

## Mexican digital journalism studies: two decades of scattered research<sup>1</sup>

*Los estudios sobre el*

*periodismo digital en México:*

*dos décadas de investigación dispersa*

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.32870/cys.v2021.7846>

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This article analyzes the evolution of Mexican digital journalism studies. To achieve this goal, it carries out a systematic review of the empirical research on this country's digital journalism developed between 2000 and 2020. Identifying four dominant research lines (hypertextuality and interactivity, digitization and technological convergence, role performance, and business models), it exposes the continuity deficit of each one of them and the scattered nature of the studies that make up this research subfield.

**KEYWORDS:** Journalism studies, digital journalism, Mexico.

*Este artículo analiza la evolución de los estudios sobre el periodismo digital en México. Para tales efectos, realiza una revisión sistemática de las investigaciones empíricas sobre el periodismo digital de este país que se han desarrollado entre 2000 y 2020. Identificando cuatro líneas de investigación dominantes (hipertextualidad e interactividad, digitalización y convergencia tecnológica, desempeño profesional y modelos de financiamiento), exhibe el déficit de continuidad de cada una de ellas y el carácter disperso de los estudios que conforman este subcampo de investigación.*

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Estudios sobre el periodismo, periodismo digital, México.<sup>12</sup>

### How to cite:

Reyna García, V. H. (2021). Mexican digital journalism studies: two decades of scattered research. *Comunicación y Sociedad*, e7846. <https://doi.org/10.32870/cys.v2021.7846>

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Submitted: 08/06/20. Accepted: 13/08/20. Published: 20/01/21.

## INTRODUCTION

Two decades after the first empirical studies on Mexican digital journalism<sup>3</sup> (Albarrán, 2000; Navarro, 2002; Zaragoza, 2002), the distinctive feature of this subfield of research<sup>4</sup> is its dispersion. This characteristic is manifested both in the lack of continuity of its main lines of research and in the scarce discussion among its authors. In contrast to Mexican journalism studies in general (Hernández, 2018; Reyna, 2016), in this subfield no accumulation or disruption of knowledge is yet observed.

One of the factors that has contributed to this dispersion and lack of consolidation is the absence of systematic literature reviews of the research generated so far, as the lack of a reference of this nature prevents its authors from visualizing the state of this subfield. With this in mind, this article presents the first literature review of the Mexican digital journalism studies produced between 2000 and 2020. Its objective is to carry out a diachronic reading of this subfield in order to identify the scope and limitations of its main lines of research.

The article is organized in two sections. The first section explains the research design. Following Fink's (2014) method of systematic literature review, it describes the sampling and screening of the studies, as well as the extraction of their findings. The second section analyzes the four lines of research that have been traced (hypertextuality and interactivity, digitization and technological convergence, role performance, and business models), emphasizing the findings of their main contributions.

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<sup>3</sup> Digital journalism is understood as journalism published online. Although journalistic production processes have been digitized since the 1990s, not all journalism produced is published online. This distinction between digital and non-digital journalism guides the work of the digital journalism studies' authors.

<sup>4</sup> Digital journalism studies are defined as a subfield of journalism studies and not as a line of research because it has its own lines of research as well as relative conceptual and methodological autonomy. Eldridge et al. (2019) even propose that digital journalism studies are autonomous from journalism studies.

## RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design of this article is based on Fink's (2014) method of systematic literature review. This author proposes that a literature review should be built through three steps: the sampling the literature, the screening the literature and the extraction of the findings. In the first step, the sample is selected and the key concepts are defined. In the second step, the selection is refined by means of well-defined criteria of exclusion and inclusion. Finally, in the third step, the findings of the screened studies are extracted and relationships between them are established.

