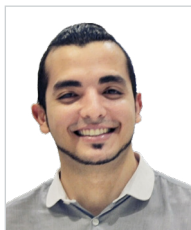


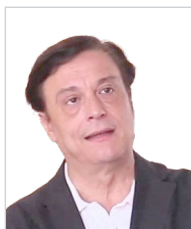
Cultural Press in Spain. The uses of Cultural Heritage

Prensa cultural en España. Los usos del Patrimonio Cultural



Sebastian Alberto Longhi-Heredia. Doctoral candidate in the Interuniversity Program in Communication (Universities of Seville, Málaga, Huelva and Cádiz). He holds a Master's degree in Historical and Natural Heritage (UHU) and in Cultural Media (Paris 8 University, France). He also holds a degree in Social Communication (UNC, Argentina). He is a member of the "Heritage and Visual Arts in Europe and America" Research Group (HUM068). He investigates heritage issues related to communication.

University of Huelva, Spain
sebastianalberto.longhi@alu.uhu.es
ORCID: 0000-0001-8438-562X



José María Morillas-Alcázar. Chair of History of Art at the University of Huelva with over 30 years of research experience. He is PI of the "Heritage and Visual Arts LAB" Research Group (HUM068) and coordinator of the Heritage line of research in the Official Interuniversity Doctoral Program in Historical and Cultural Heritage of the universities of Huelva, Córdoba, Jaén and Extremadura. He is a member of the Management Committee and coordinator of the Network of Experts of the International Campus of Excellence in Cultural and Natural Heritage of the ten public universities of Andalusia.

University of Huelva, Spain
jose.morillas@dhis1.uhu.es
ORCID: 0000-0002-2717-7696



Ángel Hernando-Gómez. Doctor in Psychology from the University of Huelva, and Full Professor of said university. Associate Editor of Comunicar magazine. Member of the "AGORA" Research Group. Research lines: prevention of violence in couple relationships, promotion of positive adolescent development and edu-communication. In these lines, he has directed many research projects, doctoral theses and intervention programs.

University of Huelva, Spain
angel.hernando@dpsi.uhu.es
ORCID: 0000-0002-6414-5415

Received: 12/03/2022 - Accepted: 31/05/2022 - Early access: 14/06/2022 - Published: 01/07/2022 Recibido: 12/03/2022 - Aceptado: 31/05/2022 - En edición: 14/06/2022 - Publicado: 01/07/2022

Abstract:

Digital newspapers act in an interconnected and fragmented context, producing and disseminating social representations in the virtual community. Its virtual action space (the website) has evolved with the rise of social networks. Journalists in this scenario have generated

Resumen:

Los periódicos digitales actúan en un contexto interconectado y fragmentado produciendo y difundiendo representaciones sociales que interactúan en la comunidad. Su espacio de acción virtual (la página web) se ha visto supeditada a la injerencia de las redes sociales. Los

How to cite this article:

Longhi-Heredia, S. A. Morillas-Alcázar, J. M. and Hernando-Gómez, A. (2022). Cultural Press in Spain. The uses of Cultural Heritage. *Doxa Comunicación*, 35, pp. 281-309.

<https://doi.org/10.31921/doxacom.n35a1631>

a new capacity for interaction, allowing the audience to create a communicative dialectic. The article analyzes the actions of the cultural press in matters of cultural heritage, focusing on the three most influential digital newspapers in Spain during the months of June, September, and November 2020. Further analysis on one of these time periods (September) compares the degree of engagement and interaction on Instagram and Twitter across the digital newspapers. A study using a mixed-methods research design was carried out anchored in the analysis of the textual and visual content of publications posted on the web, together with the use of descriptive statistics involving the indicators for the two social networks. The results showed that UNESCO heritage typologies were present in the culture section of the media agenda, as well as geographic and thematic indicators related to heritage. World Heritage was the most newsworthy while Intangible Heritage the least. The levels of engagement and interaction showed interest and involvement in heritage-related posts.

Keywords:

Cultural journalism; cultural heritage; social networks; social representations; culture section.

periodistas en este escenario han generado una nueva capacidad de interacción permitiendo a la audiencia crear una dialéctica comunicativa. El artículo analiza el accionar de la prensa cultural referente al patrimonio cultural en los tres periódicos digitales más influyentes en España durante tres períodos de tiempo (junio, septiembre y noviembre de 2020). Un análisis más detallado sobre uno de estos períodos (septiembre) compara el grado de compromiso e interacción en Instagram y Twitter. La investigación mixta, anclada en el análisis de contenido textual y visual de las piezas periodísticas, unida al uso de la estadística descriptiva de las redes sociales ayudó a advertir cómo las tipologías patrimoniales de la UNESCO estuvieron presentes en la sección cultura, así como los criterios geográficos y temáticos relacionados con el patrimonio. El Patrimonio de la Humanidad resultó ser el más noticiable mientras que el Inmaterial el menos. Los niveles de compromiso e interacción demostraron interés e implicación de la audiencia en los post referentes al patrimonio.

Palabras Claves:

Periodismo cultural; patrimonio cultural; redes sociales; representaciones sociales; sección cultura.

1. Introduction

The media must be understood as producers of social meanings that recreate instituting social imaginaries (Castoriadis, 2007). According to Rodríguez-Pastoriza (2006), when “a cultural historical commemoration of interest is celebrated [there is] the need to transfer elements of essential information to the readers so that their special importance can be valued” (p. 141). In this context, such representations are determined by the very politics of the media agendas, which mostly move away from cultural and heritage issues. (Barei, 1999; Compte-Pujol, 2016; González-Sánchez, 2011; Sánchez-Castillo, 2005; Longhi-Heredia & Quezada-Tello, 2021). This reduced treatment of the news is approached in a trivial, monotonous and brief way, presenting heritage information superficially and disseminating a concept of cultural and natural heritage associated with the international character given by the numerous conventions, charters and legislation of international organizations (Longhi-Heredia et al., 2022). The media agenda characterized by McCombs and Shaw is subject to the importance and emphasis given to the topics selected by the media (McCombs, 1996), representing certain notions of heritage to the detriment of others.

In this sense, the construction of representations is a living category that builds, crystallizes and (re)transmits social meanings through imaginaries and collective representations. They are reflected in the discourses of each era in a wide variety of formats, subjecting culture, and even heritage, to paradigms of action with the theories of communication and the logic of the mass media. New cultural representations and cultural identity stereotypes are subsequently created. Faced with this panorama, the objectives of the current investigation are: 1) to understand the dissemination of Cultural Heritage in the most influential digital newspapers in Spain during three periods in 2020, and 2) to survey the degree of engagement and interaction of the audience following the official accounts of said newspapers on Twitter and Instagram in one of the three time periods.

The present study is founded on theories of communication and studies of cultural journalism from Cultural Heritage in a scenario marked by the interference of the coronavirus pandemic in Spain.

1.1. *Heritage, cultural journalism and Culture*

Journalism has been associated in epistemological studies and communication sciences with the construction of imaginaries or social representations (Berger et al., 1968; Castoriadis, 2007; Leyton-Rivas, 2007) that are reproduced and disseminated on a massive scale in society. The cultural press didn't escape such a reality. It is essential to understand what is meant by Cultural Heritage, cultural journalism and Culture to continue with the study.

The term Cultural Heritage implies a large number of meanings despite the fragmentation of the field of study and numerous adjectives associated with its scope. Beginning with a strong focus on monuments, today it is part of a broader universe, defined as a social construction and "representative of cultural diversity and, therefore, participatory" (Durán-Salado & Carrera-Díaz, 2017:299). Its more democratic connotation and its accessibility were based on institutions such as UNESCO, the International Council of Museums (ICOM) and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM). UNESCO imposed itself as the institution of reference in this sector, rendering the monumentalist and mercantilist conception of 1972 obsolete and associating heritage with cultural and natural elements of exceptional value. As indicated by Carrasco-Campos & Saperas-Lapiedra (2012), a new cultural archetype arose, materializing as the heritage boom (Ballart, 1997). The arrival of mass culture and audiovisual media, as well as the importance of immateriality, formed the new notion of Cultural Heritage that leans towards a labeled conception, with "digital strategies created to standardize communication criteria" in the field of marketing (Castillo-Abdul & Longhi-Heredia, 2022). Notions such as Cultural Heritage, World Heritage, Natural Heritage and Immaterial Heritage are popularized in line with advances in international law.

Cultural journalism by its essence is framed within specialized journalism. Tubau, (1982) defines it as the way of knowing and disseminating the cultural products of a society through the mass media; or of building and de-constructing the symbolic imaginary, according to Delponti-Macchione & Pestano-Rodríguez (2012). Chacón-Gutiérrez & García-Jiménez (2001) include within its functions "the criticism and dissemination of the different artistic manifestations it covers" (p. 51). However, the actual journalistic trend indicates a more generalist approach (Rodríguez-Pastoriza, 2006), obeying market inferences (Bello et al., 1994) and falling into situations Cruz & Rosero (2012) describe as "*unifuentismo*, the omission of subjects and the absence of agenda" (p. 183).

Cultural journalism's marked relationship with the concept of culture is connected to an ambiguous notion in the field (Rodríguez-Pastoriza, 2006; Rivera, 1995). The first classifications of cultural specialization were subordinated to the notion of 'Culture'. The major point of debate was associated with the interference of the spectacle or show business (Zambrano-Morales & Villalobos-Finol, 2010). Rodríguez-Pastoriza (2006), and Rivera (1995), two classics in the area of study, postulated such a division by identifying the ideas coming from 'high culture' (fine arts, literature, classical music, among others) that were part of the 'Culture' section; while all expressions of 'popular culture', associated for example with folklore or artisan crafts, were placed in other sections, such as 'Society' or 'Entertainment'. Over time, culture was thought of as an economic and social resource: "the agenda proposed by the newspapers (...) is circumscribed to the notion of the cultural event: creators and producers who offer

and customers who consume; culture understood as a stage, a place to sit and a ticket for the good life” (Rubiano, 2006:146). The dialectic described above evolves in the study of Valle (2014), for whom journalism has advanced by becoming multicultural content.

This article will not focus on the origins of cultural journalism, as numerous works have already done so (Barei, 1999; Jurado-Martín, 2019; Martínez, 2018; Rivera, 2018; Rodríguez-Pastoriza, 2006, 2021; Villa, 1998, 2000; Zambrano-Morales & Villalobos-Finol, 2010). However, this changing reality will be taken into account, associated with the advance of the Internet, the evolution of cultural journalism, and the contextual specificity conditioned to the social reality marked by the interference of Covid-19. Specifically, the latter situation implied conditioning factors at the moment of communicating cultural content, such as the prevalence of activities related to Natural Heritage in open air spaces.

