The 2023 General Election Campaign: An Analysis of Party Hashtags and Trending Topics on X

La campaña de los comicios generales de 2023: análisis de las etiquetas de los partidos y los temas de tendencia en X

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Abstract:

Research on the use of 'X' (formerly Twitter) during election campaigns has indicated that parties tend to use hashtags to try to influence the generation of trending topics, multiply the visibility of their messages and anchor their campaign narrative in society. It has also been observed that citizenship can contribute to the polarization of debate by prioritizing attacks on ideological antagonists among the main topics of online conversation. The main objective is to analyze the hashtags promoted by Spanish political parties on their official accounts during the 2023 general election campaign. Specifically, the aim is to find out the types of hashtags used by the parties and the degree of penetration that the political topics had among the trending topics, as well as their particularities. The results show that the parties made frequent use of hashtags, where the reiteration of electoral slogans predominated, and their coincidence with trending political topics was scarce, among which those related to polemics and polarized debates had a greater impact. In general, it can be concluded that political issues have a relative prominence among the user community.

Keywords:

X (Twitter); trending topics; hashtags; electoral campaigns; Spanish political parties.

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Resumen:

Las investigaciones sobre el uso de "X" (antes llamada Twitter) durante las campañas electorales han señalado que los partidos tienden a utilizar etiquetas (hashtags) para tratar de influir en la generación de temas de tendencia (trending topics), multiplicar la visibilidad de sus mensajes y asentar en la sociedad su relato de campaña. También se ha observado que la ciudadanía puede contribuir a la polarización del debate, al priorizar los ataques a antagonistas ideológicos entre los temas principales de la conversación en la red. El objetivo principal es analizar las etiquetas promovidas por las formaciones políticas españolas en sus perfiles oficiales durante la campaña de los comicios generales de 2023. De manera específica, se pretende conocer los tipos de hashtags empleados por los partidos y el grado de penetración que tuvieron los temas políticos entre los trending topics, así como sus particularidades. Los resultados muestran que los partidos hicieron un uso frecuente de las etiquetas, donde predominó la reiteración de eslóganes electorales, y su coincidencia con los temas políticos de tendencia fue escasa, entre los cuales tuvieron una mayor repercusión aquellos relacionados con polémicas y debates polarizados. En general, se concluye que los temas políticos tienen un protagonismo relativo entre la comunidad usuaria.

Palabras clave:

X (Twitter); temas de tendencia; etiquetas; campañas electorales; partidos políticos españoles.

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1. Introduction

In recent years, the impact of social media on politics has increased significantly (Hidalgo Chica & Cedeño Moreira, 2022). Today, these platforms can be regarded as particularly powerful communication tools for political parties and their leaders, as they enable them to interact with the public both synchronously and asynchronously (Vásquez-Rizo et al., 2021).

Among social media platforms, Twitter (now known as X) is regarded as having revolutionized the way politics is conducted (Pérez-Curiel & García-Gordillo, 2018) and has become an indispensable channel for communication strategies within this sphere (López-Meri et al., 2017, p. 795). However, although X facilitates direct communication and dialogue with the public (Mateo-Toscano et al., 2022), analyses of the use of this social media platform in Spanish election campaigns consistently highlight its unidirectional nature and limited interaction with the user community (Gamir-Ríos et al., 2022). These studies also highlight the prevalence of issues related to partisan rivalry over discussions of public policy (Diez-Gracia et al., 2023; Gamir-Ríos et al., 2022). Indeed, it is common for parties to use their X profiles to criticize their opponents in the run-up to elections (Marín Dueñas et al., 2020).

The dissemination of content via X by individuals running for political office benefits from the great versatility offered by this platform (Luque, 2021), as it allows for the inclusion of text, links, multimedia resources, emojis, and hashtags (Gómez et al., 2021). Hashtags, which are labels used to group together posts on the same topic (Rivera Magos & González Pureco, 2022, p. 5), have become "a central element of campaign communication strategy since journalists and citizens search for these hashtags to follow the current debate concerning the hashed party or political candidate" (Darius, 2022, p. 1).

The use of hashtags, in addition to fostering engagement and strengthening links (Navarro-Beltrá et al., 2017) between the political figures and the public, can influence decision-making (Munuku et al., 2017). In fact, they are often used by those in positions of power with the intention of shaping public opinion (Iturralde Chaparro, 2022). In turn, Estrada Rodríguez and Martínez de la Rosa (2023) argue that the use of hashtags by the public can foster a culture of polarization. In their research, they explain that this phenomenon occurs because users employ hashtags to express views that are shared or supported by others, a situation that allows the public to support the side of the argument with which they identify and thus provide a counterpoint to those who disagree (p. 3).

When the topic associated with a hashtag appears in a large number of tweets (now referred to as posts), it becomes a trending topic (Mancera Rueda & Pano Alamán, 2013). As X explains, these are emerging topics of discussion that become highly popular at a given time (Henriques & Ferreira, 2023). Previous research into the use of X in general election campaigns shows that Spanish politicians frequently use hashtags that reach national trending status (Jivkova-Semova et al., 2017). Politicians who, in addition to appearing in the media, manage to have their posts achieve trending status can increase their public reach (Escrivá, 2017), given that reaching trend status guarantees high visibility within the platform and often acts as an incentive for media coverage (Urmeneta Arbusà, 2021, p. 166).

Trending topics can arise spontaneously –for example, in response to an action or statement made by a candidate at a campaign event– or they can be generated artificially. Thus, to become a trending topic during an election campaign, political parties and their representatives may launch specific hashtags and encourage their followers to use them in their tweets, a tactic that increases their visibility and promotes the action, idea, or event in question (Mancera Rueda & Pano Alamán, 2013). For their part, to turn hashtags into trending topics and maximize their reach, Aparici et al. (2019, p. 6) identify four main types of generative strategies in the context of a political conflict: counter-hashtags (as a counter-narrative to hashtags from the opposing side); linking to key events; the subversion of messages (appropriating hashtags to nullify them or reformulate them with 'a meaning contrary to the original'); and activist aims (hashtags that promote action).

In turn, it is common during election campaigns for politicians to use automated and artificial strategies to generate trending topics via specific software (Ricaurte, 2013). These include political bots –algorithms designed to manipulate public opinion– which are used, for example, to increase a candidate's follower base, retweet candidates' posts, attack rivals, or stifle certain discussions (Woolley & Howard, 2016). It is worth noting that the use of these fake profiles has been documented in election campaigns in various countries, such as the United States, Mexico, Russia, Australia, Venezuela, the United Kingdom, South Korea, and Spain (Puyosa, 2017).

Given the importance of the subject, academics have turned their attention to the use of X as a tool for political communication (Corres Sillas et al., 2024). Specifically, there are studies on the use of hashtags by political parties and their representatives

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during election periods, including, among others, Jivkova-Semova et al. (2017), Mancera Rueda and Pano Alamán (2015), Panda et al. (2020), and Pano Alamán (2020). However, with a view to improving political communication, further research is needed into the use of hashtags, their trends and their outcomes (Jivkova-Semova et al., 2017).

