évole	25	Alfonso Rojo	2
5°	Bertín Osborne	13	Miguel Ángel Aguilar	1
6°	Federico Jiménez Losantos	9		1
7°	Francisco Marhuenda	6	María Teresa Campos	1
8°	Eduardo Inda	3		1
9°	Gorka Landaburu	3	Martín Caparrós	1
10°	Julia Otero	3		1
11°	Óscar Campos	2	Jesús Cintora	1
12°	David Jiménez	2		1
13°	Isabel Sansebastián	2	Jenaro Castro	1
14°	Jesús Trillo Figueroa	2	Ignacio Escolar	1

Table 8. Classification of communication professionals most mentioned by journalists

Source: Own elaboration.

CONCLUSIONS

The research makes it possible to draw up a set of conclusions around the thematic categories addressed (politics, culture, science, communication, and the Internet) and the general dynamics and trends in the use of Twitter by Spanish journalists. In this regard, the study makes the following final reflections:

- Construction of a worldview of political referents and opinion leaders: the tweeting of Spanish journalists contributes to the construction of a list of the most prominent names in current Spanish politics. In this regard, the politicians' names most cited in the two lists, both in that of media journalists and that of digital journalists, reflect the imperfect bipartisanship that occurs in the Spanish political scene. They also include the names of the people who are mostly perceived with leadership skills or actions. The low presence of people directly related to corruption cases is striking, in accordance with the tweets attributed to this category.

- The weight of the periphery and the *non*-borders of cyberspace: even though the political tweeting of the two samples is framed by a conception of the informative context centered on the institutional Madrid and its political

culture, in both classifications there are references to names and political parties of the periphery. This happens in both samples and is absent in the sample of newspaper covers. We thus observe that journalists offer a much wider thematic scope in terms of plurality through Twitter than through the mass media.

- Hispano America as a stage for political debate vis-a-vis Europe: media journalists tweet about Hispanic American affairs to argue about international political issues. The fact that Venezuela occupies a wide segment of current interest makes Nicolás Maduro very frequently mentioned. The virtual non-existence of this trend in the sample of cyber journalists further highlights this observation. Media journalists focus their attention on international affairs in the Spanish-American world. Issues related to the European Union, its countries and problems occupy little of their tweeting, except for the jihadist attacks on our continent.

- Crises shape the thematic agendas: cyber journalists mention few names of international figures and those who do appear cited are directly linked to processes and sources of intense international crises. Besides Europe, Latin America, international crisis spots and, to a much lesser extent, the United States, the mentions of international figures do not reach either the entirety or the complexity of global affairs. Interest in international conflicts almost entirely overlaps with interest in international affairs in general, except for Hispanic American affairs in the sample of media journalists.

- The (international) conflict is important: the referred international crises focus on the current hotspots, especially jihadist attacks, and distance themselves from other subjects linked to international relations or other internal political processes of foreign countries. The conflictive areas of the countries that are not linked to a current crisis or to a hotspot lose prominence in the general attention and even disappear. The news regarding the different countries' international relations or internal political processes are not outlined, except when there is a crisis or conflict. It can be said that the international has the journalists' attention only when it occurs as a conflict of global repercussion or of great importance in the Western Hemisphere.

- Absence of a cultural information strategy: the presence of names and disciplines in the field of culture responds to specific informative acts, to the personal tastes of each journalist, and not to a regular information line on these matters. Mentions of people and disciplines in both lists do not allow inferring any kind of trend in innovation positions or search for future elements. Most topics mentioned belong to the present and how it unfolds.

- The importance of self-promotion: media journalists mention professionals and media in a primarily self-referential or promotional manner within the framework of strong sympathies from like-minded groups. Both media and digital journalists make these mentions more pluralistically as they decrease in number and promotional intent goes down.

- On the Internet, without mentioning the Internet: newsworthy issues are of equal interest to media and digital journalists, but only the latter are attentive to issues specific to Internet journalism. It could be said without exaggeration that journalists who operate on Twitter turn their backs to the Internet, were it not for their intense activity on this platform. But their assimilation to the hegemonic model of media journalists, as it occurs in our country, makes them scarcely sensitive to the pressing issues that the network's present and immediate future pose to communication and journalism. The sample of cyber journalists reveals a greater cyberculture, but their tweeting does not show an excessive concern for issues related to the communicational and social transformations fostered by the network. Their primarily instrumental use of Twitter prevents us from perceiving the true scope of their interest in the network, or its absence.

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