Providing an explanation for this ever-changing reality has remained complicated because the academic literature on cultural journalism “is neither uniform in its content, nor in its formal aspect, nor in the nature of its audiences” (Villa, 2000:8). The literature has many definitions of culture and cultural journalists, such as “arts journalists, cultural journalists, critics and lifestyle journalists” (Hovden & Kristensen, 2018:690). According to Riebert et al. (2018), current international research generates complications due to its diverse designations and numerous aesthetic forms, disciplines or types of culture that change over time. Furthermore, the limits of politics, entertainment, celebrity and consumption also influence the social construction of the culture section (Kristensen y Riebert, 2017). As explained by Jurado-Martín & Ivars-Nicolás (2019), the Spanish cultural section of *El País*, *El Mundo* and *ABC* continues to offer “a product for a reader who does not use or is not interested in using technological possibilities. The Culture section is anchored in the past, and runs the risk of sinking with it” (p. 233). The aforementioned point of debate continues through “an elite culture -accommodated in this section-, and another popular one that abandons the ‘Culture’ section to place itself in the ‘Society’ section” (Jurado-Martín, 2019:162).

However, new works (Jurado-Martin & Peña-Acuña, 2018, 2021) focused on education and new technologies (de-Lara-González, 2019) advocate novel transformations and ways of reaching the public through content that, according to Arteseros-Valenzuela (2019), conjectures a change in the profile of cultural readers. In this scenario, new transmedia practices stimulate the imagination to develop strategies that would help to further consolidate this journalistic specialization (Meza-Noriega, 2021).

1.1.1. Culture section and journalism, the crossroads

Although the cultural section is not as important as others, its importance is remarkable within specialized journalism (Barei, 1999). The news is catalogued according to socioeconomic and political roles, taking into account sources and formal and aesthetic resources (Fontcuberta-Balaguer, 1993; Jaakkola, 2015; Riebert et al., 2018; Kristensen & Roosvall, 2021), as well as the ways of organizing on the local, national and glocal levels (García-Canclini (2000, 2007). Monjas-Eleta (2013, 2015) confirms this in the Spanish press. Cultural journalism should be assigned to the Culture and Social sections, “which implies a higher level of specialization of the editors, and its inclusion in other sections, such as society or regional information” (Monjas-Eleta, 2013: 86). Entertainment (Jurado-Martín & Ivars, 2019), “the public sphere, the politics of recognition and the sociology of cultural journalism” (Kristensen, & Roosvall, 2021: 177), local coverage (Jaakkola, 2021) and even advertising and commercial dimensions (Hovden & Kristensen, 2018) are also inserted in the dialectic, where “institutions have become one of the most important sources

of cultural information” (Rodríguez-Pastoriza, 2006: 95), together with the work of freelancers, press agencies, correspondents and collaborators without labor ties to the newspaper.

Digital cultural journalism follows identical guidelines, although it is the public (through its ability to select and discriminate) who has the last word (based on the criteria established in advance by the newspaper). According to Leyton-Rivas (2007), the journalist is “a mediator, whose point of view is never neutral” (p. 109), and heritage ideals play a role in this decision-making. Cultural journalism must be understood and readjusted “based on new trends, modern societies and changing readers” (Zambrano-Morales & Villalobos-Finol, 2010: 73), considering the “current panorama of cultural media on the Internet” (Monjas-Eleta, 2015:7). As postulated by Zaid (2006), giving cultural news “requires journalists who live it, who know how to read and write at that level, with that animation”. The dialectic that opposes cultures must be left aside, bearing in mind that with UNESCO, the concept has become more conciliatory (Martínez, 2018), giving way to the culturalist paradigm dominated by the logic of cultural industries (Carrasco-Campos & Saperas-Lapedra, 2012). Here, high culture as well as popular culture is encompassed (García-Avilés, 2021) and immateriality is given visibility following the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO, 2003). Natural aspects also gain significance thanks to the agreements and conventions managed by UNESCO.

As Martínez (2018) says, the mission of cultural journalism is “that human beings cultivate their highest spiritual manifestation: the arts, whatever the field in which they are manifested, or the cultural manifestations that define and identify the various peoples” (p. 68). Historically, as Rivera (1995) pointed out, the majority of the members of cultural journalism were “made up of intellectuals and artists vocationally or formatively oriented towards that sphere” (p. 112), being people not linked to journalism. This explains the challenging need for new technologies (Rivera, 1995, p. 114).

Cultural journalism must renew itself (García-Avilés, 2021) and provide “information and entertainment through transmedia” (San-José-de-la-Rosa & Monjas-Eleta, 2021:85), knowing how to adapt to the interests of the audience (Jurado-Martín et al., 2021) and to the new digital environment (Abejón-Mendoza, 2021; López-García, 2021) for all types of artistic and cultural manifestations. It emerges as a possibility of understanding and is configured by a sum of details (not anecdotes) interpreted according to the constructed point of view” (Gayà-Morlà et al., 2022:286). Rodríguez-Pastoriza (2021) remarked by the way that the goal of cultural journalists in the digital scenario is to guide and train audiences in cultural issues and not to promote cultural marketing, since cultural journalism is a “representation of reality in an ecosystem in which paper, screen, classic and viral, analog and digital, coexist” (Carrión, 2020).

1.2. *The Spanish digital press: access to and trust in the media*

As recorded by Newman et al. (2020), in the publication of the Digital News Report, the media credibility index in Spain in 2020 was 36%. Less than half of the readers of the online press did not trust the news published, with the best indices for *El País* (54%), *El Mundo* (52%), and *20 Minutos* (49%); the latter sharing the same values with *La Vanguardia*, *El Periódico* and *Eldiario.es*.

The report ranked *El País* as the most consulted media in the press (23%) followed by *El Mundo* (18%) and *20 Minutos* (17%). The Spanish partner of the Digital News Report revealed that in 2021, the confidence index was maintained in Spain, with only “36% of the total number of readers declaring that they trust information in general and 42% trust the news they regularly consume” (Amoedo-Casais et al., 2021). Concerning the most read online press reported for 2021, *El País* continued with the highest ranking

(21%), while *20 Minutos* (15%) and *ElDiario.es* (14%) overtook *El Mundo* compared to previous years. The trust index registered a drop in *20 Minutos* (from 49% in 2020 to 38% in 2021), and with trust among *El Mundo*'s left-wing audiences falling more than among its right-wing audiences (Kaufmann, 2021).

1.3. Digital press and social networks

The (re)production of heritage discourses on the Internet reveals the power of “enjoyment, criticism, denunciation, collaborative construction for its knowledge”. (Durán-Salado & Ortiz-Lozano, 2017: 287). The emergence of ‘metamedia’ and the digital revolution (Campos-Freire et al., 2016) has formed “the architecture of the communication society through which millions of citizens, organizations and other social actors relate to each other” (p. 449). Current data show that access to information through social networks have benefited from preferential treatment, becoming highly relevant platforms in the media ecosystem (Bulut & Doğan, 2017). Readers choose Facebook (44%), WhatsApp (34%), YouTube (25%), Twitter (20%), Instagram (17%) and Facebook Messenger (6%) to keep themselves informed (Newman et al., 2020). In 2021, the same situation was registered with Facebook (39%), WhatsApp (35%) and YouTube (21%). Also, Twitter (19%), Instagram (17%) and Facebook Messenger (5%) retained their positions as information networks. In contrast, Telegram (8%), TikTok (3%) and LinkedIn (3%) were not used for informative purposes (Moreno, 2021).

The Digital News Report Spain 2021 found that only 24% of Spaniards trusted the news published on social networks (Amoedo-Casais et al, 2021). The influence of journalism on Twitter has been discussed in numerous research studies (Arce-García et al., 2020; Arrabal-Sánchez & De-Aguilera-Moyano, 2016; Benaissa-Pedriza, 2018; Clua et al., 2018; Hermida, 2010, 2013; Marta-Lazo & Garcia-Idiakez, 2014; Larsson & Hallvard, 2015; Lewis & Molyneux, 2018). The most current studies deal with the transmission and perception of news (Barnidge et al., 2020; Bentivegna & Marchetti, 2018; Hedman, 2020; Hine, 2020; Houston et al., 2020; Marennet, 2013; Oeldorf-Hirsch et al., 2020; Santos-Silva, 2019; Zhang & Ho, 2020), although other studies focus on the interactions between journalists and other actors (López-Rabadán & Mellado, 2019; McGregor & Molyneux, 2018; Mills et al., 2020), as well as on the new ways of approaching the domain of study (Hermida & Mellado, 2020; Hernández-Fuentes & Monnier, 2020; Jaraba-Molina et al., 2020; Jaraba-Molina & Tejedor, 2020). The focus of interest is centered, as reported in Tong (2018), on the relegitimization of cultural journalism in the digital era. However, in Spain, according to Jaraba-Molina & Tejedor (2020), cultural topics are forgotten on Twitter: journalists dedicated few tweets to cultural issues, while cyberjournalists did so to a greater degree (p. 12). In this vein, “journalists are more interested in content related to society and culture than in other topics (except those related to politics)” (Tejedor Calvo et al., 2020:15).

Studies based on Instagram, on the other hand, have acquired a higher degree of relevance, specifically with works focused on photojournalism (Benaissa-Pedriza, 2018; Borges-Rey, 2015; Maares & Hanusch, 2020); case studies (Mendez et al., 2020; Vázquez-Herrero et al., 2019) and review studies (Hermida & Mellado, 2020; Lewis & Molyneux, 2018). In this scenario, the advantages of the digital press mentioned by Jurado-Martín (2019) in terms of hypertextuality, multimodality, interactivity and simultaneity, as well as the hybridization of genres and formats, are proposals that are separate “from the cultural contents in the generic sections of the print media” (p. 162). In Spain, Hine (2020) showed that “through twitter, journalists offer a much wider thematic scope and a self-promoting cultural information strategy.” For his part Mañas-Viniegra et al. (2019) claims that

on Instagram, “it will be necessary to adapt the narrative” (p, 135) to the new ways of telling the news since according to Martín-Quevedo et al. (2021) Instagram is positioned as a branding strategy.

2. Methodology

The study objectives of the present work are divided into two blocks.