In the first step, a series of searches were performed in databases such as CC-DOC, EBSCO, Google Scholar, SciELO, Scopus and Redalyc, in the tables of contents of the journals *Comunicación y Sociedad*, *Global Media Journal México*, *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales* and *Virtualis*, as well as in the academic social networks Academia.edu and ResearchGate. In order to include in this sample those empirical studies that have not yet been published in the form of articles, chapters or books, the thesis repositories from this country's leading universities were searched.<sup>5</sup>

The original keywords used in the search were, in alphabetical order: "convergent journalism", "convergent newsrooms", "cyberjournalism", "digital journalism", "digital newspaper", "digital press", "interactive journalism", "journalistic convergence", "multimedia journalism", "online journalism", "online newspaper", "online press" and "web journalism". These keywords were accompanied by the words "Mexico" and/or "Mexican" to spatially delimit the search results to the Mexican national territory.

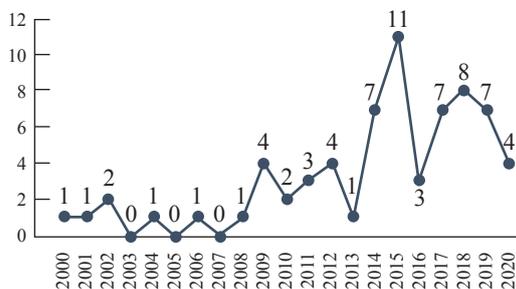
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<sup>5</sup> In all cases, priority was given to the digital journalism studies that had been published in the form of journal article, book chapter or book rather than to the undergraduate or graduate theses from which they originate. That is, if an article such as Zaragoza's (2002) or a book such as Meneses' (2011) come from a thesis, the publications have been counted but not the theses. It has been determined to include unpublished theses to account for one of the characteristics of this subfield of research: the deficit of publication of their theses.

The first sample was made up of 80 works that in the title, subtitle or abstract referred to Mexican digital journalism. Later, this sample was reduced to 68 by excluding those works that did not present empirical evidence and remained at an essayistic level. The emphasis on empirical studies corresponds to Fink's (2014) method of systematic literature review, which proposes to extract the (empirical) findings from research in order to relate them to each other and to identify their patterns of change and continuity.

As Figure 1 shows, Mexican digital journalism studies have always been sparse, with more than a decade of four or less empirical studies per year, from 2000 to 2013. In 2014, with the publication of the collective book *Retos y oportunidades del periodismo digital: nuevos escenarios y prácticas de la comunicación*<sup>6</sup> (Orozco, 2014b), the frequency increases because each chapter that presents empirical evidence is counted as a product. The trend has continued in subsequent years, particularly in 2015 and 2018.

FIGURE 1  
MEXICAN DIGITAL JOURNALISM STUDIES, BY YEAR

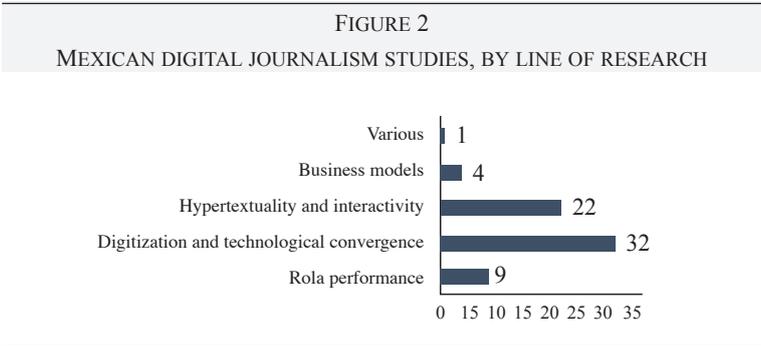


Source: The author.

<sup>6</sup> *Challenges and opportunities of digital journalism: new scenarios and communication practices.*

After calculating the annual frequency of the literature review, the 68 selected studies were classified into four lines of research: hypertextuality and interactivity (basic features of online news portals), digitization and technological convergence (productive transformation processes derived from technological change), role performance (digital journalism’s performance in certain events based on certain professional standards) and business models (business strategies for journalism in the digital era).

