

# Semiotic resources and argumentative strategies in tweets about political TV shows in Chile

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I declare that the thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

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## Thesis abstract

The main aim of this research is to explore the argumentative and semiotic resources used in tweets related to political TV shows in Chile in 2016. To achieve this, I carried out a qualitative investigation that incorporates principles from critical discourse studies (Wodak & Meyer, 2016) for the analysis of the resources employed by Twitter users to present their political views in this type of digital media. Previous studies in political discourse and social media (KhosraviNik & Unger, 2016; KhosraviNik & Zia, 2014), and specifically the discourse-historical approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016), have proved to be particularly useful to explore the argumentative strategies and semiotic resources involved in the discourse on political issues in different media.

This research focuses on tweets about five Chilean political TV shows which encourage their audiences to extend the debate in a social media environment, showing hashtags and tweets. The data set comprises 39,684 hashtagged tweets from three months at the beginning, middle and end of the televised season. In the first stage of this research, I identify topics and diverse semiotic features in the whole data set. Among the topics identified in the data collection, those related to ethical concerns are the most frequent, alongside tweets related to public figures and institutions. The semiotic resources found in the data set were classified into overarching semiotic categories of verbal, visual and hypertextual.

In the second stage, I analysed the interaction patterns present in the data and argumentative resources in a sample of tweets. To describe interaction patterns, I draw on Goffman's (1981) model of interaction. I found that users addressed a wide variety of actors, not only among the participants of online or televised debates, but across the public sphere. The communication among these diverse actors blurred the boundaries between and within encounters, creating a new type of interaction that I called hybrid play.

Regarding the diverse argumentative strategies identified in the sample, fallacies, including *ad hominem*, *ad verecundiam*, hasty generalization and straw man, were found. The other main discursive strategies analysed were topoi. There were several realizations of the topoi of burden and responsibility, related to issues of political contingency and users' claims for action. Also present were topoi of urgency, comparison, decency, justice, human rights and history.

Despite the claims that social media can allow manifestations of hostility or uncivil

behaviour in relation to politics, the analysis showed that digitally mediated debates related to television shows in the Chilean context can be seen as an expansion of the public sphere in which users can participate to different degrees in political debates, criticizing the status quo and proposing their own political agendas, thereby potentially generating new spaces for political deliberation.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

The main aim of this research is to explore the argumentative and semiotic resources used in tweets related to political TV shows in Chile in 2016. To achieve this, I carried out a qualitative investigation that incorporates principles from critical discourse studies (Wodak & Meyer, 2016) for analysis of the resources employed by Twitter users to present their political views in this type of digital media. Previous studies in political discourse and social media (KhosraviNik & Unger, 2016; KhosraviNik & Zia, 2014), and specifically the discourse-historical approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016), proved to be particularly useful frameworks in this research. As the Twitter platform gives users the opportunity to discuss and debate, the focus of this study is the argumentative strategies and semiotic features present in users' tweets, which will be explored in relation to Chilean politics. The social practice that involves using social media platforms while watching television is known as dual screening, which leads viewers to conduct a digitally mediated discussion. I analyse a data set of three months of tweets with hashtags relating to five Chilean political TV shows broadcast in 2016, taken from the beginning, middle and end of the annual television season. This introductory chapter will introduce the main topic of this research. In the first section, I will describe the general background of the object under study; then, I will present the phenomenon studied in this research. Following that, I will present the aims and research questions that guide this research, stating the importance of the study. Finally, I will present the structure of the thesis by chapter.

### 1.1 Background of the research

A number of scholars (e.g. Fuchs, 2013; Page et al., 2014; Bruns, 2008) describe how the development of so-called “Web 2.0” or the participatory web has led to new ways of generating and creating content across the Internet. The participatory web enables users not only to consume content but also to produce it, without technical knowledge about creating web pages or using code. Ackland (2013) states that this process of consumption and production of content on the Web has been called “prosumption” (by Ritzer and Jurgenson, 2010) or “produsage” (Bruns, 2008). Ritzer and Jurgenson (2010) explain that the term “prosumption” was conceived from an economic perspective. As the capitalist economy is determined by consumption and production, these processes have been exploited for the participatory web, in which the consumers are, at the same time, producers of its content. This new type of web promoted (and continues to promote) the consumption and simultaneous prosumption of content on the Internet, which in turn

creates new ways to capitalise on that content.

An important development in the rise of the participatory web is social media platforms, which have had a marked impact on human communication (Fuchs, 2008). For Ackland (2013), social network sites are platforms that allow people to create profiles of themselves and interact with others. On the other hand, Fuchs (2013) offers a much broader definition, one which explains that social media enable communities to co-operate, share and communicate. Social media sites are platforms that allow their users to engage with others and promote social interaction (Page et al., 2014). The rise of the participatory web and social media has led to new or adapted forms of communication, and consequently new kinds of discourse practices present in different aspects of people's social lives (Fuchs, 2013; KhosraviNik & Unger, 2016). And politics is no exception; at the present time, people use social media platforms to express their opinions, debate political issues and engage with others (Zappavigna, 2012).

Among the diverse social media networks, the microblogging platform Twitter has become an important source of information in real time, a platform for interpersonal communication and a place to debate different topics. Like other social media platforms, Twitter is user-centred and emphasises human collaboration and interaction. Major events are covered by different Twitter accounts and allow users access to new information in real time and continuous updates from diverse sources. As Weller et al. (2014) propose, Twitter offers not only information about news or special events, but is also a space where users can express themselves and interact with others. For that reason, this type of media can facilitate communication among people in relation to a wide variety of topics, and thus has the potential to enhance political communication (Vaccari & Valeriani, 2018).

Microblogging on this kind of platform, as Zappavigna (2012) explains, is a form of communication which is characterised by texts of a limited length, used in a social networking service. These platforms allow users to post short messages, not more than 140 characters at the time of data collection (now 280). Users can also subscribe to other users' accounts and receive their updates in a "timeline". The limited nature of microblogging has made this type of communication very interesting to researchers, according to Zappavigna (2012), because users need to make the most of their limited character resources to deliver effective messages.

Social networks allow Internet users not only to express their opinions and emotions, but also to interact with different subjects and communication media. These networks create

participation structures that allow direct interaction between participants, the sender and recipient of a message, within a short timeframe or almost in real time. As Barton and Lee (2013) argue, the conception of audience and authorship with the rise of social media has changed. This direct interaction contrasts with traditional media, which do not always allow interaction with the audience. There are, however, some forms of interaction present in traditional broadcasting, including phone calls and integration of the audience, and social media platforms have opened up new possibilities for audience interaction within the media (Trilling, 2015).

Lately, Twitter has become one of the most popular social networks to be incorporated into other types of media (see e.g. Lochrie & Coulton, 2013). Currently, many television shows make use of Twitter as a platform by promoting hashtags to interact with the audience, exhibiting their tweets on-screen and generating discussion and debate from Twitter users' opinions (see e.g. Doughty, Rowland & Lawson, 2012; Burgess & Bruns, 2012, Giglietto & Selva, 2014).

Online platforms facilitate the creation of new ways to interact and also new genres that combine several channels, modalities and modes of communication (KhosraviNik, 2017). For this reason, the study of social media from a discursive perspective can provide new insights to better understand language in use in this kind of media context and how people interact in these formats.

Social media use, as Gil de Zúñiga and Liu (2017) argue, is omnipresent in the everyday lives of people across the world. The use of social media and the practices associated with these platforms have been extended not only into European and Western democracies, but also into developing countries of the Global South. An example of this phenomenon is Chile, the country with the highest Internet penetration in Latin America, with heavy social media usage estimated at an average of 9.5 hours per user per day (Haynes, 2016). Users of social media platforms in the Chilean context also interact with other media while producing social media content and discussing different shows. This practice of using social networks in relation to television shows applies to 82 per cent of Twitter users in the country (Gil de Zúñiga & Liu, 2017).

The Chilean context can be considered an interesting case for studying this kind of online practice, as a developing country with a neoliberal model, imposed in the 1980s during the dictatorship period (Harvey, 2007) with high rates of social media use. Also, the study of political communication in relation to political TV shows and social media can be useful

to explore debates in a post-dictatorial democracy, contributing to exploration of the public sphere in the Latin American context. The study of this social practice in the Chilean context can also provide a valuable basis for the characterization of media practices in relation to politics and exploring current issues that affect citizens in relation to participation and politics.

## 1.2 Integration of social media and television as an object of study

The connection between social networks and other traditional media can potentially reunite different users who share common interests (Doughty, Rowland & Lawson, 2012). Given that TV provides a context for the development of a community of viewers, in this thesis, I explore whether and how TV viewers become members of an ecosystem, and how they engage with a particular show. These users of social media platforms no longer see themselves as mere spectators or a passive off-screen audience but rather as active participants of what happens on television (Anstead & O'Loughlin, 2011). As Jenkins (2006) argues, the changes in the media paradigm and the rise of participatory culture transform the role of spectatorship from passive to active. This convergence of the media has empowered consumers and allows the flow of content across different media created by audiences. The producers and consumers in this participatory culture, for Jenkins (2006), are participants in these social dynamics, which have different hierarchies and power structures and involve different sorts of interaction.

The phenomenon created by the integration of social media elements in televised broadcasts has been mainly studied from the perspective of media studies, where the focus is on the relation between different media and how this can affect the political sphere. The phenomenon of the use of social media platforms while watching television shows in order to gain information, participate, discuss and socialise, among others, has been called the “second screen” (Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2015), “two-screen” (Anstead & O'Loughlin, 2015) or “dual screening” (Vaccari, Chadwick & O'Loughlin, 2015). This dual screening practice has been analysed as an example of a new media system in which different media and genres converge and co-evolve, creating new genres and forms of interaction (see further discussion in Chapter 3).

Political television shows have the potential to set political agendas and modify the political scene in different contexts. Interaction between online and traditional broadcast platforms has opened up new spaces in which discussion in this medium can have consequences and provoke changes in the political arena affecting decision-making processes. The following

images illustrate the relevance of online debates in relation to television shows and political discussion in other media:



*[Müller, linked to 125 million from SQM, in #Enacional defending the middle class. Be serious please, without laughing]*

*[[NETWORKS] Criticism for van Rysselberghe's position in relation to accompanied protocols for raped girls that "they should become women"]*

*Figure 1 Screen captions of texts related to political TV shows in Chile*

The images above show two different interactions between social media and political television shows in Chile. The images help to illustrate the importance of online discussions related to political television shows in the Chilean political context in different media. The different discussions carried out in televised shows and the online debates related to those have influenced the political scene in the Chilean context. The first image (on the left) shows a tweet that includes a screen caption of the television show, engaging with the televised debate and including a caption of the broadcast discussion in the Twitter feed. This kind of integration of the TV show on the online platform illustrates the relevance of broadcast discussion to online political debate. The second image (on the right) shows the screen of the political television show *Estado Nacional*, along with a caption that refers to the social media discussion in relation to the televised show. These images illustrate that the discussion carried out in the televised shows and on related social media go beyond these two media logics and is also included in political discussions in other kinds of media, suggesting that political television shows are important in the configuration of the political debate.

I argue in this thesis that different media have the potential to shape the public sphere. Televised discussion and online debate have the potential to represent citizenship and to cause changes in the political status quo. The integration of different media can increase

political participation in different contexts. Online discussion, in this sense, can be studied and analysed as an expansion of the public sphere and inclusion of citizenship in media discussion.

The media context in which the practice of dual screening has been developing has been characterised as a hybrid media system (Chadwick, 2013). This suggests that older and newer media exist on an evolving continuum and not as separate media logics. In this conception, the inclusion of social media in traditional broadcast television is part of the new media ecology in which the distinctions between media and genres get blurred.

The inclusion of this type of digital media on free-to-air television has allowed mass audiences to take part in political discussions and to interact with different public figures and participants of diverse current affairs, allowing for inclusion in these debates of voices that are often silenced by the mass media. Despite this, some scholars (Chadwick, 2013; Fuchs, 2014) explain that inclusion can offer an illusion of participation to increase the profits and audiences of TV shows, while the inclusion of diverse online platforms in this media context presupposes that a new space is created for participation and interaction. For that reason, I agree that the concept of participation can be debated and criticized on this kind of platform, taking into account that this type of platform has contributed to the democratisation of mass media, giving citizens the opportunity to interact with power structures that have long been considered untouchable (Harrington, Highfield & Bruns, 2013; Larsson, 2013).

Participation on this kind of platform related to broadcast television can potentially enhance the public sphere and increase political engagement. A social media platform allows users to interact and participate in political debate. For this reason, the study of this kind of practice from a discursive and semiotic perspective can contribute to a better understanding of this online practice and the relation among media logics. Along these lines, a critical approach to study language in this context, and particularly argumentative strategies, can provide new perspectives of the public sphere in developing countries.

### 1.3 Aim and research questions

As previously stated, the main aim of this research is to explore the diverse semiotic resources and argumentative strategies present in tweets related to political television shows in Chile in 2016. Twitter as a platform gives users the opportunity to debate and interact in relation to a wide variety of topics. With this in mind, this study will focus on the argumentation in their tweets, which will be examined with a particular emphasis on

Chilean political affairs. To achieve this, I will carry out a qualitative investigation that incorporates principles from critical discourse studies (Wodak & Meyer, 2016) for analysis of the semiotic resources employed by Twitter users to present their political discourse views in this type of digital media.

This research focuses on tweets related to five different Chilean political TV shows, which encourage their audiences to extend the debate in a social media environment, showing hashtags and incorporating social media content on the show. My aim is to identify how people create texts to participate in political discussion using a social network, such as Twitter. To achieve this, the following research questions will guide this research:

**RQ1: How do Twitter users debate and interact in relation to TV shows about Chilean politics?**

This research question aims to explore digitally mediated practices around televised political debates. The characterization of Twitter practices in relation to televised discussions will be carried out via the identification of different topics and semiotic resources in the social media data analysed. Addressing this question will lead me to describe what is discussed in online debates and how it is discussed, highlighting topics relating not only directly to the topics of the shows but also to what it is generally important to and discussed by viewers of the shows.

The identification of formal features will help to characterise the diverse semiotic resources used in the tweets in my data set. The classification of different formal features used in the online debate will also help to explain the different resources used by viewers in their arguments in these online debates, which are analysed further in the second stage of the research.

Furthermore, this study will examine different interaction patterns in the data, which will illustrate the different dynamics among users and TV programmes. This means that I will not only identify the roles of different participants in the online debates and the relations among different actors, but also be in a better position to identify the relations between media logics and participation in political debates in general.

**RQ2: What can analysing context-related semiotic practices contribute to an understanding of digitally mediated argumentative strategies?**

The second research question has as an objective an examination of the different argumentative strategies present in Twitter data. Exploration of the different semiotic



practices used in this kind of media in relation to argumentative strategies helps me to explain how users justify positive and negative attitudes in the debates surrounding the television shows. The identification of how people justify their claims in this kind of medium can provide some insights into how people approach diverse controversial topics in digitally mediated debates. To illustrate how these discussions function, I will outline elements in context, not only from televised discussions but also the general sociopolitical and media context in Chile, thus providing a sociohistorical grounding for readers previously unfamiliar with the research context.

In the case of this research, I will consider not only verbal argumentation in the configuration of political debates, but also the different modes involved in these kinds of media that help users to build their arguments in a restrictive format such as Twitter posts. Exploration of the argumentation related to the diverse semiotic resources involved in this kind of practice will allow me to describe the different strategies used by viewers to persuade others and support their standpoints.

**RQ3: To what extent can participation in debates at the intersection of social media and traditional broadcast media be considered an enhancement of the public sphere?**

The third research question aims to explore social media data generated by users as a practice embedded in the public sphere. This research will try not only to describe social and associated semiotic practices, but also to provide some insights into how these can contribute to political discussion and deliberation. The study of this practice involves unveiling different power structures and describing the digitally mediated public sphere in the Chilean context. The inclusion of social media elements in broadcast television, as previously argued, has the potential to reshape the political sphere. For this reason, exploring the implications of these debates as an enhancement of the public sphere can help to explain some of the changes in the configuration of the public sphere and the political debate at different levels.

### 1.3.1 Answering the research questions

Overall, the questions above help me to explore my data in relation to discursive practices that involve social media and TV shows. Based on diverse studies that analyse these kinds of social media practices (Vaccari, Chadwick & O'Loughlin, 2015; Giglietto & Selva, 2015; Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2015), I expect that further analysis of Twitter data will allow me to:

- Study social media practices in relation to political TV shows and consider how

these two types of media are connected;

- Analyse how being at the intersection of these two media types might shape the political debate;
- Explore new practices and whether/how the way that politics is 'done' is changing in this specific sociopolitical context.

Studying social media data and their relation to TV shows allows me to explore the relations between the media and what is being talked about (i.e. politics, in this case), and also to examine how the interdiscursive links between media shape meaning-making as part of a relatively new social practice. The data analysis in this research can work as an entry point (Jessop, 2004) that will hopefully lead to conclusions about (the lack of) participation and/or (the lack of) democratisation. Ultimately, this will allow me to explore the impact (if any) of these social practices on the public sphere.

Exploration of different semiotic resources and argumentative strategies in this context provides valuable information, not only about the political context and current issues in the Chilean public sphere, but also the use of social media and, more specifically, the social practice of dual screening in Latin America, considering the historical and sociopolitical context.

To explore this media phenomenon, I will carry out an analysis of Twitter data related to five Chilean political television shows, collected using the official hashtag of each show. The analysis of social media data will be on two levels:

- Analysis of the main formal features and topics of tweets tagged with TV show hashtags, posted in three months of 2016 that correspond to the beginning, middle and end of the television season (March, July and December).
- A detailed analysis of argumentative strategies and semiotic resources present in a random sample of tweets.

These two stages will help me to explore the data thoroughly. In the first instance, identification of the main formal features and topics can provide an overview of the entire data set and also help to characterise the dual-screening practice from a qualitative perspective. The second stage will then allow me to analyse in more detail the different resources present in the online discussions related to political television shows in the Chilean context, characterising how users of this platform debate and build their arguments in the debates.

The study of this online practice can contribute to the exploration of online practices and

the digital public sphere in the Latin American context. Most studies on the dual-screening phenomenon or the inclusion of social media in different media have focused on western societies, such as US and European countries (see e.g. Chadwick, 2013; Vaccari, Chadwick & O'Loughlin, 2015; Vaccari & Valeriani, 2017). For this reason, study of the Chilean context can make a contribution to the exploration of this online and social phenomenon in other contexts, not only in the region but also in the Global South and in non-English-speaking contexts.

The literature on the relationship between television and social media usually approaches this phenomenon from a quantitative perspective, focusing on the quantification of audiences and different ways to measure engagement with a TV show. For that reason, one of the main potential contributions of this research is that I explore this relationship, in this case specifically between Twitter and television, from a linguistic perspective, using a qualitative approach. Qualitative analysis of this type of data should help me not only to describe and understand these emerging discursive practices in the political field in the Chilean context, but also to present a framework that can be adapted to other contexts.

#### 1.4 Outline of the thesis

This thesis comprises seven chapters (including the introduction). In Chapter 2, I will present the sociopolitical and historical context of the research, which includes a description of the main events in recent Chilean history that help to provide the background to the political discussion carried out on social media platforms. Chapter 2 also includes a characterization of the current political and electoral system in Chile, related to the 1980s political Constitution imposed during the dictatorship, which is widely discussed and criticised in online debates. Furthermore, this section includes a description of the media landscape in the Chilean context, based on different studies related to media in Chile, more specifically television and social media.

Chapter 3 will present the theoretical framework of the thesis, where I will explain the main theoretical concepts that will help to explain the phenomenon under study. In this section, I will present the concept of the public sphere in different contexts and its relationship to the participatory web and social media as a potential space for deliberation. This chapter also includes a brief description of the concepts of ideology and power. I will then describe the concept of the hybrid media system, which will contribute to the conceptualization of the different media dynamics related to the use of social media linked to television shows. In this section I will discuss the phenomenon of dual screening as an example of a hybrid

media system, in which different media and genres converge. Also, I will review some key concepts of critical discourse studies and its relationship to politics and social media.

In Chapter 4, I outline my methods of data collection and analysis. Chapter 4 will present the process for the collection of online data from the Twitter platform. This section will also include a description of the television shows related to social media data analysed in this research, to illustrate the context of production of Twitter data. I will describe the different shows in relation to the main topics and their structure. Following this, I will describe the two stages of data analysis based on a pilot study carried out for a first exploration of the data. The analysis of the data includes, in the first stage, the codification process for the entire data collection, as a qualitative approach to the data. Then, the second stage will involve a detailed analysis of argumentative strategies in a sample of tweets. Furthermore, I will explain the main concepts used as the framework of analysis in this research, the semiotic resources and argumentative strategies analysed in the second stage of analysis.

Subsequently, Chapter 5 contains the first stage of analysis of this study. In this chapter, I will describe the main findings of the codification of topics and formal features of the entire data collection. I will present the links between the topics and the Chilean context to understand the discussion carried out on social media in relation to Chilean politics, as the codification process will provide more general categories about the topics discussed. It is also necessary to juxtapose the data with the main contemporaneous events in the Chilean political arena. The relations between codes, formal features and topics, and how those explain dual screening practices, will be discussed in this chapter.