In this context, the main objective of this study is to analyze and compare the hashtags promoted on the social media platform X by political parties via their official accounts during the election campaign for the general election held on 23 July 2023 in Spain. Specifically, this study aims to identify the types of hashtags used by the different political parties and the main characteristics of those hashtags that managed to become political trends during the campaign. Furthermore, this research seeks to determine the extent to which political issues featured among the trending topics on X during the period under study, as well as their specific characteristics. To this end, this study aims to contribute to the academic debate on the hashtags used by political parties in their electoral communication, as well as the presence of these hashtags among the trending topics and the prevalence of political issues within the online public debate during election campaigns.

The general election to which this paper refers was called early, as the Spanish Prime Minister, Pedro Sánchez of the Socialist Workers' Party, decided not to serve the full four-year term of office that was due to end later that year and called a snap election immediately following local and regional elections on 28 May 2023. The results of those elections led to a significant increase in the regional influence of the Popular Party (PP), the main opposition group, and dealt a considerable blow to the political parties that made up the governing coalition: the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) and Unidas Podemos (UP, a coalition made up of Podemos and Izquierda Unida). Consequently, the electoral landscape unfolded amid negotiations between the parties in the various regions, the formation of new municipal and regional government teams, and public debates surrounding their initial policies. In this regard, the alliances between the PP (center-right) and Vox (an ultra-conservative party) in various mayoral offices and autonomous communities were one of the main strategies used by the campaigns of those groups seeking to re-elect the progressive government at the national level to mobilize their voters.

This polarized political climate in which the elections were held is linked to the context of increased fragmentation that has characterized the country over the last decade, ever since the rise of new parties such as Ciudadanos and Podemos –initially– and Vox, subsequently from 2019 onwards, broke the traditional two-party contest between the PP and the PSOE. This new political landscape was characterized by a logic of confrontation between ideological blocs (right-left), which led to the emergence in 2019 of the first national coalition government comprising different political formations (led by Pedro Sánchez and made up of members of the PSOE and UP). In the July 2023 general election, the PP won 137 seats in the Congress of Deputies, the PSOE 121, Vox 33, and Sumar (an electoral coalition bringing together around twenty left-wing parties) 31. In addition to these four main players, various pro-independence and nationalist parties also secured representation in Congress: Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (7), Junts (7), EH Bildu (6), the Basque Nationalist Party (5), and the Galician Nationalist Bloc (1); while the regionalist groups Unión del Pueblo Navarro and Coalición Canaria also secured one seat each. The center-right party Ciudadanos, which won ten seats in the 2019 elections, decided not to stand in this election, while the

left-wing populist party Podemos ran as part of the Sumar platform—in a very marginalized role—led by the Government's Second Deputy Prime Minister, Yolanda Díaz.[1]

2. Method

Based on the theoretical review, this study formulates three main hypotheses:

H1: During the 2023 general election campaign in Spain, political parties predominantly used hashtags in their posts. Of these hashtags, those that had the greatest impact as trending topics on the social media platform X were those that attack political rivals.

H2: The main Spanish parties used hashtags on X in a similar manner during the 2023 general election.

H3: Among the topics that became trending during the 15-day campaign period, words and hashtags related to politics predominated. Within the political trending topics, those issues that were controversial and involved strong criticism or accusations against specific organizations and public figures took center stage.

With the aim of achieving the objectives outlined above and verifying the aforementioned hypotheses, a content analysis was conducted of the hashtags used on X by the main parties that contested the July 2023 elections during the election campaign period. The platform was selected because it remains the primary digital space utilized by Spanish journalists and political actors (Jivkova-Semova et al., 2017).

With regard to the parties, it should be noted that the four parties that obtained the best results in those elections were selected, namely the PSOE (center-left), the PP (center-right), Vox (populist right), and the Sumar coalition (made up of different left-wing and populist left-wing parties). Specifically, these four formations, which represent diverse ideological positions, jointly secured 92% of the seats in the Congress of Deputies after the elections under study. Therefore, the national and official accounts of the aforementioned political groups were examined, namely: @PSOE, @ppopular, @vox_es, and @sumar.[2] The analysis covered the period from 7 to 21 July, the official duration of the campaign.

To collect all the posts published by the selected accounts, the TWExportly tool[3] was used. Specifically, the date and content of each original post, quote, or reply were extracted, amounting to a total of 1,309: 528 published by @sumar (40.3%), 331 by @vox_es (25.3%), 266 by @PSOE (20.3%), and 184 by @ppopular (14.1%).

1 In the new Parliament, the PSOE candidate, Pedro Sánchez, was once again sworn in as Prime Minister on 16 November 2023 by an absolute majority in the Chamber (179 votes in favor and 171 against), with the support of all his party's MPs, as well as that of the coalition comprising Sumar, Esquerra Republicana, Junts, Bildu, the Basque Nationalist Party, the Galician Nationalist Bloc and Coalición Canaria. Less than three weeks after the investiture, Podemos, which did not hold any ministerial posts in the new coalition government formed by the PSOE and Sumar, announced its split from the platform led by Yolanda Díaz and the transfer of its five seats to the Mixed Group.

2 In this study, the free version of the TwExportly application was used, which is available at https://100xtools.com/twexportly. It is a Chrome extension that allows exporting and downloading posts from any X account into a CSV or Excel file.

3 Sumar ran in the July 2023 elections as an electoral coalition. Therefore, to make the research more manageable and to enable comparison with the main electoral options, only the posts published by the account *Movimiento Sumar* (@sumar) were analyzed. This coalition, founded by the coalition's main candidate, Yolanda

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Subsequently, instead of examining the total volume of posts and in order to compare the results across the different accounts, a representative sample of the posts published by each party was calculated using the Netquest[4] tool, ensuring that the margin of error (with the usual 95% confidence level) remained below 5% for each of the political groups' profiles. Thus, the sample comprised 223 posts for Sumar (error = 4.99%), 179 for Vox (error = 4.97%), 158 for the PSOE (error = 4.98%), and 125 for the PP (error = 4.98%). This amounted to a total of 685 posts (see Table 1), which constituted the final sample with a margin of error of 2.59%.

Furthermore, in order to maintain the proportional representation of the number of posts analyzed from each party in relation to the entire corpus (1,309 posts), the following case-weighting factors were applied to the general frequency results of the variable block used for the hashtag analysis: Sumar (1.24); Vox (0.97); PSOE (0.88); PP (0.77).

Table 1. Sample of analyzed posts and case-weighting factors for the different accounts

Official account	Universe	Sample	Weighting
@ppopular	184 (14.1%)	125 (18.2%)	0.77
@PSOE	266 (20.3%)	158 (23.1%)	0.88
@sumar	528 (40.3%)	223 (32.6%)	1.24
@vox_es	331 (25.3%)	179 (26.1%)	0.97
Total number of posts	**1309**	**685**	

Source: Own elaboration

Subsequently, the posts to be analyzed were randomly selected using Excel. They were then examined to verify the presence of hashtags, and a total of 845 were identified –this figure includes those repeated across different posts– of which 366 (43.3%) were used by the official PSOE account, 246 by Sumar (29.1%), 133 by Vox (15.7%), and 100 (11.8%) by the PP. Once the weighting factors of the sample mentioned above were applied, the results showed that @PSOE published 38.7% of the hashtags, @sumar 36.6%, @vox_es 15.5%, and @ppopular 9.2% (see Table 2).