Figure 2 shows that digitization and technological convergence is the most frequent line of research, with 32 of the 68 studies (47%), followed by the line of hypertextuality and interactivity, with 22 of the 68 studies (32%). In a distant third place, but progressing between 2015 and 2020, appears the line of role performance, with 9 of the 68 studies (13%). Finally, with four studies (6%), business models. The book *Retos y oportunidades del periodismo digital: nuevos escenarios y prácticas de la comunicación* (Orozco, 2014b) was classified as “Various”.



Source: The author.

Given the dispersed nature of Mexican digital journalism studies, the third step of Fink’s (2014) systematic literature review method, the extraction of the findings, was particularly complex because the selected studies were not designed to replicate the research designs of their predecessors. In sum, the findings of these empirical studies were not easy to relate. Nevertheless, the findings of the four lines were synthesized with the intention of identifying their patterns of change and continuity.

## MEXICAN DIGITAL JOURNALISM STUDIES

Fink's (2014) method of systematic literature review is particularly useful for creating literature reviews based on quantitative studies because it is based on the contrast of the findings of the works that share a conceptual framework and research design. As Mexican digital journalism studies are not predominantly in quantitative nor they have conceptual frameworks and research designs in common, in this literature review we have chosen to describe the findings of their main contributions.

### *Hypertextuality and interactivity*

The founding research line of Mexican digital journalism studies is the line of hypertextuality and interactivity. In it, structural analyses of the web portals of the mass media are carried out with the intention of evaluating the state of their digital adaptation. Studies such as Albarrán's (2000), Ibarra's (2001) and Navarro's (2002) have pioneered this line of research. Despite the evolution of digital journalism studies at the international level, these types of work are still being produced in Mexico (Aragón, 2015; Espinosa, 2012; Espinoza, 2015).

Table 1 summarizes the main contributions of the studies on hypertextuality and interactivity in Mexican digital journalism. With greater or lesser conceptual and methodological sophistication, from Albarrán (2000) on the threshold of the 21<sup>st</sup> century until Ochoa and Crovi (2019) at the end of the second decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, in this line of research a deficit perspective predominates. Through it, the multiple deficiencies of the digital adaptation of Mexican journalism are highlighted to outline a proposal for a resolution of an administrative nature.

In the case of publications generated during the 2000 decade, the inadequate use of interactivity tools is criticized because it is assumed that it prevents journalism from including its readers in its news production processes through feedback (Albarrán, 2000; Crovi et al., 2006; Navarro, 2002). In the 2010 decade, concepts such as *accessibility* (Ochoa & Crovi, 2019), *deliberation* (Frankenberg, 2015) and *public participation* (Castillo, 2014) are introduced to add complexity to the analysis, but the emphasis on deficiencies is not transcended.

TABLE 1  
STUDIES ON HYPERTEXTUALITY AND INTERACTIVITY

Author(s)	Main results
Aguilar (2010)	<i>Índigo Brainmedia</i> is an innovative journalistic project because it uses different interactive tools to provide an immersive experience to its readers.
Albarrán (2000)	News web portals in Mexico City miss the interactive potential of the Internet because they have not adapted their news production model to the digital environment.
Aragón (2015)	Sonora's news portals have a presence in social networks, but lack tools to interact with their readers.
Castillo (2014)	<i>El Diario</i> , <i>El Universal</i> and <i>Sin Embargo</i> news portals do not favor reader participation because they are conceived as news repositories.
Crovi, Toussaint & Tovar (2006)	Mexico's mass media portals are conceived as repositories of their print or analogue editions and do not take advantage of multimedia.
Espinosa (2012)	Most of the news published in the <i>El Universal</i> portal have no hyperlinks and the predominant multimedia elements are photographs.
Espinoza (2015)	The news portals of Coahuila are still in a developmental stage because they have incorporated elements of hypertextuality, interactivity and multimedia, but without integrating them adequately.
Farina (2008)	Readers do not depend on the interactive tools offered by news portals because each one has a process of technological appropriation.
Frankenberg (2015)	Mexican news portals offer few spaces for citizen participation and this contributes to the fact that the deliberative discussions that take place in them are scarce and lack solid arguments, tolerance or congruence.
Ibarra (2001)	<i>El Imparcial</i> news portal is indistinguishable from its print edition because it does not make adequate use of interactive tools such as discussion forums, online surveys and e-mail.