Following this, Chapter 6 will present the second stage of analysis, which is a detailed analysis of a smaller sample of data. In the first section of this chapter, I will present the analysis of interaction patterns present in the dual-screening practice, to describe how users interact in this kind of practice. This will provide valuable information to describe and explain how people debate in online media. I will then categorise the argumentative strategies present in a sample of tweets, focussing on argumentative fallacies and topoi (argumentative shortcuts) found in the sample. These argumentative strategies will explain how people discuss controversial issues on this social network and how citizens try to resolve confrontations.

Finally, in Chapter 7, I will present the main conclusions of the thesis. In this concluding chapter I will present a summary of the findings of this research, and explain how I address

the different research questions presented in this chapter. I will further explain the main contributions of this thesis to diverse fields concerned with the study of social media practices related to broadcast television, as discourse, media and political studies; and their relationship to the public sphere as a space for political deliberation. Following this, I will revisit the limitations of the study and outline possible topics for further research in relation to the exploration of dual screening in the Chilean context and beyond.

## Chapter 2: Chilean political and media context

In order to understand texts generated by social media users, it is necessary to describe the context of production but also the historical context in which these texts are created. This chapter will present a brief introduction to the Chilean sociopolitical context. The first section of this chapter presents the brief historical context, in which I describe the most important episodes of the recent past, which will help the reader understand some relevant elements of digitally mediated political discussion. Following this, there is a brief explanation of the present-day political system in Chile, describing the main institutions and how political power is structured in the country and the government. I will then describe the crisis in the system, which is widely discussed in social media data, and provide an overview of the social movements that have emerged in the past few years. Finally, I will present an overview of Chilean media ecology in recent years, including studies that characterise traditional and social media in the country.

### 2.1 Brief introduction to the Chilean historical context

To interpret and understand political discourses, Reisigl and Wodak (2016) argue that it is necessary to consider the historical context of production. Wodak (2011) suggests that the socio-historical context is often neglected or reduced to a single or iconic image, instead of being an essential element in the production of political discourse. How historical events are perceived influences values and changes the considerations about what is right and wrong. In that sense, construction of the recent past can be valuable in understanding argumentation and other discursive strategies in the selected data. For that reason, it is important to consider the historical context in order to understand and analyse political discourses generated in online debates related to television shows.

The Chilean historical context is relevant so as to understand the different topics discussed in political arguments, not only in TV shows but also in social media data. Bellei et al. (2013) explain that the latest social movements and citizen participation are related to the recent past of the country, specifically to the changes occurring during the dictatorship under Pinochet's regime. For example, the constitutional reforms discussed on TV shows that occurred during the data collection window for this thesis are related to structural changes to the political Constitution imposed during the dictatorship. The Constitution, and different reforms carried out at that time, also transforms the vision of education and social security as market goods according to the neoliberal economic model discussed on television shows.

Several scholars (Valenzuela et al., 2013; Dávila, 2013; Bellei et al., 2013; Camargo, 2012) identify Allende's government and the later coup d'état as the most relevant historical moments that serve to explain the current social movements and discussions in the Chilean political sphere. However, Salvador Allende's government and the diverse social changes promoted during this period were not isolated episodes in Chilean political history. Allende's government was preceded by a Christian Democrat government, which started with deep structural social reforms in the country (Tinsman, 2002). For that reason, I follow Salazar's classification (2009) to identify five social changes that help to explain the recent past of Chile and how it led to the political discussions carried out on different platforms in the past few years:

1. Frei Montalva's structural reforms;
2. The revolutionary project and transformative policies of Salvador Allende;
3. Counter-revolutionary repression under the dictatorship of Pinochet;
4. The neoliberal 'revolution' of the 'Chicago boys', which was violently imposed;
5. The current regime which democratically manages the heritage of the dictatorship.

These five social processes in Chile are described by Salazar (2009) as part of the memory that drives citizens' participation in the political arena and the configuration of the political scene.

## 2.2 Recent Historical context (1964–1990)

### 2.2.1 Frei Montalva's social reforms (1964–1970)

In 1964, Eduardo Frei Montalva, from the *Partido Demócrata Cristiano* (Christian Democratic Party), was elected president of Chile. Frei Montalva represented a new political centre, heavily influenced by the social Catholicism of the Christian Democratic Party, which provided an alternative to the polarization between liberal capitalism and communism in the 1960s (Labarca, 2017). During his term in the office, there were two major reforms that produced the beginning of a new period in the country's history, which had as their main aim reducing poverty in the country and also developing the economy (Duquette, 1995). The first was the so-called agrarian reform process. Agrarian reform started with the government of Arturo Alessandri Rodríguez in 1962 but had its major impact during Frei Montalva's presidency. The aim of the agrarian reform was a redistribution of national land for agricultural use, which meant that no Chilean could own more than 80 hectares of land. The land passed into the hands of the rural workers who farmed it, which narrowed the social gap that existed at the time and increased productivity in the agrarian sector.

In the second major reform, Frei Montalva's government began the process of nationalising the copper mines, by which the state acquired a significant stake in big mining. As Duquette (1995) explains, different social reforms and the introduction of a wealth tax and a more progressive tax system led to progress which was reflected in improvements to the living standards for rural workers and enhancements to the government's provision of healthcare, housing and education. Frei Montalva's agrarian reform was continued by the next elected president, Salvador Allende. As was the case for every major political reform in Chile, this reform was classified as populist and criticised by different sectors of the country, especially by conservative politicians and landowners, who saw their wealth affected by this process (Nef, 2003).

Frei Montalva's political campaign offered a new way to develop public policies, involving diverse political actors and including the most marginalised sectors of the country in the decision-making process. This new way to make politics reformed the political centre in Chile and offered a new alternative to capitalist development. The different reforms of Frei Montalva, and this new way of exercising politics, served to empower citizens and provided the impetus for several social and labour movements that aimed for an alternative model of development with more equity and social justice. These movements contributed to Allende's election for the next period and the implementation of a different economic model for Chile (Labarca, 2017).

Tinsman (2002) explains that the agrarian reform carried out by Frei Montalva and his government contributed to the development of a big rural labour movement in Chile. This movement helped the poorest and the rural population in Chile to find a meaningful voice on the national political agenda. This restructuring of the agrarian economy helped thousands of people and encouraged investment in rural education and healthcare. The rural labour movement was one of the biggest supporters of the next government, which went on to endorse improvements to the agrarian reform. After Frei Montalva's government, the country was politically divided between two groups: those who wanted a redistribution of wealth and social democratization by reversing the capitalist system in the country, and those who wanted to deepen the capitalist model and reverse the policies of redistribution and social justice (Garretón, 2003).

### 2.2.2 Chilean road to socialism (1970–1973)

In September 1970, Salvador Allende Gossens, a socialist senator, won the presidential election and was ratified by the national congress, becoming the first democratically elected



socialist government in Latin America. Allende was the candidate of a left-wing coalition called *Unidad Popular* (Popular Unity), or UP, which was a political alliance between a wide variety of left-wing movements and parties, including socialists, communists, radicals and social democrats, among others, with the aim of carrying out reforms and transformations in the country on the basis of “ideological pluralism” (Harmer, 2011). This revolutionary process was called *La vía chilena al socialismo* (Chilean road to socialism) and was the beginning of a revolutionary process involving major changes in the country. *La vía chilena* proposed the possibility that a country with an underdeveloped capitalist model, as was the case in Chile, could conduct a non-violent transition to a socialist system (Harmer, 2011).

The Chilean road to socialism involved the maintenance of democracy and the construction of a socialist state. This process sought to have a socialist government without giving up democracy and political pluralism. This model promoted the nationalisation of various areas of the economy, including copper mines, accelerated agrarian reform and other political and social reforms, with the aim of redistributing income to the poorest communities to tackle inequality in the country. Furthermore, as Riesco (2009) argues, the government expected its reforms to produce both significant redistribution of wealth and rapid economic growth.

The new policies implemented by Allende were widely criticised by the most powerful people in the country and began a turbulent political period in Chile. The country was divided between supporters of the reforms and their detractors, who claimed that Allende’s government was illegitimate and feared the possibility that Allende’s government could become a Marxist dictatorship. Questions concerning the legitimacy of the government revolved around the fact that Allende was elected with just 36.6% of the vote under a first-past-the-post system. As none of the candidates won an absolute majority in the popular vote, congress had to confirm the election and Allende was ratified as president in 1970 (Garretón, 2003).

Among the reforms carried out by Allende’s administration was the repossession of several privately owned goods and companies. There were many industries, banks and farms, which provided basic services and goods to the Chilean population, that were expropriated and taken into government administration (Silva, 2016). The partial success of policies for the redistribution of income and the UP programme to improve the standard of living of the poorest sectors of society met with acclaim among citizens, who voted in favour of the UP coalition in the municipal elections in 1971, in which they achieved 49.6 % of the vote.

One of the most notable reforms implemented by Allende was the nationalisation of the copper mines, a process that started with Frei Montalva in the 1960s and finished under Allende's government, which took direct control. The mines were previously mostly controlled by US companies and passed to administration by the Chilean government in 1971, without any compensation paid by the state to those companies. Allende's government argued that compensation could be drawn from the excessive profits made during their ownership (Bonney, 2013). This nationalization process, which directly affected US companies, was pointed to as one of the reasons for the various economic sanctions that the US imposed on Chile during the three years of UP rule.

As previously mentioned, such policies generated a lot of discontent in some sectors of society, especially among conservatives and the wealthiest people, promoting a hostile atmosphere and major political divisions in the country. In 1973, Chile was in an economic crisis due to a large fiscal deficit, which affected the political arena and the entire population, when inflation rose from 172% to 363% (Duquette, 1995). This economic crisis was also exacerbated by several economic sanctions suggested by the US government to the World Bank, the Inter American Bank and the State Department Agency for International Development, which withheld loans and guarantees for Allende's economic programmes (Harmer, 2011). The country was facing not only an economic crisis but also a political one, with a heavily polarised scene, in which Allende's government was unable to find a consensus with other political sectors to keep implementing its plans and policies. As Harmer (2011) argues, the political crisis and international pressure led to what happened in September of the same year, when the military conducted a coup d'état, which abruptly ended Allende's government, the UP and the president's life.

As Zanchetta (2016) states, Allende's socialist government posed a threat in a divided world, which was one of the issues that led the United States to sponsor "Operation Condor", which had the aim of overthrowing communist subversion in Latin America. As Harmer (2011) explains, Nixon considered that Allende's democratically elected government was a major danger to the United States' national security, as an advancement of the communism supported by Fidel Castro, who was committed to helping Allende to achieve his revolutionary goals. In the context of the "Cold War", Allende's government was considered part of the conflict of the respective ideologies promoted by the US and the Soviet Union. Zanchetta (2016) explains that the election of Allende's government meant that, for the US, there was now a second communist country in the Western hemisphere, and with that a threat to the model supported by the US. For this reason, the

US government, US corporations and the CIA gave its full support to the coup d'état perpetrated on 11 September 1973 (Zanchetta, 2016).

### 2.2.3 Dictatorship (1973–1989)

On 11 September 1973, military forces led by Augusto Pinochet Ugarte carried out a military coup to remove Salvador Allende. The overthrow of Allende's government was orchestrated by different factions of the army with the support of right-wing parties (including the Christian Democratic Party) and the US Government. Dávila (2013) explains that one of the aims was to undo all the socialist policies and impose a new economic model under a new regime. To overthrow Allende, the Chilean air force bombed the government palace and trapped Salvador Allende, who eventually committed suicide. Supporters and collaborators of the president were killed without trial, and the military took office by force.

Garretón (2003) explains that the 1973 coup d'état involved three significant aspects: first, an end to the democracy crisis, that posed a threat to Allende's regime, and the socialist political system in the country; second, the coup itself as a form of insurrection, in which the army betrayed Allende's government and the Constitution of the country; and third, the beginning of a capitalist revolution or a counterrevolutionary process led by the military regime. The coup d'état, as Garretón (2003) argues, became an "état du coup" that ruled the country with an authoritarian regime, using terror to impose different policies that dramatically changed the administration of the country.

Military forces led by Pinochet took control of the Chilean state and started to rule with martial law. The new authoritarian regime dissolved the congress, banned political parties and movements that comprised the UP coalition and also outlawed major labour and social organizations (Qureshi, 2008). Harvey (2007) states that the military regime dismantled all forms of popular organization, not only political movements but also community organizations such as health centres in the poorest sectors or neighbourhood councils. To maintain their power and control the country, the regime committed major violations of civil and human rights. Many political opponents to the dictatorship were murdered, disappeared, tortured or exiled. The violations of human rights were justified by the dictatorship as a necessary price to pay for freeing Chile from the communist threat (Kelly, 2013). As Read and Wyndham (2016) explain, in the following months of 1973 the *Estadio Nacional*, the largest stadium in Chile, became a concentration camp with more than 40,000 political prisoners, where more than a 1,000 were murdered, with the aim of capturing and

eliminating political opponents. The military started an extermination campaign in which the leaders and militants of the UP parties were killed, exiled or sent to prison camps in barely habitable zones of the country, such as Dawson Island, to neutralise the emergence of a resistance movement against the dictatorial regime.

One of the main concerns of the authoritarian regime was to dismantle and eliminate all possible political opponents. The dictatorship created counterintelligence offices, trained by the CIA, to eliminate the Marxist threat to national security (Harmer, 2011). One of the most active agencies was the *Dirección de Inteligencia Nacional* (National Intelligence Agency), also known as DINA. DINA created several torture centres across the country and was responsible for the systematic torture, murder and disappearance of hundreds of Chilean and foreign citizens who were considered threats to national security (Teivainen, 2000). Collins (2010) states that disappearance was a strategy developed to make it easier to deny that civilians were being killed in this period.

According to Collins (2010), among the most emblematic episodes of human rights violations under the Chilean dictatorship was the *Caravana de la Muerte* (Caravan of Death), the murder of Carlos Prats in Argentina, the assassination of Orlando Letelier in Washington and the *Degollados* (Slit-throats) case. These cases had national and international visibility, evidencing the brutality of Pinochet's regime.

The case known as *Caravana de la Muerte* was a military operation personally instigated by Pinochet and commanded by Sergio Arellano Stark. A military group travelled around the country executing political prisoners in 1973. The prisoners were mainly activists or political leaders from the UP across the country. As Guzmán (2011) explains, there are at least 72 known victims of this operation, and some of them remain disappeared. The second case was the murder of Carlos Prats, former head of the Chilean army and former minister of Allende. As Zanchetta (2016) argues, Prats' murder was considered one of the precedents that led to devising the Condor Operation. After the coup he was exiled to Argentina, but still represented a threat to the military regime. He was murdered along with his wife by DINA operatives using a car bomb in Buenos Aires in 1974. Another case involving a car bomb abroad was the assassination of Orlando Letelier, in 1976 in Washington DC, near the White House. Zanchetta (2016) states that Letelier served as Minister of Foreign Affairs in Allende's government and was considered an important voice of Chilean resistance and in the international anti-dictatorship lobby. He was killed along with a co-worker, US citizen Ronni Moffitt. The last case mentioned by Collins (2010) is the *Degollados* case, in which three members of the Communist party, Sergio

Nattino, José Manuel Parada and Manuel Guerrero, were abducted, brutally murdered by decapitation and abandoned on the street by the police in 1985. These cases mark some of the most notorious episodes of human rights violations in Chile in terms of noteworthiness and brutality, but there are thousands of lesser-known cases that remain unsolved.

Augusto Pinochet remained in power in Chile through violence for 17 years, until 1990. During his reign there were more than 3,000 executions and disappearances for political reasons, 80,000 imprisonments, 200,000 exiles and radical changes to the way the country was organised. As Garretón (2003) explains, the dictatorship affected the lives of every citizen, not only supporters of Allende's government, and established a new social order through the imposition of a neoliberal economy and an authoritarian regime.

### *2.2.3.1 Neoliberal transformation of the 'Chicago Boys'*

Most of the changes to the economic paradigm imposed by the dictatorship following the overthrow of Allende's government were devised by a group of economists educated at the University of Chicago, called the 'Chicago Boys' (the English epithet is used even in Spanish), who advised Pinochet to carry out free-market reforms (Harvey, 2007). Harvey (2007) argues that Pinochet brought this group into government with the primary aim of negotiating loans to the country from the International Money Fund (IMF). The Chicago boys worked alongside the IMF to restructure the Chilean economy completely and propose a new model of development. As Brender (2010) explains, the Chicago Boys took part in an exchange academic partnership, which started in 1956, between the University of Chicago and the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile, a private and elite Chilean university. As Clark (2017) argues, the Chicago Boys promoted different policies to change the economic scene in Chile during the dictatorship and were in control of all macro-economic policymaking from 1975. The main ideas of this group were to make the Chilean economy a test case for Milton Friedman's theories, not only to construct a market economy but also to create a market society promoting privatisation of the public sector. This transformation was the first known case of neoliberal state formation in which Friedman's policies were imposed without contestation (Harvey, 2007).

As Dávila (2013) states, the central project of Pinochet's regime was an experimental reform based on a radical free-market ideology. The Chicago Boys elaborated an economic programme called "*El Ladrillo*" (The Brick), which laid out the basis of a new economic system introduced by the dictatorship; in this document, the economists proposed a reduction in the faculties and ownership of the state and the establishment of a deregulated

market that encouraged private investment. The main policies of the expropriation of private companies implemented by Allende's government and the redistribution of land were reversed; instead, land and companies passed into private administration. Changes in the Chilean economic structure and performance led to rapid growth in all areas perceived as important: gross domestic product grew rapidly, unemployment and the inflation rate declined. These rapid changes to the economy and development were called the "Chilean miracle" (Duquette, 1995). This so-called "miracle" changed the economic structure and performance of the country. Duquette (1995) states that the Chilean economic experiment has been highlighted by different economists and politicians as a model to follow from a simplistic neoliberal perspective, without considering the important social consequences that affected the country. Bellei, Cabalin and Orellana (2014) explain that the changes to Chilean policies included neglect of social matters, the privatisation of healthcare, education and pensions, and an increase in inequality. The authoritarian and repressive regime under Pinochet gave the Chicago Boys the opportunity to carry out their neoliberal reforms freely and dramatically change the economic paradigm in Chile without political resistance or citizen participation. The Chicago Boys used an oppressed society to implement their neoliberal revolution experiment in a country in development. Most of the policies and the economic model created by the Chicago Boys still apply in Chile and are continued by democratically elected governments in the country.

This radical free-market reform was backed up by the Washington Consensus, a document created by the G7 club, the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, among other international institutions, which promotes a specific development model for Latin American countries (Gilbert, 2010). The term was coined in 1989 by John Williamson, but the reforms started in the 1970s. As Lopes (2011) argues, the Washington Consensus was based on political thinking and opinions that different organizations believed would garner broad consensus at that time. The document proposed a set of principles that Latin American countries could follow to develop, it can be summarized in ten steps: 1) fiscal policy discipline; 2) reduction in public spending; 3) tax reform; 4) determination of interest by the market; 5) competitive exchange rate; 6) trade liberalization; 7) elimination of restrictions on foreign direct investment (FDI); 8) privatization of state-owned enterprises; 9) deregulation (loosening of economic and labour laws); 10) respect for and regulated access to intellectual property. All those principles were applied in the Chilean reforms to develop the country by the Chicago Boys and Pinochet's regime. As Gilbert (2010) explains, this plan of action helped Chile to

achieve rapid economic growth and was much celebrated by different international organizations.

The changes carried out by the Chicago Boys to the Chilean economy led to extreme neoliberalization of the state. This process has been pointed out as one of the main contributors to social issues discussed in political debates in the present day (see e.g. Valenzuela et al. 2013; Bellei et al., 2013; Stromquist & Sanyal, 2013). Although its economic growth and development position Chile as an emerging country in the OECD, the neglect of social issues and the inequality promoted by this model led to different manifestations of dissatisfaction among citizens and to social movements seeking to change or at least improve the current economic model.

#### 2.2.4 Return to democracy (1990–2016)

After diverse internal and external political pressures, in October 1988, the military regime called for a plebiscite in order to legitimise the dictatorship in the eyes of the international community. This referendum gave voters the choice to keep Augusto Pinochet in power for eight more years or to hold a democratic ballot. A vote for YES would keep the regime in place, while NO meant a call for elections. Crofts Wiley (2010) explains that Pinochet and his government were confident about their victory in the polls, but ultimately the opposition, a coalition of centrist and centre-left political parties that promoted the NO option, won the election. The defeat of Pinochet in the polls led to the first democratic elections in the country since 1970, when Patricio Aylwin Azócar, a Christian Democrat politician, was elected president for the period 1990–1994.

The coalition of centre-left parties which won the plebiscite was called “*Concertación de partidos por la democracia*” (Coalition of Parties for Democracy), which encompassed a wide range of political parties, from the Christian Democrats to the Socialist party. The main aims of this coalition were to try to restore a democratic regime, present a new national political scenario, preserve the successful economic structure and performance of the previous period, try to reduce levels of poverty and recognise the civil rights violations that were committed under the military regime.

As Oteiza (2009) explains, after the restoration of democracy, one of the most important tasks to achieve a political consensus and healthy democratic exercise was a move towards truth and justice regarding the human rights violations committed by the dictatorship. To achieve this, Patricio Aylwin created the “Commission for Truth and Reconciliation” in 1990, also known as the Rettig Report, which had the aim of uncovering the truth about

violations of human rights. This report focused on executions and forced disappearances of opponents to Pinochet's regime from 1973 to 1988. However, the Rettig Report was considered insufficient in not considering other systematic violations against human rights that did not end in death. For this reason, in 2003, during the administration of Ricardo Lagos Escobar, there was a second commission called The Commission on Political Imprisonment and Torture, or the Valech Report, which tried to capture and record the diverse systematic abuses committed by the armed forces under the military regime. Several scholars (Oteiza, 2009; De Cock & Michaud, 2018; Collins, 2010) have criticised the report for the way in which violations of human rights are presented, creating shared responsibility instead of pointing out the real perpetrators of these crimes.