- To understand what and how heritage-related information is (re)produced in the cultural agenda in the digital versions of three Spanish newspapers.
- To study the degree of engagement of the official accounts of these newspapers on Twitter and Instagram in order to understand the reproduction of journalistic material.

A mixed research methodology was used, and a non-probabilistic sample was employed. A content analysis of the digital editions of *El País*, *El Mundo* and *20 Minutos* was carried out. Their content was quantified in categories and subcategories (Hernández-Sampieri et al., 2010), submitting them to a statistical and descriptive analysis. The variables were taken into account (Table 1) include:

Table 1. Content analysis variables

Variable	Variable explanation	Classification of the variable
Newspaper	Name of the media in which the cultural news is published.	<i>El País, El Mundo, 20 Minutos.</i>
Date	Date of news appearance	According to the established timeframes.
Summary	Summary of the news content	
Section	Location of news item	Depending on the news (Sections and/or supplements).
Journalism Genres	Journalistic genre of each cultural news item (Salaverría & Cores, 2015)	1) Informative: “communicate data, facts and information in a clear, concise and impartial way” (Salaverría & Cores, 2015. p. 150). 2) Interpretative: “concerned with answering the questions how, why, and for what purpose” (Salaverría & Cores, 2015: 165). 3) Dialogic: “based on communication between two or more people through written or oral texts, and can be performed synchronously or asynchronously” (Salaverría & Cores, 2015: 169). 4) Opinion or argumentative: “susceptible to hybridization with dialogic ones, since it seems natural that the defense of an argument should be taken as the starting point for a debate or a forum” (Salaverría & Cores, 2015: 176).

Genre phase	Phase of development of genres in the cybermedia (Salaverría & Cores, 2015)	1) Repetition: a model that is limited to perpetuating textual formats from other previous media. 2) Enrichment: when the genre, while respecting the formal structure of its genre (...) incorporates hypertextual, multimedia and/or interactive possibilities. 3) Renovation: when previous genres are recreated through hypertext, multimedia and interactive possibilities. 4) Innovation: consists of the creation of journalistic genres for the cybermedia, without starting from previous references in the printed and audiovisual media" (Salaverría & Cores, 2015: 148-149).
Headline	Title of the article	Based on the article.
Thematic headlines	Heritage topics included in the headline	1) Primary: the title includes the word heritage. 2) Secondary: the title refers to culture. 3) Other: headline with unrelated topics.
Relation of the news item to heritage	Parallelism between cultural heritage and the information published in the news.	1) Primary: the theme has an exclusive reference to heritage. 2) Secondary: heritage is mentioned but the theme is of a cultural nature. 3) Non-representative: information orthogonal to cultural heritage.
Types of heritage covered	Typology of heritage in the news item.	Based on the information published in the cultural news.
Sources	Institutional sources mentioned in the news.	1) Official 2) Unofficial 3) Other.
Journalists	Source of information	1) Journalists: the professional of the newspaper who signs cultural news. 2) Information agencies: news signed by a press agency. 3) Editorial staff: news signed by the newspaper's editorial staff. 4) No data: when the cultural article does not have any of the three previous subcategories.
Images	Source of infographics, images, videos and name of professionals	1) Private institutions 2) Public institutions 3) Image professionals 4) Archives, 5) Information agencies 6) No visual material 7) No data.

Source: prepared by the authors

The study used the Reuters Institute Report as sample inclusion criteria, which ranked *El País*, *El Mundo* and *20 Minutos* as the most influential newspapers in Spain during 2020. The coding unit was the words "*Patrimonio*" (in the context of Cultural Heritage) and "UNESCO" (in relation to the concept of World Heritage) on the web portals of each newspaper. It included any cultural news in the sections and supplements of the three newspapers, which were catalogued in an Excel table.

The temporal selection covered three time periods consisting of seven consecutive days, as detailed in Graph 1. The time periods included commemorations and anniversaries related to the importance of heritage, specifically Natural Heritage, often overlooked in the press; European Heritage Days (which concentrate cultural activities throughout Europe for two days in September), and World Heritage Day, which celebrates the sites and cultural practices that benefit from this title. The third time period coincided with the anniversary of the declaration of three intangible practices proclaimed by UNESCO in 2010 - the chant of the Sybil (*el canto de la Sibila*), the human towers (the *Castells*) and flamenco- as well as the anniversary of the declaration of the city of Segovia as World Heritage in 1985.

Graph 1. Timing of the analyzed simple



Source: prepared by the authors

The indicated dates concentrated cultural activities related to Spanish cultural heritage, which is why it was thought that the press would report on and communicate them. Based on these time periods, the current study was carried out on the basis of three hypotheses, taking the number of cultural news items published each day as a reference point. It is hypothesized that heritage information will increase when such initiatives are celebrated, specifically:

- H1. The representations of Natural Heritage in the digital press will increase due to the importance of the UNESCO media agenda and the periodicity of the social reality marked by the Covid-19 pandemic.
- H2. The cultural heritage events will grow and will be widely disseminated in the digital press, in connection with the celebration of an international event such as the European Heritage Days.
- H3. The articles published in relation to World Heritage (both material and immaterial) will have a greater presence in the digital editions of the newspapers after the anniversaries of the declaration of certain festivities (*Castells*, flamenco, chant of the Sibyl) and of the city of Segovia as a World Heritage Site.

The study sample was composed of ($n=428$ cultural news items). After systematic cataloguing in Excel, the data were exported to the statistical program R (R Project, 2020) and the results were represented using the “ggplot2” package (Wickham, 2016).

For the analysis of social networks, it was decided to work with data from the second period since the European Heritage Days are a stable festivity in time that promote and disseminate all types of Cultural Heritage. For this purpose, the Instagram accounts (@20m, @elmundo_es and @el_pais), and Twitter (@20m, @elmundoes and @el_pais) were monitored using the FanPage Karma tool. The current study was based on research that used this tool previously (González-Carrión & Aguaded, 2020; Longhi-Heredia & Marcotte, 2021; Sánchez-Jiménez et al., 2018; Suing et al., 2018).

The collection and treatment of engagement and interaction indicators were carried out based on the:

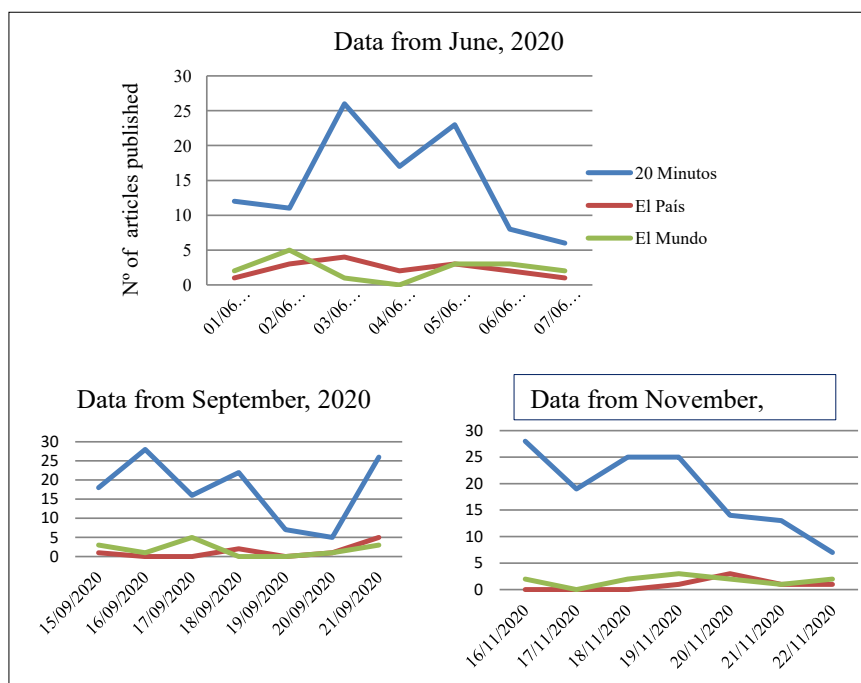
- Percentage of Engagement achieved by each profile, which involved the audience through “likes”, comments and shared publications (Huertas et al., 2015).
- Total number of registered followers.
- Degree of participation (interaction) of users with the content through their actions in social networks.
- Total weekly percentage (evolution) of publications of each profile.
- Percentage of effectiveness of the profile and publications (performance).
- Number of ‘Likes’ of each post.
- Number of publications of each profile.
- Average number of daily publications.
- Number of comments on each post.
- Total number of reactions, comments and shares of each post.

3. Results

The corpus studied revealed a certain interest in heritage in the cultural digital press. The newspaper *20 Minutos* was the one that published the greatest number of news items referring to heritage (83%), sharply contrasting with *El Mundo* (10%) and *El País* (7%). The information shown in Figure 2 revealed three predispositions that gave rise to three specific comments:

- During the week of June 2020, heritage content had little representation at the beginning and at the end of the week. Mentions of Natural Heritage were present in the media agenda of *20 Minutos*, but not so in *El Mundo* and *El País*. The days before and including June 5 (World Environment Day) saw two upturns, showing considerable interest in news associated with Natural Heritage during the Spanish pandemic scenario.
- The September sample showed the same patterns: the European Heritage Days had greater repercussion before and after the celebrations on *20 Minutos*. Despite the symbolic value of the date granted by UNESCO, the cultural press did not cover cultural events associated with heritage in Spain on the days in question. The news was published beforehand, with the informative and disseminating character of the activities predominating.

Graph 2. Heritage material publications



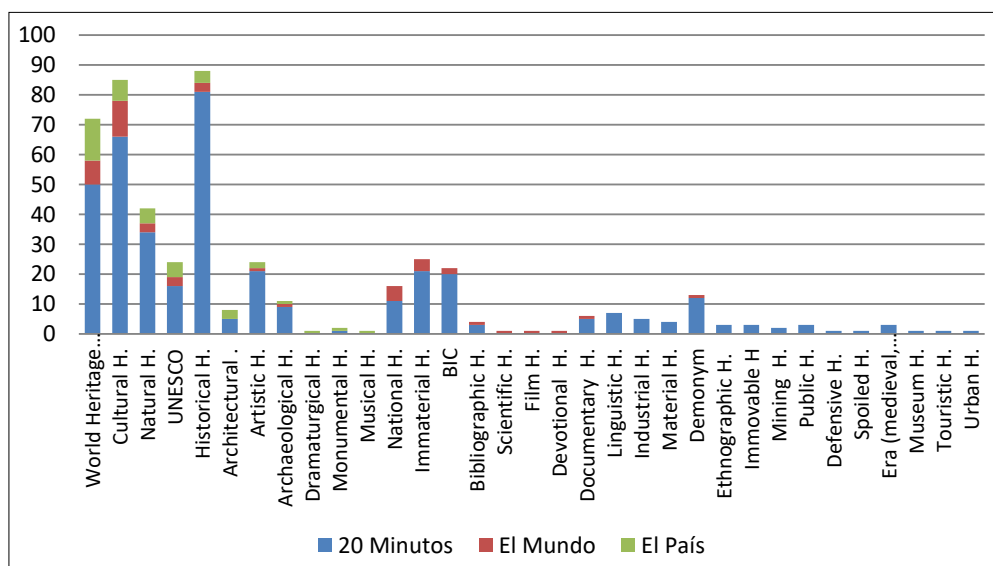
Source: prepared by the authors

- The heritage topics of November 2020 were addressed at the beginning of the week by *20 Minutos*, a date that coincided with the commemoration of World Heritage Day. The agenda on this occasion justified the large number of news items published.