Author(s)	Main results
Lerma (2009)	Mexico's news portals do not promote the added value of their tools for interacting with their readers and are limited to elements such as comments in the news, email and the contact page.
López (2009)	Mexican news portals present a deficit of digital documentation services and products because they have deficient news bases, photo archives and digital newspaper libraries.
Navarro (2002)	Despite having been launched until 1999, the <i>El Universal</i> news portal is distinguished by the presence of interactive elements such as discussion forums, chats with public figures and digital newsletters.
Navarro (2009)	After fifteen years of digital journalism in Mexico, news updates are still minimal and the use of interactive tools is null and late.
Ochoa & Crovi (2019)	Accessibility for people with disabilities to news portals in Mexico is limited and far from corresponding to international accessibility standards.

Source: The author.

Due to its normative character, this deficit perspective resembles that of the studies focused on the modernization of this country's journalism (Reyna, 2016), but differs from it in that it is based on structural analyses of news portals and does not take into account the experiences and perceptions of journalists to explain the current state of affairs. In this sense, they are descriptive-normative researches that seek to guide the transformation of the country's digital journalism, but without considering the complexity of the process they prescribe.

Among the screened studies, within the research line of hypertextuality and interactivity, the exception to the deficit perspective is the masters' thesis of Aguilar (2010). It highlights the innovative nature of the use of interactive tools by the magazine *Índigo Brainmedia*'s, edited by *Reporte Índigo*, to provide an immersive reading experience for its audience. Paradoxically, at the time of making this literature review, the *Índigo Brainmedia* portal is offline and there is no trace of the date of its last publication.

If most studies on hypertextuality and interactivity are based on the hypothesis that the greater the innovation, the greater the success, the case of *Índigo Brainmedia* shows us that even the adoption of the most sophisticated interactive tools is no guarantee of continuity for a journalistic project in the digital environment. Therefore, the deficit perspective of this body of works has a blind spot by assuming that there is a linear relationship between technological innovation and organizational sustainability.

### *Digitization and technological convergence*

Beyond the structural analysis of the basic characteristics of online portals, the line of research on digitization and technological convergence focuses on the processes of organizational and productive transformation derived from the technological changes that have occurred in Mexican journalism since its migration to the digital environment in the mid-1990s. By moving from the structural study of portals to the scrutiny of the transformation processes that underlie them, it places greater emphasis on actors and organizations, expanding its methodological repertoire.

Table 2 lists the main contributions of the studies on digitization and technological convergence in Mexican journalism. The pioneering study of this line of research is an article by Zaragoza (2002). The main contribution of this work is the early introduction of the notion of technological convergence because its empirical evidence is deficient and would prevent its publication under current academic production standards. Similar to pioneers such as Albarrán (2000) and Ibarra (2001), this author has not generated any subsequent studies.

Almost a decade later, the publication of the book by Meneses (2011) reintroduced technological convergence to Mexican journalism studies. This shows not only the deficit of continuity in this country's digital journalism studies, but also its gap with regard to academic production at the international level because in that decade an endless number of studies on the convergence of tasks and technologies were generated. Despite the impact of the book by Meneses (2011), it also did not enjoy continuity and its author migrated to another field of research.

TABLE 2  
STUDIES ON DIGITIZATION AND TECHNOLOGICAL CONVERGENCE

Author(s)	Main results
Farina (2013)	The digital transformation of <i>El Informador</i> has been driven by various transformations in news consumption habits and has not yet produced the expected effect.
Flores (2019)	The news portals of Chiapas have adopted different organizational forms to reconfigure their relationship with power groups, generating tensions between what they want and can be.
Flores & Timoshenkov (2015)	The smartphone is the digital tool of choice for reporters assigned to the source of the mayor of Nuevo Laredo because they find it to be easy to use and comfortable.
Fortanell (2018)	In Queretaro, the digital newspaper has a social use because it is a device that is used to talk and strengthen social ties with family and friends.
Galarza (2020)	Journalists who participated in <i>Verificado 2018</i> conceive this task as part of the democratic objectives of traditional journalism.
Galván (2016)	In Sonora, news organizations continue to give priority to their print editions and their online portals are, to a greater or lesser extent, conceived as digital repositories.
Gómez (2017)	<i>Agência Pública</i> (Brasil) <i>Animal Político</i> (México) and <i>La Silla Vacía</i> (Colombia) not only explore the interactive possibilities of the digital environment, but also establish collaborative networks to consolidate their financial and journalistic independence.
Higgins (2018)	Mexican digital journalists emphasize the freedom to cover relevant issues and the capacity to influence the public sphere that they find in digital born news organizations.
León & Castillo (2017)	Sonora's citizen journalists, who work primarily in the digital environment, reject the ideal of objectivity and see themselves as part of civil society.

Author(s)	Main results
Martínez Mendoza & Ramos Rojas (2020)	Members of the network <i>Tejiendo Redes</i> are not limited to sharing content from other portals, but participate in joint coverage because they believe that the future of journalism is collaborative.
Meneses (2011)	The model of journalistic convergence of <i>Grupo Imagen</i> can be defined as “high-intensity convergence” because it unfolds in multiple media and diverse journalistic cultures coexist in it.
Orozco (2014a)	The development of skills for the use of new applications and technological platforms is transforming the professional profile of journalists and forces them to be constantly updated.
Ramos (2019)	In the comments of the opinion columns from <i>El Universal</i> and <i>Excélsior</i> , most of the readers express themselves in a coherent and neutral way, but with cynicism and distrust.
Schmitz (2015)	Digital journalists in Mexico claim to be more than mere news producers and say they seek to influence public debate more to contribute to social change.
Zaragoza (2002)	The convergence of tasks and technologies imposes new challenges to news work because they introduce not only new work tools, but also new routines and work dynamics.

Source: The author.

As other literature reviews have shown (Hernández, 2018; Reyna, 2016), the continuity of the lines of research of Mexican journalism studies depends on the will of their authors since they have not yet reached a high level of institutionalization. In the case of studies on digitization and technological convergence, this characteristic is manifested in their thematic dispersion and in the absence of debate among their authors. In sum, similar to the studies on hypertextuality and interactivity, in this line there is no accumulation or disruption of knowledge.

In recent years, foreign researchers such as Gómez (2017), Higgins (2018) and Schmitz (2015) have analyzed Mexican digital journalism in their comparative studies. By examining the experiences and perceptions of digital journalists or the formation of transnational collaborative networks, they reveal a universe of research beyond technology. Some national academics do the same when studying emerging phenomena such as news verification (Galarza, 2020) or the formation of collaborative networks (Martínez Mendoza & Ramos Rojas, 2020).

Despite this evolution, studies on digitization and technological convergence continue to focus on the digital adaptation of mass media (Farina, 2013; Meneses, 2011; Ramos, 2019) and barely recognize the distinctive character of the phenomena of digital-born journalism (Galarza, 2020; León & Castillo, 2017; Martínez Mendoza & Ramos Rojas, 2020). As the fastest growing line of research, it is likely to make up for its foundational shortcomings in the coming years as it pays greater attention to digital-born news organizations.

### *Role performance*

If studies on hypertextuality and interactivity carry out structural analyses of online portals and if studies on digitization and technological convergence focus on the processes of organizational and productive transformation, studies on role performance are interested in the contents of digital journalism. On the border between journalism studies and political communication studies, these works analyze the coverage of news events, generally with the intention of comparing changes and continuities with respect to traditional media.