The process of transition to democracy in Chile was cited as one of the most peaceful processes outside an authoritarian regime in Latin America. Besides, the dictatorship ensured that the bureaucracy imposed under their regime could not be easily removed by subsequent governments. Jara (2012) suggests that the new government faced many institutional and bureaucratic barriers to changing the Chilean model, and for that reason they took the decision to adopt a gradual approach.

Because of this, social democratic parties accepted liberal democracy and a neoliberal market economy, despite pushing for some social reforms. Nilsson and Gustafsson (2012) states that the new government tried to compensate, by reducing levels of poverty and unemployment and developing social policies. Following Concertación governments tried to balance the neoliberal system with social demands, creating programmes and agencies to target the most urgent social needs of the Chilean population (Jara, 2012).

The first four terms of office after the restoration of democracy were Concertación governments: Patricio Aylwin Azócar (1990–1994) and Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle (1996–2000), from the Christian Democratic Party, Ricardo Lagos Escobar (2000–2006) and Michelle Bachelet Jeria (2006–2010) from the Socialist party. Petras and Veltmayer (2011) explain that socialist governments in Chile since the return of democracy are not related to Allende's socialism from the 1970s or *la vía chilena*, which tried to develop a socialist model in the country. The economic model proposed by the last socialist presidents, Michelle Bachelet and Ricardo Lagos, can be described as pragmatic neoliberalism or a new social liberalism, rather than a socialist model.

After 20 years of Concertación governments, in 2010, Sebastián Piñera Echeñique, a prominent businessman and politician from the right wing, was elected president (2010–



2014). This was the first democratically elected right-wing government of the country in more than 50 years (Cabalin, 2012). Piñera's agenda was characterised by a focus on middle-class voters, economic growth and explicit condonation of neoliberal policies. During his term, one of the most powerful social movements following the return to democracy emerged in the country, namely the student movement known as the "Chilean Winter". Members of this movement claimed to have a new vision of education, one which saw education as right and not a traded good (Luna, 2016). As Cabalin (2012) explains, the neoliberal policies proposed by Piñera and the inclusion of Joaquín Lavín Infante, a former member of the 'Chicago Boys' and owner of a private university, as Minister of Education reinforced the neoliberal approach to education. The constant and massive protests of this movement repeatedly challenged Piñera's government's legitimacy and questioned the relation between business and the government (Luna, 2016).

In the presidential elections of 2013, Michelle Bachelet Jeria was elected to serve as president for a second period (2014–2018). The Concertación parties included the Communist party and created a new coalition called *Nueva Mayoría* (New Majority), which supported Bachelet's new run for office. This second period proposed a new, more progressive agenda focused on tackling inequality with larger reforms to the Constitution, education, pensions and taxes. These reforms were highly criticised by the right wing and corporations, which saw in these plans and reforms a threat to their privileges. However, the political agenda was interrupted by the unveiling of several corruption cases that involved different sectors of the political spectrum, including Bachelet's family members (Luna, 2016). The data analysed in this research are taken from this period, specifically 2016, during the second year of Bachelet's government.

### 2.3 Political system, democracy and participation

In this section I will describe the political system that operated in Chile at the time of data collection (2016). Also, I will characterise the political landscape during the time frame analysed in this research and the social movements that influenced political discussions.

#### 2.3.1 Chilean political system in recent years (2000–2016)

The topics discussed in the TV shows as well as on Twitter, such as different reforms, public policies or the political and economic model, are related to the system that has operated in the country since the return of democracy. The reforms to the 1980s Constitution are part of the current media discussion, mainly because they are part of president Michele Bachelet's agenda, and also because the 1980s Constitution, which

allowed a neoliberal transformation of the state, is pointed to as the source of several social issues in the country (see e.g. Luna, 2016; Fuentes, 2015; Stromquist & Sanyal, 2013).

The Chilean Constitution (1980) declared Chile was a democratic republic and a unitary state, with three main organs, the executive (president and ministers), the congress and the judiciary. The Chilean political system can be described as a presidential model which concentrates power in the executive and is granted by the Constitution of the country. This includes, for example, the faculty to initiate legislation and also define the priorities of the Congress debate (Fuentes, 2015). This strong presidentialism is stated in the Constitution and was tailored for the military regime, giving Pinochet the power and legal attributions to control the nation. As the Constitution of the Chilean Republic (1980) states, the president of Chile has the authority to do anything to preserve order and security in the country, according to the Constitution itself and other laws. Siavelis (2016) explains that since the return of democracy, the Chilean presidency has been represented by coalitions of political parties from the centre left, *Concertación de Partidos por la Democracia* (now *Nueva Mayoría*), to right, *Alianza por Chile* (now *Chile Vamos*). The Chilean political system, as Fuentes (2015) explains, has as key features a balance of power in favour of the executive (strong presidentialism), strong cohesion of political parties and coalitions, especially in terms of voting in congress, and assessment of the impact of public policies.

According to the Chilean Constitution (1980), the Congress consists of two houses, the lower and upper chambers. The first is composed of 120 representatives called *diputados* (representatives or Members of Parliament), who are elected directly in different constituencies, every four years. The upper chamber on the other hand comprises 38 senators, two for each constituency, directly elected, every eight years. The main responsibility of these two chambers is legislation. As Franceschet (2010) explains, during the dictatorship, the Constitution of Chile was markedly reformed. All the changes made to the Chilean Constitution were approved by an irregular referendum, which was held by the military regime. Garretón (2003) argues that the 1980s Constitution was imposed by Pinochet in order to secure his authoritarian regime and his position as chief of state. The 1980s Constitution was the consolidation of an “authoritarian republic” in which the military dictatorship imposed a new economic model and gave more power to the president figure (Nef, 2003). Pinochet’s Constitution secured the liberal socioeconomic order of the state along conservative lines, imposing a new social order with capitalist organization, and also reducing the role of the state in civic life and replacing it by the markets (Garretón, 2003). As Moulián (1997) proposes, after the referendum that called for free elections and

ended the dictatorship, democracy in Chile was tied to neoliberal limitations imposed by the Constitution of 1980.

One of the changes promoted by the 1980s Constitution was the restructuring of the electoral system. Chile, which had multi-party representation in congress, became a two-party system after the reform, in which representation of the right and centre left was almost guaranteed by the electoral system. The new electoral system, binomial voting, secured the election of representatives from both sides, via a system of proportional representation, in which each district elects two representatives to parliament. For a coalition to choose two representatives, its vote must double that of its competitor. Because of this, the Chilean congress has two major coalitions that redistribute power in their different associated parties, limiting access to the decision-making process by other independent parties or social movements.

The 1980 Constitution has not been replaced since the return of democracy, only superficially modified in 2010. For this reason, the process of transition to a democratic state is called an incomplete process of democracy, one facing obstacles to the democratic consolidation of Chile as a nation (Garretón, 2003; Nef, 2003). Stromquist and Sanyal (2013) explain that the 1980s Constitution was designed with different bureaucratic and institutional mechanisms to avoid any major changes to the system, even after the end of the dictatorship. For example, to carry out a major reform, three fifths of Congress approval is required, which is very difficult to achieve with the binomial electoral system.

## 2.4 Latin America: Chile as the exception

Chile can be seen as one of the most successful countries in Latin America due to its economic growth, low levels of corruption and being the safest country in which to invest in the region. As Valenzuela, Arriagada and Sherman (2012) suggest, the reforms imposed by the dictatorship made Chile a model of economic growth and safety in the region. The Chilean economical model has been often pointed out as exceptional and a role model for other Latin American countries, as a stable and prosperous country. However, as described above, the Chilean context combines a successful development project with high levels of inequality, which led to popular discontent.

### 2.4.1 Crisis: Social movements, representation and corruption

Chilean society was described in the 1990s as apathetic and indifferent to political issues and public affairs after the dictatorship, but with a highly stable party system. The terror

imposed during the dictatorship, regarding political participation, prevented active political engagement among the next generation after the coup d'état. Jara (2012) suggests that this scenario has changed in recent years, particularly with regard to the way in which Chilean society relates to politics and institutions. Since 2011, numerous social movements have been an expression of the current economic crisis in Chile. A number of scholars (e.g. Atria et al., 2012; Bellei, Cabalin & Orellana, 2014) propose that the economic paradigm that has been in force since the 1980s has led Chile into a neoliberal transformation of the state which has not been capable of satisfying Chilean people's needs according to the expectations that neoliberalism promotes. Stromquist and Sanyal (2013) suggest that the change in economic model led Chile to financial success but also to a social and political crisis, in which citizens criticised the unregulated economic model, and rose up against the unfairness of the model imposed by the dictatorship. As Larrabure and Torchia (2014) state, the neoliberal paradigm is disconnected from people's needs, e.g. access to basic rights and goods, and the unequal distribution of income that has made Chile the most unequal member country of the OECD.

Education, pensions and healthcare, instead of being treated as a responsibility of the state and a right for citizens, have instead been traded like goods in a free-market system. As Bellei, Cabalin and Orellana (2014) explain, the market-oriented laws related to social security led to different manifestations and social movements to demand changes not only to policies related to those topics but also changes to the Constitution to guarantee social welfare (those are described in more detail in section 2.5).

#### 2.4.2 Corruption cases

The Chilean political discontent and representation crisis has been aggravated by the revelation of different corruption cases. In recent years, since the return of democracy, several corruption cases have been exposed by journalists and prosecutors (Silva, 2016; Luna, 2016). Chilean society, which has a long tradition of probity in politics, appears to have been shocked by the numerous embezzlement and corruption cases. According to Aguilera (2009), Chile was for years described as the least corrupt country in Latin America in transparency indexes, since the return of democracy. The public sector was categorised as efficient and honest, not only for Chilean society but also for the international community. Ríos-Figueroa (2012) explains that the reasons for this included Chile's centralised government and growing incomes. As Silva (2016) suggests, during the dictatorship, most of the regulative institutions in the country, including the justice system,

were deeply influenced by the military, without autonomy or authority, allowing diverse irregularities and secret payments to top officers and also the personal enrichment of Pinochet and his family with public funds. Pinochet was the only president of Chile who visibly enriched himself during his time in office, buying land valued at millions of US dollars across the country and publicly favouring his family, positioning them at the helm of top companies. Also, the model of privatisation imposed by the military dictatorship has been pointed to as one that helps to increase levels of corruption. For that reason, in the process of transition to the restoration of democracy, the justice system and the institutions that regulate the country's probity were reactivated and improved. Despite the efforts made by following democratic governments to reinstate the institutions needed to regulate and secure probity in public life, each administration was had corruption scandals. However, most of the scandals were related to financial support for political parties, rather than personal enrichment. The former, in the public's opinion, did not represent as great a threat to the country's probity standards (Silva, 2016).

Corruption cases exposed in recent years (2015–2016) were surprising to the public, mainly because of the personal enrichment involved. Silva (2016) explains that there were corruption scandals related to both right- and left-wing parties, including some government agencies, which increased the personal wealth of different politicians. These cases had a marked effect on Chilean public opinion, which now seems to be that all politicians are corrupt (Luna, 2016). These types of cases increased the fear of the Chilean population of Chile becoming a corrupt country and led to a crisis in political representation and party adherence (Luna, 2016). The most notorious corruption cases in this period, under Bachelet's administration, were the Penta case and Caval.

The Penta scandal, also called "Pentagate" (making reference to the Watergate scandal), was a series of illegal operations uncovered by the National Tax Services (SII) in which a powerful investment fund, called Penta, illegally financed several political campaigns. The SII investigation concluded that Penta gave huge amounts of money, paying false invoices, to different politicians in diverse political parties from both coalitions, centre-left and right, but mostly to members of the right-wing party *Unión Demócrata Independiente*, UDI. Some Penta employees and the owners of the company were accused of felonies, such as bribery, tax evasion and money laundry. The irregular funding of political campaigns entailed, in this case, the heavy influence of entrepreneurial groups in the exercising of politics, evidencing the relations between the business world and political institutions.

The second notorious case during Bachelet's government was the Caval case uncovered by

a journalist's article that involved Sebastián Dávalos Bachelet, the president's son, in a controversial property deal. At that time, Dávalos Bachelet was serving as Director of Sociocultural Affairs of the Presidency, an unpaid position usually filled by the First Lady of the country, and was accused of influence peddling. The Caval company, owned by his wife, Natalia Compagnon, asked for a US\$10m. loan to a private bank, which was approved immediately after Bachelet won the presidential election, without any other kind of economic guarantee. The money was used to buy land in Machalí for agricultural use. Dávalos Bachelet allegedly exerted influence to change Machalí's regulatory plan, to change the land use to urban, promote property development in the area and more than double the original price, which benefited Caval. As Silva (2016) explains, this case had devastating consequences in terms of the credibility of Bachelet's administration, which damaged her ability to carry out ambitious reforms and her political agenda.

These most notorious corruption cases during Bachelet's government are an important part of the media discussion, particularly online. Niklander (2016) states that even though these corruption cases were widely discussed in the media, the government and political parties tried to treat them as isolated issues and not a generalized practice among the political class, without success. As Arancibia and Montecino (2017) explain, the uncovering of these corruption cases warned citizens about the endemic practices of corruption among political actors that perpetuate and reproduce the poverty in the most vulnerable sectors of society, privileging personal enrichment of the political class. The corruption scandals are seen, in these cases, as an abuse of the power conferred by citizenship, which causes disappointment but also general unrest among the public.

## 2.5 Social movements in Chile

### 2.5.1 General overview of relevant social movements in Latin America and Chile

The neoliberal transformation of the state and the inequalities imposed by the capitalist model can be seen as the primary contributing factor that led to different social movements in Chile which protested against the status quo from the beginning of the 2010s (Valenzuela, Arriagada & Sherman, 2012). However, social movements are not a novelty in Chile, nor in Latin America in general. Munck (2008) explains that there are several different kinds of social movements in Latin America, from nationalist movements to labour ones. Davis (2002) states that social movements are groups that politically challenge the status quo in different ways. As Tarrow (2011) explains, those social movements can be defined as social networks, capable of acting collectively and maintaining a continued

struggle against those in power. On the other hand, Petras and Veltmayer (2011) suggest that most social movements in the Latin American context since the 1970s can be characterised as popular resistance to neoliberalism. Social movements try to achieve social change through collective action, as a response to capitalist development and imperialist exploitation.

Social movements in Latin America are described by Munck (2015) not as the simplistic adoption of US or European social movement practices, but as the creative transformation of categories and theories developed in northern paradigms. Social movements can be classified in two stages in the Latin American context. First, as a rise of the subaltern, and in more contemporary stages, as a critique of neoliberal development. As Munck (2015) explains, in their first stage, Latin American social movements were an expression of the people oppressed by dominant classes, especially poor working class and indigenous communities. These movements tried to change the hegemony of the Spanish American elites (*criollos*) and proposed new models of socioeconomic development in the Latin American context.

Munck (2008) argues that one of the most important social movements in Latin America was the *Unidad Popular*, which grouped together different left-wing political parties and labour movements. This Chilean movement was similar to many European labour movements, as Roxborough (1995) explains, which had a strong sense of class identity and very clear political orientations, linked to communist and socialist influences. The *Unidad Popular* won the presidential elections in 1970, with Salvador Allende, a socialist doctor with revolutionary ideas (Meade, 2011), as Chief of State. The *Unidad Popular* project lasted for three years, until 1973 when the military overthrew Allende and imposed a dictatorship for more than 17 years. As Munck (2008) explains, the Chilean democratic experience of a socialist government had a major impact not only in the region but also internationally. During the dictatorship years, social movements were eliminated, all opposition to the regime was heavily repressed, with many opponents tortured, exiled or murdered by the government. That repression created a silenced society, which was too afraid to get organised (Stromquist & Sanyal, 2013). With the return of democracy in the 1990s, Chilean society was considered apathetic and not involved with political or social issues. This dynamic lasted until the 2000s, when social movements began to arise again, with different characteristics but still resisting the neoliberal system.

### 2.5.2 New movements: students, the environment and a critique of neoliberalism

New social movements, as Castells (2012) proposes, are collectives that are ignored by the traditional political parties and discredited by the media, which do not recognise them partly because they do not necessarily have institutional leadership or formal organisational structures. Valenzuela, Arriagada and Sherman (2012) suggest that these new types of social movements have an important role for young people particularly, and that they involve the use of social media platforms as tools for political action.

The latest social movements in Chile are an expression of different critical issues that affect Chilean society in diverse aspects. Stromquist and Sanyal (2013) describe several struggles that are currently active in the country, such as environmental problems (such as the construction of hydroelectric plants in different regions of the country), violations of human rights, the Mapuche conflict over land ownership in Araucanía, and limited access to social welfare for poor communities, among others. Valenzuela, Arriagada and Sherman (2012) explain that Chilean society was considered, after the return to democracy, as apathetic and not particularly interested in social issues, until 2011 when diverse groups arose to demand changes to the educational system, environmental policies and energy resources.

Several scholars (Cabalin, 2014; Valenzuela, Arriagada & Sherman, 2012; Stromquist & Sanyal, 2013; García et al., 2012) consider the Chilean student movement of 2011 to be one of the most significant social movements since the return of democracy to the country. The student movement, also called the 'Chilean Winter', went into the streets to demand changes to free-market policies related to education in the country (Valenzuela, Arriagada & Sherman, 2012). The movement, comprised mainly of secondary and college students, demanded democratisation of the educational system, the strengthening of public education and an end to the neoliberal system which promotes inequality and exclusion. However, the student movement identified itself as not only an expression of the crisis in the educational policies imposed by the dictatorship, but also as a movement which questioned the economic, political and cultural system currently present in Chile (Stromquist & Sanyal, 2013). These new social movements, as Luna (2016) states, are demanding changes in many policies established during the dictatorship which promote inequalities, the enrichment of an elite and corruption, with the long-term aim of writing a new constitution for Chile.

One of the most recent social movements that originated in the Chilean context is a



movement for pension reform called NO+AFP, which began in 2016. The movement asks for changes to the private pension system, where the workers are forced to save with private companies that administer their savings and generate profits, called AFPs. This system was part of the neoliberalization of the state imposed during Pinochet's dictatorship and is considered a breach of the social security of the Chileans, as it does not guarantee minimum pensions but produces large profits for the administration companies (Clark, 2017).

The great majority of Chilean workers are forced to invest in AFPs, except those in the armed forces. Military pensions operate based on an older system, one funded by the state from taxes and a small contribution from the members. Pinochet did not want to involve the army in a new system that could not result in a good pension. The private system has not been able to satisfy the needs of the population, who receive only 40 per cent of their former salaries.

Popular discontent grew when the pension of Myriam Olate, wife of the socialist MP Osvaldo Andrade, was exposed. She received a monthly pension of CLP\$5.6 m. (approximately £6,500) after only 20 years of work, the equivalent of 20 minimum salaries and 29 average AFP pensions (Obando Camino, 2016). The reason for her ample pension is that Mrs Olate was part of the pension system of the armed forces. The inequity in the system was one of the reasons that protestors created a social movement with the goal of ending this injustice and restoring a more egalitarian system. Bachelet's government proposed a modification to the pension system that would create a tax-funded pension fund to help enhance the current pension but would maintain the AFP structure, which did not satisfy the demands of the social movement.

The AFPs invest the funds of workers in different companies in the country and overseas. Obando Camino (2016) states that the movement to reform the pension system helped to bring the pension system into a political debate involving a wide variety of actors against the AFP system. This movement was widely debated in the data analysed and will be discussed in the following sections.

## 2.6 Traditional and social media in the Chilean context

### 2.6.1 Television in Chile: control and limitations

Like the entire country, the media ecology changed dramatically during the dictatorship, and again later after the restoration of democracy. Most of the literature about mass media

in the Chilean context focuses on the return of democracy and how the mass media deal with sensitive topics, such as the dictatorship and violations of human rights in that period (see e.g. Crofts-Wiley, 2006; Sorensen, 2009; Moulián, 1997). As Sorensen (2009) argues, contemporary discourses present in the media are a key aspect of how Chilean society constructs its history and political debate.

During the dictatorship, television in Chile was closely controlled by the military and used to produce pro-regime propaganda. The ownership of broadcasters was very limited and restricted to the government and some traditional universities, which were controlled indirectly by the military. In that sense, Chilean TV was a tool to reinforce the authoritarian regime, control the public space and develop a specific idea of Chile.

Following the return of democracy, the number of television broadcasters, and consequently the number of TV shows, increased, but not to the extent in other countries in Latin America, such as Brazil or Mexico. As Sorensen (2009) explains, television has the power to raise historical awareness, and even when it is self-censored, some political discourse manoeuvres its way into the political sphere via the media. The author states there is just one class who rules television in Chile, and just one group of people that control and owns the media; and for this reason, there is no real freedom of speech. However, producers, editors and workers in TV shows try nevertheless to engage with some topics considered taboo for certain groups, such as human rights violations or criticism of the system (Sorensen, 2009). Likewise, Crofts-Wiley (2010) explains that after the return of democracy, Chilean television changed to a limited ideological liberalisation and open market policies. The broadcast content has become gradually less restricted, leading to a wider range of TV shows and topics discussed on screen. Political debate, which was practically non-existent during the dictatorship, is currently more open to different voices. Furthermore, the internationalisation of Chilean television has led to a globalisation process which diversifies the programmes shown and the access to different sources, but also promotes a neoliberal perspective in the media.