El País and *El Mundo* had few references to World Heritage. The anniversary of the Immaterial Heritage Convention (*Castells*, flamenco and the Chant of the Sibyl) were referenced during the following days, which explains the decreasing trend recorded in Figure 2. Regarding the tenth anniversary of the declaration of Segovia as a World Heritage City, it is evident that material and immaterial heritage issues were part of the agenda of *20 Minutos*, but not in the other newspapers.

Regarding the existence of a typology of newsworthy heritage, the digital editions associated it with the adjective “cultural”, demonstrating that they are at the forefront in terms of international legislation: *20 Minutos* (78%), *El Mundo* (14%) and *El País* (8%). This social construct used by UNESCO, national and regional legislation in Spain refers to cultural resources and practices that were previously distinguished as tangible or intangible, and are now included in broader definitions: material or immaterial. Despite this progress, the term “Historical Heritage” (an old concept associated with the history of a country) was the one most used by the journalists of *20 Minutos* (92%) compared to *El País* (5%) and *El Mundo* (3%). “Artistic Heritage” as well as “Immaterial Heritage” had great relevance in the news of *20 Minutos*, but not in the rest of the newspapers, being the most forgotten (See Graph 3). This situation reinforces the importance of the adjective “cultural”: an association based on local, regional and national laws, as well as UNESCO’s international conventions.

Graph 3. Types of heritage disseminated



Source: prepared by the authors

The adjective “World Heritage or Heritage of Humanity” was one of the typologies most reported by the journalists of *20 Minutos* (70%), *El País* (19%) and *El Mundo* (11%). The use of the word “UNESCO” also appears within the news in *20 Minutos* (67%), *El País* (21%) and *El Mundo* (12%). Its international imprint, tourist scope and symbolic value are manifested in the brand

value and in the label itself. As for the use of the term “Natural Heritage”, it was in *20 Minutos* (80%) where the highest numbers of designations were reported. *El País* (12%) and *El Mundo* (7%) published less content related to natural, ecological and environmental activities. The rest of the typologies confirm the partiality in the field of heritage studies, including representations associated with professions (architecture, archeology, linguistics, ethnography, among others) (See Graph 3). Geographical references also formed part of the journalistic narrative, such as the nomenclatures “National Heritage” and those included in the category “Demonym” (Andalusian and Valencian heritage, etc.) References to “dramaturgical, devotional or even touristic heritage” contributed to transmitting erroneous socio-cultural representations, reinforcing the conviction that everything can be patrimonial.

3.1. Sections: territory versus culture in *20 Minutos*

20 Minutos ranked the news according to two categories. The geographic demarcation began with an ‘autonomic type’ classification. Being a generalist and national newspaper, the territorial organization was the simplest way of organizing the information: the Andalusia section reported the most heritage content (34%); the Community of Valencia, Castilla y León and the Balearic Islands (8% respectively); Aragón and the Canary Islands (5%); Castilla La Mancha, Murcia and Extremadura (4%); Asturias, Catalonia, La Rioja and Galicia (3%) and the Basque Country (1%) followed in order of importance. The culture section gave way to news diffused in other sections despite being news of a patrimonial nature, including Travel (2%), Culture, Economy, International, National and Television (1%).

3.2. Territory and culture: parity in *El País* and *El Mundo*

The newspapers organized their articles according to sections and subsections. Although *El País* had the cultural supplement “*Babelia*”, the cultural news was arranged around sub-sections such as *Sociedad*, *El viajero* and *Icon Design*. *20 Minutos* resorted to not assigning subordinate categories, while *El Mundo* followed a mixed arrangement: a large part of the cultural news items were not sub-classified (36%), and the remaining ones were organized in the subsections *Toros*, *Cine* and *Literatura* (Bullfighting, Cinema and Literature).

El Mundo registered a balance when classifying information. The cultural thematic layout (51% of the total sample) was arranged in the ‘Culture’ section (22%). The rest of the sections were constituted on the basis of a work area: LOC and Paper (7%), Metropoli, Travel and Science and Greetings (5% respectively). The geographic arrangement (remaining 49% of the sample) positioned the Valencian Community with the highest number of heritage news (17%), followed by national (15%), Madrid (7%), Andalusia and International (5%). *El País* did not reveal a specific structure, although the best represented news items were grouped under the geographic criterion: Catalonia (26%), International (6%) and Galicia (3%). The rest of the articles are thematically coded: Travel (23%) Culture, Preserving the planet and Icon Design (10%); Society, Politics, Economy and Sports (3%).

3.3. Informative news and non-representative headlines

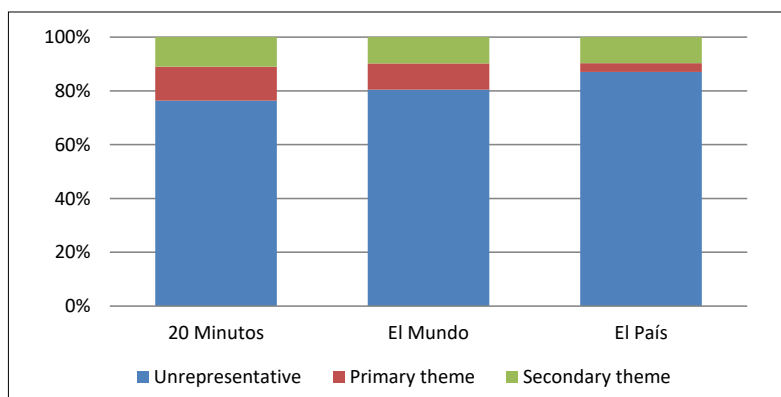
Following the model proposed by Salaverría & Cores, (2015), the most used form of journalistic writing was associated with the informative genre. While in *El País* this value represented the majority of the information reported (66%), the Interpretative (17%),

Opinion (10%) and Dialogic (7%) genres were almost absent. The grand totality of informative communications was replicated in the case of *20 Minutos* (97%) and *El Mundo* (97%), so that the discourse did not change with respect to the rest of the genres: 1% Interpretative and 2% Dialogic in *20 Minutos* and 3% Opinion in *El Mundo*.

Concerning the four phases of development of cyber journalism genres indicated by Salaverría & Cores, (2015) the current study found similar results to theirs, with the predominance of repetition, that is, the transposition of information published on paper to the screen: *20 Minutos* (90%), *El Mundo* (62%) and *El País* (14%). Enrichment, on the contrary, took advantage of the communicative characteristics of cyberspace, being higher in *El País* (76%) than in *El Mundo* (18%) and *20 Minutos* (8%). The renovation or recreation of previous genres (through hypertext, multimedia and interaction) was markedly insufficient in the three newspapers: *El Mundo* (20%), *El País* (10%) and *20 Minutos* (2%), with innovation (the creation of journalistic genres for cybermedia) being the only one that was not represented.

In relation to the headlines of the articles, most of the titles of *20 Minutos* (76%), *El Mundo* (80%) and *El País* (87%) did not cover patrimonial issues (see Graph 4). Journalists did not clearly put patrimonial issues first when referencing headlines. Heritage topics were present in a secondary way (without explicitly insinuating the word 'heritage') with almost the same percentage in the three newspapers: 11% in *20 Minutos* and 10% in *El País* and *El Mundo*. As for headlines with a direct or primary theme, there were few occurrences: *El País* (3%), *El Mundo* (10%) and *20 Minutos* (13%), ultimately showing the non-spectacular nature of the news.

Graph 4. Heritage themes in headlines



Source: prepared by the authors

3.4. Narrative and the use of sources

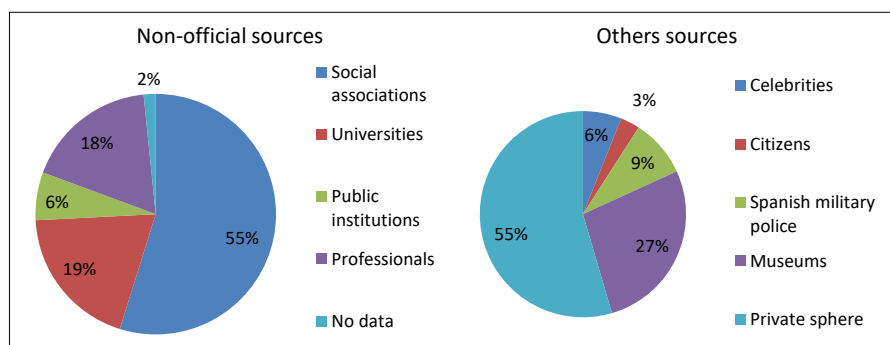
The presence of Spanish officials and political institutions (official sources) were the most consulted by journalists on patrimonial matters (70%). Non-official sources (14%) and those belonging to other categories (8%) were the least incorporated. A small

percentage of articles (5%) made no reference to sources within the notes, and another (3%) could not be analyzed because they were publications that required access to paid content for full access.

Government and administration entities such as *Ayuntamientos* or City Councils (with their mayors and councilors) were the most requested official sources in the technical sphere of heritage (40%), followed by the regional governments (Councils of Government, *Consells* and/or *Generalitats*, 35%). The criterion for access to the source was based on the statute of autonomy, and not on the provincial authorities: the *Diputaciones*, *Cabildos* and Island Councils were less replicated (10%). National sources were poorly named: Vice-Presidency (1%), Ministry of Culture and Sports (2%) and other Ministries in the cultural and patrimonial spectrum (1%). Political parties (7%), the Judiciary (2%), the institutions of Parliament and the Congress itself (1%) were barely evoked by journalists, as were institutions on the international level (1%).