As Table 3 shows, the interest in the content published by Mexican news portals began during the decade of 2010, with an article by Muñiz (2011) on the framing of the migratory phenomena in the portals of *El Universal*, *Milenio* and *Reforma*. Years later, the same author, one of the most prolific in the field of political communication, published an article on the coverage of the 2012 elections by the portals of *El Universal*, *Excélsior*, *La Jornada*, *Milenio* and *Reforma* (Muñiz, 2015).

TABLE 3  
STUDIES ON ROLE PERFORMANCE

Author(s)	Main results
Alcaraz (2019)	Mexican news portals show no interest in the same-sex marriage debate by publishing few columns on it and by not becoming public forums.
Fernández (2012)	Pessimism prevails in the editorial spaces of Mexico City's main news portals regarding the scope of the political transition in Mexico.
Flores (2018)	The environmental contingency of 2016 meant a break in the journalistic routines of Mexico City's news portals, but it did not prevent their politicization.
Magallón (2019)	The study of the Twitter account <i>VerificadoMX</i> allows to emphasize that the electoral debates and election day intensify the verification of facts and speeches.
Martínez (2017)	Despite the limited coverage provided by the printed newspapers to the <i>#OpCartel</i> , its news was shared more than that of the digital-born media.
Muñiz (2011)	The main news portals in Mexico privilege frames of "political debate", "crime and expulsion" and "regularization processes" when covering migration.
Muñiz (2015)	In the main news portals in Mexico there is a predominance of the strategic game framework to the detriment of the thematic framework in the electoral coverage.
Rodríguez (2019a)	The news portals of <i>Aristegui Noticias</i> and <i>Proceso</i> had more prominence in social networks during the last election due to their critical perspectives.
Rodríguez (2019b)	<i>Verificado 2018</i> helped expose the manufacture of deception by serving as a counterweight to the disinformative strategies of certain power groups in Mexico.

Source: The author.

The fact that a researcher like Muñiz carries out studies on Mexican digital journalism is relevant not only because it amplifies its repercussion, but also because it brings conceptual frameworks and

research designs that raise the standards of this subfield of research. Unlike print newspapers, online portals are challenging for research because they are constantly updated and do not usually have a repository organized by dates. In this sense, the sampling of Muñiz (2011, 2015) can serve as a guideline for future analysis.

In spite of this reference, subsequent studies have not been carried out with the same rigor. Authors such as Alcaraz (2019), Magallón (2019) and Rodríguez (2019b) have not only limited themselves to using descriptive statistics to report the results of their content analyses, but have also quantified variables of little empirical relevance. Among other things, this has prevented them from relating their findings to those of other similar research. Thus, as with the lines of research outlined above, studies on role performance are disconnected from each other.

In addition to the absence of internal debate, the dispersion of this line is manifested in its thematic diversity. There are studies on the coverage of environmental contingencies (Flores, 2018), same-sex marriage (Alcaraz, 2019), migration (Muñiz, 2011) and hacktivism (Martínez, 2017) which may be, but have not been, related. In turn, there is a predominance of content analysis focused on election coverage (Fernández, 2012; Muñiz, 2015; Rodríguez, 2019a), and more recently news verification (Magallón, 2019; Rodríguez, 2019b).

Although a number of role performance studies have emerged in recent years that incorporate certain digital-born journalistic organizations into their samplings (Flores, 2018; Rodríguez, 2019a, 2019b), the emphasis on the online portals of mass media, particularly print newspapers, still prevails (Fernández, 2012; Muñiz, 2011, 2015). This trend is paradoxical if we take into account that the contents published by newspapers in their print and digital editions are practically the same.

### *Business models*

Since the publication of *The Vanishing Newspaper: Saving Journalism in the Information Age* (Meyer, 2004), several journalism studies have focused on the search of the business model that will allow the newspaper industry to overcome its financial recession and adapt to the digital environment. Between the decades of 2000 and 2010, the

proposed administrative solution was the convergence of tasks and technologies, which involved both the integration of digital and print newsrooms and the institutionalization of multitasking.

In Mexico, Zaragoza (2002), first, and Meneses (2011), later, questioned the ways in which journalistic convergence was changing and could modify the practice of journalism in this country. However, by focusing on the organizational dimension and its actors, in both cases its financial impact was left more or less unexplored. In a sense, the doctoral dissertation of González (2016) fills this gap by analyzing the transformation of the business model of *El Imparcial* as part of the transformation of its production model.

As in the case of other theses that have not been published as articles or book chapters, the work of González (2016) presents empirical evidence below current academic production standards and it would be difficult to extract an academic publication from it, since it is based on a review of documents and a single interview. This may help to explain the underdevelopment of Mexican digital journalism studies, in general, and the deficit of consolidation in the academic field of some of its authors, in particular.

As Table 4 shows, over the last few years a series of studies have appeared on business models that go beyond the search of administrative solutions to examine the strategies being used to finance digital journalism in Mexico. In the cases of Harlow (2020) and Salazar (2017), the emphasis is on the willingness of citizens to acquire a news portal access membership or to contribute to the funding campaigns of digital-born news organizations.

In both cases it has been found that those who are most willing to contribute directly to the financing of digital journalism are middle-class young people with university studies (Harlow, 2020; Salazar, 2017). In contrast, older people, accustomed to mass media financed by the sale of copies and advertising space, express little willingness to acquire a membership to news portals or participate in their financing. Thus, the challenge is to materialize the intentions to contribute and stimulate the reluctant population.

TABLE 4  
STUDIES ON BUSINESS MODELS

Author(s)	Main results
González (2016)	<i>El Imparcial</i> has integrated paper, Internet and mobile news distribution through an integrated newsroom to expand its audience and consolidate its business model.
Harlow (2020)	Donors to digital-born news organizations in Latin America are often young and educated and have a desire to influence public life in their countries.
Higgins & Harlow (2020)	Latin America's digital media organizations contribute to the transnationalization of their audiences and are thus able to test more sustainable business models.
Salazar (2017)	Readers under 45 show more willingness at the moment of contributing to the financing of digital journalism, while those over 55 show less willingness.

Source: The author.

For their part, Higgins and Harlow (2020) document the transnationalization of Latin American digital journalism's audiences and how this generates the basis for funding these types of projects beyond national borders; that is, not limited to the inhabitants of a certain territory. Given the diaspora of Mexican citizens and the desire to influence public life in their home country, expanding the target audience can be a profitable strategy for Mexico's digital-born news organizations.

## CONCLUSIONS

Based on Fink's (2014) method of systematic literature review, this article has developed a literature review of the Mexican digital journalism's empirical studies conducted between 2000 and 2020. Beyond the reviews carried out by previous studies, this is the first systematic review of the production of this subfield of research two decades after it was founded. When studies on Mexican digital journalism register a quantitative and qualitative growth, this article could contribute to guide future research.

Through the classification of the studies that make up this subfield in four lines of research, the deficit of continuity and the dispersed character of each one of them has been shown. Although the lines present dissimilar developments, a common element in them is the absence of debate among their authors, manifesting itself in a low level of accumulation and disruption of knowledge. Taking the example of Mexican journalism studies in general, this subfield could develop if its authors conceive their works in a larger framework.

When digital-born news organizations increase their influence in the national public sphere through their journalistic innovations, the study of digital journalism in Mexico no longer concerns only the prophets of technology but belongs to the community of Mexican journalism scholars in general. It is no longer a question of describing the state of the digital adaptation of the mass media, but of analyzing the production models of the organizations that set the agenda, rock governments and win national and international awards.

Conceptually and methodologically, some studies (Galarza, 2020; Muñoz, 2015; Martínez Mendoza & Ramos Rojas, 2020) have shown the way forward. However, the transformation of Mexican digital journalism studies cannot be expected to be bottom-up if future researchers do not have an awareness of what has been done and what remains to be done. In this way, the task is not only to produce more and better-quality work, but also to build networks of collaboration and interaction to strengthen the debate.

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