Television coverage of the political agenda and news in Chile has been described as strongly influenced by the strong presidentialism that prevails in the country, whereby the presidential agenda often sets the topics discussed on TV. This relationship is sometimes multidirectional; in other words, the media can set the topics discussed by the Government =on some occasions but are heavily influenced by government agenda (Valenzuela & Arriagada, 2010). In terms of the political participation of audiences, Valenzuela and Arriagada (2010) argue that audience influence on setting the political agenda is minimal.

This is evidently a problem for a strong democracy which requires citizens' participation in the media and on the political agenda. Along the same lines, Scherman, Arriagada and Valenzuela (2015) argue that traditional media in Chile, especially television, are perceived negatively in terms of citizen participation, mainly because of the lack of coverage of the latest social movements in Chile. In this context, social media have become an alternative source of information and participation in political debate.

#### 2.6.2 Social media in Chile: new ways of participation

Chile is described as the leading country in the region in terms of technology and Internet penetration, mainly as a result of the neoliberal policies which led the country to economic prosperity. However, as Cabalin (2013) explains, these neoliberal policies not only promote economic growth, but also increase inequality between a privileged minority and most of the population. According to McNicol and Aillerie (2017), there are an approximately 10.6 million active users of social media platforms in Chile, which represents nearly 61 per cent of the population. Haynes (2016) explains that Chile is one of the most engaged countries worldwide for social media use, with 9.5 hours per day for a user of social media platforms. Valenzuela et al. (2017) highlight the relevance of the study of social media in the Chilean context. The high use of social media implies that these practices are constant and pervasive in users' lives in this context. Social media platforms, specifically Twitter and Facebook, contribute to political participation in the Chilean context, in different but complementary ways, as the social inner and outer circles of users expand their political communication across platforms, allowing them to navigate platforms and access new information from other users.

As the study of social media in Chile is still a recent field, most of the research about social media use in the Chilean context is related to a young population and activism within the latest social movements (Valenzuela, Arriagada & Sherman, 2012; Stomquist & Sanyal, 2013; Scherman, Arriagada & Valenzuela, 2015; Valenzuela, 2013). Social media have been pointed out as an important component in the most recent social movements in Chile, especially the student movement of 2011 and environmental protests. Scherman, Arriagada and Valenzuela (2015) explain that there is a relation between participation in the environmental and student movement and the use of social network platforms, specifically Facebook and Twitter, which are used not only to organise and promote protests but also to contribute to the public debate. For that reason, the authors state that digitally mediated and physical activism are complementary ways to participate. Social media are perceived as

being more associated with participation than traditional media in this context, and with amplifying traditional forms of protest, such as street meetings and protests, which reduces the cost of organising and facilitating debate. Arancibia and Montecino (2017) explain that social media in the Chilean context are also used as a space for online demonstrations against corruption among political elites. Digitally mediated discussion allows social media users to express their rage against those in power who promote social injustice and to address the elite directly using channels provided by them. However, Niklander (2016) explains that corruption cases are usually silenced by social media accounts related to powerful institutions, such as the government, to avoid negative responses to online users, without engaging with the citizenship through these communication channels.

As Cárdenas, Ballesteros and Jara (2017) observe, in the Chilean context, Twitter is the preferred social media platform to participate in politics, rather than YouTube or Facebook. In relation to the use of Twitter in political debate, and specifically its use by political figures, Fábrega and Paredes (2013) characterise the Chilean political “Twittersphere” as homophilic, meaning that politicians are followed and follow people who share their political views or interests and retweet their content. Although social media platforms allow communication among participants and generate dialogue, this is not a common practice among politicians, who do not enter into dialogue with their voters. Nevertheless, it could be said to shorten the distance between political figures and the people. Politicians in the Chilean Twittersphere use this platform to communicate without interference or help from traditional media, thus creating a more direct way to inform the citizenship. The political communication carried out on Twitter, as Fábrega and Paredes (2013) show, changed the way politics is exercised in the Chilean public sphere.

#### *2.6.2.1 Dual screening and social media participation in Chile*

The study of social media and its relationship with TV shows is a relatively new field (which will be discussed further in the next chapter). Most of the research on the relation between social media and television shows has been carried out in Europe and the US, or what is described as Western democracies (Doughty, Rowland & Lawson, 2012; Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2014; Vaccari and Valeriani, 2018), without considering developing countries in the Global South, such as Chile.

Gil de Zúñiga and Liu (2017) conducted a study that characterised the use of dual screening for political communication across 20 countries, including Chile. This research was based on an online survey applied to a representative sample to explore second screening

practices in different societies. The study found that in Chile, 82.8% of users of social media engage in dual screening activity in relation to political debates, news and elections coverage. The practice of second screening complements and nurtures the discussion habits and political debates of social media users. According to Gil de Zúñiga and Liu (2017), users in Chile who engage in dual screening activities also tend to participate more in politics through social media platforms, so as to discuss and expand public discussion. There is also a relation between active participation in dual screening practices and participation in physical political activities, such as rallies, campaign donation events or protests. However, engaging in dual screening activities, in the case of Chile, is not directly related to formal ways of political participation, such as voting.

As Fábrega and Vega (2013) argue, in the Chilean context, Twitter has been used to comment, share and get more information in relation to broadcast TV. The authors identify three main aspects that characterise the social media data generated by viewers in the Chilean context: first, the formation of a community of viewers on Twitter for specific TV shows; second, a correlation between real-time ratings and the number of tweets per minute on political TV shows and news; and finally, high levels of zapping, in which users comment about different TV shows that are broadcast in parallel. A clear example of dual screening activities in the Chilean context is the use of social media to comment on and follow the 2009 presidential debate. In this case, González and Henríquez (2012) explain that Twitter users actively followed televised debates on Twitter, using hashtags promoted by the shows and positioning the debates as trending topics worldwide.

The use of Twitter to interact, argue or socialise has changed the way in which audiences consume broadcast media. Fábrega and Vega (2013) state that the use of social media, specifically Twitter, has influenced some television shows to integrate content directed specifically at viewers who use social media. Valenzuela, Puente and Flores (2018) suggest that there is a strong influence from social media platforms, especially Twitter, in the development of content on broadcast media; this influence is not only related to the generation of content suitable for social media audiences, but also to the integration of content generated by viewers and social media users in broadcast media. The sociopolitical and media context of this study will help to explain the social practice of dual screening in the Chilean context and how users debate and argue within this type of media ecology. The integration of contextual elements in the analysis will contribute to the exploration of this new media practice in the Global South and political engagement on this relatively new media platform.

## Chapter 3: Theoretical background

This chapter conducts a literature review of relevant theoretical concepts and frameworks used in this thesis. In previous chapters, I have already touched on different concepts related to the study of politics, language and media that can help to explore the practice of dual screening related to political television. In this chapter, I will discuss different perspectives related to the study of online communication and political debate in digital contexts. The following sections will explore social media as a space for deliberation and participation in politics, and also as a place for uncivil behaviour and violence regarding political discussions. The different perspectives about social media platforms will provide a better understanding of the political interaction in tweets related to political TV shows.

Furthermore, in this chapter, I will address concepts related to power, ideology and participation in the public and private spheres, and how these concepts are related to the use of language and social media platforms, specifically Twitter, to debate and interact in different sociopolitical contexts.

### 3.1 Democratic sphere: participation, power and ideology

#### 3.1.1 Concept of the public sphere and participation

In this section, I will describe the concepts of the public sphere and participation and how the spaces for debate and political engagement have changed and evolved over time. These concepts will help to explain the configuration of the political debate in the context of this research.

##### 3.1.1.1 *Public and private spheres*

The public sphere is a philosophical concept coined by Jürgen Habermas to describe a network to communicate and share points of view and information to create public opinion (Wodak & Koller, 2008). The concept of the public sphere is used by Habermas (1989) to refer to a sphere for political debate (see also Fuchs, 2014). Habermas (1989) considers that the term public opinion has been ambiguous, mainly because of the multiple definitions of the word public and the contrast with private. The public sphere is a specific part of civil society and is constructed based on exchange and discussion. Habermas (1989) explains that the conception of the public sphere has changed through history: the public sphere conceived in Ancient Greece is not the same as the one that emerges under capitalism. A historical understanding of the concept is, for Habermas, key to understanding the concept of the public sphere in contemporary society. The bourgeois

public sphere is a mediator between private personal interests and the public. For that reason, the political economy and political communication are two key aspects, and access to resources is crucial for people to be able to participate in the public sphere. The public sphere, since the rise of the bourgeoisie, can be defined as the sphere of private individuals coming together as a public, to engage in debate. Fuchs (2014) explains that the concept of Habermas' public sphere is grounded in Marxist political theory and can be characterised as a field for the formation of public opinion that needs to be open to all citizens, a place to debate the rules that govern relations and also interchanges on matters of general interest.

As Habermas (1989) states, the public can be characterised as the opposite of the private, e.g. exclusive affairs or closed debates. Furthermore, participation in the public sphere depends on the private autonomy of citizens and their assets. In order to participate in the public sphere in the capitalist era, it is necessary to own private property. This ownership grants citizens' legitimation in their participation in the public sphere. Papacharissi (2010) draws on this distinction and explains the importance of the private sphere in the context of current western democracies. The conception of public and private, for Papacharissi (2010), is susceptible to historical and cultural differences. The private sphere can be linked to personal affairs and, in contrast, the public domain can be described as impersonal. In that sense, the private sphere can be described as the opposite of public, as everything that is not subject to the state of public concern.

Habermas (1989) argues that the public sphere as a place for debate, open to all citizens, has evolved in a complex way. The author proposes that the public sphere can be judged according to its inclusivity in a democratic society. He also explains two conditions for the public sphere to be effective in the political field: the minimization of bureaucratic decisions and the relativization of structural conflicts of interest, taking into account the standard for a universal interest that everyone can recognize. The media and publicity, in this context, can be critical and contribute to open dialogue, but they can also serve to manipulate the public. Dahlgren (2016) explains that the normative ideal of the public sphere is access to institutionalised communicative spaces and debate for all citizens, with the aim of promoting public opinion and political will development. For Dahlgren (2016), the public sphere in contemporary society comprises multiple and heterogeneous spheres, which are not equal in terms of political impact or accessibility; for example, some are closer to decision-making power. In that sense, universal access to the public sphere is not guaranteed by democratic societies, which often have a variety of mechanisms that interfere

with democratic participation in civic spaces.

Communication in the public sphere helps to frame political opinions and personal views and is configured as a space for the transaction and articulation of symbolic codes, representations and values (Wodak & Koller, 2008). Language is a key aspect in the configuration of the public sphere; for that reason, it is crucial to understand how language and communication work in the formation of the public sphere (Wright, 2008). Freedom of speech in the public sphere is determined by levels of income and education, and participation is established by the resources available to participants, as Fuchs (2014) argues. Hence, the purpose of the public sphere, which is for society to engage in critical public debate, is not always achieved. The author suggests that bourgeois society often serves private benefit and profits, not the universal interest. For this reason, participation in the public sphere in capitalist society is determined by communication skills and private property, thus excluding the working class from the public debate. Fuchs (2014) explains that one of the criticisms of Habermas's concept is that his conception of the public sphere is mainly linked to bourgeois society, neglecting the influence or participation of other popular social movements. Wright (2008) states that in Habermas' conceptualisation of the public sphere, with its focus on critiquing the bourgeoisie and its idealism, he neglects informal forms of communication. Another critique of Habermas' notion of the public sphere, documented by Fuchs (2014), is the lack of feminist critique, mainly because the bourgeois conception of the public sphere is situated in a context of male property owners: in other words, the exclusion of women from the public debate.

Another potential critique is related to the use of this concept in the Global South and in former colonies. The concept of the public sphere studied by Habermas is embedded in a European context. In relation to the data of this research, however, the concept of the public sphere and public debate will be explored in a Latin American context. Oxhorn (2016) explains that the successful construction of a public in Latin America has been problematic, mainly due to centuries of political exclusion and inequality, and also due to democracy being interrupted in many Latin American countries, as in the Chilean case (described further in the historical and sociopolitical context in Chapter 2). Open debate has historically been a threat to the ideal order that concentrates power. For this reason, the public sphere in Latin America has been violently eliminated on several occasions since European colonization. These changes to the configuration of the public sphere in Latin America, as Oxhorn (2016) argues, can help to explain the complexity and ambiguity of democracy in the region.



Oxhorn (2016) uses the case of Chile to explain the dynamism and rapid changes in the public sphere. As a relatively new democracy, that experimented in economic growth, Chilean civil society started to rise after many years of silence, as the dictatorship suppressed several movements and political parties and imposed heavy censorship on the media. The social unrest provoked by the neoliberal model imposed by the dictatorship and its failures to deal with issues such as inequality and social rights led to multiple manifestations of social movements since 2011, involving students, workers and environmental activists (see also Chapter 2). In the second period of Bachelet's presidency, this reached what Oxhorn (2016) calls "a new zenith". After a few changes and reforms, the rapidly slowing economy and the discovery of several corruption cases, civil society was disillusioned, different social movements became defensive and the public sphere started to recede again. This rapid change in the public sphere in the Chilean context helps to explain the ephemeral quality of deliberative spaces in Latin America.

Picatto (2010) explains that the concept of the public sphere in Latin America should be understood as an unfinished historical transformation, rather than a stable structure. Furthermore, the author states that hegemonies in Latin America are fragmented, which has led to weakness in bourgeois values in modern times and, as a consequence, a fragmented public sphere. To build a new space to debate in this context, Picatto (2010) proposes that critical construction of the public sphere in Latin America should integrate not only conceptions of class, cultural differences and gender, but also the colonial background of the continent.

### *3.1.1.2 Public sphere in the participatory web*

The concept of the public sphere in contemporary times can be related to the development of the Internet, and more specifically to "web 2.0", also known as the participatory web, as a space for civic engagement. Castells (2009) defines web 2.0 as a group of technologies that promote an increase in social spaces on the internet. An important development in the participatory web was social media platforms which put emphasis on human communication (Fuchs, 2008). For Ackland (2013), social network sites, or social media platforms, are platforms that allow people to create profiles of themselves and interact with others. On the other hand, Fuchs (2013) provides a much wider definition in which he explains that social media enable communities to co-operate, share and communicate. Social media platforms, for Fuchs (2013), are user-centred and put emphasis on human collaboration, and for that reason they can facilitate or even enhance human relations.

As stated in the introduction, the participatory web allows users not only to consume but also to produce online content, without technical knowledge about the Internet or programming skills. This new process of generation and consumption of content on the web, as Ackland (2013) explains, has been characterised by diverse authors as “prosumption” (by Ritzer and Jurgenson, 2010), a portmanteau that links the concept of production and consumption, or “produsage” (Bruns, 2008) that relates the concepts of production and usage. The concept of “prosumption” coined by Ritzer and Jurgenson (2010) can be explained from an economic perspective as a process that involves exploitation. As the capitalist economy has been determined by processes of consumption and production, these have been exploited for the participatory web, on which consumers are, at the same time, also producers of diverse content. This new type of platform not only promotes the production and consumption of a wide variety of content in digitally mediated contexts, but also creates new ways to capitalise on that content.

Regarding the participatory web, and more specifically social media platforms, Fuchs (2014) explains that discussions on social media do not always achieve the aims of the (idealised) public sphere. Although social media platforms allow users to express themselves freely and in a context in which there are potentially “no differences” between users, it is not a public sphere in which anyone can participate in the same way. Interactions in these types of media are also mediated by the formal education or material resources of the users, some of whom cannot participate equally in online activities because they are part of an unequal society.

Papacharissi and Oliveira (2012) revisit the concept of the public sphere and explain that the concept relates to the Internet as a democratic space that is always mediated by the power structures that regulate everyday life. The Internet has changed the dynamics of communication in politics, providing new spaces for communication. However, new public spaces are not necessarily the same as democratic spaces. Digitally mediated discussions, like everyday discussions, are determined by power relations and are often dominated by elites. The possibilities provided by digital media to civic activities have not increased participation or political engagement. The public sphere on the Internet, as Papacharissi and Oliveira (2012) propose, is determined by its opposite, namely the private sphere. Civil engagement transcends the private to become public, and due to online spaces, the political and the personal merge, creating more of an autonomously defined citizenship, mainly dominated by self-interest.

These new spaces of communication have changed the way people debate and discuss. In

this context, the study of linguistic and discursive practices can be seen as a way of understanding these new social practices. Study of the relations between the power structures present in people's digitally mediated lives can be useful to explore this new political arena and how politics has changed and transformed the reality. Social media platforms and the development of the cyberspace allow different kinds of interactions in relation to politics, as Papacharissi (2004) states. The characteristics of cyberspace can encourage political participation and political discussions online. However, these characteristics also can lead to nonsensical, violent and hateful behaviour online in relation to sensitive topics Papacharissi (2004) (for more see section 3.1.3).

Dahlgren (2016) explains that the Internet has become a civic space where democracy is exercised. Civic space is described as a place of free association for citizens with the aim of promoting the common good. Via the Internet and social media, citizens can interact, pursue shared interests and engage with others in various respects, including politics. Taking into account online participation in the public sphere and civic engagement that transcends the private (Papacharissi & Oliveira, 2012), it can be argued that the space for political communication provided by the Internet works as a resource to expand political deliberation, and with that the public sphere. Even though some interactions can lead to other kinds of negative behaviour online, the Internet and social media platforms have been used to exercise politics in new ways. Taking this into consideration, the phenomenon under study in this research can be understood, to a certain extent, as a new civic space in which politics can be exercised and debated.

### *3.1.1.3 Participation in the public sphere*

New media allow political discussions to be shared, and with that citizens become part of the public sphere. Participation can be considered as the right of people to be part of decisions, to control and govern the structures which affect them (Fuchs, 2013). In politics, participation is not a relative category, but rather a universal demand. Many social actors are excluded from participating in decision-making because power and capacities are asymmetrically distributed. Fuchs (2011) argues that social processes that empower humans can be considered as participation in the political sphere. Following that, participative structures are designed to allow social actors to be included in the constitution of social systems. With the rise of the participatory web, the concept of participation has become fundamental to study discourse and its relationship with politics and social media. Social media and Internet platforms allow new ways to communicate and, with this, new

ways to engage in different fields. The concept of participation is defined in this research in relation to the political sphere and social media. As Jones (2008) argues, the social media debate can be articulated as a way to participate in civil and political life. Participation can be defined in the political field context as equal power in a relationship that can lead a decision-making process (Carpentier, 2011). Participation in the public sphere and the decision-making process is determined by numerous factors. As Jones (2008) explains, the Internet has opened up new spaces for political deliberation and participation at different levels, not only as a public space but also as private interactions. Maireder and Aussenhofer (2014) argue that social media networks have become a networked public sphere, which allows its users to express themselves and negotiate meanings related to politics with others, thus becoming actors in the political arena.

Participation in politics has changed since the rise of the Internet and social media networks, allowing users not only to receive information but also to create pathways and transversals through hypertexts (Lemke, 2003). Hypertexts and multimodal resources contribute to expanding meanings and points of view, creating new ways to communicate on these platforms and integrating diverse modalities. Jones (2008) explains that use of the Internet has developed new ways to create meaning, changing and also creating new genres that can contribute to elaborating new (potentially subversive) discourses. In that sense, use of the Internet has affected participation, not only macro-political structures but also micro-politics of the everyday, allowing users to create their own pathways through texts.

The concept of participation in political and social processes is fundamental to understanding the use of social media platforms as participatory social systems. Social media empower their users and allow them to be part of the public debate. However, the participation of social media users in politics is matter of debate: some scholars (see e.g. Chadwick, 2013; Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2015; Giglietto & Selva, 2014) propose that participation in the public debate in social media is always mediated and is, in part, an illusion of real participation in the decision-making process. Considering this, the exploration of different types of interaction and discourse generated in the digitally mediated context regarding politics can help in the characterization of the public sphere and how people participate in political debate.

### 3.1.2 Social media and political engagement

As previously discussed, social media is an umbrella term for Internet-based platforms that promote or facilitate interaction among different participants (Page et al., 2014;

Zappavigna, 2012). Social media platforms such as Twitter or Facebook put emphasis on human communication and are used to share experiences and interact in real time with others (Fuchs, 2008). For Ackland (2013), social network sites are platforms that allow people to create profiles of themselves and interact with others. Meanwhile Fuchs (2013) offers a much wider definition which explains that social media enable communities to cooperate, share and communicate. For KhosraviNik (2017), social media platforms can be seen as the intersection of personal and mass communication, which serves different purposes, including the generation of collaborative content, along with interpersonal or wider communication at the same time, and responses to institutionally or personally generated content.

Page et al. (2014) explain that social media platforms are characterised as delivering content that can be posted by anyone and can (potentially) reach a large audience. The term social media can group numerous forms and different platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter, Youtube and Flickr, among others, which have in common interaction in an online context between their participants. As Zappavigna (2012) explains, most of the social media platforms have some common features, such as the capacity to associate with other users and visualise their activity, profile creation and customization of privacy settings. Social media sites allow their participants to create profiles about themselves and connect with other users. These approaches highlight the social component of social media platforms that allow users to communicate in different ways, opening up new spaces for interaction and expanding the possibilities of their participants.