Referring to non-official sources, journalists turned to cultural or heritage associations (55%) over other institutions (see Graph 5). Universities as repositories of knowledge (19%) and professionals in the field of heritage were other preferred options (18%). Finally, consulting professionals in the private sector and museum institutions were the preferred options in the heritage sector.

Graph 5. Access to non-official and other sources



Source: prepared by the authors

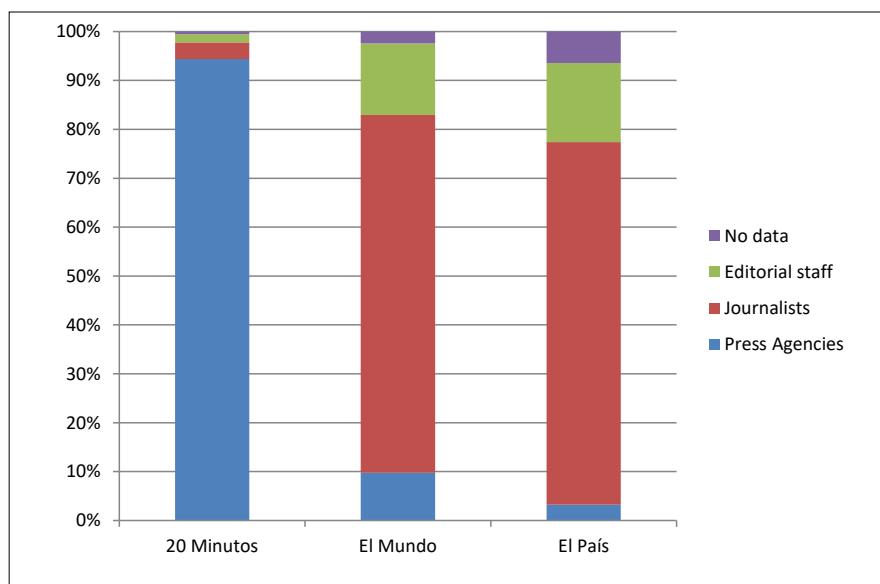
Concerning sources from press agencies, these were the easiest way to reproduce content (see Graph 6), specifically in *20 Minutos* (with 95% of the material coming from Europa Press). The few journalists (3%) and editors (2%) who signed their work did not produce their own information nor were they specialized in culture. Most authors (Puri Caro, Beatriz Rodríguez, Judith Calderón and José Luís Obrador) are correspondents in other cities or staff editors (Clara Pinar and Belén Sarria).

Contrarily, in *El País*, most of the news items (74%) were signed by journalists and editors from the Editorial Staff (16%). Their profile was the best trained in cultural areas. The following stand out: José Ángel Montañés (Culture editor and specialist in art and heritage issues); Aldo Nicolai (editor specializing in culture); Toni Montesino, Gonzalo Robledo, Iván de Moneo, Javier Montes and Mercedes Cebrián (travel), Javier Pérez Senz (journalist and music critic), Jesús Cañas (correspondent with a Masters in heritage); Margot Molina (Editor for Andalusia, specializing in culture); Vicotira Zárate (culture and fashion journalist). The

rest of the writers including Marta Villena (freelance), Oscar Corral (photojournalist), Pere Ríos (editor), Ramón Besa (sports) made reference to heritage in their writings without being specialized.

El Mundo had similar indicators to *El País*, although without cultural specialization: Víctor de la Serna, Rafael Bachiller and Antonio Lucas (columnists); Noa de la Torre (Economy); Héctor Fernández (politics); Cristina Galafate, Eduardo Álvarez, Germán González, Inmaculada Cobo and Luis Durán (editors); Francisco Carrión-Molina, Pablo Pardo and Salud Hernández-Mora (correspondents), Isabel García and Patricia Ozuna (travel), Manuel Hidalgo and Juan Diego Mandueño (opinion); Marisol Hernández (national). Finally, Manuel Llorente and Pablo Rocés were the only two specialized professionals who produced content with a certain exclusivity in heritage.

Graph 6. Information from agencies and journalists



Source: prepared by the authors

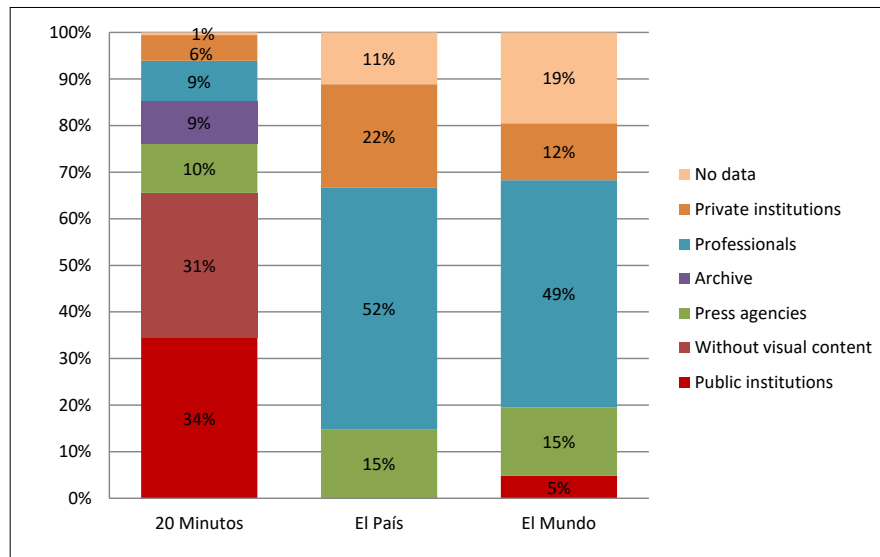
3.4. Use of the image

The use of visual material was one of the preferred techniques to complement the information (72%), yet illustrations and videos did not stand out (1%). The rest of the cultural news did not have complementary visual material.

Four trends were emphasized in this regard (see Graph 7):

- Agency teletypes and publication of pictorial content: many cultural news items in the newspaper *20 Minutos* did not have associated pictorial material (31%), nor complementary data (1%). The same happened to a lesser scale in *El País* (11%) and *El Mundo* (19%). This propensity was closely related to the (re)production of news from press agencies.
- Photos taken by the professionals themselves: most of the images were taken by the newspaper itself in *El País* (52%) and *El Mundo* (49%). In *20 Minutos*, the images came from the agencies.
- (Re)production of material from press agencies: the actions of *El País*, *El Mundo* (15% respectively) and *20 Minutos* (10%) complement the previous criteria, showing a journalism that reproduces already processed content.
- Transfer of photographic material by companies and individuals: assistance to news professionals by providing visual material. *20 Minutos* resorted to the use of the institutional archive when it did not have material to accompany the cultural news (9%). Images were reproduced out of context in relation to the topic.

Graph 7. Use of visual resources in the digital press



Source: prepared by the authors

3.5. Engagement and interaction in social networks

Concerning the study of the second time period, the type of narratives published on Instagram and Twitter served to measure the degree of connection, the interaction with the audience and to see how the journalistic narratives were merged through cultural journalism from a transmedia practice. Two realities could be determined (See Table 2):

- High engagement (4.53%) and good page performance index (25%) were reported for *El Mundo*, positioning them as the most engaged and interactive profile on Instagram in terms of heritage themes - despite the fact that *El País* was in last place with almost double the number of followers (more than 1 million). In terms of interaction, with an average of 34 cultural publications and more than 4 million comments, *El Mundo* was above its peers with good indicators of 'Likes' and total number of comments, demonstrating a good reception by its followers.
- No differences were found when analyzing the indicators of the newspapers *El País* and *20 Minutos* on Twitter. Although the engagement (0.57%) and the evolution of its followers over time (0.58%) was higher in the cultural publications of *20 Minutos*, the number of followers of *El País* (which increased five-fold) levelled the footing; therefore, both accounts obtained comparable indicators. The level of interaction also showed parity: although the number of 'Likes' was higher in the former, the cultural publications of the latter surpassed by far the indicators of *El País*. Therefore, taking into account the total number of reactions, *El País* occupied the most interactive role in terms of heritage, although it was *El Mundo* which had the highest indicator (142.1K).

Table 2. Analyzed profiles

		Instagram			Twitter		
		El País	El Mundo	20 Minutos	El País	El Mundo	20 Minutos
Engagement	Engagement	1,93%	4,53%	2.39%	0,25%	0,53%	0,57%
	Followers	1 M	443,4 K	179,5 K	7,8 M	3,8 M	1,4 M
	Post Interaction	0,54%	0,93%	0,54%	0,0%	0,0%	0.0%
	Followers Growth	0,49%	0,55%	0,58%	0,18%	0,16%	0,58%
	Page performance Index	15%	25%	19%	24%	33%	24%

Interaction	Number of Like	136,9 K	135,8 K	28,3K	107,9 K	110 K	44,2K
	Number of posts	25	34	31	1162	870	1854
	Numbers of post by day	3,57	4,85	4,42	166	124,28	264,85
	Number of comments Total	3,5 K	4,3 K	1,6 K	-	-	-
	Number total of reactions	140,4 K	140,2 K	29,9 K	138,9 K	142,1 K	57,2 K
		<div>Highest levels recorded</div>		<div>Average levels recorded</div>			

Source: prepared by the authors

ISSN: 1696-019X / e-ISSN: 2386-3978

Heritage information published in *El Mundo* gained more digital presence on Instagram than on Twitter. This engagement positioned the newspaper as the best managed account on Instagram. However, its presence on Twitter went unnoticed with respect to *El País* and *20 Minutos*. *El País* tended to concentrate its activity on Twitter without neglecting Instagram, its engagement strategies were the least representative in terms of heritage themes. In this sense, it racked up the highest score of followers (1 million), with its interactivity motivating the Instagram audience (with scores of 140.4 K). *20 Minutos* also opted to publish more cultural content on Twitter. Its engagement indicators were good on both social networks, so its actions were consistent in terms of followers and overall performance. Its experience was accentuated on Twitter, which made it the newspaper with the best presence for cultural journalism on Twitter.

4. Discussion and conclusions

The results presented here are part of a corpus study circumscribed to a specific period of time, based on solid research criteria and framed in the theory that pertains to the area of study of cyberjournalism. This temporal limitation and the fact that the choice of press headers was not based on digital native media does not imply that the social reality defined in the object of study cannot be portrayed. Although it was conditioned by an international scenario, marked by the presence of the coronavirus pandemic, it helped to discern a concrete reality associated with the use and reproduction of heritage content in the cultural press. Throughout the reporting of the results, a strong influence of press agencies was noted, a situation that helped to understand the heritage story contemplated from the agenda.

After the analysis of the sample, it was confirmed that the media presence of the most widely read digital newspapers in Spain in the field of Cultural Heritage was relatively limited in the editions of *El País* and *El Mundo*. However, this was not the case in the redaction of *20 Minutos*, where the content coming from press agencies acquired great visibility through the (re)production of information as opposed to the dissemination of their own cultural news. The informative order defined in Salaverría & Cores, (2015) was the most representative. The cyberjournalistic genres focused on the first two phases of development, with repetition predominating in *20 Minutos* and *El Mundo*, and enrichment in *El País*. Renovation was relatively low in the three newspapers, and innovation was nil, which revealed that cyberjournalistic genres are still in the intermediate stages. This confirmed the trend described by Jurado-Martín & Ivars-Nicolás, (2019) with respect to the Spanish cultural section, which prioritized a diffusion that does not use or is not interested in using technological possibilities.

Referring to the treatment of information, most of the cultural news did not mention, directly or indirectly, issues related to the topics concerning Cultural Heritage. The form of (re)production of information based on trivial references or superficial features linked to the heritage field is collated (Compte-Pujol, 2016; González-Sánchez, 2011; Longhi-Heredia and Quezada-Tello, 2021). As Rodríguez-Pastoriza (2006) indicated “the newsworthy (...) corresponds more to the unexpected” (p. 80). To this effect, headlines with an explicit heritage theme were the least represented in the digital press, a situation that did not imply that heritage issues were developed in greater depth within the articles.

The narrative of cultural journalism covered events and heritage performances belonging to both high and popular culture (García-Avilés, 2021). Newspapers did not classify news according to cultural specialization. The cultural section was structured in sections that complemented and associated with cultural content: the political (Kristensen, & Roosvall, 2021), social (Monjas-Eleta, 2013; Jurado-Martín, 2019), local (Jaakkola, 2021), and commercial dimensions (Hovden & Kristensen, 2018) were examples. Only a minority of the news was placed in the ‘culture’ section evidencing the tendency indicated by Rodríguez-Pastoriza, (2006), noting the approach to a more generalist journalism, and with great market inference (Bello et al., 1994). *Unifuentismo*, the omission of subjects and the absence of agenda, as evidenced by Cruz & Rosero (2012), were also present.

The hierarchization of the news followed the same parameters of the written press, privileging the nomenclature based on geographical criteria of proximity (García Canclini, 2000) starting with local and provincial events, up to those of a national character. The use of sources followed the trend of Rodríguez-Pastoriza (2006) in which institutions come to life as direct official referents in dealings with heritage. Cultural journalists in this sense were scarcely specialized in heritage, so they need, in the terms of Rivera (1995), to overcome the old recipes and offer original repertoires in line with transmedia (Jurado-Martín & Peña-Acuña, 2021).

With respect to the treatment of the weekly media agenda, the newspapers were interested in specific events related to the management of sites and festivities declared World Heritage by UNESCO, as well as special festivities linked to specific days (World Environment Day, World Heritage Day and European Heritage Days). The agenda was able to include cultural themes, with the typology of World Heritage being the most newsworthy (Longhi-Heredia et al., 2022). Immaterial Heritage was one of the topics that was most missing in comparison to “Historical and Cultural Heritage”. Natural Heritage, on the other hand, occupied an unremarkable spot in the cultural agenda in a context marked by the Covid-19 pandemic.

Concerning the second objective of the research, the newspapers resorted to transmedia practices to reproduce information on social networks in order to communicate about an attractive product that allows them to know and engage their audience (Jurado Martín, et al., 2021). While *El Mundo* stood out for its great dedication in the management and dissemination of content on Instagram (obtaining significant indicators in terms of engagement and interactivity for heritage issues), *El País* was able to develop a strategy of production and transmission of journalistic cultural content focused on Twitter (with important interaction notes on Instagram). *20 Minutos* favored content published on Twitter, without neglecting engagement on Instagram. The transmedia universe turned out to be an ideal practice in the cultural journalistic field (Jurado-Martin & Peña-Acuña, 2021): the information published by the digital press was reproduced on social platforms in order to generate comprehensive content. Note that Instagram as a communication strategy “seeks a balance between quick information and entertainment” (San-José-de-la-Rosa & Monjas-Eleta, 2021: 85) where a post or a story results in the action of clicking and subsequent redirection to transmedia content.

The media competence of digital newspapers in terms of Cultural Heritage synchronized with the logic of the agenda setting, especially with the editorial guidelines of the newspapers themselves. The socio-patrimonial representations (Castoriadis, 2017) that were transmitted from *20 Minutos* for example incorporated the logic of (re)production of press agencies. In the case of *El País* and *El Mundo*, it was the journalists themselves who were in charge of generating social categories based on official sources and associated with political figures of the Spanish government, as revealed by Rodríguez-Pastoriza (2006). Collaborators and free lancers were also present at the time of constructing the discourses, although the information obtained through agencies, mainly in the case of *20 Minutos*, stood out.

Concerning the hypotheses that guided this work, the only time period that confirmed them was June 2020 (H1). The news concerning Natural Heritage promulgated and encouraged by UNESCO were widely represented in the cultural press of *20 Minutos*. During World Environment Day, news referring to Spanish and international Natural Heritage was very popular. The editions of *El Mundo* and *El País* did not portray socio-patrimonial representations linked to nature. Considering the health context marked by the Covid-19 pandemic, it was believed that such spaces would be widely disseminated after the distancing and confinement measures (Longhi-Heredia & Marcotte, 2021).

During September 2020 the European Heritage Days were present in the agenda of *20 Minutos*, but not in *El Mundo* and *El País* (H2). The activities that were disseminated from *20 Minutos* were not associated with the dates of the celebration (September 19 and 20). They were disseminated days before to inform the audience of the different activities. Cultural journalists did not cover events associated with heritage in Spain, nor did they specialize in its topics. They were rather close to generalist issues (Rodríguez-Pastoriza, 2006) linked to the logic of the market (Bello et al., 1994).

Finally, in November 2020, immaterial and material heritage representations occupied an important place in the journalistic treatment (mainly by *20 Minutos*) and during the commemoration of World Heritage Day (November 16) (H3). The cultural agenda did not echo this phenomenon in *El País* and *El Mundo*. There were few references to World Heritage in either newspaper. The Immaterial Heritage that was thought to be highlighted with the anniversary of the Immaterial Heritage Convention (*Castells*, Flamenco and *Canto de la Sibila*) was well communicated in *20 Minutos*, yet not so in the other newspapers. The same happened with the tenth anniversary of the declaration of Segovia as a World Heritage City: a large exposition in *20 Minutos* and scarce

reference in *El Mundo* and *El País*. This shows once again that historical commemorations acquire special importance in the cultural press (Rodríguez-Pastoriza, 2006).

The work presents several aspects that can be explored in the future with synchronic and diachronic lines of research and incorporating other digital newspapers in order to deepen local cultural practices such as those surveyed in this study: *Castells*, flamenco and the *Canto de la Sibila* (Chant of the Sibyl). The evaluation of other social networks such as Facebook and TikTok could also enrich the current line of research, considering the cultural and heritage aspects present in the informative material published on their social networks. Other questions emerge from the study: does the conception of heritage go beyond the aspects present in international law? What happens with the notions present in national and/or autonomous law? How does cyberjournalism portray heritage in danger or heritage sites of great international importance? These questions can be recovered in the future for a better understanding of the cultural reality.

5. Acknowledgements

Patrick Louis Rohrer translated this article.

6. Specific contributions from each author

	Name and Surname
Concept and design of the work	Sebastián Alberto Longhi Heredia
Methodology	Sebastián Alberto Longhi Heredia
Data collection and analysis	Sebastián Alberto Longhi Heredia
Discussion and conclusions	Sebastián Alberto Longhi Heredia José María Morillas Alcázar and Ángel Hernando Gómez
Writing, formatting, revision and approval of versions	Sebastián Alberto Longhi Heredia, José María Morillas Alcázar and Ángel Hernando Gómez

7. Bibliographic references

- Abejón-Mendoza, P. (2021). Periodismos emergentes en la era digital: nuevos formatos, narrativas y modelos de negocio. *Doxa Comunicación*, 32, 253-262. <https://doi.org/10.31921/doxacom.n32a12>
- Amoedo-Casais, A., Vara, M. A., Negredo-Bruna, S. M.-M. E. & Kaufmann, J. (2021). *Resumen Ejecutivo Digital New Report.Es 2021: Periodismo de calidad y cercanía para combatir la infodemia*. <https://bit.ly/3IKBHjZ>
- Arce-García, S., Orviz-Martínez, N. & Cuervo-Carabel, T. (2020). Impacto de las emociones vertidas por diarios digitales en Twitter. *Profesional de La Información*, 29(5). <https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2020.sep.20>