Díaz, was the one that obtained the highest number of representatives in the Congress of Deputies (10) among those forming part of the coalition. The accounts of Podemos and the other 18 parties included in Sumar's candidacies were not examined.

4 The Netquest statistical sampling calculator can be found on the following website: https://www.netquest.com/es/panel/calculadora-muestras/calculadoras-estadisticas

Table 2. Distribution of hashtags posted by political party

Official account	Percentage of hashtags posted
@ppopular	9.2%
@PSOE	38.7%
@sumar	36.6%
@vox_es	15.5%
Total percentage of hashtags	**100%**

Source: Own elaboration

To analyze these 845 hashtags quantitatively, several variables were taken into account, such as the party disseminating them (PP, PSOE, Vox, or Sumar), the type of post to which they belong (original post, reply, or quote), the date of dissemination (from 7 to 21 July), and the type of hashtag. This last variable resulted from expanding the proposal made by Aparici et al. (2019) –explained earlier in the Introduction– regarding the main generative strategies in the production of hashtags within the framework of a political conflict. Accordingly, the present study considered the following values:

1. Counter-hashtag.
2. Linking to key events, media interviews, or campaign locations.
3. Subversion of messages.
4. Activist or mobilizing purposes.
5. Campaign slogan or request for the party vote.
6. Attacks on parties, candidates, media outlets, or institutions.
7. Campaign issues.
8. Defense of general values (freedom, dignity, etc.).
9. Generic topics (#gracias [#thanks]; #URGENTE [#URGENT]; #ÚLTIMAHORA [#BREAKINGNEWS]; #EnDirecto [#Live]; #FelizJueves [#HappyThursday], etc.).
10. Name of the party itself or of a candidate.
11. Others.

In addition, a complementary qualitative analysis of the hashtags was conducted, focusing mainly on examining their specific topics in order to understand their meanings in the context of the July 2023 campaign and to identify relational patterns within the categories mentioned above.

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Furthermore, to achieve the objectives and address the proposed hypotheses, trending topics throughout the electoral campaign (from 7 to 21 July) were extracted using the Trendinalia tool, which compiles the ranking of the 30 main trending topics with the longest duration each day, as well as their position in the list and the number of hours and minutes they remained trending. As this data source stopped functioning on the last day of the campaign, 21 July, an alternative tool –Twitter Trending Archive from twitter-trending.com– was used to retrieve the trending topics for that specific date. This tool only provides information on the five main topics of the day based on the length of time they remained among the top ten trends in each thirty-minute interval.[5]

It should be noted that these trend rankings include both keywords and hashtags, and they were used to determine whether the hashtags employed by the accounts under study became trending topics. Additionally, these lists were examined individually. All trends were reviewed, and those related to the political sphere were selected. A quantitative content analysis of these trends was then conducted, including the following variables: date (from 7 to 21 July), position in the ranking (from 1 to 30), and duration of the topic as a trending item within the daily interval (hours and minutes).

Subsequently, only those trends identified with the # symbol (hashtags) were selected, and whether they had been used at any point during the campaign by any of the official accounts of the parties analyzed in this study (@ppopular, @PSOE, @vox_es, and @sumar) was coded. The quantitative study of all political trends (keywords and hashtags) was complemented by a qualitative analysis focused primarily on examining their specific thematic content.

Finally, it is worth noting that quantitative information was analyzed using the statistical software SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences), from which line charts and descriptive statistics –such as frequencies and contingency tables– were extracted. To determine the association between variables, Pearson's Chi-square test was also calculated from the contingency tables, and differences were considered statistically significant when p was less than 0.05.

3. Results

3.1. The use of hashtags by political parties

The use of hashtags was the most common practice, as they were present in 63.1% of posts, compared to 36.9% of posts that did not include any hashtag. With an average of 1.22 hashtags per post, the most frequent number of hashtags used per post was one (29.3%), and the maximum number of hashtags detected in a single post reached five (1.2%).

Across all political parties, the presence of hashtags in posts was predominant (see Table 3), with greater prevalence in posts from the governing parties, PSOE (75.3%) and Sumar (61%), and lower use in posts from the opposition parties, Vox (59.8%) and PP (57.6%) ($\chi^2 = 13.047$, $p = 0.005$). The PSOE was the only party that tended to publish more than one hashtag per post

5 Trendinalia, which could be accessed via the open-access website http://trendinalia.com/, was a tool that compiled data and graphs on the evolution of each trending topic on X across different geographical areas (countries and continents), measuring how long hashtags and keywords remained amongst the current trending topics and providing a ranked list based on the duration (hours and minutes) of trending topics on a given date. The Twitter Trending Archive from twitter-trending.com can also be accessed via a search filtered by country and date on the website https://archive.twitter-trending.com. Using Trendinalia, we were able to identify 420 trending topics (30 per day) from the start of the campaign on 7 July until 20 July. The twitter-trending.com archive enabled us to complete the information only for the top five topics on the final day (21 July) of the official campaign period.

(68.3%), whereas the percentage of posts with multiple hashtags was significantly lower in Sumar (34.1%), PP (17.6%), and Vox (14.5%) ($\chi^2 = 271.386$, $p = 0.000$).

Table 3. Percentage of posts containing hashtags by party account

Official account	Percentage of posts containing hashtags
@ppopular	57.6%
@PSOE	75.3%
@sumar	61%
@vox_es	59.8%

Source: Own elaboration

Regarding the types of hashtags used by the parties (see Table 4), the results show a clear predominance of the main electoral slogans and direct requests for votes for the respective candidacies (59.9%), followed by references to key campaign events, media interviews, or campaign rally locations where campaign activities took place during that period (34.3%). The remaining types of hashtags were much less frequent; in fact, counter-hashtags, message-subversion hashtags, and hashtags defending general values were completely absent from the analyzed sample.

Table 4. Percentages of hashtag types used by the political parties

Type of hashtags used	Percentage
Events and locations	34.3%
Activist purposes	0.5%
Campaign slogan / request for votes	59.9%
Attacks on rivals	1.3%
Campaign issues	0.5%
Generic topics	2.3%
Name of the party / candidate	0.3%
Others	0.8%
Total percentage of hashtags	**100%**

Source: Own elaboration based on hashtags from the social media platform X

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Thus, within the set of hashtags found in the published posts, the PSOE's campaign slogans stand out for their repeated use, such as #EspañaAvanza (11.3%), #Adelante (10.6%), or #VotaPSOE (10%); the different linguistic versions of Sumar's slogan #EsPorTi (12.7%); Vox's electoral motto #VotaLoQueImporta (7.1%) and the personalized hashtag referring to its candidate #YoVotoAbascal (2.1%); and the PP's slogan #EsElMomento (1.6%), whose account also tended to use #VotaFeijóo (1%) and #FeijóoPresidente (0.7%).

A substantial presence of the hashtag #23J (9.7%), referring to the election date, was also recorded, as well as hashtags associated with the debates organized by Televisión Española and Atresmedia: #DebateFinalRTVE (4.4%), #CaraACaraAtresmedia (2.7%), #Debatea7RTVE (1.9%). In relation to these televised campaign events, almost all of the hashtags classified under the "Others" category (0.8%) were generated, which were used by the PSOE (#GanaPedro, in six posts) and the PP (#GanaCuca) to claim the supposed victory of their representatives in some of the debates.