The use of the Internet has changed with the rise of this form of communication and interaction, in that users not only use the Internet to find information but also to socialise and share with other people with similar interests (Zappavigna, 2012). As Page et al. (2014) explain, via social media sites, users are able to participate and communicate on these platforms, which have dialogic and collaborative potential. This type of communication differs from traditional media which are, usually, unidirectional and do not facilitate or encourage dialogue.

Social media sites have generated new native genres and ways to communicate which are essentially multimodal (KhosraviNik, 2017). Even though social media sites involve different genres with distinctive features, many of these services incorporate texts, images, emojis, sounds and videos that enhance the experience of social media and help to create different kinds of content (Page et al., 2014). Social media platforms incorporate different modes which allow participants to build their texts in complex ways, using different

resources to create meaning online,

Social media platforms allow participation by different people, sharing and generating content, but that does not mean that social media are free from the influence of social hierarchies and power relations. Fuchs (2014) argues that as a social system, social media have complex interactions between technological structures, human activities and social relations. The power structures present in social relations are reflected in social media and shape them. Different social phenomena, including different types of political behaviour, can be expressed on social media platforms and also explored in texts generated in these contexts. The different power dynamics present in social media texts can contribute to the exploration of social relationships, not only on online platforms but also in other dimensions of society, as social networks can be a reflection of them.

Social media platforms have become a very important source of data for researchers from different disciplines. As Ackland (2013) argues, social media components, such as ties and nodes created on social sites, are easily interpreted. Zappavigna (2012) explains that social media sites provide the researchers with a completely new type of data. With social media sites it is possible to capture interactions and social contact between users because they leave a permanent record which is traceable. That allows exploring spontaneous interaction and how it works in social media contexts as a social practice. In this research, the different affordances of these platforms will be explored as resources to create meaning online, especially in relation to politics in the Chilean context. The interactions thus captured can contribute to the understanding of social practices in digital contexts specifically related to those fields.

As Zappavigna (2012) proposes, social media allow users to be part of the political discussion and also express their opinions about politics. The participatory web enables (but does not guarantee) citizens' interaction with others about these topics and access to political discourses. KhosraviNik and Zia (2014) explain that participatory technologies have changed unidirectional communication on the Internet, allowing users not only to receive content and texts, but also produce them, and participate in discussion and public debate. Regarding the social implications of the participatory web, Highfield (2016) explains that the Internet, and especially social media, has the potential to change the patterns of political and media power. The use of social media in politics is not exclusively related to elections or political campaigns. Political engagement can be observed not only in specific events but also in the everyday, related to personal experiences and interests. As KhosraviNik and Zia (2014) point out, social media platforms have become an important

component of political discourse. The ubiquity of these ways of communication has been a key component of their success, content shared on social media can potentially address millions of users.

Papacharissi and Oliveira (2012) explain that social media can be used to create content and inform the public. For example, these platforms are used as a mechanism to report and share news. This has created a new system of social awareness, changing the balance of power, because the boundaries between news, information and entertainment have become blurred. Social media platforms are, therefore, a space to engage with others in different aspects, and politics is no exception. Papacharissi and Oliveira (2012) state that social network sites provide online spaces for social interaction which can act as forums for political discussion. This type of platform thus allows users to find others with similar interests, e.g. users who want to share political opinions or debate in relation to current affairs. Maireder and Aussenhofer (2014) argue that the users can use a social platform like Twitter to be part of social change whereby the structure of the political debate is reconfigured, facilitating participation and social interactivity. The nature of social media platforms not only promotes political debate and social interaction but also some forms of violence online (Dorostkar & Preisinger, 2017).

Internet communication, from a linguistic perspective, can be categorized as both interpersonal and mass communication. The use of social media platforms in politics can establish new dynamics of social and political power because members of a non-elite part of society can produce and publish texts, which is a form of discursive resistance to institutions (KhosraviNik and Zia, 2014). Social media platforms can contribute to online political debate in diverse ways, as an expansion of the public sphere or generating content that can be considered a threat to democratic discussion, as will be discussed in the following sections.

### 3.1.3 Uncivil behaviour on social media platforms: Hostility and incivility online

Social media platforms have been identified as spaces for political engagement and debate, providing more open access to diverse political discourse (Papacharissi, 2004). The participatory and interactive nature of “web 2.0” has been pointed out as significant in the development of political debate and the exercise of politics (Papacharissi, 2004). The new spaces for communication have given rise to a different kind of discourse.

These platforms have been considered by some scholars (Papacharissi, 2004; KhosraviNik, 2017; Dahlgren, 2016) to be part of positive changes in terms of access to political

discourse and participation in political debates. Nevertheless, there are also negative aspects, such as anti-democratic views, the proliferation of extremism, racism or discriminatory speech (Dorostkar & Preisinger, 2017). These negative aspects of online discussion can be considered as opposing ethical approaches of deliberation, however, when they are present in an online discussion. Dorostkar & Preisinger (2017) explain that computer-based communication can encourage the proliferation of “cyber-hate” but also political discussion in the context of the digital public sphere, as users also try to counteract “cyber-hate” by arguing against racism and discrimination. Hate spread across platforms refers to the dissemination of hate, racist, bigoted, extremist or terrorist content that violates or promotes violations of human rights via computer-mediated communication (Blaya, 2019).

### 3.1.3.1 *Hostility online*

Among the negative aspects of digitally mediated political debate, different kinds of hostile behaviour have been identified on these platforms, such as flaming or trolling. Oleksiak (2014) explains that the concept of hostility in online contexts has been difficult to define in the literature and is characterized by its highly contextual nature, in the sense that some behaviours considered hostile in one context can be benign in other circumstances. According to Jane (2012), online hostility is also known as cyber-violence, trolling or cyber-bullying and is usually identified as heated online communication which involves negative effects, insults and verbal aggression, among others. For example, as Murthy and Sharma (2019) state, this kind of abusive behaviour on online platforms can be expressed in racist, homophobic or misogynistic language. Following this, Jane (2012) explains that hostility in an online context tries to provoke different kinds of emotional and textual reactions in participants using the platforms.

Hostility online has been studied on discussion-based platforms, such as Internet forums (Hardaker, 2013; Pappacharissi, 2004), but also other kinds of platforms that allow different types of interactions among their users, such as YouTube, Twitter or Facebook (Murthy & Sharma, 2019; Syndor, 2008; Clarke, 2019). This is despite some social media platforms having different features that allow users to block and report harmful behaviours on those platforms, such as Twitter’s feature that allows users to report abusive and harmful behaviours. However, the protocols established by these platforms have been failing to identify effectively harmful or violent tweets (Clarke, 2019). Abusive behaviour and hostility in digitally mediated communication create a toxic environment that can



undoubtedly be considered as negative, and to a certain extent this prevents the development of rational political debate in digital contexts (Murthy & Sharma, 2019).

### *3.1.3.2 Uncivility online and threats to democracy*

As explained in previous sections, it has been pointed out that social networks and online spaces have not necessarily expanded the public sphere or encouraged political deliberation (Halpern & Gibbs, 2012). Deindividuation of participants in online debates has been pointed out as one of the reasons for hostility online and also for uncivil behaviour in relation to politics. According to Ott (2017), among social media platforms, Twitter fosters and promotes incivility, with its informality and lack of intimacy depersonalizing interactions among users, who do not consider how their actions affect others on the platform.

Papacharissi (2004) states that digital media can induce enraged and nonsensical discussions which are far from the ideal in the digital public sphere. Civil behaviour in digital discussions has been characterized as a requirement for democratic dialogue and has often been confused with interpersonal politeness in the context of political debate. The concept of civility, which Papacharissi (2004) applies to political discussion, ensures the adherence to democratic principles and respect for collective values, enhancing democratic debates and facilitating interpersonal interactions. In that sense, incivility entails a wide range of behaviours in online spaces and limits the democratic potential of the so-called digital public sphere.

Incivility online has been studied by identifying diverse elements as verbalized threats to democracy or the imposition of undemocratic ways, the use of stereotypes (mostly offensive) and threats to individual rights (Oz, Zheng & Chen, 2018). Syndor (2018) states that expressions of incivility include language that is considered to be outside social norms but not restricted to that. Language is studied as an important aspect in the identification of incivility and is often identified as aggressive and disrespectful; however, it is highly dependent on the context of production and the platform on which it is used (Syndor, 2008). Ott (2017) argues that the characteristics of platforms, e.g. in the case of Twitter, undermine the social conventions that allow civil debate, promoting uncivil discourse.

The category of uncivil behaviour online includes different forms of hate speech and hate groups that operate online, which publish hateful and antagonistic content in these kinds of media (Burnap & Williams, 2016). These types of extremist behaviour have led to new areas of study, but also the implementation of policies and campaigns to tackle this kind

of behaviour online, e.g. by deleting certain explicit posts related to specific keywords identified as hateful, derogative or discriminatory, though more subtle or less explicit content can be more difficult to identify without considering other elements (Dorostkar & Preisinger, 2017).

As Crosset et al. (2018) explain, the massification of social media has increased the participation and creation of hate and extremist groups who use Internet platforms for different purposes. Social media platforms, with their openness, anonymity and ubiquity, have stimulated the political debate but also helped the proliferation of different groups that promote undemocratic values and extremist views. The Internet has enabled extremist groups to expand not only their networks but also their recruitment and finances.

Groups such as the so-called Islamic State (ISIS), and far-right or extreme nationalist groups have been using these platforms to promote their visions, causing real concerns not only among users but also the developers of these platforms (Wei et al., 2016). These groups promote violence against other parts of society and their extremist views threaten the population, usually criticizing democracy, pluralism and other ideas linked to civil discourse.

### 3.1.4 Power and Ideology

#### 3.1.4.1 *Power*

The concept of power is fundamental not only to political theory but also to the social sciences in general. Power can be defined as the capacity of one group to achieve its will and interests through different means of coercion of others (see e.g. Fuchs, 2013). For Castells (2009), power is the most important process in society because it is defined by the power relations between its values and institutions. Castells (2009) explains that power can be described as a relational capacity that allows a social actor to influence others' decisions asymmetrically. This type of influence usually works in favour of the desires, interests and values of empowered actors. Those actors are described by Castells (2009) as any member of society, such as individuals, collective actors, institutions and organizations. Power is exercised by coercion and meanings are constructed in different discourses that allow the actors to guide their actions. Fuchs (2011) argues that power is a fundamental process and can be defined as having a transformative capacity because it has the ability to intervene and decide on a determined course of events.

Fairclough (2001) explains that power is exercised in different ways, e.g. in discourses but

also behind them. From a discursive perspective, power is a key concept in the development of Critical Discourse Studies. As Wodak and Meyer (2016) state, power can be considered as the chance that an individual has to impose their own will in a social relationship, without considering the will of others. The authors explain that all fields in society are constructed and defined by relations of domination and power, which eventually leads to struggles among different social actors. Discourse plays an important role in the configuration of power structures because it helps to maintain or exercise power and domination in social relations. Wodak and Meyer (2016) identify three different sources of power: as a consequence of certain resources of individual actors, as an attribute of social exchange in interactions related to the resources of diverse actors, and power as a characteristic of society, both systemic and constitutive. Fairclough (2009) explains that the power relations between social actors are always in a process of struggle. Discursive practices are social practices, and for that reason they are determined by power relations, and coercion exercised by different social actors is involved. In this sense, Wodak (2016) argues that power has the potential to legitimise and delegitimise discourses, also by different types of controlling procedures it can regulate and limit discourses. Texts can be seen as sites of social and ideological struggles in which power is manifested by different means.

Furthermore, van Dijk (2008) defines power, specifically social power, as control. The author explains that control is exercised by one group over others and their actions. When one group uses its power to control another group against its interests, there is power abuse. This control can be exercised in different ways, e.g. through communicative actions or discourses. Van Dijk (2008) explains that discourses have the ability to control minds, and therefore control actions. For that reason, the study of discourse is key to understanding how power works and reproduces control between social actors.

#### *3.1.4.2 Validation of power distribution: Ideologies*

The concept of ideology can help to understand how political debate is articulated and also how power and values are negotiated in political discourse. Flowerdew and Richardson (2017) define ideology as a set of values or beliefs that belong to specific social groups and determine different aspects of the social and private lives of individuals. The authors explain that ideologies are more than personal ideas, they are the product of individual experiences, which are developed through social interaction in social groups. Van Dijk (2014) argues that the concept of ideology is usually linked to the idea of negative beliefs

or misconceptions. However, ideologies do not have positive or negative connotations. Ideologies are a key factor in defining and shaping the social identity, values and aims of a group, providing common interests, that can lead to the legitimization of diverse social actions, such as domination or subversion. Weiss and Wodak (2003) explain that there are many theories which try to explain the concept of ideologies and their social consequences. However, there is a consensus, in that the study of ideologies helps to understand the reasons behind social practices and how humans act. Ideologies help to circulate symbols and meanings in the social world and are part of social processes and relations. The study of ideologies is a fundamental element of critical theories and, also, the development of critical discourse studies, which is particularly interested in the relation between language and power.

Wodak and Meyer (2016) argue that ideologies can be defined as a relatively stable set of beliefs that have influence over human cognition. These can provide a guide for actions and personal evaluations and must be logically coherent. Ideologies can be expressed in discourses unveiling everyday beliefs; for that reason, the analysis of discourses is an important element to examine and critique ideologies. Ideologies can also be characterised as institutional practices that legitimize power relations, that are imprinted in social agents and determine how they act in society. As Fairclough (2009) argues, ideologies embody suppositions that validate unequal power distribution in society. Ideologies can be characterised as meanings that can serve power but can also explain or represent diverse aspects of the world; the study of ideologies can help to understand the relation between power distribution and social wrongs, how power relations are expressed in discourse. Furthermore, Fairclough (2009) explains that the study of ideologies has been decreasing in social research, as well as the study of social class, mainly attributed to the rise of capitalist societies. However, the analysis of ideologies, within discourses, can lead not only to a better understanding of the power relations in different social structures but also to changes and transformations to build a better society. These concepts of power and ideology are important to understand critical discourse studies as a field of study, but also to understand the social practices under investigation in this research.

### 3.1.5 Critical perspectives of power in the social media context

As sites of social interaction, social media platforms can be explored by critically considering the diverse dynamics involved in their practices and the power relations established not only in social media but also within the public sphere. In this section, I will

explore the concept of the hybrid media system, developed by Chadwick (2013), and dual screening as an example of media hybridization.

#### *3.1.5.1 Hybrid media system*

The rise of social media networks has influenced the evolution of traditional mass media (Chadwick, 2013). One of the differences between traditional mass media and newer forms of communication is how they operate. Mass media tend to work as a one-to-many broadcasting mechanism (e.g. newspapers, books, television, films, radio etc.), unlike social media platforms, which can deliver content to a network of participants where anyone can participate and publish, and which can, potentially, reach large audiences (see e.g. Page et al., 2014; Castells, 2009). Traditional or mass media, on the other hand, have been developed to be diffused widely in society in a unidirectional way. Although the traditional media have mechanisms to communicate with their publics, focused on marketing, sales or customer services, such as letters, emails and phone calls, Chadwick (2013) argues that these types of media have not been conceived as an interpersonal communicative space. Larsson (2013) explains that mass media journalism and how information is delivered has always been determined by technology and constantly changes with the emergence of new social practices. Nowadays, there are different ways for people to access information and interact with others (and more traditional) media. Castells (2009) explains that there is a process of convergence of modes in which the lines between different media are blurred. Mainstream media have incorporated social media elements to enhance the audience experience. With the emergence of these new media practices, it is possible to talk about a new era of communication with hybrid media, rather than completely separate genres and modes.

In this context, the notion of the hybrid media system (Chadwick, 2013) emerges, which is a conceptual understanding of power relations between newer and older media. Chadwick (2013) proposes that these relations between media logics, such as genres, modes and platforms, among others, link the fields of media and politics. The concept of hybridity applied to media and political contexts can offer complexity and, to a certain extent, explain the new paradigms in media and politics. This leads me to reject the traditional dichotomies and analyse these phenomena as a system in constant transition, evolution and reconstruction.

Although the concepts of newer and older media are relative, the integration between different kinds of media is not only related to digital platforms. The process of integration

of different media logics promotes the co-evolution of diverse practices, instead of the replacement of old types of media by new ones. A media logic can be defined “as a form of communication, and the process through which media transmit and communicate information” (Altheide, 2013, p 225). An example of this type of co-evolution is the new affordances and sometimes the fusion of features, as found in smartphones or tablets. The hybrid media system, as Chadwick (2013) explains, involves different practices that are in continuous recreation, reconstruction and reshaping, creating a polycentric and fragmented media environment.

The concept of hybridity in broadcast media was also developed by Ekström (2011), but from a different perspective. Ekström (2011) introduced this concept to explore the relationships among genres in talk shows, defining hybridity as a mix of activities in specific situations of interaction, such as the integration of humour, interviews and news in a broadcast format as a talk show. Although this notion of hybridity can be productive and useful to explore broadcast media and its diverse elements, in this study I follow Chadwick’s (2013) notion of hybridity, which describes a media system in which different media interact in a wider sense. Chadwick (2013) proposes that media are an important part of citizens’ conception of politics. What is discussed in different media is constituted as the public interest. In that sense, the media help to set political agendas and construct public values and interests. The emergence of new types of media expands the ways in which politics can be communicated. Digital media and internet platforms are an important part of the process of hybridization, and new communication platforms integrate and blend different genres, creating new ones. With the massification of the Internet and digital platforms, this process of hybridization has become more evident. The hybrid media system reinforces the idea of empowerment of the media, because newer but also older media have new resources and adapt and restate their significance.

The concept of the hybrid media system helps me to explain the dynamics between different media and how the integration of newer and older media is creating new power relations, new ways to construct meanings and shape politics. The hybrid media system, as Chadwick (2013) finds, has been widely studied in English speaking contexts, specifically in the US and the UK. The author claims that the study of those contexts is important for their role in the history of liberal democracies. For this research, I will examine the concept of the hybrid media system in a Latin-American context, i.e. Chile.

Chadwick (2013) states that power, as an essential concept to understand politics, is exercised by those who successfully use the transformation and interdependence of newer

and older media logics and manage information in ways to suit their goals. From this perspective, the media help to shape politics and allow the participation of citizens in the political sphere. With the convergence and interactions in these new types of media, citizens can interact and be involved in political debate.

Citizens' engagement with politics evolves within new social practices; according to Vaccari, Chadwick and O'Loughlin (2015), political engagement increases in hybrid media contexts. The practices involved in politics and engagement with that field are described under three main headings: as civic, partisan and discursive practices. In this case, the authors use the concept of discursive, in a broad sense, to characterise engagement which involves formal as well as informal discussions about public affairs in different media logics. This conception of discourse can help to understand citizens' engagement from a media studies perspective; however, in this research, the concept of discourse will be developed more deeply in the following sections.

Another form of practice related to citizens' engagement is distinctively partisan, in the sense that there are activities carried out for or on behalf of political candidates or parties. Also, the authors identify civic behaviour which involves the will and collaboration to solve common problems in communities. These three types of political engagement practices can be observed in hybrid media phenomena, such as dual screening or live tweeting of different events. The results of Vaccari, Chadwick and O'Loughlin (2015) led them to suggest that the process of media hybridization extends to engagement with politics. They propose that hybrid media events are productive spaces for political engagement with active and relatively conscious activities.

In a similar vein, Wells et al. (2016) illustrate the concept of the hybrid media system using the presidential campaign of Donald Trump in the United States in 2016. The campaign merged traditional public relations tactics with incendiary activities in social media, creating new narratives and expanding their stories in a social media environment. Wells et al. (ibid) call this type of political operation a largely successful hybrid media campaign, where during organised campaign events, unscheduled interactions were combined with social media activity, which managed to capture the attention of the public. Marchetti and Ceccobelli (2015) hold that politicians are aware of the influence and power of these new platforms of communication. For this reason, recent political campaigns use not only traditional media such as television ads or printed media but also social media for self-promotion. An example of hybrid media in the political context is presidential debates, which are televised and followed by different media. Freelon and Karpf (2014) propose

that in the hybrid media context, this type of event empowers citizens, blurring the boundaries of the producers and receivers of information and constructing different media narratives. The process of hybridization causes a change in the way that information is delivered and presented, which arguably modifies the political sphere.

Citizens' engagement in the hybrid media system cannot be reduced to the use of social media platforms to express oneself and debate about politics, as Chadwick (2013) explains. The hybrid media system blurs the organizational boundaries between sources of information and has become part of the mainstream. The process of hybridization has changed how social practices are constructed and modified in older media. These new practices generate new expectations from consumers/ users in media and political communication, and with that this leads to new power relations. Therefore, these new practices are not equally distributed, because most of the people in the hybrid media system who can make a difference, for example by participating in decision-making processes or mobilising citizens, are political activists and people who are directly involved in politics. Nevertheless, it seems that media logics and political agendas include more social actors in the discussion, which can be seen as increased participation. Gruber (2017) states that the study of political communication in the hybrid media system is a promising field of study to understand the relationship between language and politics. The study of communication in this media context requires new methods to explore interactions in intersectional media, in which the limits blur and integrate different elements to understand social practices generated in this hybrid media system.