- Arrabal-Sánchez, G. & De-Aguilera-Moyano, M. (2016). Communicating in 140 characters. How journalists in Spain use Twitter. *Comunicar*, 24(46), 9–17. <https://doi.org/10.3916/c46-2016-01>
- Arteseros-Valenzuela, J. (2019). Periodismo cultural en el siglo XXI. Contenidos docentes innovadores. Jurado-Martín, M. y Peña-Acuña, B.(coords.): Universitas. *Revista de Comunicación*, 18(2), 323–324. <https://doi.org/10.26441/RC18.2-2019-R1>
- Bello, J., Gondella, A. & Quiaro, M. E. (1994). Periodismo cultural diario entre la modernidad y la posmodernidad en busca de la definición perdida. *Colección Canícula*.
- Ballart, J. (1997). *El patrimonio histórico y arqueológico como recurso: Valor y Uso*. (Ariel).
- Barei, S. (1999). Periodismo cultural: crítica y escritura. Ámbitos. *Revista Internacional de Comunicación*, 2, 49–60. <https://bit.ly/3dNPoSo>
- Barnidge, M., Heath, W., Zhang, J. & Broussard, R. (2020). Business as Usual? A Social Capital Approach to Understanding Interactions with Journalists on Twitter. *Journalism Studies*, 21(3), 406–424. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2019.1670091>
- Benaissa-Pedriz, S. (2018). Las redes sociales como fuente de información periodística en la prensa digital española (“El País”, “El Mundo”, “La Vanguardia” y “ABC”). *Index Comunicación-Revista Científica En El Ámbito de La Comunicación Aplicada*, 8(3), 13–42. <https://bit.ly/2MHxNQx>
- Bentivegna, S. & Marchetti, R. (2018). Journalists at a crossroads: Are traditional norms and practices challenged by Twitter? *Journalism*, 19(2), 270–290. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884917716594>
- Berger, P. L. & Luckmann, T. (1968). *La construcción social de la realidad*. (Vol. 975). Amorrortu.
- Borges-Rey, E. (2015). News Images on Instagram: The paradox of authenticity in hyperreal photo reportage. *Digital Journalism*, 3(4), 571–593. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2015.1034526>
- Bulut, Z. A. & Doğan, O. (2017). The ABCD typology: Profile and motivations of Turkish social network sites users. *Computers in Human Behavior*, 67(2), 73–83. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chb.2016.10.021>
- Campos-Freire, F., Rúas-Araújo, J. López-García, X. & Martínez-Fernández, V.A. (2016). Impacto de las redes sociales en el periodismo. *El Profesional de La Información*, 25(3), 449–457. <https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2016.may.15>
- Carrasco-Campos, A. & Saperas-Lapiedra, E. (2012a). Un cambio de paradigma: primeros pasos del debate institucional sobre la relación entre cultura y medios de comunicación. La Mesa redonda sobre políticas culturales de la Unesco (Mónaco, 1967). III Congreso Internacional de La Asociación Española de Investigación en Comunicación. <https://bit.ly/3qSf58k>
- Carrión, J. (2020). *Ideas para renovar el periodismo cultural*. (05 Julio de 2020). *The New York Times*. Retrieved 25–2, 2022, <https://nyti.ms/3MAQ2Sf>
- Castillo-Abdul, B. & Longhi-Heredia, S. A. (2022). Branded Content como herramienta de comunicación y marketing para la difusión de contenidos de las catedrales. In Tirant Humanidades, *Redes sociales, Influencers y Marketing digital en el Patrimonio histórico-artístico. Un reto de la sociedad postdigital* (pp. 163– 178). <https://bit.ly/3vZdOS3>
- Castoriadis, C. (2007). *La Institución Imaginaria de La Sociedad*. Tusquets Editores. <https://bit.ly/36hEiQj>

- Chacón-Gutiérrez, I. & García-Jiménez, A. (2001). Documentación para el periodismo especializado. *Revista General de Información y Documentación*, 11(2), 33–60. <https://bit.ly/39waSTP>
- Clua, A., Ferran-Ferrer, N. & Terren, L. (2018). Youth impact on the public sphere in Press and Twitter: The dissolution of the Spanish Youth Council. *Comunicar*, 26(55), 49–57. <https://doi.org/10.3916/c55-2018-05>
- Compte-Pujol, M. (2016). *La estrategia de comunicación del patrimonio desde la comunicación corporativa y las relaciones públicas. Análisis de un caso: el Patrimonio de la Humanidad de la UNESCO en España*. <https://bit.ly/357cAX2>
- Cruz, P. & Rosero, S. (2012). El periodismo cultural en la prensa escrita y la televisión del Ecuador. *Revista ComHumanitas*, 3(1), 183–195. <https://bit.ly/3Ffr7vx>
- De-Lara-González, A. (2019). Jurado-Martín, M. y Peña-Acuña, B. (Coords.): “Periodismo Cultural en el siglo XXI (I). Contenidos docentes innovadores”. *Estudios Sobre El Mensaje Periodístico*, 25(2), 1263–1266. <https://doi.org/10.5209/esmp.64837>
- Delponti-Macchione, P. & Pestano-Rodríguez, J. (2012). El papel del periodismo cultural en la construcción simbólica de un imaginario social globalizado. In Mateos-Martín, C (coord), *Actas IV Congreso Internacional Latina de Comunicación Social: comunicación, control y resistencias*. <https://bit.ly/3OYU3AY>
- Durán-Salado, I. & Carrera-Díaz, G. (2017). La participación social en la documentación del patrimonio cultural. In PH Cuadernos, *Introducción a la documentación del patrimonio cultural* (pp. 299–319). Junta de Andalucía
- Fontcuberta-Balaguer, M. (1993). *La noticia. Pistas para percibir el mundo*. Paidós
- García-Avilés, J. A. (2021). Formatos narrativos en el periodismo cultural: innovación y creatividad en un entorno interactivo. In Jurado-Martin, M. and Peña-Acuña, B. (coord), *Periodismo cultural en el siglo XXI (II): modelos transmedia para profesionales innovadores* (pp. 39–52). <https://bit.ly/3sXdvVK>
- García-Canclini, N. (2000). *Local, nacional y global: Cambio de la información cultural en diarios mexicanos*. Encuentro de Investigación México-Colombia: Medios, Cultura Y Democracia.
- García-Canclini, N. (2007). ¿Cómo se ocupan los medios de la información cultural? *Etcétera*.
- Gayà-Morlà, C., Garde, C. & Ser- Moreno, L. a. (2022). La mirada reflexiva, aportaciones epistemológicas al periodismo literario ante el espejismo del metarrelato de la era digital. *Doxa Comunicación. Revista Interdisciplinar de Estudios de Comunicación Y Ciencias Sociales*, 34, 273–289. <https://doi.org/10.31921/doxacom.n34a1477>
- González-Sánchez, C. (2011). *La comunicación en el proceso de construcción del patrimonio: percepciones y mediaciones*. <https://bit.ly/3bDRXny>
- Gonzalez-Carrion, E.L. & Aguaded, I. (2020). Procesos de interacción en Instagramers latinoamericanas. El caso de Perú y Colombia durante el 2019. *Revista de Comunicación*, 19(2), 161–174. <https://doi.org/10.26441/rc19.2-2020-a9>
- Hedman, U. (2020). Making the most of Twitter: How technological affordances influence Swedish journalists’ self-branding. *Journalism*, 21(5), 670–687. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884917734054>
- Hermida, A. (2010). Twitterinng the news . *Journalism Practice*, 4(3), 297–308. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512781003640703>

- Hermida, A. (2013). #Journalism. Reconfiguring journalism research about Twitter, one tweet at a time. *Digital Journalism*, 1(3), 295–313. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2013.808456>
- Hermida, A. & Mellado, C. (2020). Dimensions of Social Media Logics: Mapping Forms of Journalistic Norms and Practices on Twitter and Instagram. *Digital Journalism*, 8(7), 864–884. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2020.1805779>
- Hernández-Sampieri, R., Fernández, C. & Baptista, P. (2010). *Metodología de la investigación*. McGraw-Hill.
- Hernández-Fuentes, A. & Monnier, A. (2020). Twitter as a Source of Information? Practices of Journalists Working for the French National Press. *Journalism Practice*, 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2020.1824585>
- Hine, C. (2020). The Evolution and Diversification of Twitter as a Cultural Artefact in the British Press 2007–2014. *Journalism Studies*, 21(5), 678–696. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2020.1719369>
- Houston, J. B., McKinney, M. S., Thorson, E., Hawthorne, J., Wolfgang, J. D. & Swasy, A. (2020). The twitterization of journalism: User perceptions of news tweets. *Journalism*, 21(5), 614–632. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918764454>
- Hovden, J. F. & Kristensenn N, N. (2018). The cultural journalist around the globe: A comparative study of characteristics, role perceptions, and perceived influences. *Journalism*, 22(3), 689–708. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918791224>
- Huertas, A., Setó-Pàmies, D. & Míguez-González, M.-I. (2015). Comunicación de destinos turísticos a través de los medios sociales. *Profesional de La Información*, 24(1), 15–21. <https://doi.org/0.3145/epi.2015.ene.02>
- Jaakkola, M. (2015). *The contested autonomy of arts and journalism: Change and continuity of the dual professionalism of cultural journalism*. <https://bit.ly/3hN5Umr>
- Jaakkola, M. (2021). Reimagining the Review: transmedia possibilities of reviewing in daily newspapers in Finland and beyond. In Jurado-Martin, M. and Peña-Acuña, B. (coord), *Periodismo cultural en el siglo XXI (II): modelos transmedia para profesionales innovadores* (pp. 167–183). <https://bit.ly/35Nc0Rg>
- Jaraba-Molina, G. & Tejedor-Calvo, S. (2020). De qué conversan los periodistas españoles en Twitter. Contenidos y tendencias en la twittersfera española. *El Profesional de La Información*, 29(1). <https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2020.ene.18>
- Jaraba-Molina, G., Tejedor-Calvo, S. & Cervi, L. (2020). Análisis de las temáticas y tendencias de periodistas españoles en Twitter: contenidos sobre política, cultura, ciencia, comunicación e Internet. *Cuadernos.Info*, 47, 111–137. <https://doi.org/10.7764/cdi.47.1773>
- Jurado-Martín, M. (2019). La sección Cultura hoy: De las descripciones teóricas a la realidad práctica. *Estudio de caso de medios impresos en España. Observatorio*, 13(2), 142–166. <https://doi.org/10.15847/obsOBS13220191393>
- Jurado-Martín, M. & Ivars-Nicolás, B. (2019). ¿Anclados en el pasado? La sección Cultura en los periódicos “El País”, «El Mundo” y “ABC”: 2007 y 2017. *Historia y Comunicación Social*, 24(1), 217–235. <https://doi.org/10.5209/hics.64492>
- Jurado-Martín, M., Martínez-Cano, F. J. & Ivars-Nicolás, B. (2021). Narrativa transmedia en el periodismo cinematográfico: los Premios Goya. In Jurado-Martin, M. and Peña-Acuña, B. (coord), *Periodismo cultural en el siglo XXI (II): modelos transmedia para profesionales innovadores* (pp. 53–68). Universitas. <https://bit.ly/3hQBtfl>

Jurado-Martín, M. & Peña-Acuña, B. (2018). *Periodismo Cultural en el Siglo XXI (I) Contenidos Docentes Innovadores. Colección Innovación en Comunicación* (Universitas).

Jurado-Martin, M. & Peña-Acuña, B. (2021). *Periodismo cultural en el siglo XXI (II). Modelos transmedia para profesionales innovadores*. Universitas.

Kristensen, N. & Riebert, K. (2017). *Cultural journalism in the Nordic countries* (Nordicom).

Kristensen, N. N. & Roosvall, A. (2021). Cultural communication as political communication. In E. Skogerbo, Ø. Ihlen, N. N. Kristensen, & L. Nord (Eds.) *Power, communication, and politics in the Nordic countries* (pp. 177–196). Nordicom. /https://doi.org/10.48335/9789188855299-9

Larsson, A. O. & Hallvard, M. (2015). Bots or journalists? News sharing on Twitter. *Communications*, 40(3). https://doi.org/10.1515/commun-2015-0014

Lewis, S. C. & Molyneux, L. (2018). A decade of research on social media and journalism: Assumptions, blind spots, and a way forward. *Media and Communications*, 6(4), 11–23. https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v6i4.1562

Leyton-Rivas, R. (2007). El Patrimonio Cultural en la Formación del Periodista. *Revista Re-Presentaciones: Periodismo, Comunicación Y Sociedad*, 2, 107–114. https://doi.org/https://bit.ly/2Xgi5i6

Longhi-Heredia, S. A. & Marcotte, P. (2021). The Attractiveness of Quebec's Heritage Sites in The Era of Covid-19. *VISUAL REVIEW. International Visual Culture Review*, 8(2), 151–165. https://doi.org/10.37467/gka-revvisual.v8.2879

Longhi-Heredia, S. A., Morillas-Alcázar, J. M. & Hernando-Gómez, Á. (2022). El “ABC de Sevilla”. La presencia del concepto de “Patrimonio” en la prensa digital. In Conde-Lorenzo, E, and Andrade-Martínez, C. (coord), *Comunicación digital y redes sociales: ¿Esclavitud mediática o reducción de las brechas digitales?* ABYA-YALA . https://bit.ly/3MEPQ11

Longhi-Heredia, S. A. & Quezada-Tello, L. L. (2021). La prensa en Instagram: El uso de la fotografía asociada al patrimonio cultural en España. In Sierra-Sánchez, J. and Barrientos-Báez, A. (coord), *Cosmovisión de la Comunicación en Redes Sociales en la era Postdigital* (Vol. 1, pp. 97–126). McGraw-Hill

López-García, X. (2021). Nuevos horizontes para el periodismo cultural en la era digital. In Jurado-Martin, M. and Peña-Acuña, B. (coord), *Periodismo cultural en el siglo XXI (II): modelos transmedia para profesionales innovadores* (pp. 23–35). https://bit.ly/3vPuHP5

López-Rabadán, P. & Mellado, C. (2019). Twitter as a space for interaction in political journalism. Dynamics, consequences and proposal of interactivity scale for social media. *Communication & Society*, 32(1), 1–18. https://doi.org/10.15581/003.32.1.1-18

Maares, P. & Hanusch, F. (2020). Exploring the boundaries of journalism: Instagram micro-bloggers in the twilight zone of lifestyle journalism. *Journalism*, 21(2), 262–278. https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918801400

McCombs, M. (1996). Influencia de las noticias sobre nuestras imágenes del mundo. In Bryant, J. y Zillmann, D (Ed.), *Los efectos de los medios de comunicación: investigaciones y teorías*. Paidós.

Mañas-Viniegra, L., Sierra-Sánchez, J. & López-Cepeda, I. (2019). Consumo e interacciones de las noticias publicadas en redes sociales por los diarios españoles y europeos. *Trípodos*, 45, 135–156. https://bit.ly/35MQ5H1

- Marennet, J. (2013). Poke me, I'm a journalist: The impact of Facebook and Twitter on newsroom routines and cultures at two South African weeklies. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 34(1), 21–35. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02560054.2013.767421>
- Marta-Lazo, C. & Garcia-Idiakez, M. (2014). El uso profesional de la red social Twitter en la redacción del diario español El País. *Palabra Clave*, 17(2), 353–377. <https://bit.ly/3lqVytz>
- Martín-Quevedo, J., Fernández-Gómez, E. & Segado-Boj, F. (2019). How to engage with younger users on Instagram: A comparative analysis of HBO and Netflix in the Spanish and US markets. *International Journal on Media Management*, 21(2), 67–87. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14241277.2019.1585355>
- Martínez, N. (2018). El periodismo cultural. *Revista de Museología Kóot* 9, 63–68. <https://doi.org/10.5377/koot.v0i9.5906>
- McGregor, S. C. & Molyneux, L. (2018). Twitter's influence on news judgment: An experiment among journalists. *Journalism*, 21(5), 597–613. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918802975>
- Mendez, A., Palomo, B. & Rivera, A. (2020). Managing social networks in online-native newsrooms: When less means more. *Media and Communication*, 8(2), 124–134. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v8i2.2717>
- Meza-Noriega, A. (2021). Periodismo cultural en el siglo XXI (II). Modelos transmedia para profesionales innovadores [Reseña]. *Revista Mediterránea de Comunicación*, 12, 331–333. <https://doi.org/10.14198/MEDCOM.19982>
- Mills, T., Mullan, K. & Fooks, G. (2020). Impartiality on Platforms: The Politics of BBC Journalists' Twitter Networks. *Journalism Studies*, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2020.1852099>
- Monjas-Eleta, M. (2013). La especialización periodística en patrimonio cultural en las secciones de la prensa regional de Castilla y León. *Vivat Academia*, 125, 86–101. <http://dx.doi.org/10.15178/va.2013.125.86-101>
- Monjas-Eleta, M (2015). “Medios especializados en cultura en Internet. Una propuesta de clasificación” *Ogigia. Revista Electrónica de Estudios Hispánicos*, v.17, p. 7–21. <https://bit.ly/3p74RPs>
- Moreno, E. (2021). *Resumen Ejecutivo Digital New Report.es 2021: Los servicios de mensajería instantánea se consolidan para leer, ver, encontrar, compartir o comentar noticias*. <https://bit.ly/3MjwnWV>
- Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Schulz, A., Andi, S. & Nielsen, R.-K. (2020). Digital news report 2020. *Reuter Institute for the Study of Journalism*, 1–112. <https://bit.ly/37B9M4r>
- Oeldorf-Hirsch, A., Schmierbach, M., Appelman, A. & Boyle, M. P. (2020). For the birds: Media sourcing, Twitter, and the minimal effect on audience perceptions. *Convergence*, 26(2), 350–368. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354856518780438>
- R Project. (2020). R: A Language and Environment for Statistical Computing. <https://www.R-project.org/>
- Rivera, J. (2018). *El periodismo cultural*. Paidós Ibérica.
- Rodríguez-Pastoriza, F (2006). *Periodismo cultural*. Síntesis.
- Rodríguez-Pastoriza, F. (2021). La esencia del periodismo cultural (Modelos transmedia para profesionales innovadores). In *Periodismo cultural en el siglo XXI* (Vol. 2, pp. 213–219). <https://bit.ly/3603QoH>

- Rubiano, E. (2006). Escenario, butaca y ticket: el mercado de la cultura en el periodismo cultural. *Tabula Rasa*, 5, 129–148. <https://doi.org/10.25058/20112742.271>
- Salaverría, R. & Cores, R. (2005). Géneros periodísticos en los cibermedios hispanos. In Salaverría, R. (coord.) (Ed.), *Cibermedios. El impacto de internet en los medios de comunicación en España* (pp. 145–185). Comunicación Social Ediciones y Publicaciones. <https://bit.ly/3Fh6cNr>
- San-José-de-la-Rosa, C. & Monjas-Eleta, M. (2021). Contenidos transmedia de las publicaciones en Instagram de las revistas Fotogramas y Cinemanía. In Jurado-Martin, M. and Peña-Acuña, B. (coord), *Periodismo cultural en el siglo XXI (II): modelos transmedia para profesionales innovadores* (pp. 69–85). Universitas. <https://bit.ly/3tH4xLM>
- Sánchez-Castillo, S. (2005). El proceso sociocultural y educativo de la televisión en la difusión del arte y el patrimonio. *Ars Longa. Cuadernos de Arte*, 14-15, 381–387. <https://bit.ly/2legVPA>
- Sánchez-Jiménez, M. Á., Coreia, M. B. & de-Matos, N. (2018). Análisis de las redes sociales como instrumento de comunicación en los destinos turísticos del Algarve. *Revista Gestão Inovação E Tecnologias*, 8(3), 4476–4494. <https://doi.org/10.7198/geintec.v8i3.1252>
- Santos-Silva, D. (2019). Digitally Empowered: New patterns of sourcing and expertise in cultural journalism and criticism. *Journalism Practice*, 13(5), 592–601. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17512786.2018.1507682>
- Suing, A., Salazar, G. & Ortiz, C. (2018). Are Latin American YouTubers Influential? In *Advances in Intelligent Systems and Computing* (p. 341–348). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-02351-5_39
- Tejedor-Calvo, S., Cervi, L., Jaraba, G. & 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*, 63, 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/analisi.3333>
- Tong, J. (2018). Journalistic Legitimacy Revisited: Collapse or revival in the digital age? *Digital Journalism*, 6(2), 256–273. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2017.1360785>
- Tubau, I. (1982). *Teoría y práctica del periodismo cultural*. (A.T.E., Ed.).
- UNESCO. (2003). *La Convention pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel- 17 octobre 2003 32e session*. <https://bit.ly/37aRcUk>
- Valle-Vera, M. G. (2014). *El periodismo cultural en los diarios limeños de hoy. Una nueva propuesta conceptual. Análisis de los casos de El Comercio, La República y El Peruano*. <https://bit.ly/3KMn8fM>
- Vázquez-Herrero, J., Direito-Rebollal, S. & López-García, X. (2019). Ephemeral journalism: News distribution through Instagram stories. *Social Media+ Society*, 5(4), 1–13. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305119888657>
- Villa, M. J. (1998). EL PERIODISMO CULTURAL Reflexiones y aproximaciones. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, 6, 1–5. <https://bit.ly/3OKj17j>
- Villa, M. J. (2000). Una aproximación teórica al periodismo cultural. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, 3(35). <https://bit.ly/37XkRwW>

- Wickham, H. (2016). *ggplot2: Elegant graphics for data analysis*. Springer-Verlag.
- Zaid, G. (2006). Periodismo cultural. *Letras Libres*, 5. <https://bit.ly/3IKIET7>
- Zambrano-Morales, M-G. & Villalobos-Finol, O. (2010). Presencia del periodismo cultural y de espectáculo en la prensa zuliana. *Anagramas Rumbos Y Sentidos de La Comunicación*, 9(17), 67–81. <https://doi.org/10.22395/angr.v9n17a5>
- Zhang, X. & Ho, J. C. (2020). Exploring the Fragmentation of the Representation of Data-Driven Journalism in the Twittersphere: A Network Analytics Approach. *Social Science Computer Review*, 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0894439320905522>