The only campaign issues (0.5%) found among the hashtags were gender-based violence, introduced by the PSOE; motorway tolls and state security forces, used by the PP; and the problem of electricity supply in the deprived area of Cañada Real (Madrid), which appeared in a post by Sumar. Vox referred to two of its main campaign issues, but expressed them as slogans or calls to vote (#VotaSeguridad, in two posts, and #VotaCampo).

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Figure 1. Examples of posts containing the most significant hashtags used by the parties



Source: Own elaboration based on posts published on the social media platform X

In the comparison between parties ($\chi^2 = 320.108$, $p = 0.000$), Sumar was the only political formation in which hashtags anchored to specific campaign events and locations (58.1%) were used more frequently than slogans or calls to vote (40.2%). However, the frequency of this latter type of hashtag in the PP's account was lower (36%) than in Díaz's party profile. This is because the Popular Party's account also showed a significant presence of references to events/interviews/locations (33%) and generic topics (21%).

Moreover, the party led by Feijóo (7%) made greater use of hashtags attacking rivals (e.g., #LasMentirasDeSiempre, #BájaleDelFalcon, #4AñosMásDeSuGestión, all referring to Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez) than the other parties did: Vox (1.5%), PSOE (0.8%), and Sumar (0.4%) (see Table 5).

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Table 5. Types of hashtags employed by the parties in their campaign posts

Type of hashtags used		Account that publishes the post			
		PP	PSOE	Vox	Sumar
Events and locations	Count	33	48	42	143
	% within the account publishing the post	33.0%	13.1%	31.6%	58.1%
Activist purposes	Count	0	2	0	2
	% within the account publishing the post	0.0%	0.5%	0.0%	0.8%
Campaign slogan / Request for votes	Count	36	302	85	99
	% within the account publishing the post	36.0%	82.5%	63.9%	40.2%
Attacks on rivals	Count	7	3	2	1
	% within the account publishing the post	7.0%	0.8%	1.5%	0.4%
Campaign issues	Count	2	2	0	1
	% within the account publishing the post	2.0%	0.5%	0.0%	0.4%
Generic topics	Count	21	0	3	0
	% within the account publishing the post	21.0%	0.0%	2.3%	0.0%
Name of the party / candidate	Count	0	3	0	0
	% within the account publishing the post	0.0%	0.8%	0.0%	0.0%
Others	Count	1	6	1	0
	% within the account publishing the post	1.0%	1.6%	0.8%	0.0%
Total	Count	100	366	133	246
	% within the account publishing the post	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
	% of the total	11.8%	43.3%	15.7%	29.1%

Source: Own elaboration based on hashtags published on the social media platform X

3.2. Trending topics

Of the 425 trending topics collected, as explained previously in the Method (see the full list in Figure 3 of the final Appendix), only 154 focused on political issues (36.2%). Within this subset –those examined in this study– the term that appeared most frequently was *Correos*, which was recorded on four occasions (2.6% of the total analyzed). This spike can be attributed to the

fact that, during the elections under study, the public postal service was accused of mismanaging the vote-by-mail process –an allegation encouraged by Feijóo– which generated considerable controversy and prompted responses from the organization and the Government, among others, in its defense (Redacción y Agencias, 2023). A viral video even circulated claiming that fraud had been committed in the postal vote, although it was later shown to be false (Perelló, 2023). For this reason, the term *pucherazo* also became a trending topic once (0.6% of the total considered).

Another topic that had a significant impact on X was related to Txapote, a member of the terrorist organization ETA –responsible for numerous murders and attacks– who was convicted of several murders. This name, which became a trending topic on three occasions (1.9% of the total studied), is commonly used by the political right to criticize Pedro Sánchez's relationship with Bildu—a term that trended twice (1.3% of the total analyzed) and refers to a coalition of several Basque nationalist left-wing parties, including Sortu, a formation often considered the ideological heir of political groups outlawed due to their links to ETA. In this context, María San Gil, a member of the Basque branch of the PP, went viral for promoting the use of the expression "Que te vote Txapote" (0.6% of the total examined). This phrase was also used by Vox in the hashtag of one of its posts during the campaign.

However, the use of this expression represented a significant setback for the Popular Party. Consuelo Ordóñez, president of the Collective of Victims of Terrorism and sister of Gregorio Ordóñez (a PP politician assassinated by ETA), criticized the use of this phrase by the party to which her relative had belonged, arguing that it was disrespectful to the victims (Ferreras, 2023). Her statements received considerable attention, with the terms *Consuelo*, *Consuelo Ordóñez*, and *Gregorio Ordóñez* becoming trending topics a total of five times (3.2% of the overall dataset analyzed).

But this was not the only criticism of the Popular Party that went viral. One of the most recurrent topics observed during the campaign centered on accusations that Feijóo was lying. In fact, several expressions related to this topic became trending, including, for example, *Fakejoo*, *Pinocho* [Pinocchio], #FeijooMentirosoYCobarde, and #FeijooMentiroso. The latter hashtag was used by Sumar during the campaign, while the PSOE opted for the variant #FeijóoMiente, which did not achieve the same level of visibility during the period studied.

Moreover, the president of the Popular Party was publicly criticized for his relationship with a Galician drug trafficker named Marcial Dorado, whose name trended three times (1.9% of the total studied). The term *Fariña* was also a trending topic once (0.6% of the overall dataset analyzed), as was the hashtag #QueTeVoteElNarcoDelBote, which appeared twice (1.3% of the total examined). The first of these expressions refers to the colloquial term used in Galicia for cocaine and gives its name to a popular television series depicting drug trafficking in the region. The aforementioned hashtag, in turn, refers to a photograph taken years ago in which Feijóo appears aboard Dorado's boat. Although the hashtag was not used by any of the parties studied, during a debate broadcast on La 7 (a regional channel in Murcia), Javier Sánchez Serna, Sumar's candidate for Murcia, said –referring to the PP leader– "que te vote Marcial Dorado, que te vote el narco del bote" (Tremending, 2023).

Vox also became embroiled in a significant controversy. This arose after an anonymous TikTok interview in which an Orange executive stated that she would vote for the party because of its stance against illegal immigration, squatting, and abortion among minors (Antuña, 2023). Following these statements, some left-wing sectors launched a campaign against the telecommunications company and called for the employee's dismissal (Antuña, 2023). As a result, *Orange* became a trending

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topic on three occasions (1.9% of the overall dataset analyzed), and the employee's name trended once (0.6% of the total considered).

In addition, issues related to the media also became trending topics during the campaign. Particularly noteworthy was the controversy between Feijóo and journalist Silvia Intxaurrondo. In a tense interview, the reporter challenged several of the politician's claims (Mucientes, 2023). Although the name of the Televisión Española presenter was a trending topic only twice (1.3% of the overall dataset analyzed), the subsequent debate, comments on her professional trajectory, and the polarization between supporters of the two figures meant that, on the day of the interview and the following day, terms such as *Telemadrid, RTVE, periodismo* [journalism]*, Margallo, González Pons*, and *Urdaci*, among others, became trending topics.[6]

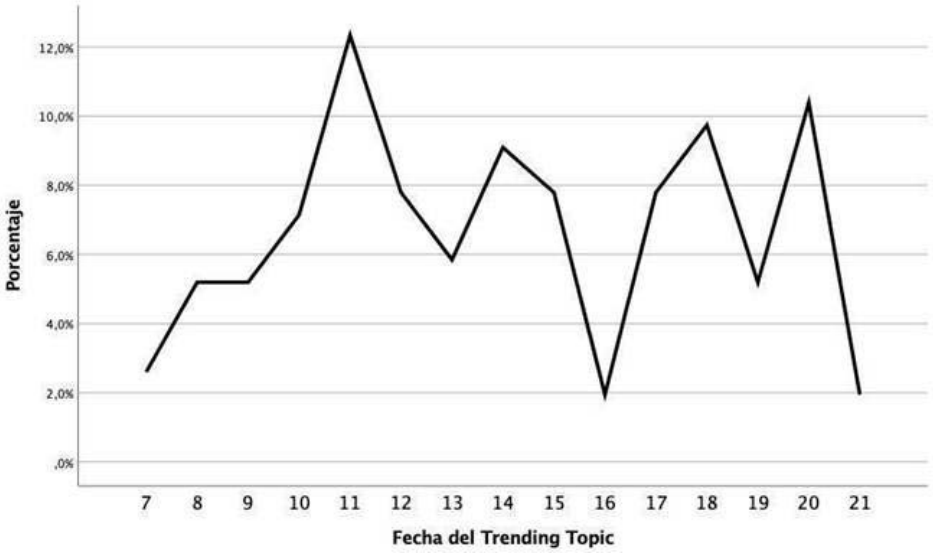
The debates also had a considerable impact on X, as the hashtags #CaraACaraAtresmedia, #Debatea7RTVE, #DebateFinalRTVE, and #DebatTV3CatRàdio were trending topics a total of seven times (4.5% of the total studied). It is important to note that all the parties analyzed used one or more of these hashtags during the campaign. The names of the moderators also went viral, such as *Vallés*, *Ana Pastor* (and her fact-checking outlet *Newtral*), and *Xabier Fortes*, among others. The candidates participating in the debates also had a notable impact on the social media platform (Patxi López [PSOE], Cuca Gamarra [PP], Aina Vidal [Sumar], Aitor Esteban [PNV], Óscar Matute [Bildu], …), as did their strategies (for example, Feijóo was accused of lying in the *Cara a Cara* debate), specific statements made during the exchanges (such as Abascal's "cálmese" [calm down] to Yolanda Díaz in the final debate), or the perceived outcomes of the confrontation (#GanaPedro).

In this regard, it is worth noting that although trending topics related to the political sphere appeared on each of the days analyzed, the two dates with the highest number of political trending topics were 11 and 20 July (see Graph 1). This may be because an important debate was broadcast the evening before each of these dates. The first was aired on Antena 3 and La Sexta and featured the leaders of the PP and PSOE. The second was broadcast on La 1 and included Abascal, Díaz, and Sánchez.

On the other hand, the average position occupied by political trending topics in X's daily ranking was 15.38, with a minimum of 1 and a maximum of 30 (as the platform ranking ranges from 1 to 30). A total of eight terms reached first place (5.2% of the total analyzed): *Txapote, Orange, Newtral, Correos, Pedro Sánchez, Garriga* (the surname of Vox's secretary-general), #FeijooMentirosoYCobarde, and *Marimar Blanco*. The latter is the sister of Miguel Ángel Blanco, a politician assassinated by ETA who was commemorated during the electoral campaign on the anniversary of his death. In addition, the trending topics examined had an average daily duration of 12 hours and 5 minutes (ranging from 8:05 to 23:10). It is worth noting that the three longest-lasting terms were some of those mentioned above, namely *Txapote* (23:10), #FeijooMentirosoYCobarde (23:00), and *Orange* (19:05).

6 Silvia Intxaurrondo previously worked at the regional broadcaster Telemadrid, where she also conducted a well-remembered tense interview with Isabel Díaz Ayuso, president of the Community of Madrid and member of the Popular Party. In the days following her interview with Alberto Núñez Feijóo, PP politicians Esteban González Pons and José Manuel García-Margallo criticized the journalist's role, as did Carmen Sastre, a member of RTVE's board who had been head of the National News area during the period in which Alfredo Urdaci directed TVE's News Services (2000–2004), under the second term of Popular Party leader José María Aznar as Prime Minister.
In left-leaning media and political circles, Urdaci is often identified as a paradigmatic example of information manipulation in Spain's public television.

Graph 1. Date of publication of political trending topics



Source: Own elaboration based on Trendinalia (7–20 July) and Twitter Trending Archive from twitter-trending.com (21 July)

Only 19 (12.3%) of the 154 trending topics focused on political issues included a hashtag (#). The types of hashtags most frequently present among political trending topics were, with seven occurrences each, the names of televised debates and attacks on certain candidates (specifically, the PP leader, six times) or organizations (#Comegambas [#PrawnEaters], the term used by Vox leaders and the party's account to refer to the main trade unions). The remaining hashtags corresponded to electoral slogans (three), praise for the performance of the Socialist candidate in one of the debates, or activist purposes stemming from divisions within feminism (#LasCuatroDelTaxi [#TheFourInTheTaxi]).[7]

Of these hashtags, 68.4% (13) overlapped with hashtags also used by the parties' accounts, representing only 8.4% of all political trending topics. Most were televised debates (six), each of which appeared among the trending topics on two different days (#CaraACaraAtresmedia, #Debatea7RTVE, and #DebateFinalRTVE), followed by campaign slogans (three), attacks on rivals (three), and other types (one).

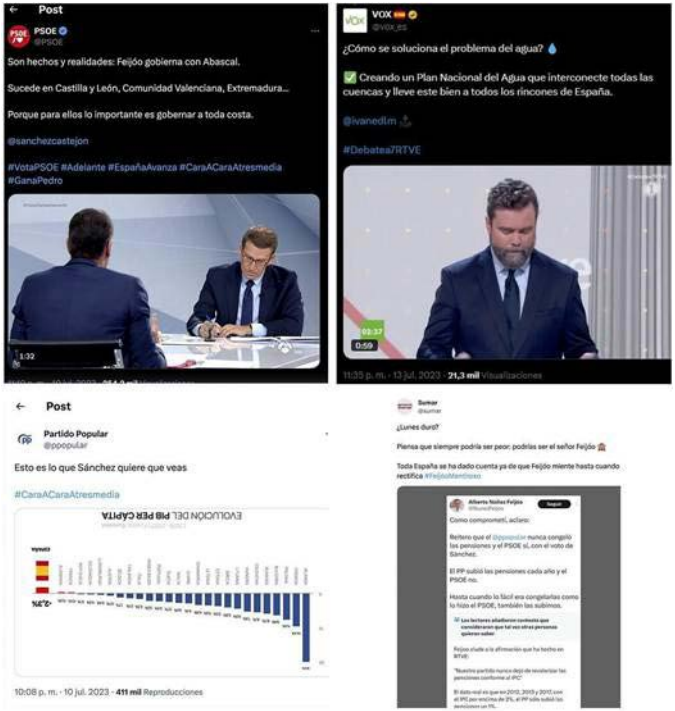
7 The expression *las cuatro del taxi* refers to sectors of feminism critical of policies developed in this area by the left-wing coalition government and who, in some cases, advocated casting a null vote in the 23 July 2023 elections. The origin of this label lies in a post on X by Pablo Echenique, then spokesperson for the Unidas Podemos parliamentary group in Congress, who downplayed the size of this group by describing them as "4 tránsfobas que caben en un taxi" [4 transphobes who fit in a taxi] (Lorenzo, 2023). Subsequently, this faction of feminist activism has reappropriated the phrase and turned it into a marker of identity.

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The party that used the highest number of hashtags that coincided with political trending topics was Sumar, which promoted hashtags that appeared nine times among the trending topics during the campaign (#FeijooMentiroso, on three days, and, above all, six instances of the debate-related hashtags mentioned earlier). Additionally, *Zaragoza* (without a hashtag) became a trending topic on the same day that the coalition used the hashtag incorporating the city's name, while its leader, Yolanda Díaz, held a rally there. Next were the PSOE (with seven trending topics), Vox (five), and the PP (four). Besides the televised debate hashtags used by these three parties (PSOE, PP, and Vox each used four hashtags that matched trending topics related to debate names), other hashtags that reached the trending lists included #GanaPedro (the day after the debate with Feijóo), as well as two Socialist Party slogans on the first day of the campaign (#EspañaAvanza and #VotaPSOE) and Vox's main electoral slogan (#VotaLoQueImporta).

Figure 2. Examples of posts containing hashtags used by political parties that also became trending topics during the electoral campaign



Source: Own elaboration based on posts published on the social media platform X

4. Discussion and conclusions

This study has enabled us to identify, in the context of the 2023 Spanish general election campaign, the limited alignment between the hashtags used in posts published by the official party accounts and the political trending topics. Thus, the parties' hashtags predominantly reflect the self-promotional use of their electoral slogans, whereas political trending topics are largely characterized by hashtags and terms linked to controversial issues and polarized debates. Overall, despite the analysis being conducted during an electoral campaign, political topics do not constitute the majority of the trending topics among the user community.

As the results of this research have shown, hashtags have a substantial presence in party posts. Most posts by the main Spanish political parties on their official X accounts during the electoral period examined in this study used hashtags to highlight their campaign framing or to attempt to increase the visibility of their posts and influence the generation or reinforcement of certain trending topics. In any case, the presence of hashtags was more prominent among the left-wing governing parties, particularly on the PSOE's profile.

In general, political parties tended to use their electoral slogans as hashtags. However, they also frequently highlighted key events—among which televised debates and references to the election date played a major role—as well as specific media appearances by party leaders and the names of cities hosting campaign rallies.

Hypothesis 2 assumed that parties used hashtags in similar ways, but the results reveal some differences among them. Most of the PSOE's and Vox's hashtags were campaign slogans or calls to vote for these parties. This type of hashtag was also the most common on the PP's profile, although it did not constitute a majority (36%). Sumar, for its part, placed greater emphasis on certain key events and on the locations where it held its most important rallies. It is also worth noting that the Popular Party's account was the only one that devoted a relatively significant share of its hashtags to two additional types: generic topics and attacks on rivals.

Although the first part of Hypothesis 1 is confirmed—parties predominantly used hashtags in their posts—the degree of overlap between party hashtags and political trending topics was relatively low. Convergence occurred mainly around televised debates, whose prominence persisted on the day following each event. Therefore, the second part of this hypothesis, which suggested that hashtags attacking opponents would achieve greater impact, is not supported.

Furthermore, hashtags from left-wing parties aligned with more political trending topics than those from right-wing parties. If we exclude hashtags that merely mention debate names, we can see that PP hashtags had no presence, whereas Sumar used an attack hashtag against the PP candidate that became a repeated trending topic over several days, and both the PSOE (twice) and Vox managed to place their campaign slogans among the main trending topics on the first day of the campaign. Likewise, only the Socialists succeeded in positioning a favorable hashtag about their candidate's debate performance among the trending topics after the first televised debate.

The first part of Hypothesis 3 is not supported. It posited that words and hashtags related to politics would tend to prevail among the topics that became trending during the 15-day campaign period. However, only 36.2% were related to this theme. In this regard, it is noteworthy that political topics did not generate predominant interest among users, especially considering that this sphere usually gains greater media visibility during electoral campaigns.

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Nevertheless, the second part of H3 is confirmed, since among the political trending topics, those related to strong criticism or accusations directed at specific public figures, controversial issues, and polarized debates had a greater impact. The prominent presence of these topics within political trends contrasts with the limited use parties tended to make of hashtags expressing criticism or attacks. Thus, the hashtags used in posts from official party accounts cannot be linked to the predominance of such topics on X during the campaign.

The extensive use of hashtags by parties is associated with their relevance as part of social media strategies (Darius, 2022). Primarily, Spanish political parties used hashtags in the 2023 general election as reiterations of their campaign slogans, aiming to reinforce their campaigns' discursive framing and make it more memorable, or to amplify the visibility of messages issued by their leaders at specific events and locations. Therefore, the predominant topics in the broader conversation foster greater polarization (Estrada Rodríguez & Martínez de la Rosa, 2023) than the hashtags used by official party profiles, since these tend to be used in a self-promotional manner, even though attack strategies against rivals are indeed highly prevalent in the rest of their posts (Marín-Albaladejo & Navarro-Beltrá, 2025).

Overall, the results show that both party hashtags and trending topics marginalize policy proposals and public issues, while prioritizing partisan confrontation and emotional issues (Diez-Gracia et al., 2023; Gamir-Ríos et al., 2022; Pano Alamán, 2020). Furthermore, the findings confirm that parties tend to reproduce the same discursive formulas they use in other campaign communication actions and often overlook the hashtags that prevail in the broader conversation on X (Pano Alamán, 2020). In this regard, compared to what some studies on previous campaigns have indicated (Jivkova-Semova et al., 2017), the present study identifies a lower impact of party accounts and a decrease in the alignment between their hashtags and trending topics.

In any case, future studies should analyze the influence that parties and other actors have on the emergence and development of trending topics, and how trends may contribute to the success of different political groups' campaigns. Likewise, the predominance of controversial issues and attacks on specific figures—highlighted by this study's results—may foster polarization in public debate (Estrada Rodríguez & Martínez de la Rosa, 2023). Therefore, it is also necessary to examine the role of citizens in the prominence of such topics and how they participate in the formation of the opposing camps within digital conversation.

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6. Specific contributions by each author

	Name and surname
Conception and design of the study	Juan Antonio Marín-Albaladejo and Marián Navarro-Beltrá
Methodology	Juan Antonio Marín-Albaladejo, Marián Navarro-Beltrá, and Marta Martín-Llaguno
Data collection and analysis	Juan Antonio Marín-Albaladejo, Marián Navarro-Beltrá, and Marta Martín-Llaguno
Discussion and conclusions	Juan Antonio Marín-Albaladejo and Marián Navarro-Beltrá
Writing, formatting, revision, and approval of versions	Juan Antonio Marín-Albaladejo, Marián Navarro-Beltrá, and Marta Martín-Llaguno

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7. Conflict of interest

The authors state that they have no conflicts of interest.

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9. Appendices

Figure 3. List of the main trending topics during the electoral campaign (7–21 July)

Trending Topics 7-07

#	Trending Topic	Duración
1	Willy	22:45
2	Juancho	18:15
3	#EspañaAvanza	17:50
4	Tavares	17:05
5	Celta	17:00
6	rauw	16:05
7	6ix9ine	15:45
8	#VotaPSOE	14:55
9	Miguel Bosé	14:55
10	better than revenge	13:00
11	Poirier	12:50
12	Parra	12:45
13	Mirotic	12:00
14	Enchanted	11:55
15	#SpeakNowTaylorsVersion	11:30
16	Parque Venecia	11:10
17	THE STORY OF US	11:05
18	Quevedo	10:55
19	#VotaLoQueImporta	10:50
20	#PikminEnGAME	10:35
21	emma	10:35
22	#VayaVacaciones1	10:15
23	Makoke	10:10
24	López Miras	09:50
25	Jonata	09:45
26	Mad Cool	09:25
27	Koeman	09:20
28	Dear John	09:10
29	C. Tangana	09:00
30	San Fermín	09:00

Trending Topics 8-07

#	Trending Topic	Duración
1	Txapote	23:10
2	#MissVaca2023	14:40
3	#TCMS15	14:40
4	Espinosa	14:40
5	Jonata	14:40
6	Lia Sikora	14:40
7	#VotoBlanca	13:05
8	Lugo	13:05
9	Juancho	12:35
10	Endrick	12:05
11	Marisa Paredes	12:00
12	#VotoDuquesa	11:00
13	6ix9ine	10:55
14	Alsina	10:55
15	Anuel	10:55
16	Celta	10:55
17	Columbia	10:55
18	López Miras	10:55
19	Mad Cool	10:55
20	Miguel Bosé	10:55
21	Pamplona	10:55
22	Quevedo	10:55
23	Rauw	10:55
24	San Fermín	10:55
25	Sumar	10:55
26	Tavares	10:55
27	Threads	10:55
28	Willy	10:55
29	Zaragoza	10:55
30	Orange	10:40

Trending Topics 9-07

#	Trending Topic	Duración
1	Orange	19:05
2	Tamara	18:10
3	Norris	17:05
4	McLaren	16:50
5	Aston Martin	16:45
6	Cara al Sol	16:35
7	Guevara	16:35
8	Alonso	14:30
9	Silverstone	14:25
10	Txapote	14:00
11	Puy de Dome	13:55
12	Diana Carpio	13:35
13	AEMET	13:25
14	Verstappen	12:40
15	Luis Suárez	12:25
16	Consuelo	12:20
17	Falange	12:05
18	#LaVozKidsFinal	11:50
19	Abel Ruiz	11:50
20	Arnau Tenas	11:50
21	Banalizar	11:50
22	Davidovich	11:50
23	Inglaterra	11:50
24	Alex Baena	11:35
25	Consuelo Ordóñez	11:05
26	Balón de Oro	10:55
27	Palmer	10:30
28	Albon	10:20
29	Endrick	09:55
30	Lo País	09:55

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Trending Topics 10-07

#	Trending Topic	Duración
1	Antella	19:40
2	Miguel Ángel Blanco	15:10
3	Ministra de Trabajo	14:50
4	Bildu	12:30
5	#AlláTú	12:25
6	Gasly	12:25
7	Jesús Vázquez	12:25
8	María San Gil	12:25
9	Jorgenson	12:10
10	Alpine	12:05
11	Puy de Dôme	12:05
12	Woods	11:55
13	Gregorio Ordóñez	11:50
14	Vallés	11:45
15	AEMET	11:40
16	Aston Martin	11:40
17	Balón de Oro	11:40
18	Consuelo	11:40
19	Franco	11:40
20	Guevara	11:40
21	Luis Suárez	11:40
22	McLaren	11:40
23	Miss Holanda	11:40
24	Norris	11:40
25	Orange	11:40
26	posición pérez	11:40
27	posición sainz	11:40
28	Sumar	11:40
29	Tamara	11:40
30	Txapote	11:40

Trending Topics 11-07

#	Trending Topic	Duración
1	Newtral	16:30
2	Fakejoo	15:00
3	Convulsivo	14:15
4	Ana Pastor	14:10
5	Gish	13:50
6	Greenpeace	12:50
7	Pegasus	12:50
8	#PortfolioDay	12:10
9	Iniesta	11:20
10	Trilli	11:10
11	Oriana	11:00
12	#GanaPedro	10:30
13	Bartra	10:10
14	San Benito	10:05
15	#FelizMartes	10:00
16	Pinocho	10:00
17	#SorteoLidlTrek	09:50
18	Bolaños	09:35
19	Mintiendo	09:35
20	#CaraACaraAtresmedia	09:30
21	Abascal	09:30
22	Alex Turner	09:30
23	Falcon	09:30
24	Miguel Ángel Blanco	09:30
25	Pedrito	09:30
26	Sánchez	09:20
27	Cayetano Rivera	09:15
28	Frijolito	09:15
29	Albert Rivera	09:10
30	Ricciardo	09:00

Trending Topics 12-07

#	Trending Topic	Duración
1	Marimar Blanco	15:10
2	Bertín Osborne	14:20
3	#QueTeVoteElNarcoDelBote	13:45
4	Dross	13:45
5	Gish	13:25
6	Autoevaluación HONESTA	13:20
7	Consuelo Ordoñez	12:45
8	Milan Kundera	12:25
9	Lisboa	11:35
10	Microsoft	11:20
11	Pello Bilbao	11:20
12	Trilli	11:20
13	Ana Obregón	11:00
14	Alex Turner	10:40
15	Francisco Sierra	10:10
16	#PortfolioDay	10:00
17	Ayuso	10:00
18	Ricciardo	09:35
19	Machista	09:30
20	Roca Rey	09:25
21	harry styles	09:20
22	De Vries	09:15
23	Rocío de Meer	09:15
24	Celso	09:10
25	Brizuela	09:00
26	OTAN	09:00
27	Carlos Mazón	08:50
28	#CaraACaraAtresmedia	08:35
29	#SorteoLidlTrek	08:35
30	Abascal	08:35

Trending Topics 13-07		
#	Trending Topic	Duración
1	Correos	16:20
2	Brizuela	15:40
3	Tombi	15:40
4	Willy	15:00
5	CCOO	14:25
6	Manolito	14:15
7	Mirotic	13:30
8	Narbona	13:10
9	Burriana	12:50
10	Margot Robbie	12:40
11	Juan Carlos	11:55
12	#MiEquipoPikmin	11:45
13	Dele Alli	11:45
14	#QueTeVoteElNarcoDelBote	11:30
15	Emmy	11:30
16	harry styles	11:30
17	The Telegraph	11:30
18	nathy peluso	11:15
19	Medicine	11:05
20	Juancho	10:45
21	Celso	10:25
22	Ermua	10:20
23	Alcaraz	10:15
24	Makoke	10:10
25	Maffeo	09:45
26	Rune	09:45
27	Ayuso	09:40
28	Harrison Ford	09:30
29	Pucherazo	09:25
30	Bertín Osborne	09:20

Trending Topics 14-07		
#	Trending Topic	Duración
1	Pelé	15:45
2	Maradona	15:35
3	Rufián	15:35
4	Miura	13:15
5	JUNGKOOK	13:05
6	#LasCuatroDelTaxi	12:50
7	Bauhaus	12:40
8	Pere Navarro	12:40
9	La de Sumar	12:35
10	Alemanes	11:55
11	Ermua	11:30
12	sohee	11:15
13	Aina Vidal	11:05
14	conrad	10:55
15	Hollywood	10:45
16	#Debatea7RTVE	10:35
17	#VayaVacaciones2	10:35
18	Aitor Esteban	10:35
19	Cuca Gamarra	10:35
20	Makoke	10:35
21	El Autócrata	10:20
22	Patxi López	10:20
23	Xabier Fortes	10:15
24	#Queydondeestudiar2023	10:10
25	PcComponentes	10:10
26	Pachi	10:05
27	Bastilla	09:45
28	Monteros	09:25
29	#FelizViernesATodos	09:05
30	Sinner	09:05

Trending Topics 15-07		
#	Trending Topic	Duración
1	Alemanes	17:25
2	#Comegambas	16:50
3	Alba Flores	16:45
4	El Autócrata	15:50
5	#hastasiempredeluxe	14:25
6	Alcaraz	14:25
7	Djokovic	14:25
8	Ferreras	14:25
9	Medvedev	14:25
10	Mercedes Milá	14:25
11	Pepe Álvarez	14:25
12	Residente	14:25
13	Zapatero	14:25
14	Nole	14:20
15	Mario Soriano	13:55
16	La Palma	13:45
17	Sabrina Ionescu	13:10
18	Ryan Gosling	12:50
19	Harry Styles	12:45
20	#IFPuntagorda	12:35
21	Sinner	12:30
22	Bauhaus	12:15
23	#Debatea7RTVE	12:10
24	Bildu	12:10
25	Bruselas	12:10
26	Correos	12:10
27	Cuca Gamarra	12:10
28	jungkook	12:10
29	Matute	12:10
30	Patxi	12:10

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Trending Topics 16-07

#	Trending Topic	Duración
1	pedro sanchez	18:55
2	swiftie	16:35
3	Iceta	15:30
4	SIBO	13:40
5	Zipi y Zape	12:20
6	13 Rue del Percebe	12:15
7	Ibáñez	12:15
8	MI PRESIDENTE	12:15
9	Mortadelo y Filemón	12:15
10	Pepe Gotera	12:15
11	Princesa de Asturias	12:15
12	Rompetechos	12:15
13	Sacarino	12:15
14	La Palma	12:05
15	Marca	12:05
16	Lana Del Rey	12:00
17	Súper Humor	12:00
18	Pedroche	11:50
19	#OtraFechaDeTaylorEnMadrid	11:45
20	#FelizDomingo	11:40
21	#IFPuntagorda	11:35
22	Alemanes	11:30
23	PAQUITA SALAS	11:30
24	Descanse	11:15
25	Patrona	11:05
26	Seat Corolla	11:05
27	Bruguera	10:55
28	Carmen	10:55
29	Navas de Tolosa	10:55
30	Carlos Rodríguez	10:25

Trending Topics 17-07

#	Trending Topic	Duración
1	Garriga	17:30
2	Marcial Dorado	17:05
3	Crimea	14:35
4	Brad Pitt	14:20
5	Silvia Intxaurrondo	14:15
6	Pedrerol	12:55
7	Telemadrid	12:45
8	Alcaraz	12:15
9	El Palmar	12:15
10	Grand Slam	12:15
11	Iceta	12:15
12	Nadal	12:15
13	Palou	12:15
14	Xavi Simons	12:15
15	Roland Garros	12:05
16	Badalona	12:00
17	#FeijooMentiroso	11:55
18	Nole	11:45
19	SIBO	11:40
20	Michavila	11:25
21	Jane Birkin	11:20
22	oriol romeu	11:10
23	Morata	11:05
24	RTVE	10:55
25	Federer	10:35
26	Periodismo	09:50
27	Pegasus	09:35
28	Marc Roca	09:25
29	Sectarismo	09:20
30	13 Rue del Percebe	09:05

Trending Topics 18-07

#	Trending Topic	Duración
1	Isco	19:00
2	Medina Cantalejo	18:45
3	Coca Gamarra	18:00
4	Monchi	16:55
5	Margallo	15:25
6	Delcy	15:05
7	#FeijooMentiroso	12:35
8	Celta	12:35
9	The Weeknd	12:10
10	González Pons	12:00
11	ariana	11:45
12	dalton	11:45
13	Juan Tamariz	11:45
14	Urdaci	11:45
15	Periodismo	11:35
16	RTVE	11:35
17	Von der Leyen	10:45
18	Bamba	10:25
19	El 18	10:10
20	Marcial Dorado	10:10
21	Bellerín	09:55
22	Fairy	09:50
23	Pegasus	09:35
24	Correos	09:15
25	Estupor	09:10
26	Brutalidad	09:00
27	Israel	08:55
28	Silvia Intxaurrondo	08:50
29	Alcaraz	08:45
30	Brad Pitt	08:45

Trending Topics 19-07

#	Trending Topic	Duración
1	Joao	16:55
2	Ferran	16:20
3	Canales	16:00
4	Marcial Dorado	15:30
5	Pogacar	14:55
6	Ana Belén	14:05
7	Puerto Banús	11:50
8	Betis	11:15
9	Indurain	11:15
10	The Weeknd	11:15
11	Pokémon Sleep	11:10
12	Exclusiva	10:45
13	#DebatTV3CatRàdio	10:40
14	González Pons	10:25
15	Atleti	10:20
16	Mendes	09:50
17	Winx	09:45
18	Lorca	09:35
19	Abde	09:30
20	Vingegaard	09:25
21	Kessie	09:10
22	Raphinha	08:45
23	Carmena	08:35
24	Celso	08:35
25	Bernardo	08:15
26	Urbason	08:10
27	Ferreras	08:05
28	Tadej	08:00
29	Fornals	07:40
30	#FelizMiercoles	07:35

Trending Topics 20-07

#	Trending Topic	Duración
1	Barbie	14:35
2	Oppenheimer	14:35
3	Cálmese	14:05
4	#DebateFinalRTVE	13:25
5	Abascal	13:25
6	Fachascal	13:25
7	Fortes	13:25
8	Ley Trans	13:25
9	Sergi Enrich	13:25
10	Urbason	13:25
11	WhatsApp	13:25
12	Winx	13:15
13	Yoli	12:35
14	#FelizJueves	11:45
15	Fariña	10:35
16	Google	09:20
17	#FIFAWWC	09:10
18	Reggaeton Beach Festival	09:10
19	Pedro Ortiz	09:05
20	Auckland	08:55
21	Ana Rosa	08:50
22	#FeijooMentiroso	08:45
23	Ana Belén	08:45
24	Canales	08:45
25	Correos	08:45
26	Delcy	08:45
27	Fakejoo	08:45
28	Intelectuales	08:45
29	Joao	08:45
30	Pedro Acosta	08:45

Trending Topics 21-07

Posición	Trending Topic	Duración
1	#FeijooMentirosoYCobarde	23 h.
2	Barbie	21 h.
3	#DebateFinalRTVE	18.5 h.
4	Oppenheimer	16 h.
5	Yolanda	14 h.

Source: Own elaboration based on Trendinalia (7–20 July) and Twitter Trending Archive from twitter-trending.com (21 July)

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