### *3.1.5.2 Dual screening: A hybrid media example*

Within the blurring of media genres and the hybrid media system, the idea emerges that dual screening is a hybrid form of communication that can link different media, new and old (Vaccari, Chadwick and O'Loughlin, 2015). This phenomenon has been described by Gil de Zúñiga et al. (2015) as the use of a digital devices, such as laptops, smartphones or tablets, to access the Internet, specifically social networking sites, while users watch television, in order to participate, get information or discuss what they are watching. This trend is becoming more common and is even promoted by different TV shows, in which producers and broadcasters explicitly encourage the public to use the resources of social network sites to comment on and discuss the programme itself (Giglietto & Selva, 2015). The level of importance given to social networks today is such that the success of a programme is measurable through social networks, the number of mentions or whether it



becomes a trending topic (Marchetti & Ceccobelli, 2015; Cameron & Geidner, 2013). For Vaccari, Chadwick and O'Loughlin (2015), dual screening is defined as a “complex bundle of practices that involve integrating, and switching across and between, live broadcast media and social media” (p. 1041), and it is the result of the rapid massification of social media platforms and the attempts at renewal and adaptation of television as a medium. Dual screening is a relatively new phenomenon that changes the media dynamics and affects the way that political debate is developed in the media. Vaccari and Valeriani (2018) state that this practice is becoming increasingly widespread in Western democratic regimes, and that it needs to be analysed on its own and not as just an extension of television watching or as another type of messages in social media about politics, but rather as a particular social practice in hybrid media.

While there is an agreement in the literature that dual screening is mainly defined by a practice that involves two media, television and social media, little attention has been paid to the hierarchies, structures or functions of such practices. Some authors (Cameron & Geidner, 2013; Doughty, Rowland & Lawson, 2012; Anstead & O'Loughlin, 2011) state that the function of this type of social practice is to allow the participation of different subjects in the discussion so that the audience at home can communicate and interact with the TV show and the characters present there. This should, therefore, enable democratization of the media and allow a closer relationship between different social actors. On the other hand, some suggest (see e.g. Marchetti & Ceccobelli, 2015) that audience participation, and interaction with TV programmes through social networks, is illusory and merely creates a fake instance of participation, which does not influence TV shows or public opinion. Chadwick (2013) and others (Giglietto & Selva, 2015; Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2014) convincingly argue that while new digital media and particularly the phenomenon of dual screening allow some participation, a socially transformative interpretation could be overstating the case, particularly as few if any interactions are included in the programme or do not directly influence the show (Doughty, Rowland & Lawson, 2012). However, the inclusion of social media on TV shows has been evolving. An example of this is the British political debate TV show *Question Time*, for which although there was a hashtag for Twitter (#BBCQT) promoted by the show, there was no explicit interaction between the TV show and Twitter users in 2012, as Doughty, Rowland & Lawson (2012) describe, but later, in 2015, Anstead and O'Loughlin (2015) reported changes to the same TV show, which now includes social media as part of the show, promoting participation and interaction of the audience, and even having a member of the

production crew who interacts with the Twitter audience.

The dual screening phenomenon has also been called second screen practice, which is a term that entails a power relation between the media involved. The notion of a second screen implies that there is a first screen, which in this case would be TV, dictating the guidelines and suggesting topics that feed a second screen, which is integrated in devices that allow Internet access to the Web and social networks. In these terms, the second screen operates in parallel with the first one, but as a subsidiary of its aims and themes. In this sense, social networks function as a “backchannel” of television in real time, which then works alongside live broadcasts (Giglietto & Selva, 2015). One of the main constraints affecting this concept in the literature reviewed is the distinction between the first and second screens. The relationship that exists between these two can be unilateral, such as when a TV show provides a context and encourages participation on Twitter in a discussion of certain matters. However, the influence of social networks on television can be considerably less, since the discussion that takes on social networks does not necessarily have any impact on the development or structure of the TV show. For that reason, for the purposes of this research, I will adopt the term dual screening, used by Vaccari, Chadwick and O’Loughlin (2015), who state that the notion of a second screen entails a hierarchy between the two media that needs to be empirically investigated and not assumed. Otherwise, the notion of dual screening represents in a better way the simultaneity of the two media and the integration between TV and social media, as a hybrid media system phenomenon. As Jensen (2015) explains, the inclusion of tweets from the audience on screen presents a multi-directional relation between the viewer and TV shows, because it is not only television which provides the topics and content of the online discussion on social media sites as participation via the Internet on platforms like Facebook or Twitter nourishes and enhances the TV show.

The participation of the people in a national debate through these kinds of media is questioned because it is not direct and is constantly mediated by other media. Although Jensen (2015) says that there is inclusion of different discourses and a variety of voices, that inclusion is edited and even censored by the television producers, so there is a gatekeeping process related to audiences’ opinions displayed on TV. When TV producers choose to display tweets from the audience on screen, this represents a multi-directional relation between the viewer and TV shows (Jensen, 2015). In those cases, it is not only television that provides the topics and content of online discussion on social media platforms, as content from platforms like Facebook or Twitter also feeds and enhances the

TV show. The content generated by viewers is an example of the process of hybridization or convergence in the media. Anstead and O’Loughlin (2015) suggest that the integration of social media content has changed the practice of watching TV, and also led to a transformation of TV show formats and structures. Participation in the so-called “backchannel” led TV shows producers to embrace social media and integrate them into shows. Anstead and O’Loughlin (2015) propose that it is necessary to ask if the emergence of this new practice of two-screen viewing has the potential to change how power is distributed between the media and the audience. As discussed in previous sections, the public sphere, and now the media, has historically been controlled by a small and elitist group of people, but with the rise of social media related to TV shows, a wider group of citizens can respond in real time to content presented by the media, and this response can influence development of the media in a certain way, e.g. which content is presented to the audience and how it is debated. Even if power is redistributed in a wider group, that can be described as a wider elite, this influence cannot be characterised as democratization of the media, mainly because the power to change or modify broadcast media through social media is exercised by “influencers” or prominent figures in social media, leaving the average citizen behind (Anstead and O’Loughlin, 2015). These social practices, related to dual screening practices, are also defined by the power structures of non-digital life. There are opportunities for participation that are determined by power relations, and for this reason, structural inequality on digital platforms is a real problem in democracies. Access to social media platforms and the possibility of interaction cannot guarantee participation in public debate. Therefore, study of the relationship between these two media can be relevant to understand how different social practices construct the public sphere and political debate.

Wohn and Na (2011) explain that television has always been an important source of conversation and socialization for the viewer. Therefore, via digital communication such as social media sites, this conversation is not only carried out face-to-face but also via the Internet. These kinds of socialization usually involve only the viewer, but nowadays, thanks to the emergence and importance of social networks, it may also involve the participants of different TV shows. For that reason, dual screening can be considered a pseudo-public activity, acknowledging that groups of viewers are created, which can participate but also monitor the reactions of their peers (Anstead & O’Loughlin, 2015). As Vaccari, Chadwick and O’Loughlin (2015) argue, there are different types of participation carried out by diverse social actors, from celebrities, politicians and journalists to lay people involved in

this practice. The traditional roles identified in media events, e.g. political actors, media actors and a passive audience, are not accurate to describe this new type of media practice. The audience of the TV show has evolved, and the integration of social media into their everyday lives has been an important part of that. The participation of the people in a national debate, particularly through this kind of media, is always questioned because it is not direct and is constantly mediated by different media structures.

The hybrid media system has allowed the interaction of new social and public actors, promoting communication among participants, through new social practices. By combining various types of media, it has been possible to increase the popularity of digital media platforms, becoming part of mainstream culture. With this, citizens, through their activities on digital platforms, each day are more relevant in the construction and distribution of content, enabling them to exercise more power and contribute to society (Marchetti & Ceccobelli, 2015). This kind of practice not only allows the interconnection of different media, traditional and new, but also the creation and connection of communities of spectators. The connection between social networks and other traditional media can bring together different persons who have interests in common (Doughty, Rowland & Lawson, 2012). In that sense, televised shows should provide a context for the development of a community of viewers, which would result in a greater commitment from the audience to a particular show. The viewers would no longer see themselves as just spectators or a passive audience off-screen, but as active participants of what happens on television and the discussion carried out in broadcast media.

Vaccari, Chadwick and O'Loughlin (2015) explain that in dual screening it is possible to identify communities on Twitter that are centred around different broadcast political media events, in which members often play different roles in the online discussion. Gil de Zúñiga et al. (2015) propose that dual screening practices increase citizen participation because the social interaction carried out in these media contexts allows users to engage in political discussion, interpreting and debating content. The practice of dual screening, as Gil de Zúñiga and Liu (2017) state, relates not only to higher levels of participation online but also to offline political engagement. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Gil de Zúñiga and Liu (2017) carried out a study that compares the practice of dual screening across 20 countries. The authors argue that this practice is contributing to shaping the political realm in different contexts around the world. Dual screening narrows the gap between non-elites and political figures, and it promotes debate in the political public sphere, in that the participants of a digitally mediated debate are exposed to other groups and ideas, thus

expanding political discussion.

While there is agreement in the literature that dual screening is mainly defined by a practice that involves at least two media, television and Internet, but not explicit steps or functions of such practices, several authors (Cameron & Geidner, 2013; Doughty, Rowland & Lawson, 2012; Anstead & O'Loughlin, 2011) state that the function of this type of social practice is to allow the participation of different subjects in the discussion. Following this, the audience at home can communicate and interact with the TV show and its participants. This can lead to a democratization of the media and allow a closer relationship between different social actors. On the other hand, as mentioned in the previous section, some suggest that participation with the audience interacting through social networks with TV programmes is illusory and just creates a fake instance of participation, which does not influence TV shows or public opinion (Chadwick, 2013; Giglietto & Selva, 2015; Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2015). Chadwick, O'Loughlin and Vaccari (2017) argue that the dual screening phenomenon is reshaping the way politics is done, not only in the way that political media events are followed and commented on online but also how political and media actors have incorporated social media into their agendas. Anstead and O'Loughlin (2015) explain that the data generated by dual screening practices are often used by different political actors for their own purposes, e.g. to elaborate new communication strategies, evaluate their reception and modify their behaviour in social media according to the circumstances. The data harvested in social media are used to create big data sets, which are used to examine audience behaviour not only related to politics but also product preferences and consumption practices.

The dual screening phenomenon challenges what is conceived as political deliberation and how the online debate about politics is developed. Anstead and O'Loughlin (2015) explain that the dual screening phenomenon changes what is seen as political discussion and its relationship with different media, not only how it is conceived but also how this phenomenon affects the distribution and hierarchies between media and between political actors and the public. The analysis of political debate, hierarchies and power distribution and how these affect participation and democracy in the hybrid media system needs to be adapted to new media logics. For this reason, it is important to develop the study of the dual screening phenomenon related to politics in different contexts.

### 3.2 Discourse as social practice

In the following section, I will discuss the concepts of discourse and its relationship with

politics and social media, mainly from the perspective of critical discourse studies (CDS). The characterization of the relation of language, politics and media, especially social media, will provide the background to the phenomenon under study in this research.

### 3.2.1 Critical Discourse Studies

Critical discourse studies (henceforth CDS) can be characterized as an interdisciplinary and eclectic, problem-oriented approach, which is interested in understanding and explaining different social phenomena (Wodak & Meyer, 2016). As Flowerdew and Richardson (2017) argue, CDS helps to explain how discourse shapes social processes, structures and changes by examining real language use. In this sense, CDS is a perspective to explore how people use language in certain contexts. Wodak and Meyer (2016) state that most of the approaches of CDS are interested in the deconstruction of ideologies and power relations through the analysis of different kinds of semiotic data, which can be written, spoken or visual. CDS can be defined by an interest in the different structures of discrimination, domination, control and power that are present or manifested in the use of language. Flowerdew and Richardson (2017) explain that CDS scholars try to bring together theories of society and theories of language, in which discourse and social structures are conceived in a dialectical relation. As van Dijk (2013) states, CDS is not a method to study or analyse language, or to describe structures and strategies, but rather the theories, analyses, methods and practices carried out by critical discourse analysts that can be used to conduct a satisfying analysis to achieve critical goals. Wodak and Meyer (2016) state that a critical perspective in this context does not mean a negative approach to the objects of study but an attitude to challenge diverse social phenomena.

There are different approaches in CDS that share an interest in the social and power dynamics present in discourses. Reisigl and Wodak (2016) state the importance of the concepts of power, ideology and critique in the diverse approaches to CDS, such as the Discourse-Historical Approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016), the dialectical-relational approach (Fairclough, 2001), the socio-cognitive approach (van Dijk, 2013) and the Social Actors Approach (van Leeuwen, 2001), among others (see more in Hart & Cap, 2014; Wodak & Meyer, 2016; Flowerdew & Richardson, 2017).

In this research, I follow the discourse-historical approach, which has a special interest in the study of argumentation (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). The discourse-historical approach allows researchers to explore underlying power dynamics in discourses. This approach to the critical study of language in use triangulates and integrates knowledge about historical

sources and the socio-political background within discursive practices (Wodak, 2011).

The study of language from a CDS perspective will allow me to explore how language is used in the context of dual screening practices related to Chilean political TV shows, especially how people debate in these media contexts. Dual screening, as a social practice insert in the hybrid media system, is conditioned by the structures of power that can be manifested in the texts to be analysed. For this reason, CDS, and more specifically the discourse-historical approach, can be a useful approach to investigate this social phenomenon.

### 3.2.2 Notion of discourse

The concept of discourse entails a particular view of language in use (Fairclough, 2003). Critical discourse studies, as Wodak and Meyer (2016) state, conceives discourse as a social practice, in which the context of the use of language is a key aspect. The characterization of this use of language, written or spoken, implies a dialectical relation between the discourse and the context that frames it, in the sense that the situation shapes the use of language and the use of language shapes the situation. Discourse as a social practice can be defined as “socially constituted and socially constitutive”, in which discourse shapes social relations and social relations also constitute discourses (Reisigl & Wodak, p. 27, 2016). Fairclough (2001) argues that language and society are not independent entities that have an external relationship but rather an internal dialectical relation. From a different perspective, van Dijk (2014) triangulates the notions of discourse, society and cognition, arguing that the concept of discourse is not only social interaction but is also considered to be the expression and reproduction of social cognition. From this perspective, discourse mediates between socially shared knowledge, ideologies and the cognition of individuals.

For the purposes of this research, I follow Reisigl and Wodak (2016), who define discourse as a cluster of semiotic practices that depend on the context and are situated in particular fields of social action. The authors also consider that discourse is and relates to a macro-topic and is linked to argumentation about truth and validity claims that include different social actors with diverse standpoints. Discourse can also be characterized as being a multimodal, multidimensional and multifunctional phenomenon, that can be related to different dimensions of the social context (Hart & Cap, 2014). Wodak (2011) also distinguishes between discourse and text, whereby discourse refers to patterns of knowledge and structures, and texts are realizations of discourse. Texts, from this perspective, can be considered parts of discourse and can be related to genres. A certain

type of discourse, such as a discourse on exclusion, for example, can be present in a wide variety of genres and texts, including social media, television shows or textbooks. Wodak (2011) proposes that the full meaning of texts, as latent and manifest, only can be accessible or made sense of with a wider knowledge of the world. The concept of discourse will be helpful to explore dual screening and how this social practice is carried out. The analysis of how people use language in this digitally mediated context can provide useful insights into how people communicate and debate.

### 3.2.3 Argumentation

As mentioned before, the discourse-historical approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016) has a particular focus on argumentation. Reisigl (2014) characterizes argumentation as a linguistic and cognitive pattern for the resolution of problems expressed in a relatively regular series of speech acts, which are used to challenge or justify claims of validity, normative rightness and truth. The author states that the main purpose of argumentation is to persuade others in a wider sense, which can involve convincing others with sound arguments or influencing their counterparts with manipulative fallacies. The study of argumentation via the discourse-historical approach focuses on how certain discourses are justified. Reisigl (2014) explains this connects diverse aspects of argumentation in an integrative framework, as formal, functional and content-related aspects of texts. To explore argumentation, I identified different strategies, such as *topoi*, that are used to justify positive and negative attributes in texts, and fallacies (discussed further in Chapter 4, section 4.10.1). For the study of fallacies, the discourse-historical approach draws on the pragma-dialectical approach and its rules for critical discussion (van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 1992). Van Eemeren and Henkemans (2017), who are associated with the pragma-dialectical approach, define argumentation as a verbal, social and rational activity whose aim is to convince people of certain standpoints by justifying certain assumptions. The authors propose that argumentation is an everyday activity which tries to resolve disagreements in opinions, in which one of the parties presents a standpoint and the other challenges it. This approach proposes an ideal model of critical discussion that helps to evaluate argumentation in different contexts. Ihnen and Richardson (2012) state that the pragma-dialectical approach contributes to the analysis of argumentation in CDS by providing a framework to evaluate argumentation, the study and exploration of argumentative moves and to justify critique in these kinds of texts.

The analysis of argumentation in the context of this research will help to explain how the



debate in the context of dual screening is constructed and, more specifically, how people justify their claims in this hybrid media practice. Although the pragma-dialectical approach is based on an ideal model of deliberation, this framework can contribute to identifying the different elements that prevent the resolution of disagreements online.

#### 3.2.4 Political discourse

As Wodak (2011) suggests, the study of the relation between language and politics from a discursive (or linguistic) perspective is a relatively new field. Although the study of politics and rhetoric is one of the most ancient disciplines, this type of examination of politics focuses on persuasion, truth and morality. A discursive perspective, by contrast, integrates the study of different aspects of political practices to explain and understand everyday political activity. Political discourse can be defined as discourses related to a specific field. Reisigl (2008) suggests that discourses are multifaceted clusters of semiotic social practices related to a macro-topic. Therefore, political discourses can be defined as those connected to the topic of politics. In the same way, Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) explain that political discourse can be understood as language usage in a specific social field, i.e. politics. These types of use of language related to a specific social practice like politics are ways to represent different aspects of the world, usually linked to diverse perspectives and positions of social actors.

The focus on language use in a specific field defines the study of political discourse. Chilton and Schäffner (2002) propose that the main difference between political studies and the study of political discourse is the specific type of empirical evidence; from a discursive perspective, the principal source of evidence to understand and analyse a social practice is linguistic. There is no political activity without language use, and the authors explain that language is very closely related to practices and culture, and these are bound up with political practices in a culture. For that reason, the study of political discourse, based on linguistic evidence, is essential to understanding political and social practices in context. Political discourse can be understood as all language use related to political activity, in a broad sense, from institutionalized discourses to everyday politics. Chilton and Schäffner (2002) propose that politics can be defined in two main ways: the first is a struggle for power between those who want to retain it and those who seek to resist it. The other way to understand politics is as co-operation between different institutions and practices to resolve clashes of interest over power, money, liberty and others.

For Edelman (1967), politics is mainly symbolic. Language forms and terms are

perspectives on political symbols, and these subtly interfere with actions to build values, norms and policies of action. Language for Edelman (1967) represents political symbols and can be considered a catalyst for policy formation. Through the use of language, different participants construct the world in particular ways, which leads to specific forms of action. As discussed previously (section 3.1), political debate and deliberation in the public sphere can change the course of actions and, with that, the political arena, as discussions in different media about politics have the potential to change society.

Chilton (2004) approaches political discourse from a more cognitive perspective and argues that political discourse involves the promotion of representations. For that reason, utterances in political discourse need to be imbued with authority or evidence to gain legitimacy. Language is studied, from this perspective, as verbal actions in which speech acts are performed. On the other hand, Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) propose that political discourse can be primarily characterised as a form of argumentation. The authors explain that political discourse usually involves practical argumentation, which tries to argue for or against a way of acting, to decide a line of action or policy. For these authors, unlike Chilton (2004), political language is related to action as far deliberation for resolution is concerned, not only representations. For Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), political discourse promotes representations, but only if it provides premises in arguments for determined action. In that sense, Kienpointner (2012) proposes that practical argumentation is important to analyse political discourse but it is not the only argument scheme present in this type of text, as he also mentions others, such as arguments using analogies or arguments dealing with opposites. Political discourse can be explained in relation to political actors, organizations and institutions and how they engage in events and processes in a specific context. Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) define it as a form of argumentation in which there is discussion of common matters to try to resolve them. This model can be applied to democratic systems in which there are different perspectives and points of views to develop responses to specific situations.

Politics contains fields of action, understood as segments of social reality which shape and frame discourses, as Wodak (2011) proposes. To understand politics as action is necessary to integrate the study of related discourses. For Fetzer and Weizman (2015), political discourse cannot currently be conceptualized only as a product. Political discourses have become part of a dynamization process, in parallel to the developments and changes in media discourse. The process orientation of political discourse has become part of decision-making at different levels. KhosraviNik and Unger (2016) suggest that these

changes in the media allow people to get more involved in diverse processes, providing the tools to engage in political discussion and participate in decision-making processes.

The dynamics of political discourse can be observed in different expressions of political language, political speeches being one of the most recognizable genres in political discourse, but it is possible to identify diverse expressions of political discourse, such as televised debates, televised speeches, reports of political events in the press or even YouTube videos related to political topics. The different manifestations of politics suggest a symbiotic relationship between political life and the media (Wodak, 2011).

### 3.2.5 Feeding political symbols: political discourse in the media

Edelman (1967) explains that the media feed or sustain political symbolization. Political discourse in the media provides material for the construction of political symbols that determine and define people and their actions. Media discourse has the power to shape and transform society. Political discourse in the media helps to construct people's realities in different aspects (Talbot, 2007; Wodak, 2011). Wodak (2011) explains that the media play an important role in the construction and reinforcement of myths about political practices and their intentions, showing the probity and rationality underlying political decisions. The media can shape the reality and how people represent the world, and they play a very important part in the fictionalization of politics (Fetzer, 2014). Currently, the boundaries between politics and entertainment have become blurred. Politicians and celebrities are practically the same, feeding the media with scandals and developing political spectacle. The media can reduce complex processes to brief news or reports, or even ignore some issues and therefore hide their implications. Wodak (2011) maintains that the media can determine sociopolitical orientations.

As Fairclough (2006) explains, the media are a key element in the dissemination and legitimation of ideas, narratives and practices, among others, that are important in social transformation. In the contemporary age, the mass media are a primary social field for these processes, as governments and politics are now highly mediatized. Discussions of and reflections on politics and diverse social processes are in the mass media, and for that reason, what is identified as the cultural conditions of political and economic systems are influenced by mass media beliefs, practices and values. The media affect almost every aspect of social life, and politics is no exception. The media not only disseminate messages to reach larger audiences but also mediate those messages with semiotic codes, practices and rules determined by specific media. This mediation transforms the meanings and forms

of messages in an exercise of recontextualization. For that reason, the messages are not neutral but are determined by the media.

Fairclough (1992) argues that media studies has been separated from discourse and language analysis and has mainly focused on the reception of discourse by the audience, thus neglecting the linguistic perspective which can help in the understanding of social processes and change in the contemporary age. As Fetzer (2014) points out, the study of media discourse should adopt an interdisciplinary approach that includes elements of media studies. For example, research focusing on dual screening has been carried out mainly for media studies (see e.g. Anstead & O'Loughlin, 2011; Giglietto & Selva, 2015; Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2015), which is concerned with the dynamics between traditional dissemination and interaction with the audience, but not how it works as a social process or linguistic practice.

### 3.2.6 New practices in a new(-ish) media system

Social media as a new way to communicate and interact require different approaches regarding how language is researched in this context. The increasing amounts of data generated in social media contexts have opened up new fields of study, including linguistic and discursive approaches.

#### 3.2.6.1 *Discourse on social media platforms*

Social media can be defined as interactive media implemented on Internet-based platforms (Page, 2012). As stated previously, social media platforms combine both personal and mass communication, facilitating participation and interaction. These platforms have created new ways to communicate and new native genres, combining different modes which pose new challenges to the study of discourse in this context (KhosraviNik, 2017).

The study of language online has been carried out from multiples perspectives, including qualitative and quantitative approaches (Page et al., 2014). For the purposes of this research, I will focus on critical discourse studies, more specifically the application of the discourse-historical approach to study language in use in the context of social media related to broadcast media (Unger, Wodak & KhosraviNik, 2016). KhosraviNik (2017) states that the main object of CDS studies of social media is not the technology or the media but the discourse generated in these contexts; for that reason, the main theoretical and analytical categories of CDS, from more traditional studies, can be applied to digitally mediated communication.

Social media platforms play a relevant role in the configuration of society. Communication via social media as a social practice is mediated by power structures and different relations of dominance. These social platforms have generated new spaces for political engagement and citizen participation that can be studied from a discursive perspective. As Marwick (2014) explains, the study of online language from a CDS perspective can be a useful approach to conduct qualitative analysis on social media data, because it allows examining data closely and critically, by considering the power relations and ideologies present in those types of discourse. As Unger and KhosraviNik (2016) state, to analyse and interpret social media practices it is necessary to consider a wider sociopolitical context. Different levels of context need to be taken into account to explain these texts, such as the media context, media practices and the different affordances of these platforms, among others. Also, interdisciplinarity in CDS is emphasised in the study of these social practices, which should involve different frameworks with elements of sociology and media studies, among others, to understand digitally mediated communication.

The analysis of social media data should also consider the multimodal aspect. As KhosraviNik (2017) argues, the multimodal component is a key aspect to consider in the critical analysis of social media data, which includes audio and visual modes. Social media data, in that sense, can be considered essentially multimodal. Furthermore, social media platforms have incorporated new native elements into texts, such as hashtags, hyperlinks and likes, among others, that should be considered in different analyses. The media, for Wodak (2011), can determine orientations, because they are one of the most important sources of information for people, as they provide but also restrain access to political content. Social media sites have been challenging these restraints and transforming how people consume their news. This study analyses how social media and traditional media are related to debate and participation in political discussions. The exploration of communication in digitally mediated contexts, as social practices, supposes new challenges to CDS approaches but also new ways to explore the use of language in diverse contexts and how this is related to social and power structures.

### *3.2.6.2 Interaction in media contexts*

As I argue above, social media allow users to communicate in new and different ways, transforming interaction among social actors. The process of hybridisation of the media system brings new challenges to characterizing and analysing interaction, not only among the media but also among the participants of these interactions. The texts involved in this

kind of social practice show different ways to engage and relate with different participants in political debate; and for that reason, it is important to explain how interaction works in this kind of context. Chadwick (2013) explains that the exploration of concrete interactions can unveil power relations among different social actors in a specific media context. These interactions among actors reshape and restructure the media system and are crucial to the information flow between media. The study of real interactions and exchanges in this new media context can help in understanding the configuration of the media system.

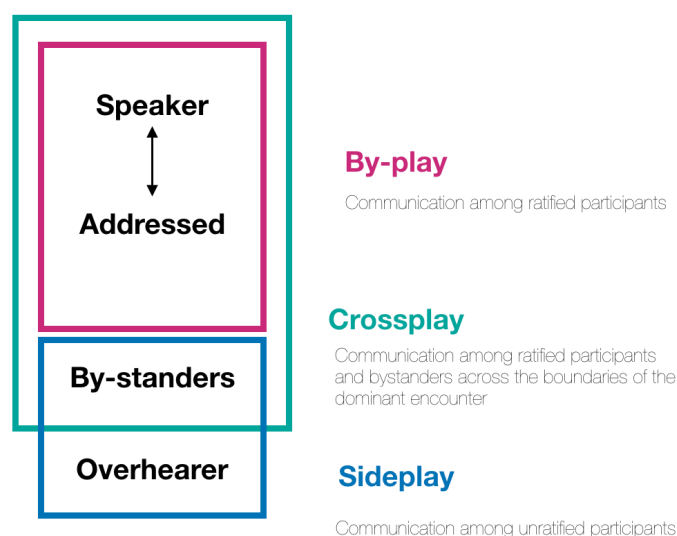
The study of interaction patterns is an important aspect of the analysis of political discourses in different contexts. Wodak (2011) takes into account the model of interaction developed by Goffman (1981), which considers multiple elements. For example, Goffman explores the importance of context to the understanding of utterances that may be used in political texts. Goffman (1981) further proposes that interaction is not a simple process and states that the traditional paradigm of talk is only considered to be part of interaction. From this perspective, the notion of speaker and hearer is more complex, not static, and interaction is not restricted only to those participants, it also includes other participants not related directly to the main interaction. Goffman (1981) explains that the traditional categories identified in the participation structure can be deconstructed. For example, the audience of a communicative performance is not limited to the addressee in social interaction. De Fina (2011) explains that hearer and speaker can play different parts in encounters, as the speaker can adopt the role of animator, author or principal. The animator is defined as the party who produces the utterance physically; the author is the one who originates the text and is responsible for the creation of the utterance; the principal can be defined as the person who commits to the content of the statement and is responsible for it. This classification shows that speaker categories can be relativized according to the degree of commitment to the utterances in the interaction, allowing more accurate characterization of the participants in encounters. This framework to analyse interaction has been incorporated into the study of different political discourses, mainly structured debates as parliamentary sessions and broadcast presidential debates (Myers, 2009; Ilie, 2017).

Ilie (2017) states that Goffman's (1981) distinctions help to identify the diverse roles played in a multiparty dialogue in which there are different participants involved in a social interaction: those who are direct addressees, ratified in the encounter; those who are ratified in the encounter but not directly addressed by the speaker, which are identified as bystanders; and those who overheard, their participation is neither noticed nor encouraged.

The members of the interaction who are ratified in the interaction are addressed or mentioned explicitly by the speaker, while unratedified or non-official participants of the interaction are not addressed by the speaker but can follow the exchange purposely (eavesdropping) or unintentionally (overhearers). Fetzer (2014) states that in the case of media, recipients of the content are overhearers in mediated communication and cannot participate actively in the interaction, but they can use a backchannel or second frame to communicate regarding the first interaction (first frame).

Following the distinctions among ratified and unratedified participants, Goffman (1981) elaborates a classification of encounters among different parties. The author categorises interaction between a subset of ratified participants as “byplay”; communication among direct addressees and bystanders which is carried out within the boundaries of the main encounter as “crossplay”; and interaction among bystanders and unaddressed participants as “sideplay”, as the following figure shows:

### Goffman's *Forms of talk* (1981)



*Figure 2. Goffman's model of interaction*

Figure 2 above shows the different types of interactions described by Goffman (1981), focusing on the participants and how they take part in the encounter. This characterisation helps to illustrate the complexity of encounters in which communication is not restricted to the speaker and addressee, as is usually considered in interaction, including other potential participants in encounters. This type of classification is also useful to analyse different kinds

of genres, especially political discourses, in which a variety of participants are involved, which will be explored in the following chapters.

The main theoretical concepts developed in this chapter contribute to the exploration of diverse semiotic resources in the practice of dual screening in the context of a hybrid media system. Social media platforms, as I discuss above, promote different kinds of political texts, including both uncivil and civil arguments and the exercise of politics, thus affecting the development of the public sphere and politics in different contexts. As discussed in previous sections, I see the use of social media in a hybrid media context as a space for political debate in which users interact and discuss diverse topics. Even though social media platforms may allow hostility and uncivil behaviour, the interactions generated also have the potential to contribute to the political debate, as I will show in the analyses later in this thesis.

In the following sections, I will present other parts of the study to understand how political debate is carried out on these platforms and how this contributes to the expansion of the public sphere in the Latin American context.



## Chapter 4: Data and Methods

In this chapter, I present the data and methodology of the study. In the first section, I describe the data set, following the design of the study, including a description of the two stages of analysis. This comprises the coding process for the entire data set and a detailed analysis of a sample of the data set. I also present the framework of analysis of the research, which draws on content analysis, the discourse-historical approach and semiotic resources in relation to each stage of the analysis. This research project analyses tweets related to political TV shows in Chile from a qualitative perspective, but with large-scale data collection. This chapter provides an overview of the data and the methods for collection of social media texts, presenting examples from the data to illustrate the categories used in the analyses, which are then presented in subsequent chapters.

### 4.1 Data selection and collection

For this research, I analysed tweets related to five Chilean political TV shows broadcast during the 2016 season. After collecting tweets from a full season of each TV show, from March to December, at the beginning of the process, I reduced the amount of data from 9 months of tweets to 3 months, due to the sheer volume of data. The original data set comprised 19,179 pages, with an average of seven tweets per page, giving a total of approximately 134,000 tweets to code. At the beginning of the coding process, I estimated it would take more than 8 months of full-time coding (for a single researcher) to finish the whole data set. The data were collected from the Twitter webpage and extracted as PDF files, and for this reason, there was not exact numbers of tweets per show at the time of collection.

*Table 1 Number of pages of data collected between March and December 2016*

Tv Show	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
Entrevista Verdadera	92	107	141	132	190	173	18	110	191	108
Estado Nacional	728	193	1,206	865	799	703	526	807	1,132	549
Ciudadanos	0	214	298	122	228	318	108	134	195	132
El Informante	0	0	0	105	724	2,541	849	301	320	573
MHCC	383	248	414	277	233	1,152	432	262	667	382
Monthly total	1,203	762	2,059	1,501	2,174	4,887	1,933	1,614	2,505	1,744

Given that the coding process was just one stage of the analysis, I decided to reduce the amount of data for the first stage of the analysis from ten to three months to make the data collection more manageable. The three months analysed were March, July and December, 2016. The dates selected match the beginning, middle and end of the TV season in Chile, which starts in March and finishes in December, usually recessing for the summer in January and February.

*Table 2 Number of pages of data collected from the months selected for the analysis*

<b>Tv Show</b>	March	July	December	Total per TV Show
Entrevista Verdadera	92	190	108	390
Estado Nacional	728	799	549	2,076
Ciudadanos <sup>1</sup>	214	228	132	574
El Informante <sup>2</sup>	0	724	573	1,297
MHCC	383	233	382	998
Monthly total	1,417	2,174	1,744	5,335

The final data set, therefore, comprises 39,684 tweets (1,114,808 words, which includes emojis, hyperlinks and every isolated character or group of characters) that were collected manually from the Twitter webpage and selected using official hashtags promoted by the TV shows and using the advanced search function of the Twitter platform to narrow down the collection dates. This kind of tweet is publicly available to anyone who has an account on the Twitter platform and is easily traceable. The tweets were recovered from the end of 2016 to the beginning of 2017.

Although collection using a Twitter search can be considered limited compared with automatized software extraction, this method offers other possibilities to the researcher, such as recovering data from past time frames or including different modes. As Latzko-Toth, Bonneau & Millette (2017) argue, an advantage of manual data collection is that it allows researchers to familiarise themselves with data in their “native” format. This allows the exploration of different kinds of content and phenomena, such as images, colours and

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<sup>1</sup> The tweets considered in March of the show *Ciudadanos* are from April, because the season of started at that time.

<sup>2</sup> There were not tweets collected from *El Informante* in March because the season of the show started in June.

avatars, among others, as shown in the following caption:

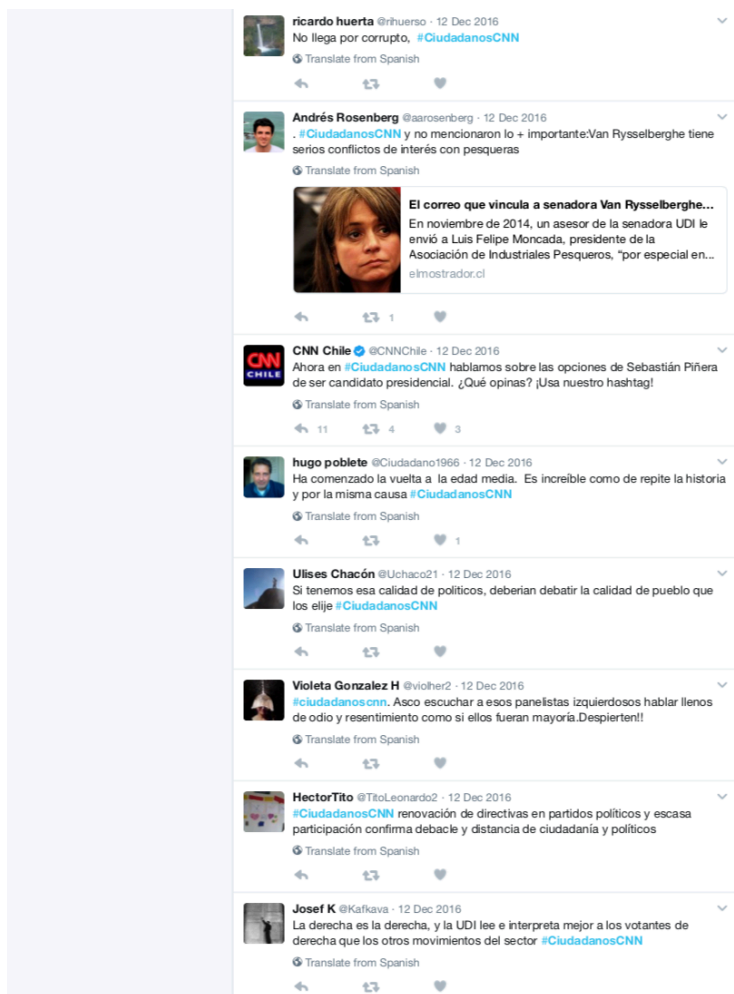


Figure 3 Example of data collected in a PDF file

The example shows a page from the data set and it illustrates the different elements that can be captured in this format. As can be appreciated from the example, PDF files collected in this way look very similar to the originals displayed on the Twitter website. Most of the software packages designed to extract social media data export tweets in plain text. Although this is very useful for the analysis of large volumes of verbal elements of tweets, for this research, I chose manual data collection. As stated above, one of the main aims of this research is to explore different semiotic resources. For this reason, manual collection in a “native” format allows approaching the data including most of the elements that are present for the user, including a wide variety of different semiotic resources and modes. A notable exception for this format is video, which is of course not captured in its original format in a PDF file. Also, some images are displayed in a preview format, with the full image being available to click on and expand in the original context, which can be accessed= from the same PDF file that also captures the hyperlinks present in the original

website as metadata. However, for any of these and other multimodal features, it is possible to find the original tweet (if it has not been deleted) and to examine it more closely on the native platform.

For the first stage of analysis, I coded the formal features and topics of three months of tweets, a total of 39,684 tweets. This process is explained in more detail in section 4.5, below. After the codification process, for the second stage, I analysed in detail a sample of 140 tweets randomly selected from the larger data set, selecting 10 from each TV show per month. The tweets were extracted into an Excel spreadsheet and selected using the random function, to ensure an unbiased selection. In this process, I extracted tweets from ATLAS.ti to the spreadsheet in different documents classified by month and TV show. After this, each tweet in the spreadsheet was assigned a number to identify it. Following this, those numbers were re-ordered with a random distribution in the spreadsheet to select ten from each document randomly. This process helped to downsize the data set to explore a smaller selection of tweets in more detail in the second stage of the research.

#### 4.2 “First screen”: description and characterization of television shows

Given that the social media data gathered for this thesis are related to political television shows in Chile, it is important to give some information about the television programmes in question. As mentioned above, the Twitter data generated by viewers are closely related to the discussion carried out on the television shows. In this sense, the shows give context to the online discussion. An awareness of the structure and main features of the TV shows, therefore, gives a better picture of the data (Roberts, 2008). As Boyd and Crawford (2012) state, social practices in social media cannot be understood in isolation. It is also necessary to understand the diverse perspectives and varied social actors that participate in creating meanings around these social practices. For this reason, to provide a context for the political discourses generated by users, I outline the main features and topics covered by the five TV shows whose hashtags are included in this study.

*Table 3 Television shows related to the social media data in this study*

Television show	Hashtag	Format	Guests	Broadcaster	Emission
Estado Nacional	#enacional	Panel show	Resident panel + guests	TVN	Weekly

Ciudadanos	#ciudadanoscnn	Panel show	Resident panel	CNN	Weekly
Entrevista Verdadera	#opinaev	Talk show	Interview with one guest	LA RED	Daily
El Informante	#elinformante	Talk Show	Multiple guests	TVN	Weekly
Mejor hablar de ciertas cosas	#MHCC	Panel show	Multiple panel members + guests	TVN	Weekly

As Table 3 shows, the different TV shows have different formats and were broadcast by different channels. Despite the structural differences between the shows, all are about politics and current affairs, and their guests are usually politicians or experts who are expected to analyse the political landscape and specific events. They deal not only with domestic politics but also international affairs from a Chilean perspective, such as the Venezuelan crisis or the impeachment of Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff. Another common element of the selected TV shows is that they all encourage viewer participation, via social media platforms, by promoting hashtags and including tweets on screen, as shown in the examples in Figure 4, below:



Figure 4 Promotion of hashtags on the shows

Figure 4 shows two screen captions of the TV shows *Entrevista Verdadera* and *El Informante*, which promote their official hashtags at the bottom of the screen. In the case of *Entrevista Verdadera*, the hashtag #opinoEV is promoted, though the Twitter account of the show, @entrevistalared, is also shown. The promotion of hashtags and accounts is not the only way in which the shows integrate social media into the broadcasts, there is also the inclusion of texts produced in the context of social media, as shown in Figure 5:



Figure 5 Examples of the inclusion of tweets in televised debates

This figure shows screen captions from two television shows, *Mejor Hablar de Ciertas Cosas* and *Estadio Nacional*. Both captions show in the bottom section of the screen tweets from the online discussion tagged with the hashtag of the show, including part of the online discussion on the televised show. The television shows include tweets from viewers during live transmission as a way to integrate audience opinions. Finally, other ways to include the audience via social media is participation via Twitter polls, which are part of the CNN TV show, *Ciudadanos*:

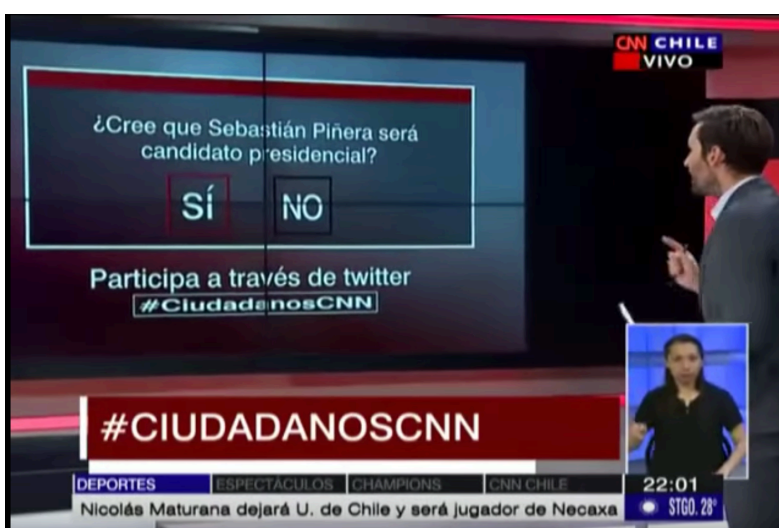


Figure 6 Twitter poll on broadcast TV

Figure 6 shows a screen capture from the TV show *Ciudadanos*. The image illustrates the inclusion of data generated online through a Twitter poll, which was posted by the broadcaster's Twitter account. The outcome of the poll was later discussed with the panel members as a sample of the public's views on certain topics. In this case, the social media platform provides new information relevant to the televised discussion.

Political TV shows have been widely studied as a televised genre that mixes elements of entertainment and political discussion (Giglietto & Selva, 2014). The Chilean TV shows considered in this research include some elements besides the discussion among the

panellists or guests: they also include clips that summarise the topics before the discussion starts, and extracts from other programmes showing previous interviews with politicians.

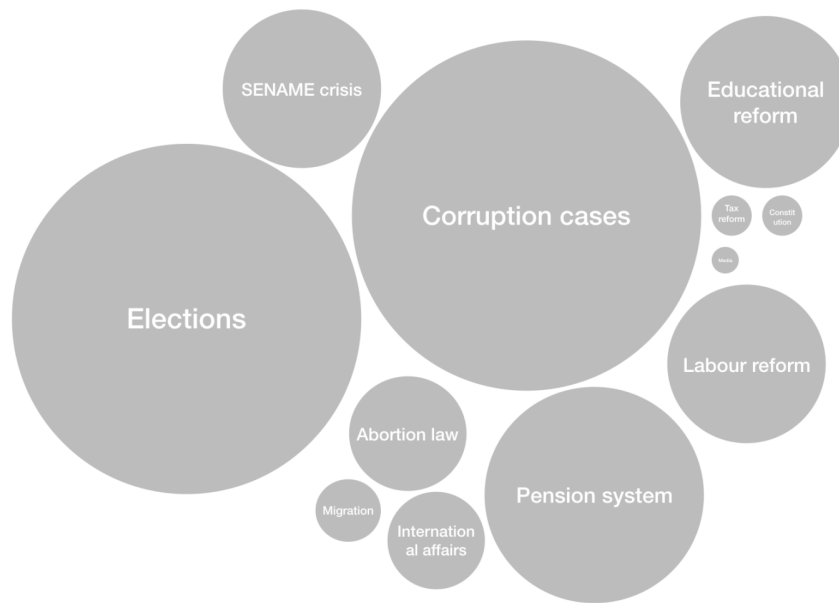
Access to the TV shows discussed in this study was through recordings of episodes, which are available on YouTube and the broadcasters' websites. After selecting specific months for which I collected Twitter data, I watched each show carefully and produced an outline of each episode (see Appendix, section A), including information about the show itself, such as the duration, participants involved and the main topics discussed.

*Table 4 Number of episodes of each TV show for the three months analysed*

TV SHOW	March/April	July	December	Total
Estado Nacional	3	4	3	10
Ciudadanos	4	4	4	12
Entrevista Verdadera	12	14	16	42
El Informante	0	3	4	7
Mejor hablar de ciertas cosas	4	4	3	11

Table 4 shows the number of episodes broadcast by the selected TV shows during March (or April in the case of *Ciudadanos*), July and December of 2016. In total, there were 82 episodes in this time period. Collecting information about the television shows helped me to understand the Twitter data and also to situate digitally mediated discussions in the hybrid media context. The context of each television show is also important to identify the participants; many of the politicians who are not guests on the shows are mentioned by other panel members or hosts and are thus indirectly included in the debate.

The main themes discussed in the TV shows are illustrated in the following figure by frequency of topic:



*Figure 7 Main topics in television shows*

Figure 7, above, shows the main topics discussed during the episodes of the television shows. In the figure, bigger bubbles indicate the most frequent topics across all episodes: different elections (presidential and municipal), along with corruption cases, were the most oft-discussed topics (for a full table of frequencies see Appendix, section B). The topics indicated here were identified from the headlines displayed on the screen and the topics introduced by the host at the beginning of the show, indicating the main topic of each episode. These topics can be considered primary discourse topics, which are introduced by the television show to frame the discussion, in contrast to secondary discourse topics that are developed later for the participants during the discussion (Krzyzanowski, 2008; Unger, 2013). Although the television show proposes certain topics for discussion, there are other topics that emerge during the interaction, not only on-screen but also online. In this case, to describe and give an overview of the television shows I only focus on primary topics.

#### 4.3 Ethical considerations

Studying language in social media contexts requires paying careful attention to ethical implications. The Association of Internet Research (2012) has produced a set of guidelines for the ethical use of digital data in research. The document provides key advice to



researchers interested in researching online data in digital media contexts in a responsible fashion. Texts posted on social media platforms such as Twitter or Facebook are related to human processes and social practices. Through these platforms, people can interact with others, communicate and express themselves. For that reason, it is necessary to think about risks and potential harm to users involved in these social practices. In these contexts, researchers have an obligation to avoid any potential damage to people whose data are involved in their studies. The concept of “harm” cannot be defined universally because this term is highly dependent on the specific context. Researchers need to be aware of this and try to minimise the risk of the participants in the study being exposed to harm (Markham & Buchanan, 2012). Despite this, even if the research does not involve direct human contact, it is necessary to consider the possible risks involved in it.

Markham and Buchanan (2012) explain that social media data usually comprise texts or language use produced in social media contexts. For this reason, these types of data cannot be considered as isolated from the individuals that produce them. All digital information on the network involves, at some point, human subjects. Therefore, every researcher needs to balance the rights of the people involved with the social benefits of the research. Among the elements to consider are the themes of the research; there are some topics that could be sensitive in different contexts. For example, religious beliefs and political orientation can be controversial and form part of people’s personal lives, which they have the right to keep private. In certain contexts, thinking differently about politics or religion can be dangerous and even put lives at risk. For this reason, researchers always need to be sensitive to these risks, in order to minimise the impact of the research on participants' lives.

The information collected in this research could be sensitive because is related to political beliefs. In both stages of analysis, I use tweets related to political TV shows from people who have not given explicit consent for research purposes. Nevertheless, the users of this platform are taking part in a public digitally mediated debate, in which they have deliberately chosen to participate by producing texts and using the hashtags promoted on-screen. These TV shows also include tweets from the public, expanding their potential reach to national television viewers. The tweets are addressed to a wide audience and involve users expressing their political views and being part of political discussions along with other people interested in the same topics.

One of my main concerns in conducting this research was the privacy of the producers of the texts under analysis. The social media data that are used in this study are publicly available on the Twitter webpage and tweets are easily searchable on the Web. For that

reason, I could not both guarantee anonymity and quote verbatim data, which is necessary to evidence the analysis. Therefore, the authors of the texts are cited, including their usernames. The participants of this study are Twitter users who have marked their tweets with hashtags related to TV shows, and they have thus willingly decided to participate in online discussions prompted by the shows. To participate in an online discussion, it is mandatory to have a Twitter account, which requires a name and a username, but there is currently no rigorous verification of users' identities in this process. The tweets collected for this research are addressed to a wide audience and involve users expressing their political views and being part of political discussions with other people interested in the same topics. Also, as previously stated, the TV shows include some social media texts on-screen during the shows, making the tweets available to a wider audience on national TV. The ethical considerations around this study were submitted to the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Lancaster University and were approved (reference: FL16112).

#### 4.4 Design of the study

Research into social media data generated by viewers of political TV shows represents a relatively new field of study, one which combines different elements of media ecology (Giglietto & Selva, 2014). Freelon and Karpf (2014) suggest that studying hybrid media might generate different kinds of content, and therefore require a hybrid method of analysis that combines different approaches. In this research, the analysis consists of two main parts: the first is an overview analysis and categorisation of tweets, in which I explore the main semiotic features and topics. The second stage involves a closer discursive and semiotic analysis of a detailed sample of the data collected. The first stage of analysis consists of the identification of topics and formal features in the entire data set to gain an overview of dual screening in the context of Chilean politics. The examination of formal features and topics helped me to understand how people use Twitter to participate in political debates in this hybrid media context and which semiotic resources are involved in this social practice. For the second stage of this research, I analysed in detail a random sample of the social media data coded in the first stage. The tweets were analysed using the discourse-historical approach (DHA) (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016) framework to explore the interaction and argumentative strategies found in this kind of data. The following table shows the type of analysis that will be conducted for each data set:

*Table 5 Data sets and procedures*

Data type and selection	Analysis	Amount of data
Twitter data  Three months of tweets marked with a hashtag from each TV show.	Codification of topics and formal features	39,684 tweets (5,335 pages of tweets in PDF files)
Sample of tweets  Randomly selected from the data set.	Detailed analysis of argumentative strategies	140  (10 tweets from each TV show per month were analysed)

This study includes a first analysis of tweets which involves processing large amounts of data. A corpus linguistics approach could have been useful, given this is a large amount of data (see e.g. Baker, 2006; Hardaker, 2016). Also, it could have helped to triangulate the findings of the discourse-historical analysis and extended the representativeness of the study (Baker et al., 2008). The use of corpus linguistics to explore social media data has contributed to the study of different social practices online, especially Twitter (see e.g. Potts et al., 2014; Hardaker & McGlashan, 2016; Page, 2012; Zappavigna, 2012). However, this type of analysis can also miss some features that are useful to discursive analyses, particularly argumentation analysis. For example, non-verbal argumentation, such as the multimodal resources present in tweets (images and emojis, among others), is currently difficult to capture in automated analysis without extensive manual tagging/coding. For this reason, and to complement the growing body of corpus-based research, I employ a qualitative perspective to study argumentation in these contexts.

The study of tweets related to television shows, as discussed in the previous chapter, has been mainly examined in media studies, and from a quantitative perspective to evaluate the reactions and engagement of audiences, using methods such as time series analysis (Bruns, 2012) or user and gratification analysis (see e.g. Wohn & Na, 2013). Most recent research on dual screening has been based on surveys conducted online to explore social media practices related to other media from users' perspectives and how these practices relate to political participation and social media engagement (see e.g. Vaccari & Valeriani, 2018; Gil de Zúñiga & Liu, 2017; Chadwick, O'Loughlin & Vaccari 2017); however, the content and,

more specifically, the texts produced in this media context are often neglected. Considering this, a qualitative approach to the practice from a linguistic perspective, focusing on texts produced in this context, can provide new insights into this social practice and make a contribution to the exploration of dual screening and its relationship to politics.

#### 4.5 Exploring the data: First stage of analysis

In the first stage of analysis, I categorised and coded tweets related to the hashtags of political TV shows in March/April, July and December of 2016. Social media data were extracted from the Twitter website and exported as PDF files. These were then loaded into the qualitative analysis software application ATLAS.ti for coding. The coding process consisted of the classification of the data into diverse categories with the purpose of creating information units, which could then be analysed. ATLAS.ti facilitates analysis by providing different tools to make the coding process quicker. Also, the software provides options for automatic coding based on particular terms, though in this case all the categorization and analysis of data was carried out manually by the researcher.

All the tweets are categorised by topic. To achieve this, I carried out a content analysis of every tweet (Krippendorf, 2014), during which I identified the main topic (this is described further in the following section, 4.6.1). This classification helped me to identify the most relevant topics of interest for the producers of political TV shows, as much as for their audiences. Wodak (2015) explains that political discourse (in particular from populists) cannot be reduced to only rhetoric and form. Analysis of this type of discourse requires studying the combination and integration of form and content to understand, explain and deconstruct messages in political contexts. Alongside topic classification, I identified and categorised the most salient formal features. Formal features can be understood as the most salient characteristics of tweets in their constitution, form and style (in a broad sense). The classification of formal features provides valuable information for a detailed analysis and helps me to describe how the users of Twitter construct their tweets to achieve specific purposes (Page et al., 2014). This first stage of analysis provides substantive information about the social practices under investigation. Furthermore, it helps to contrast the detailed analysis of stage two with a larger sample of texts, to triangulate the findings of this research. Despite the amount of data, in this case, I chose a qualitative approach to analyse my data set because this type of analysis helped me to take a more holistic approach to my data set and analyse different features that could be missed in others type of analysis, including videos and images, among others.

Giglietto and Selva (2014) demonstrate that content analysis can be useful for the study of political and audience participation in the context of dual screening. They developed a coding process in which each tweet was coded manually: they categorised tweets that explicitly referred to politics (i.e. that talk about politics or address political figures) and those that dealt with the show itself. This type of analysis is used to understand the dynamics of TV shows and related Twitter activity, specifically how the discussions proposed by shows and online discussion are related, e.g. whether the online discussion follows the topics proposed by the TV show or whether it is used to talk about other components of the television programme. Jensen (2015) argues that content analysis is a way to understand different dynamics between media, and in this case, content generated synchronously by both television and Twitter.

#### 4.6 Content analysis

Content analysis can be defined as a framework of analysis that can help to analyse diverse types of communication (Rapley, 2016). This type of approach can help to provide an overview of the data and a comprehensive and systematic summary. Wilkinson (2016) proposes that the most basic content analysis comprises examination of the data for recurrent instances, such as words, phrases or other types of ‘meaning’ units. Krippendorf (2003) explains that this method tries to make valid and replicable inferences from texts as meaning sources. For Krippendorf (2003), content analysis depends on the ability of the researcher to identify meaningful communication, related to a specific context. Content analysis of certain data can provide answers to research questions, with the inferences obtained starting from textual data. In the context of this research, content analysis helps me to understand the meaning units in my data, in the form of the topics identified in the first stage of analysis, and how those meanings shape the online political discussion about television shows. There are many studies that use this approach to study the relationship between different media, such as television and social media (see e.g. Giglietto & Selva, 2014; Wohn & Na, 2011; Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2015; Han & Lee, 2014). These researchers try to explain how people interact through social media in relation to different TV shows, focusing on the motivation of the audience to use online platforms, e.g. the use of social media to obtain more information about a certain topic, to interact with other viewers or to participate in a networked discussion about TV shows.

As Wodak and Meyer (2016) explain, critical discourse studies focuses on a wide range of language use phenomena, one of which is the topics found in discourse. CDS is concerned

not only with the linguistic structures of the texts, but also meanings. For that reason, it is important to understand topics related to the analysed texts. Wodak (2011) argues that the topic of a specific discourse can be the starting point of a field of action, which is understood to be a segment of societal reality, and this can help to represent the relations between fields, genres and discourses. Following this approach, the identification of topics can give valuable insights to describe and analyse the political field in a specific context.

#### 4.6.1 Coding process

The first stage of analysis in this study consists of the codification of the entire data collection. In qualitative research, a code is defined as a word or short phrase that assigns an attribute symbolically to a portion of data, generally language-based or visual (Saldaña, 2013). Codes are constructs generated by the researcher with the aim of capturing the primary content and meaning of data and thereby creating patterns, categories and other analytical processes. The coding process establishes a 'critical link' between the data and their possible explanation of meaning. For Flick (2008), the process of coding consists of labelling portions of data and creating clusters with other pieces of data. This process can be defined as an interpretive act, and for this reason, coding to create a system of classification is not an exact science. Codes are designed to create categories or families with some shared characteristics. As Bazeley (2013) argues, the coding process helps to stimulate and facilitate the analysis without a reduction of the data and without simply mechanizing the analysis. This process, as Rapley (2016) explains, involves highlighting pieces of data and developing a particular approach and a new way to interpret a certain phenomenon. In this research, coding helps me to answer the questions formulated at the beginning of this thesis, specifically how people debate in this kind of digitally mediated context, and what is discussed in the online debates I collected. As Saldaña (2013) explains, the coding process tries to generate an abstract and more general theory, starting from particular and real data. He proposes that to identify themes in a text it is necessary to categorize more primary concepts in a previous stage of coding. Then, as an analytical outcome of the coding process, themes can be defined. The main difference between codes and themes is the abstraction level: codes are explicit categories that describe some segments of data. In contrast, themes are subtle and try to represent more abstract processes. Rapley (2016) states that the coding process should be as systematic and rigorous as possible, but coding practices require constant reviewing and refining. I use this process to explore the data and search for new ideas and findings. I developed a coding process with the aim of identifying the topics debated in online discussions and how these

topics are related to political TV shows. This type of analysis, therefore, helps me to visualize how these two types of media are related, what is discussed and how the themes evolve between media, and also the main formal features used in this type of text.

#### 4.6.2 Coding in ATLAS.ti

The social media data extracted from the Twitter website for this study were processed with the help of ATLAS.ti, a computer-aided qualitative data analysis software (CADQAS) package. This program supports the process of qualitative analysis and is used for coding, providing tools to analyse text, images, videos, audio content and other formats. The coding process consists of the classification of data into different categories that can be analysed and grouped into broader categories. Although the coding process and categorization is carried out manually by the researcher, this kind of software facilitates systematic analysis and the recovery of information. All the tweets collected were categorised by their main topics and also tagged with codes related to their formal features, as shown in the following figure:

The figure shows a screenshot of a Twitter thread with four tweets. On the right side, there is a vertical column of ATLAS.ti coding tags (codes) applied to each tweet. The tweets and their corresponding codes are as follows:

- Tweet 1:** Corginario @Corginario · 14 Jul 2016. #elinformante el 24 de Julio nos vemos en la calle. Es donde han comenzado los verdaderos cambios para los países. **Code:** Participation
- Tweet 2:** Alejandro Alartz @Alartz · 14 Jul 2016. Que rabia tanto abuso e indolencia. No será ya tiempo de... #ElInformante. Includes a cartoon image of a man being executed. **Codes:** Image - Cartoon, Participation
- Tweet 3:** Félix TheCat @felixuls · 14 Jul 2016. Gran debate más allá del sistema pensiones #ElInformante ¿Cuanto descuidamos nuestros dineros, hasta q se acerca la Jubilación? @jumastorga. **Codes:** (In)Appropriate Behaviour, Direct Address
- Tweet 4:** Nicky Santoro @W\_Nelson30 · 14 Jul 2016. @W\_Nelson30 #ElInformante si se sube %de imposición se encarece mano de obra. Por eso no lo hacen por ley para no "perjudicar" a las empresas. **Codes:** (In)Appropriate Behaviour, Institutions - Others, Reply

*Figure 8 Process of codification in ATLAS.ti*

Figure 8 illustrates the process of codification in the ATLAS.ti, in which a PDF file is tagged. The software allows users to create 'quotes' of uploaded texts and link them with different codes easily. In this case, I selected each tweet manually to create a new 'quote' that was linked to various codes. The codes can be created while the codification process is in progress for the identification and tagging of emergent features or topics. The codes created in the process can be tagged with different colours to identify more easily the categories under study. The software also allows the researcher to establish links between codes and to create families of codes, which creates networks of concepts in the data. ATLAS.ti allows the extraction of 'quotes' (in this case tweets) to other formats, such as spreadsheets, to calculate frequencies or select random samples. The use of CADQAS expands the possibilities for the researcher because it allows them to manage larger amounts of data, compared with manual coding. In this case, the data collected amounted to more than a million words, for a data set comprising three months of tweets. The use of this software in the research helped me to check the occurrences and co-occurrences of diverse codes and also to establish some statistical information such as frequencies per code or per document. As Silverman (2016) proposes, content analysis of data can help to approach different phenomena systematically. The analysis of this type of discourse requires studying the combination and integration of form and content to understand, explain and deconstruct messages in political contexts. Codification in this context provides a conceptual approach to the data to describe them and to understand different elements of the dual screening phenomenon as a social practice. Saldaña (2013) calls this type of codification "descriptive coding". This process tries to summarise the topic of a text with a short phrase or a word, the essential topic of a piece of data. This type of coding process helped me to identify the topics of my data, and then analyse the patterns and categories involved in the online discussion. Saldaña (ibid.) also explains that this type of coding is a very useful to approach data using qualitative analysis software like ATLAS.ti. As previously stated, in the coding process I also coded the formal features found in tweets as different resources used in texts to participate in political debate, these are described in the following sections.

#### 4.6.3 Pilot study

My first approach to the coding process for dual screening data was a pilot study. I coded 4,567 tweets from four of the five Chilean political TV shows referred to in the main study. The tweets, from October 2015, were extracted from the Twitter webpage, using the



official hashtags promoted by the shows and displayed on-screen. The selected programmes were *Estado Nacional* (#enacional), *Ciudadanos* (#ciudadanoscn), *Entrevista Verdadera* (#opinav) and *El Informante* (#elinformante). The TV show, *Mejor Hablar de Ciertas Cosas* was not included in this pilot because it was launched during 2016. A pilot study allows the researcher to explore the data and test the coding process, before codification of the entire data collection. As already mentioned with regard to the main data set, the TV shows selected for the pilot analysis were broadcast on different TV networks. These shows target different types of audiences in terms of political affiliation and socioeconomic background, which provided a rich and varied pilot data set.

These tweets were categorised by topic and formal features. This process, as Saldaña (2013) explains, is known as the first cycle of coding, it is the first approach to the data and helps to develop, in a second stage, patterns to answer the questions about topics in the data. This process allowed me to test emerging categories and create a more efficient system of coding for the whole data collection. As a result of the pilot study, I created 43 codes to identify topics and formal features: 30 related to formal features in tweets and 13 to topics present in the text. In the tweets analysed, there are different formal characteristics that can be described as semiotic resources which help the producers to construct their texts in an online debate. The main formal features found in tweets related to the most frequent topic are listed and briefly described below, they are then discussed in more detail with illustrative examples in subsequent sections:

*Table 6 Codes related to formal features and topics identified on the tweets*

<b>Formal features</b>	<b>Topics</b>
Audio – Song	Argumentation
Direct address – Guest	Constitution
Direct address – Host	Corruption
Direct address – Institutions	Government
Direct address – Programme/Channel	Institutions
Direct address – Public figure / Political party	International Affairs
Direct address – Someone else	News
Emoji	Non-related

Hashtag – Evaluation	Participation
Hashtag – Nomination	Political Party
Hashtag – