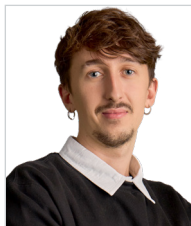



# Thirty years of digital journalism in Galicia: a media map and developmental trends

## *Treinta años de periodismo digital en Galicia: mapa de medios y tendencias de desarrollo*



**Noel Pascual-Presa.** PhD in Contemporary Communication and Information (2025, USC). Researcher in the Department of Communication Sciences, University of Santiago de Compostela (USC). He holds a Bachelor's Degree in Communication (2021, USC) and is a member of the research group known as *Novos Medios* (GI-1641). The focus of his research is risk communication, health communication, journalism, and new information technologies. He has also been a visiting researcher at the Information Science Group, University of Regensburg, Germany.


Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain 

noel.pascual.presa@usc.es

ORCID: 0009-0002-9091-7631



**María Cruz Negreira-Rey.** Associate Professor in the Department of Communication Science, University of Santiago de Compostela (USC). She also has a PhD in Contemporary Communication and Information (2020, USC). Moreover, her doctoral thesis received not only the *Lorenzo Gomis Award* (2021), but the Extraordinary Doctorate Award as well (2020-2021, USC). Professor Cruz is also a member of the research group entitled *Novos Medios* (GI-1641), and is also an associate of the *Instituto de Estudios y Desarrollo de Galicia* [Institute of Studies and Development of Galicia] (*IDEGA*). She has been a visiting researcher at HU Utrecht, and her lines of research focus on digital journalism, local and hyperlocal media, social media, and audiences.


Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain 

cruz.negreira@usc.es

ORCID: 0000-0001-8945-2641



**Xosé López-García.** Full Professor at the University of Santiago de Compostela. In addition to serving as coordinator of the *Novos Medios* research group (USC), his lines of research include digital and print media, the impact of technology on media communication, as well as the inner workings and funding of the culture industry. Moreover, he is also the editor in chief of the academic journal, *Revista de la Asociación Española de Investigación de la Comunicación* [Journal of the Spanish Association for Communication Research].

Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Spain 

ORCID: 0000-0002-1873-8260

### How to cite this article:

Pascual-Presa, N.; Negreira-Rey, M. C. and López-García, X. (2026). Thirty years of digital journalism in Galicia: a media map and developmental trends. *Doxa Comunicación*, 43.

<https://doi.org/10.31921/doxacom.2904>



This content is published under Creative Commons Attribution Non-Commercial License. International License CC BY-NC 4.0

**Abstract:**

The digital media ecosystem in Galicia has been in constant evolution since its inception. Since the arrival of the first media on the Internet in 1995, digital journalism has been shaped by technological, economic and socio-political changes. This research aims to update the map of active digital media in Galicia, identifying their main characteristics and development trends, 30 years after the appearance of the first digital outlet in the region. Through the use of a systematized quantitative methodology, this research provides a detailed overview of the current media landscape, analysing its evolution and offering a valuable resource for academic, professional and public use. The results reveal a growing ecosystem with a progressive adaptation to the digital environment, although with an uneven distribution, reflecting patterns similar to depopulation processes in certain areas of the territory, resulting in large regions without local media coverage.

**Keywords:**

Journalism; digital media; Galicia; map; evolution.

**Resumen:**

*El ecosistema mediático digital en Galicia ha experimentado una evolución constante desde sus inicios. Desde la llegada de los primeros medios a Internet en 1995, el periodismo digital ha estado marcado por cambios tecnológicos, económicos y sociopolíticos. Esta investigación tiene como objetivo actualizar el mapa de los medios digitales activos en Galicia e identificar sus principales características y tendencias de desarrollo, 30 años después de la aparición del primer medio digital en la región. Mediante el empleo de una metodología sistemática de carácter cuantitativo, esta investigación ofrece una visión detallada del panorama mediático actual, analizando su evolución y proporcionando un recurso útil para el ámbito académico, profesional y ciudadano. Los resultados revelan un ecosistema en crecimiento con una adaptación progresiva al entorno digital, aunque con una distribución desigual, reflejando patrones similares a los procesos de despoblación en ciertas zonas del territorio, lo que se traduce en amplias áreas sin cobertura mediática local.*

**Palabras clave:**

*Periodismo; medios digitales; Galicia; mapa; evolución.*

## 1. Introduction

Digital journalism has existed for three decades, developing in tandem with technology and society in a context often referred to as *glocal*. Throughout this journey, cyberjournalism has been analysed from multiple points of view (Salaverría, 2019), in order to shed light on the challenges that arise at each moment. In Spain, the digital media ecosystem has experienced continuous and robust growth until the present day, influenced by technological factors such as access to the Internet and the use of mobile devices by the public. There have been economic reasons as well, with the 2008 crisis being an important turning point in the growth of digital native outlets, along with sociopolitical factors including periods of intense political polarisation (Salaverría & Martínez-Costa, 2024).

Furthermore, the current scenario also presents challenges that affect digital journalism at the international and local level. Such issues include the following: the growing loss of trust in the media and journalists (Fink, 2019; Newman et al., 2023; Vázquez-Herrero et al., 2022); information disorders and the threat posed by pseudo-media (Palau-Sampio & Carratalá, 2022); deliberate news avoidance (Skovsgaard & Andersen, 2020) linked to the consumption behaviour of young audiences (Peters et al., 2022); the impact of artificial intelligence (Noain-Sánchez, 2022; Pascual-Presa & García-Orosa, 2024); and finally, the decrease in local media and the resulting growth of news deserts (Saiz-Echezarreta et al., 2024).

Addressing today's complex challenges requires in-depth knowledge of the media ecosystems that are closest to the people. This research focuses on Galicia, an autonomous region in northwestern Spain with a population of 2.7 million people (Galician Institute of Statistics, 2023), which is afflicted by an ageing citizenry and continuous depopulation in the provinces of Lugo and

Ourense, in contrast to a concentration of population in A Coruña and Pontevedra. With its own language and a strong cultural identity, Galicia has a long and proud tradition of local newspapers and a history of digital media that goes back three decades, as will be explained in the following sections.

This aim of this research is to update the map of digital media now operating in Galicia, some 30 years after the publication of the first online editions of Galician newspapers. Although national and regional mappings have been carried out in recent years (Negreira-Rey, 2017; Salaverría et al., 2022), the unstable nature of online media, especially digital natives, makes it necessary to update the overall map and analyse the region's media. Therefore, the following specific objectives are set forth:

O.1. Identify digital journalistic media, both native and legacy, which operate in Galicia, in order to analyse how the online media ecosystem has evolved over the last three decades.

O.2. Analyse the main features of the charted media, paying special attention to their publishing platforms, digital nature, degree of closeness to the target audience, area of news coverage, thematic specialization, and language used.

### *1.1. Digital journalism in transition*

The study of digital journalism has been evolving toward an increasingly interdisciplinary approach, in which its fundamental concepts (Steensen & Westlund, 2020) and practices are being reconsidered with regard to technology, society, and audiences (Eldridge II et al., 2025). In a complex scenario in which the boundaries of digital journalism and its actors have become blurred (Negreira-Rey et al., 2025), media ecosystems continue to be analysed through mappings connected to the study of news deserts (Abernathy, 2020; Lins da Silva & Pimenta, 2020), digital natives and their models (Geels et al., 2023), media pluralism (Public Interest Journalism Initiative, n. d.; Verza et al., 2024), and information disorders (Salaverría et al., 2022).

While traditional media have been forced to adapt to the digital scenario in a complex process of convergence (Dwyer, 2010), native digital media were born “on the Internet itself, with structures and procedures naturally adapted to the digital environment” (Salaverría, 2021, p. 22). At the corporate level, digital native startups often have an organisational structure more focused on creativity and innovation (Valero-Pastor et al., 2021), not only at the technological level, but also in terms of integrating the essential values of journalism, with an emphasis on the audience when defining strategies for the production and dissemination of information (García-Orosa et al., 2020).

The growth of native digital media has been an international phenomenon (Geels et al., 2023; Rey & De la Hoz, 2025), even in periods of economic downturn (Negredo et al., 2020). However, as many of these ventures are entrepreneurial in nature, the limitation on their economic and human resources often forces them to cease their activity before finding a sustainable model (Buschow, 2020; Sirkkunen & Cook, 2012f). The digital environment has led to rethinking the economic value of journalism and its business models, resulting in a search for alternatives beyond advertising (Picard, 2017). Paywalls have been incorporated using various models and trial phases (Myllylahti, 2013), yet the willingness of users to pay for content has not been fully achieved (Chyi & Ng, 2020), which threatens citizen access to information, especially at the local level (Olsen et al., 2019). Media with the largest audiences continue to seek diversification of revenue sources and adaptation to the needs of their audiences through technology (de-Lima-Santos, 2022).

The *platformisation* of the media is another international trend in digital journalism (Nielsen & Fletcher, 2023). Social networks have become nearly indispensable platforms, transforming production routines (Hermida, 2016), professional roles (Mellado & Hermida, 2021), and the adaptation of content for dissemination through increasingly visual formats (Hase et al., 2023). These platforms have also been consolidated as spaces for connecting with the audience, as they now represent one of the main points of access to information (Newman et al. 2024). Audiences play an increasingly key role in the strategies of digital media, as the latter must identify their needs, offer quality content, and maintain credibility with their followers (Rodríguez-Vázquez et al., 2024).

Another major challenge facing digital journalism today is the integration and impact of artificial intelligence, which affects media organisations and other industry players in a multidimensional way (Guzman & Lewis, 2024). In smaller scenarios, the use of artificial intelligence can improve the efficiency of local media workflows, assist in segmenting and personalizing the distribution of information, and help in developing new ways of monetising content (Franklin et al., 2024; Rinehart & Kung, 2022).

These transformations and challenges posed by the prevailing context also affect Galicia. As such, the following section reviews the most significant milestones achieved by journalism and digital media in Galicia over the last three decades, which are in line with the major changes observed at the international level.

### 1.2. *Thirty years of digital media in Galicia*

The history of digital media in Galicia is closely linked to the development of its traditional journalism. The year 1800 witnessed the first publication of *El Cantón Compostelano*, the first daily newspaper in Galicia. From that year until 1988, a total of 2,823 different newspapers were published in the region, mainly in the provinces of A Coruña and Pontevedra, but with a significant presence in cities such as Lugo, Ourense and Ferrol, and in other towns like Betanzos, Mondoñedo, Monforte de Lemos, Tui, and Vilagarcía de Arousa (Mourelle Lema, 1997).

The evolution of the Galician press has been influenced by political instability, slow technological advances, and ongoing social change, yet it has always been strongly defined by the importance it places on local media. Some local newspapers that are still benchmarks today appeared in the second half of the 19th and first half of the 20th century. These include *Faro de Vigo* (1853), *El Correo Gallego* (1878), *La Voz de Galicia* (1882), *El Diario de Pontevedra* (1887), *El Progreso* (1908), *La Región* (1911), and finally, *El Ideal Gallego* (1917). The contemporary media ecosystem has continued to evolve since the beginning of Spain's transition to democracy, along with the current political and administrative organisation of the State, both of which encouraged strong development of regional and provincial newspapers during the 1980s and 90s. This occurred parallel to the business concentration of large publishing groups and the effort to give national newspapers a more regional focus (Guillamet, 2022). Leadership in the local press was bolstered during this period, including in Galicia (Izquierdo Labella, 2010). Moreover, in the 1990s local radio and television stations started to grow. In 1990, Macià Mercadé (1993) catalogued 14 newspapers in Galicia (9 local), 70 radio stations (16 local), and 3 television channels.

The move from print to online media came just a year after the arrival of the Internet in Galicia. In 1995, *El Correo Gallego* became the first digital newspaper in the region, followed soon after by *Diario de Pontevedra* (1997), the weekly *A Nosa Terra*

(1998), and *La Región* (1998). Between 1999 and 2000, *El Faro de Vigo*, *La Voz de Galicia*, *El Progreso*, *El Ideal Gallego*, *Diario de Ferrol*, and *La Opinión de A Coruña* joined the Internet (Calvo et al., 2009).

From the first years of the new millennium onward, the majority of traditional newspapers have maintained their digital editions on the Internet. Online access has become common enough to allow a massive number of readers, yet the internet crisis and distrust by investors and advertisers has led to a limited commitment to the new digital medium by journalistic companies (López-García, 2008). In the early years, web editions were generally an imitation of paper-based models, with duplicated content and no specific internet-based production. Moreover, they had vertical and linear structures without the use of hypertext or interactivity, and they were not updated frequently (López-García et al., 2001).

The first digital native media also appeared relatively early. This is the case of *Vieiros*, which is noteworthy. This web portal became an established source of Galician-language news and an innovative journalistic project with service information, local editions for seven Galician cities, interactive resources, and collaboration with other media in order to organise electoral debates on the Internet (López-García et al., 2001). Other digital natives that appeared include *Xornal.com*, *Galicia Diario Dixital* and *Riasbaixas.org*.

In 2005, the national research project *Infotendencias* charted 1,274 active online media outlets in Spain, noting a greater concentration in the autonomous regions of Madrid, the Basque Country, Andalusia, Valencia, and Catalonia, as well as a greater presence of digital natives in regions with their own cultural identity and co-official language (Gago et al., 2006). In Galicia there were 69 digital media outlets, 36 of which were native.

From 2006 onward, the blogging phenomenon started to grow in Galicia, reaching a total of 9,500 publications (Pereira et al., 2010). At the same time, the use of large social media sites like Facebook was also starting to become popular.

During the first decade of the 2000s, legacy media faced the convergence challenge toward digital media with two strategies: the first was more conservative, involving the pursuit of profitability by saving on production costs to the detriment of technological innovation; the second focused on renewal, along with a commitment to digital media, social media, and citizen participation in financing and producing content (López García et al., 2012).

However, the economic crisis that appeared in 2008 complicated this development, and media outlets were confronted with a drop in advertising investment, a loss of readership, and increased debt. The response was to downsize the staff, limit innovation, reduce new information ventures, decrease production resources, and restrict local news coverage (Pereira et al., 2010).

From 2010-2011, nearly all the leading, mainstream media that had been publishing in the Galician language ceased their activity, including *Vieiros*, *A Peneira*, *A Nosa Terra*, *Galicia Hoxe* and *Xornal de Galicia*. The ones that survived included the digital native *Galicia Confidencial* and the free print version of *LV De Luns a Venres*, but even those ceased operations by 2013 (Pereiro, 2013). The nearly total lack of online news in the Galician language came back to life in 2012 with the launch of *Praza Pública*, *Sermos Galiza* and *Dioivo*, although the latter ceased operations one year later in 2013 (Gago et al., 2013).

The design of digital media steadily progressed, with increased options for personalising content, more emphasis on local information on front pages, and more responsive websites adapted to mobile devices. Some media outlets, such as *La Voz de*

*Galicia* and *El Correo Gallego*, started implementing different pay models for internet content (Gago et al., 2013). Meanwhile, the rise of blogs gave way to the widespread use of social media such as Facebook and Twitter, which were used by the media, journalists, and citizens.

Around 2015, there was a lack of innovation in the content of legacy media and a widespread commitment to establish paywalls, although with differing strategies, (Gago et al., 2016). For digital natives, these were growth years for the so-called “micro-media” created by professionals and small teams (in many cases with previous experience in other media), who launched general, local, and specialised information ventures such as *Pontevedra Viva*, *Mundiario*, and *Benbo* (Gago et al., 2016).

The dynamic nature and complexity of the digital media ecosystem makes it difficult to comprehend and analyse. However, in recent years various mappings have been carried out at both the regional and national levels, which not only serve as a precedent, but bring us closer to the current scenario. In 2016, the venture known as *Mediamapa.gal* identified a total of 131 active media outlets in Galicia, both with and without digital editions. The results showed a greater concentration in the provinces of A Coruña (44.7%) and Pontevedra (18.3%), compared to Lugo (6.9%) and Ourense (5.3%). Moreover, local media are in the majority (28% regional, 8% provincial, 38% county, and 28% municipal), among those with a generalist focus (84%), yet those that publish only in the Galician language (47%), and those present only on the Internet (42%), hold a prominent position (Negreira-Rey, 2017).

At the national level, a map of Spanish online media in 2018 identified a total of 3,065 active media in Spain, 146 of which were in Galicia at the time (Salaverría et al., 2018). In 2021, the updated figure stood at 2,874 active digital media in Spain, 1,361 of which were native, with 69 of the latter located in Galicia (Negredo & Martínez-Costa, 2021; Negreira-Rey, 2021). The most up-to-date and complete mapping was published as part of the *IBERIFIER* project, which registered 211 online media in Galicia, 138 of which are currently active (Salaverría et al., 2022).

In recent years, there have been significant changes in the Galician media ecosystem. Among the digital media registered in the most recent databases, both general and specialist information ventures appear, yet some of these outlets have ceased operations. Although developing sustainable models is still a challenge in the digital arena, the past decade has witnessed the online rise of new local media outlets linked to *Galicia Confidencial*, *GaliciaXa*, *El Español*, and the publishing group known as *Editorial La Capital*, among others. Regarding research, the first step toward conducting in-depth case studies of current models and challenges is to update the map of digital media in Galicia, and to analyse their basic characteristics.

## 2. Methodology

The aim of this descriptive and exploratory research is to update the map of the active digital media in Galicia, and to evaluate their evolution 30 years after the first appearance of a Spanish media outlet on the Internet (Armañanzas et al., 1996). To do so, the authors have used a methodology involving a systemized search, collection, and analysis of data, in order to provide a final and reliable resource that can be used for future research.

The first phase of the process involved identifying and locating the digital media outlets based in Galicia. To this end, the first step was to review and recover data from the two main databases and the most recent open access sources: specifically, the

*Iberian Digital Media Map* (Salaverría et al., 2022), which registers the digital media in Spain and Portugal, and *Mediamapa gal* (Negreira-Rey, 2017), which compiles the media in Galicia. Furthermore, the authors also reviewed the data available in online resources from various Galician institutions and organizations that compile digital media information, which include the following: (*Colexio Profesional de Xornalistas de Galicia*, n.d.; *Medios en Galego*, n.d.; *Periódicos Online*, 2016; *Xunta de Galicia*, n.d.; and *Periódicos Digitales*, n.d.). In addition, the methodology proposed by Negreira-Rey et al. (2020) was used to carry out a systemised search through diverse web engines such as Google, by using the following Boolean expressions: “*medium*” AND *location*\*; *news* AND *location*\*; “*television*” AND *location*\*; “*radio*” AND *location*\*; & “*press*” AND *location*\*. The term “locality” was replaced by the respective names of the main Galician municipalities in each province based on the number of inhabitants, which was gathered from the Galician Institute of Statistics<sup>1</sup>. The 10 most populous towns in each province were used for the purpose of reducing the margin of error, yet this allowed the search to be carried out manually.<sup>2</sup>

In the second phase, carried out between June and November of 2024, the Galician digital media that comprised the final sample was narrowed down. To do so, exclusion criteria were applied as follows:

- Media not linked to Galicia were excluded, based on their physical location, registered office, or area of coverage.
- Media that did not have their own web or digital space accessible to users were also excluded (López-García et al., 2005).
- Inactive media were also excluded, referring to outlets which had not published at least one article in the five months prior to the sample selection (Harte, 2013).
- Media with a lack of journalistic focus were excluded as well, or in other words, those that did not cater to news interests (Salaverría, 2017).

The third phase of the research took a purely descriptive approach in which the websites of the media in the final sample, consisting of 249 media outlets, underwent a quantitative content analysis in order to identify their fundamental and essential characteristics (Krippendorff, 2018). For this purpose, the analysis sheet in Table 1 was created, which is based on the variables proposed by Salaverría (2017), Negredo & del Pilar Martínez-Costa (2022), Fernández del Moral & Esteve Ramírez (1993), Negreira-Rey et al. (2020) and Negreira-Rey (2021). Due to the importance of media location in this study, the systematic process used to determine this aspect in each case is worth mentioning. In this case, the following methods were used for each: 1) exploratory review of the data and content available on the web; 2) analysis of the identification sheets linked to public bodies or organizations; 3) consultation of databases or previous studies; 4) direct contact by email, websites, or messaging services such as social media.

---

1 Please see [https://www.ige.gal/web/mostrat\\_actividade\\_estadistica.jsp?idioma=gl&codigo=0201001006](https://www.ige.gal/web/mostrat_actividade_estadistica.jsp?idioma=gl&codigo=0201001006)

2 A Coruña (A Coruña, Santiago de Compostela, Ferrol, Narón, Oleiros, Arteixo, Ames, Carballo, Culleredo, Ribeira); Pontevedra (Vigo, Pontevedra, Vilagarcía de Arousa, Redondela, Cangas, Marín, Pontearreas, Porriño, Lalín, Estrada); Ourense (Ourense, Carballiño, Verín, Barco de Valdeorras, Barbadás, Xínzo de Limia, Pereiro de Aguiar, Allariz, Celanova, San Cibrao das Viñas); and Lugo (Lugo, Monforte de Lemos, Viveiro, Vilalba, Sarria, Foz, Ribadeo, Burela, Chantada, Outeiro de Rei).

**Table 1. Analysis sheet of the media websites in the sample**

Details of the media outlet	Name of the media outlet; URL; location (province, municipality, address, and map coordinates)
Dissemination methods	Press; radio; television
Publishing platforms <sup>3</sup>	On the web; on paper; radio; TV; mobile app
Digital native	Yes / No
Degree of proximity	International; national; regional; provincial; local (county; inter-county; municipal); hyperlocal (neighbourhood, district)
Topics	Generalist; specialist
Language	Galician; Spanish; English; other
News coverage area	Municipalities that are regularly covered by the media

Source: prepared by the authors

### 3. Results

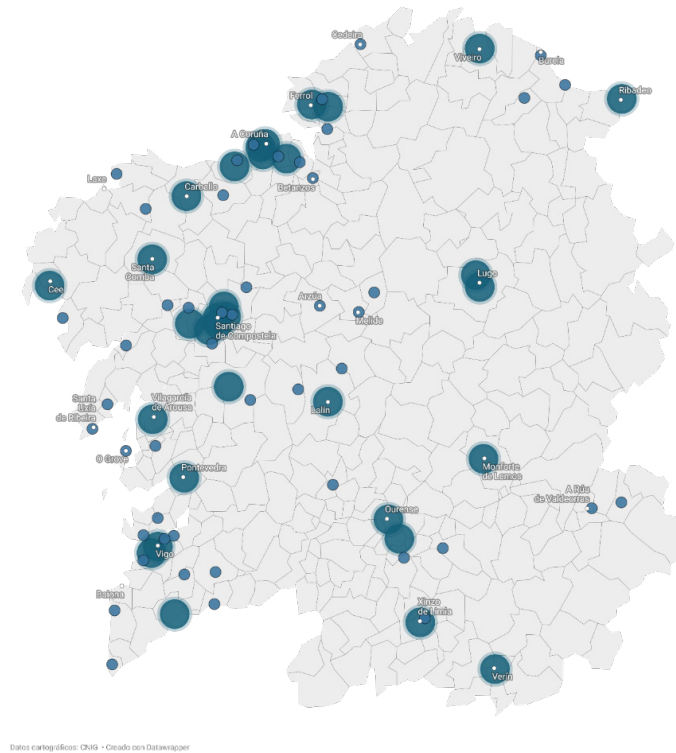
#### 3.1. Distribution and location of digital media in Galicia

Through an exploratory process, 249 digital media with a journalistic focus were identified in Galicia<sup>4</sup>. Graph 1 shows their location and concentration by geographical area.

3 Dissemination methods refer to the way in which the content is shared with the public, whether through writing (the press), audio (on radio), or audiovisual (by television). Yet publishing platforms refer to the specific media where the content is prepared or published, such as on the web, in paper format, through a mobile app, radio or television. In other words, we refer to a medium whose main activity is the dissemination of information through a radio system, but which also has a website for the dissemination of content, and a mobile application for monitoring such content. This would be considered “radio” according to the “method of dissemination”, yet it would be listed under “radio, website and mobile app”, based on its “publishing platform”.

4 See <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.17554788> in order to view the database of these media, their web address (url), and physical location.

**Graph 1. Map of digital media in Galicia**



**Source: Prepared by the authors**

In terms of location and distribution by province, A Coruña stands out as having 48.6% of the total number of media (n=121), followed by Pontevedra at 26.1% (n=65), Lugo at 11.6% (n=29), and Ourense at 8.8% (n=22). It should be mentioned that 4.8% of the media (n=12) could not be located. As such, they have not been assigned to a province and do not appear on the map. At the lower end of the territorial hierarchy, according to the cities in which these media are located, the four provincial capitals in Galicia that stand out include A Coruña (14.5%), Lugo (8.0%), Ourense (4.4%), and Pontevedra (3.2%). This also includes municipalities such as Santiago de Compostela and Vigo, both of which have the same percentage of media (11.7%) located in each, Ferrol with 3.6%, and Ames and Vilagarcía de Arousa with 2.4% each, among others.

### 3.2. The characteristics of digital media in Galicia

Based on the content analysis of this research, the main features of the media in the sample are detailed below, including the type of media dissemination, editing platforms, publishing languages, the presence of digital native media, and thematic specialization.

Firstly, regarding media diffusion, the press takes first place at 83.1% (n=211), followed by radio at 13.4% (n=34), with television coming in third at 3.5% (n=9). At this point, it bears mentioning that a single medium can be active in several types of media simultaneously, such as television and the press at the same time, or the press and radio in unison.

On the other hand, as seen in Table 2, although digital media generally choose web platforms, many have a paper edition as well. Furthermore, the scant number of media with an application for mobile devices is noteworthy.

**Table 2. Digital media in Galicia with a publishing platform**

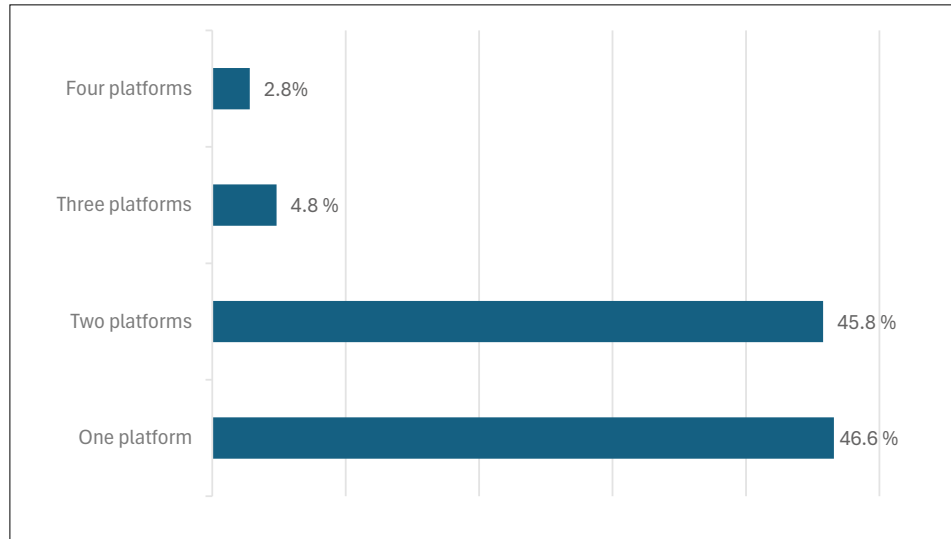
Publishing platform	No. of media	Percentage
Web	116	46.6%
Paper & web	82	32.9%
Radio & web	24	9.6%
Radio, web, and app	12	4.8%
TV & web	7	2.8%
Radio, web, app, and TV	6	2.4%
Web and app	1	0.4%
Radio, print, web, and app	1	0.4%

Source: Prepared by the authors

Graph 2 shows that nearly half the media use a single platform (46.6%), while the percentage of those with a multi-platform presence is 53.4%.

The number of media that operate on two platforms simultaneously is 45.8%. However, the number of media present on three or four platforms decreases dramatically to 4.8% and 2.8%, respectively.

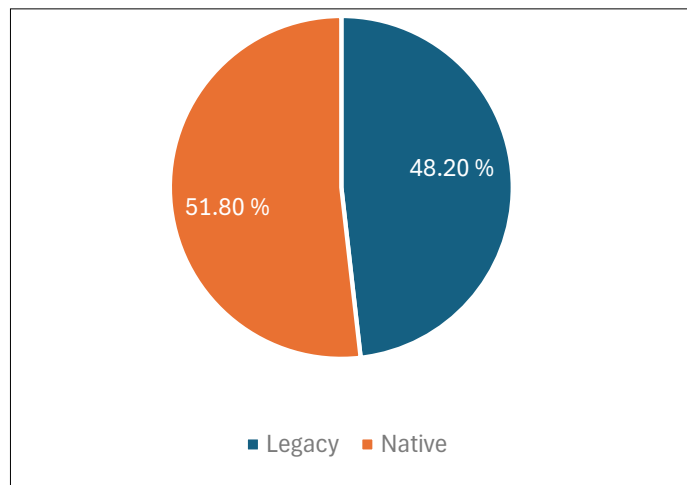
**Graph 2. Digital media in Galicia based on the number of platforms they use**



**Source: Prepared by the authors**

The media in this study can be differentiated by digital natives or legacy outlets, depending on their origin. As seen in Graph 3, although the majority of all digital media in Galicia are native outlets, the difference is minimal, as 51.8% (n=129) are digital natives, while 48.2% are legacy media (n=120).

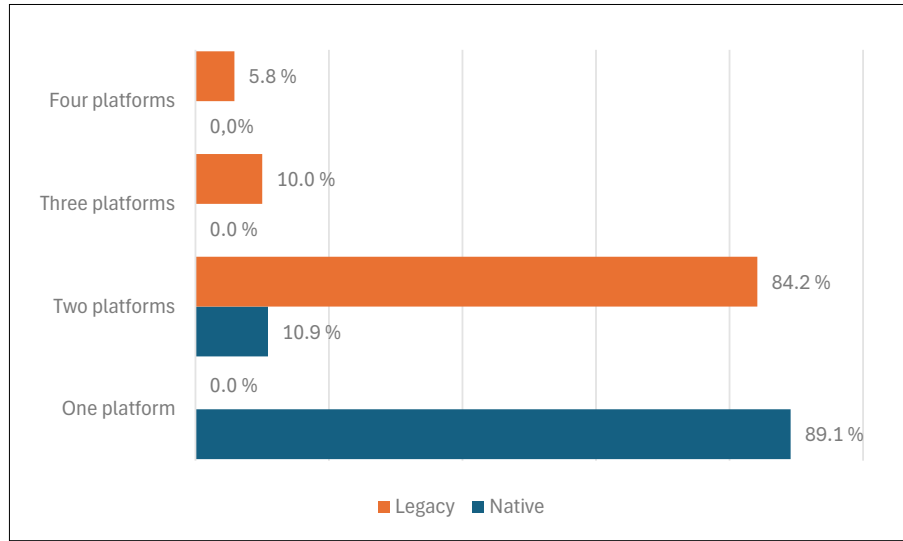
**Graph 3. Digital native and legacy media in Galicia**



**Source: Prepared by the authors**

Returning to the previous classification regarding the number of platforms on which the media under study are present, the comparison in Graph 4 shows certain differences between the two types of media. Digital native outlets nearly always choose a single platform, usually on the web, and a two-platform presence to a lesser extent. However, the authors have not identified any digital natives who have chosen a multiple presence on at least three different platforms. By contrast, the legacy media are much more willing to be present on multiple sites at the same time, frequently involving as many as four different platforms. However, in spite of this trend, most of the media outlets prefer to be active on two different platforms which, as a general rule, include the web and paper.

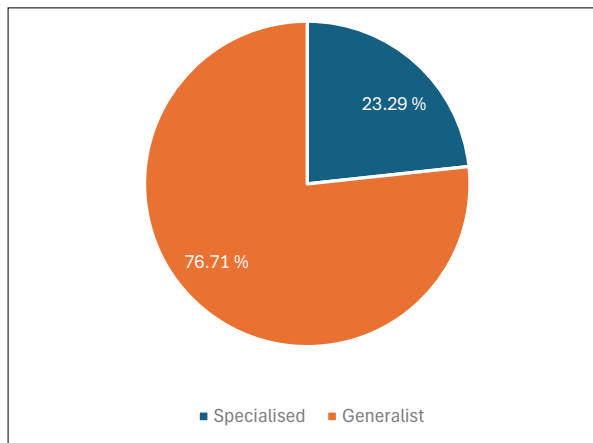
**Graph 4. Digital media in Galicia, according to the number of platforms on which they are present, differentiated between native and legacy outlets**



Source: Prepared by the authors

Regarding the topics of each media, it can be seen in Graph 5 that specialist media comprise less than a quarter of the total number of outlets (n=58), while the vast majority prefer a generalist approach (n=191).

**Graph 5. Topics of the digital media in Galicia**



**Source: Prepared by the authors**

Finally, regarding the languages used by the media for publication (Table 3), Galician is employed most often by the digital media, although it is closely followed by Spanish. At the same time, it can also be observed that a small number of them incorporate foreign languages such as English and Portuguese. Table 3 shows the data regarding the languages used by the media in their publications, along with the percentages of use. If a media outlet publishes in more than one language, an example of which is Galician and Spanish, one unit has been added to each corresponding language. For this reason, the total number of media per language exceeds the actual number of media in the sample.

**Table 3. Publication languages of the digital media in Galicia**

Language used	No. of media	Percentage
Galician	159	63.9%
Spanish	151	60.6%
English	5	2.0%
Portuguese	4	1.6%

**Source: Prepared by the authors**

### 3.3. Digital media coverage

Finally, this research has delved into the local scope and areas of media coverage. As seen in Table 4, local coverage is the most prevalent, as the total percentage of media with this scope is 54.2%.

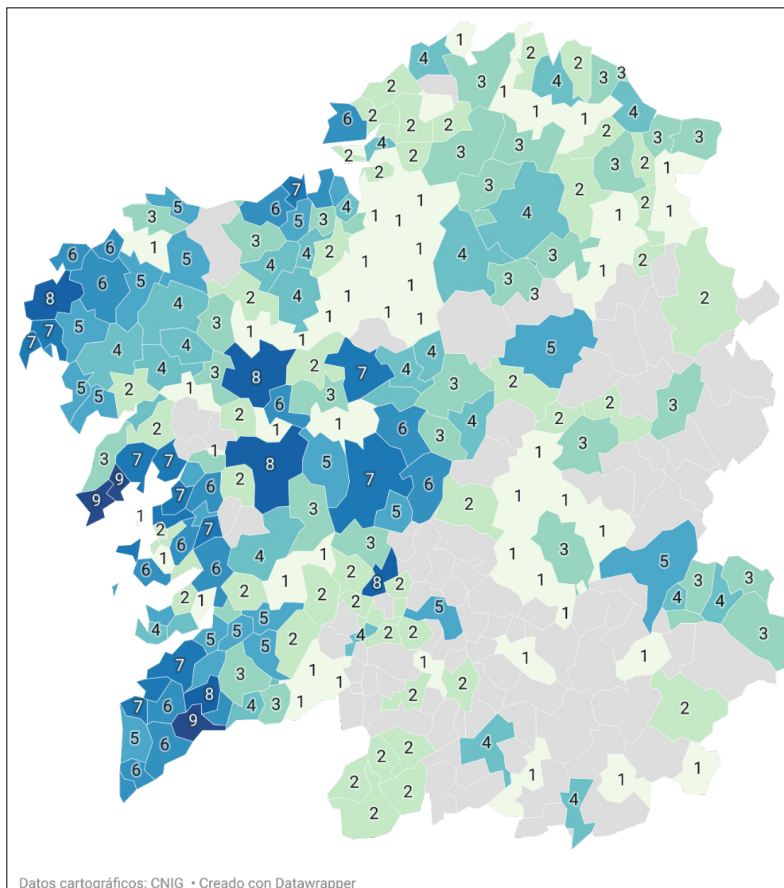
**Table 4: Areas of digital media coverage in Galicia**

Coverage areas		No. of media	Percentage
International		8	3.2%
National		12	4.8%
Regional		69	27.7%
Provincial		25	10.0%
Local	Inter-county	11	4.4%
	County	60	24.1%
	Municipal	64	25.7%
Hyperlocal	Neighbourhood/district	0	0.0%

**Source: Prepared by the authors**

In this regard, the municipal approach stands out. At the same time, in the classification of media with local coverage, the county approach takes second place, followed by inter-county coverage to a much lesser extent, which includes two or more counties, yet without reaching a provincial scope. Media with a provincial focus are limited to 10% of the total. On the other hand, apart from media outlets with local coverage, those that offer regional information also stand out, comprising more than a quarter of the total sample. It should also be noted that those with a primarily international or national approach represent less than 10%. At the same time, not a single media outlet has been found that takes a hyperlocal approach, in which coverage would be focused on specific neighbourhoods or districts.

**Graph 6. Local media in Galicia based on the number of municipalities that have coverage**



**Source: Prepared by the authors**

As displayed in Graph 6, if we look at local media and focus on their municipalities and areas of coverage, we can see that local digital media in Galicia cover 230 municipalities out of a total of 313 – in other words, 73.5% of the territory. Consequently, 26.5% of the municipalities in Galicia have no local media coverage. Given the situation, some of the municipalities that have a higher number of media outlets that offer information include Pobra do Caramiñal, Ribeira, Tui, A Estrada, Santiago de Compostela, and O Porriño, among others.

#### 4. Discussion and conclusions

The digital media ecosystem in Galicia has continually evolved and expanded since its very inception. In 2005, when the national research project known as *Infotendencias* [infotrends] registered 1,274 digital media outlets in Spain, only 69 were located in Galicia, of which 36 were digital natives. Thus, the results of the present research have made it possible to update the map of active digital media in the Autonomous Region of Galicia (O1), with a current total of 249, which represents an increase of 260.87% compared to the first figures registered 20 years ago.

By analysing the media outlets in the sample (O2), the authors have confirmed a sharp increase in the number of native digital media over the last three decades in Galicia. Moreover, the total number of media now stands at 129, which is an increase of 258.33% since 2005. Based on the first mapping in 2005, the percentage of digital native media in Galicia was 52.17%. Although the difference was minimal, the percentage is now reversed, with legacy media currently representing 52.80% of the total number of digital native media.

This media map offers a glimpse of how certain social phenomena also affect the media ecosystem, at least at the digital level. While the provinces of A Coruña and Pontevedra are experiencing a gradual and continuous concentration of population, the provinces of Ourense and Lugo are suffering the opposite effect, namely depopulation (Asorei, 2024). This can also be seen in how digital media in Galicia are distributed, and in which areas they are concentrated. The provinces of Ourense and Lugo account for barely 20.4% of the total, while A Coruña and Pontevedra together account for 74.7% of the aggregate amount<sup>5</sup>. These data also reveal similarities with the initial press scenario outlined by researcher Mourelle Lema in 1997, and by other more recent studies in which the provinces of A Coruña and Pontevedra also had the highest number of newspapers (Negreira-Rey, 2017; Salaverría et al., 2018; Salaverría et al., 2022). This might indicate a long-term process, which could become more acute over time, yet in recent years it has not experienced major fluctuations.

On the other hand, the present article reveals that the press is the main channel of dissemination, followed by radio and television, with a notable trend toward media convergence in which a single medium combines multiple formats. In terms of platforms, although the majority of digital native media prioritise the use of websites, some of them also choose to have print editions. Nevertheless, along the same lines, a comparison between the number of platforms used and the origins of the media, whether legacy or native, suggests that while natives generally choose a single platform, most often the web, legacy

---

5 It should be noted that the remaining percentage corresponds to digital media that have been charted in Galicia, but not in a specific province due to a lack of information. This percentage comprises 4.9% of the total.

media prioritise a broader, multi-platform strategy. However, its presence in mobile applications is still very limited, which might suggest that the adaptation to a more comprehensive digitisation is still in the initial stages, or it could be simply a strategic decision related to resource management. In this regard, it bears mentioning that the Galician ecosystem is following the trend observed at the national level, in which a small minority can have a presence on these types of platforms (Salaverría et al., 2022).

As for the topics covered by the media, a generalist approach takes precedence over a specialist focus, as the latter accounts for barely a quarter of the total, yet this is still a modest increase compared to the 16% devoted to specialist media in 2017 (Negreira-Rey, 2017). Regarding languages used in the publications, the native regional language continues to have a considerable influence in the digital media ecosystem in Galicia, as it currently represents 63.9% of the total. In 2017, by comparison, publications edited exclusively in Galician, or that combined the mother tongue with other languages, represented 54% (Negreira-Rey, 2017), although its use is balanced by the presence of Spanish in the media.

Finally, in terms of scope and areas of media coverage, we have discovered a commitment to proximity, as local media account for more than half the total, with municipal and county media comprising nearly 50%, yet not a single case of hyperlocal media was found. These figures are similar to those of the national scene, in which more than 60% of the media outlets are considered local, yet this excludes hyperlocal media, which simply do not exist. Furthermore, given the context, media outlets with a regional focus also stand out, as they comprise more than 25% of the aggregate total. However, if we consider areas of coverage in terms of media scope, the data indicate that more than a quarter of the municipalities in Galicia have no local coverage, which reveals a pattern of media presence in the region, yet with depopulation in certain areas. This finding is related to other results of studies aimed at specific areas of Spain, which show that in the most depopulated areas, or those with a lower population density, the number of media outlets is very limited (Saiz-Echezarreta et al., 2024). In general, the evolution of the Galician media ecosystem, specifically digital media, displays continued growth, which is in line with other studies that have offered the most recent overviews of the national panorama (Salaverría et al., 2022).

Over the last thirty years, digital journalism in Galicia has evolved in conjunction with technological, media-related, and social transformations worldwide, yet also through a process of adaptation defined by certain unique aspects. Although media outlets in Galicia took their initial steps on the web quite early, and the presence of digital natives also appeared rather quickly, full adaptation to the interactive and multimedia options of the new medium was slower. At the dawn of the second decade of the new millennium, with the effects of the economic crisis still being felt, the digital media map in Galicia started to grow. Moreover, this expansion was not only reflected in the number of media outlets in operation, many of which were digital natives, but also in terms of their topic diversity, local range, editorial approach, business model, multiplatform ventures, as well as the restoration of an important space for using the local language for diffusing information on the Internet.

Although the lifespan of digital media outlets is not always long-lasting in the medium term, Galicia has one of the most thriving media ecosystems in Spain (Salaverría et al., 2022), which is reflected in a strong cultural identity and a dense network of local media. Despite the results obtained from this research, along with the fact that a systemised methodology was used with the support of previous findings, the study has limitations. Although the authors have taken a rigorous approach to this

research, certain factors or media may possibly have been omitted from the analysis, which is customary in this type of in-depth, exploratory analysis.

The Galicia Autonomous Region also faces its own challenges shared with the media, such as the following: news coverage; the departure of media in certain areas; citizens' access to digital media in territories suffering from depopulation and ageing (Saiz-Echezarreta et al., 2024; Negreira-Rey et al., 2023); the incorporation of artificial intelligence into journalistic operations; and job insecurity in the news sector (Asociación de Periodistas de Galicia, 2024). For these and other issues, the future will require scholars to delve deeper into such matters with the aim of understanding the way in which digital media are gradually implementing new models and strategies, and how they are redefining their relationship with the audience. Finally, another key issue to be addressed is the so-called *news deserts*, which also requires further study.

## 5. Acknowledgements

This article has been translated into English by Charles Edmond Arthur, to whom we are grateful for his diligent work.

The publication is part of the R&D&I projects entitled, (1) *Digital-native media in Spain: Strategies, competencies, social involvement and (re)definition of practices in journalistic production and diffusion* (PID2021-122534OB-C21), funded by MICIU/AEI/10.13039/501100011033 and by “ERDF/EU”; & (2) *Artificial Intelligence in Digital Media in Spain: Effects and Roles* (PID2024-156034OB-C22), funded by MICIU/AEI/10.13039/501100011033 and by “ERDF/EU”.

## 6. Specific contributions by each author

	Name and surnames
Work conception and design	Noel Pascual-Presa, María Cruz Negreira-Rey, and Xosé López-García
Methodology	Noel Pascual-Presa, María Cruz Negreira-Rey, and Xosé López-García
Data collection and analysis	Noel Pascual-Presa, María Cruz Negreira-Rey, and Xosé López-García
Discussion and conclusions	Noel Pascual-Presa, María Cruz Negreira-Rey, and Xosé López-García
Writing, formatting, revision, and version approval	Noel Pascual-Presa, María Cruz Negreira-Rey, and Xosé López-García

## 7. Conflict of interest

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest in any part of this article.

## 8. References

- Abernathy, P. M. (2020). *News deserts and ghost newspapers: Will local news survive?* The Center for Innovation and Sustainability in Local Media. <http://bit.ly/4cdq0Sc>
- Asociación de Periodistas de Galicia (2024). *Diagnóstico sobre a profesión xornalística en Galicia*. Comunica. Revista de estudos de comunicación da APG. <https://periodistasdegalicia.es/revista-comunica/>
- Asorei, R. T. (2024). El despoblamiento en las áreas rurales de Galicia, España: Proyecciones demográficas a nivel municipal usando el método joinpoint y modelos extrapolativos (2023-2052). *AGER. Revista de Estudios sobre Despoblación y Desarrollo Rural*, 39, 287-338. <https://doi.org/10.4422/ager.2024.09>
- Armañanzas, E., Díaz Noci, J., Meso Ayerdi, K. (1996). *El periodismo electrónico. Información y servicios multimedia en la era del ciberespacio*. Ariel.
- Bruna, S. N., & del Pilar Martínez-Costa, M. (2022). Capítulo 2. Tipos de medios nativos digitales: plataformas, alcance geográfico, lenguas y grupos empresariales. *Especo de Monografías de Comunicación Social*, (7), 35-54.
- Buschow, C. (2020). Why do digital native news media fail? An investigation of failure in the early start-up phase. *Media and Communication*, 8(2), 51-61. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v8i2.2677>
- Calvo, M. D., López, X., & Otero, M. (2009). *Os cibermedios galegos no ano 2008: estudo das súas características e do seu impacto no contexto comunicacional da fase actual de tránsito á sociedade da información e o coñecemento*. Edicións Lea.
- Chyi, H. I., & Ng, Y. M. M. (2020). Still Unwilling to Pay: An Empirical Analysis of 50 U.S. Newspapers' Digital Subscription Results. *Digital Journalism*, 8(4), 526-547. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2020.1732831>
- Colexio Profesional de Xornalistas de Galicia. (n.d.). *Rexistro de medios dixitais galegos*. Recuperado de <https://bit.ly/4hYYgSu>
- De-Lima-Santos, M. F., Mesquita, L., de Melo Peixoto, J. G., & Camargo, I. (2022). Digital News Business Models in the Age of Industry 4.0: Digital Brazilian News Players Find in Technology New Ways to Bring Revenue and Competitive Advantage. *Digital Journalism*, 12(9), 1304-1328. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2022.2037444>
- Dwyer, T. (2010). *Media Convergence*. McGraw-Hill Education.
- Eldridge II, S. A., Cheruiyot, D., Banjac, S., & Swart, J. (2025). *The Routledge Companion to Digital Journalism Studies*. Routledge.
- Fernández del Moral, J., & Esteve Ramírez, F. (1993). *Fundamentos de la información periodística especializada*. Síntesis.
- Fink, K. (2019). The biggest challenge facing journalism: A lack of trust. *Journalism*, 20(1), 40-43. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884918807069>

Franklin, B., Gilbert, J., Caro, M., Bose, S., Ostry, H., Murphy, S., Kovac-Ashley, A., Rinehart, A., Kumar, A., Godlasky, A., Csuraji, A., Bowers, B., Fávero, B., Krewson, C., Nehring, C., Coffey, D., Olorunyomi, D., Mendozo, D., Luu, D., ..., & Koeppe, U. (2024). *Impact of AI on Local News Models*. Medill - Northwestern University, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung.

Gago M., Pereira X., Limia M., Isasi A., & López X. (2006). Población, riqueza y diversidad mediática: análisis de la relación entre cibermedios e indicadores sociales en España. *Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico*, 12, 305-316. <https://bit.ly/4jffZBA>

Gago, M., López, X., & Pereira, X. (2016). Internet, sociedade e comunicación en Galicia. En X. López García, & R. Aneiros Díaz (Coords.), *A comunicación en Galicia 2015* (pp. 99-114). Consello da Cultura Galega.

Gago, M., Pereira, X., & López, X. (2013). As tecnoloxías da información e as comunicacións. En X. López García, M. Rivas Barrós, & R. Aneiros Díaz (Coords.), *A comunicación en Galicia 2013* (pp. 133-148). Consello da Cultura Galega.

García-Orosa, B., López-García, X., & Vázquez-Herrero, J. (2020). Journalism in digital native media: Beyond technological determinism. *Media and communication*, 8(2), 5-15. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v8i2.2702>

Geels, K., Ciobanu, M., Warner, J., Iastrebner, M., Breimer, S., Vujanic, L., Ledda, E., Chang, N., Breiner, J., & LaFontaine, D. (2023). A Research Project on the Trends, Impact and Sustainability of Independent Digital Native Media in more than 40 Countries in Europe. Project Oasis, SembraMedia, European Journalism Centre, International Media Support, Global Forum for Media Development, Media and Journalism Research Center, Google News Initiative. <https://bit.ly/4jlyHfP>

Guillamet, J. (2002). Pasado y futuro de la prensa local. En R. López Lita, F. Fernández Beltrán & A. Durán Mañés (Eds.), *La prensa local y la prensa gratuita* (pp. 181-196). Universitat Jaume I, Servei de Comunicació i Publicacions.

Guzman, A. L., & Lewis, S. C. (2024). What generative AI means for the media industries, and why it matters to study the collective consequences for advertising, journalism, and public relations. *Emerging Media*, 2(3), 347-355. <https://doi.org/10.1177/27523543241289239>

Harte, D. (2013). One Every Two Minutes': assessing the scale of hyperlocal publishing in the UK. *Jomec Journal*, (3). <https://bit.ly/4lbJ2MO>

Hase, V., Boczek, K., & Scharkow, M. (2023). Adapting to affordances and audiences? A cross-platform, multi-modal analysis of the platformization of news on Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, and Twitter. *Digital Journalism*, 11(8), 1499-1520. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2022.2128389>

Hermida, A. (2016). Social media and the news. En T. Witschge, C. W. Anderson, D. Domingo, & A. Hermida (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Digital Journalism* (pp. 81-94). Sage Publications.

Instituto Galego de Estatística (2023). Censo de poboación e vivendas. Poboación. Instituto Galego de Estatística. <https://bit.ly/4cifY2m>

Izquierdo Labella, L. (2010). *Manual de periodismo local*. Editorial Fragua.

Krippendorff, K. (2018). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. Sage Publications.

Lins da Silva, C. E., & Pimenta, A. (2020). Local news deserts in Brazil: Historical and contemporary perspectives. En A. Gulyas, & D. Baines (Eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Local Media and Journalism* (pp. 44-53). Routledge.

- López-García, X. (2008). Doce años de experimentación ciberperiodística desde Galicia: luces y sombras. *Textual & Visual Media*, 1(1), 205-212. <https://bit.ly/42tbhPJ>
- López-García, X., Limia Fernández, M., Toural Bran, C., & Pereira Fariña, J. (2012). A convergência como instrumento de renovação/conservação do jornalismo em Galícia: estratégias e indefinições. *Brazilian Journalism Research*, 8(1), 50-64. <https://doi.org/10.25200/BJR.v8n1.2012.400>
- López-García, X., Pereira Fariña, X., & Gago Mariño, M. (2001). Internet en Galicia. En X. López García (Coord.), *Estudios de comunicación* (pp. 95-104). Consello da Cultura Galega.
- López-García, X., Limia, M., Isasi, A., Pereira, X., Gago, M., Calvo, R., Orihuela, J., (2005). Tipología de los cibermedios. En R. Salaverría (Ed.), *Cibermedios. El impacto de internet en los medios de comunicación en España* (pp. 39-82). Comunicación Social Ediciones y Publicaciones.
- Macià Mercadé, J. (1993). *La comunicación regional y local: dinámica de la estructura de la información en la España de las autonomías*. Ciencia 3.
- Medios en Galego. (n.d.). *100 medios en galego*. Recuperado de <https://mediosengalego.gal/100-medios-en-galego/>
- Mellado, C., & Hermida, A. (2021). The promoter, celebrity, and joker roles in journalists' social media performance. *Social Media+ Society*, 7(1). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2056305121990643>
- Mourelle Lema, M. (1997). *El periodismo gallego en los siglos XIX y XX*. Crugalma.
- Myllylahti, M. (2013). Newspaper Paywalls—the Hype and the Reality: A study of how paid news content impacts on media corporation revenues. *Digital Journalism*, 2(2), 179-194. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2013.813214>
- Negredo, S., & Martínez-Costa, M.-P. (2021). Tipos de medios nativos digitales: plataformas, alcance geográfico, lenguas y grupos empresariales. En R. Salaverría, & M.-P. Martínez-Costa (Coords.), *Medios nativos digitales en España. Caracterización y tendencias* (pp. 35-54). Comunicación Social Ediciones y Publicaciones.
- Negredo, S., Martínez-Costa, M. P., Breiner, J., & Salaverría, R. (2020). Journalism expands in spite of the crisis: digital-native news media in Spain. *Media and Communication*, 8(2), 73-85. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v8i2.2738>
- Negreira-Rey, M. C. (2017). Mediamapa.gal: mapear, investigar y divulgar la realidad mediática de Galicia a través de un proyecto abierto en la red. *Mediamorfosis. Perspectivas sobre la innovación en periodismo*, 118-129.
- Negreira-Rey, M.-C. (2021). Distribución geográfica de los medios nativos digitales. En R. Salaverría, & M.-P. Martínez-Costa (Coords.), *Medios nativos digitales en España. Caracterización y tendencias* (pp. 71-82). Comunicación Social Ediciones y Publicaciones.

- Negreira-Rey, M.-C., López-García, X., & Vázquez-Herrero, J. (2020). Mapa y características de los cybermedios locales e hiperlocales en España. *Revista De Comunicación*, 19(2), 193–214. <https://doi.org/10.26441/RC19.2-2020-A11>
- Negreira-Rey, M., Vázquez-Herrero, J., & López-García, X. (2023). No People, No News: News Deserts and Areas at Risk in Spain. *Media and Communication*, 11(3), 293-303. <https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v11i3.6727>
- Negreira-Rey, M.-C., Vázquez-Herrero, J., Sixto-García, J., & López-García, X. (2023). *Blurring Boundaries of Journalism in Digital Media: New Actors, Models and Practices*. Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-43926-1>
- Nielsen, R. K., & Fletcher, R. (2023). Comparing the platformization of news media systems: A cross-country analysis. *European Journal of Communication*, 38(5), 484-499. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02673231231189043>
- Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Eddy, K., Robertson, C. T., & Kleis Nielsen, R. (2023). *Digital News Report 2023*. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, Oxford University. <https://bit.ly/4leQXcp>
- Newman, N., Fletcher, R., Robertson, C. T., Ross Arguedas, A., & Nielsen, R. K. (2024). *Digital News Report 2024*. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford.
- Noain-Sánchez, A. (2022). Addressing the Impact of Artificial Intelligence on Journalism: the perception of experts, journalists and academics. *Communication & Society*, 35(3), 105-121. <https://doi.org/10.15581/003.35.3.105-121>
- Olsen, R. K., Kammer, A., & Solvoll, M. K. (2019). Paywalls' Impact on Local News Websites' Traffic and Their Civic and Business Implications. *Journalism Studies*, 21(2), 197–216. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2019.1633946>
- Palau Sampio, D., & Carratalá, A. (2022). Injecting disinformation into public space: pseudo-media and reality-altering narratives. *Profesional de la información*, 31(3). <https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2022.may.12>
- Pascual-Presa, N., & García-Orosa, B. (2024). Impact and use of Artificial Intelligence in risk communication: Challenges and new opportunities. *Review of Communication Research*, 12, 203-219. <https://doi.org/10.52152/RCRV12.12>
- Pereira, X., Cascudo, J. A., Gago, M., & López García, X. (2010). A internet en Galicia. En X. López García, & R. Aneiros Díaz (Coords.), *A comunicación en Galicia 2010* (pp. 119-132). Consello da Cultura Galega.
- Pereiro, X. M. (2013). Informar en tempos avoltos. En X. López García, M. Rivas Barrós, & R. Aneiros Díaz (Coords.), *A comunicación en Galicia 2013* (pp. 215-134). Consello da Cultura Galega.
- Periódicos Digitales (n.d). *Periódicos Digitales*. Recuperado de <https://periodicosdigitales.info/galicia/>
- Periódicos Online. (2016). *Periódicos de Galicia*. Recuperado de <http://www.periodicos-online.com/paises/espana/galicia>
- Peters, C., Schröder, K. C., Lehaff, J., & Vulpius, J. (2022). News as they know it: Young adults' information repertoires in the digital media landscape. *Digital Journalism*, 10(1), 62-86. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21670811.2021.1885986>

- Picard, R. G. (2017). Funding digital journalism: The challenges of consumers and the economic value of news. En B. Franklin, & S. A. Eldridge II (Eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Digital Journalism Studies* (pp. 146-154). Routledge.
- Public Interest Journalism Initiative (PIJI) (n. d.). *The Australian News Data Project*. Public Interest Journalism Initiative. <https://piji.com.au/>
- Rey, G., & De la Hoz, K. (2025). *El Hormiguero II. Estudio de los medios nativos digitales en Latinoamérica y primera aproximación a los nativos digitales latinos en Estados Unidos*. Fundación Gabo.
- Rinehart, A., & Kung, E. (2022). Artificial Intelligence in Local News. *A Survey of US Newsrooms' AI Readiness*. Associated Press.
- Rodríguez-Vázquez, A. I., Negreira-Rey, M. C., y López-García, X. (2024). El desafío de las audiencias como motor (re)activo del cambio periodístico. *Comunicar*, 32(78). <https://doi.org/10.58262/V32I78.11>
- Saiz-Echezarreta, V., Galletero-Campos, B., & Arias Molinares, D. (2024). From news deserts to news resilience: Analysis of media in depopulated areas. *Journalism*, 25(12), 2641-2660. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14648849231218818>
- Salaverría, R. (2021). Veinticinco años de evolución del ecosistema periodístico digital en España. En R. Salaverría, & M. P. Martínez-Costa (Eds.), *Medios nativos digitales en España. Caracterización y tendencias* (pp. 21-34). Comunicación Social Ediciones y Publicaciones.
- Salaverría, R., Martínez-Costa Pérez, M. del P., & Breiner, J. (2018). Mapa de los cibermedios de España en 2018: análisis cuantitativo. *Revista Latina De Comunicación Social*, (73), 1034-1053. <https://doi.org/10.4185/RLCS-2018-1295>
- Salaverría, R. (2017). Tipología de los cibermedios periodísticos: bases teóricas para su clasificación. *Revista Mediterránea de Comunicación*, 8 (1), 19-32. <https://www.doi.org/10.14198/MEDCOM2017.8.1.2>
- Salaverría, R. (2019). Digital journalism: 25 years of research. Review article. *Profesional de la información*, 28(1). <https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2019.ene.01>
- Salaverría, R., & Martínez-Costa, M.-P. (2024). Digital journalism in Spain: Technological, sociopolitical and economic factors as drivers of media evolution. *Journalism*, 25(5), 1050-1069. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14648849231170519>
- Salaverría, R., Martínez-Costa, M. P., Negro, S., Paisana, M., & Crespo, M. (2022). IBERIFIER Digital Media Dataset. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.7335551>
- Saiz-Echezarreta, V., Galletero-Campos, B., & Arias Molinares, D. (2024). From news deserts to news resilience: Analysis of media in depopulated areas. *Journalism*, 25(12), 2641-2660. <https://doi.org/10.1177/14648849231218818>
- Sirkkunen, E., & Cook, C. E. (2012). *Chasing sustainability on the net: International research on 69 journalistic pure players and their business models*. University of Tampere. <https://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-951-44-8967-9>
- Skovsgaard, M., & Andersen, K. (2020). Conceptualizing news avoidance: Towards a shared understanding of different causes and potential solutions. *Journalism Studies*, 21(4), 459-476. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2019.1686410>
- Steeensen, S., & Westlund, O. (2020). *What is Digital Journalism Studies?* Routledge.

Valero-Pastor, J. M., García-Avilés, J. A., & Carvajal, M. (2021). Transformational leadership and innovation in digital-only news outlets. Analysis of Quartz and El Confidencial. *Journalism Studies*, 22(11), 1450–1468. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1461670X.2021.1927153>

Vázquez-Herrero, J., Negreira-Rey, M. C., Silva-Rodríguez, A., & Rodríguez-Vázquez, A. I. (2022). Los medios bajo el prisma de la audiencia española: cuestión de confianza. *Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico*, 28(2), 447-459. <https://doi.org/10.5209/esmp.77807>

Verza, S., Blagojev, T., Borges, D., Kermer, J., Trevisan, M. y Reviglio, U. (2024). *Uncovering news deserts in Europe: risks and opportunities for local and community media in the EU*. European University Institute. <https://doi.org/10.2870/741398>

Xunta de Galicia. (n.d.). *Guía da comunicación*. Recuperado de <https://bit.ly/41X2aH2>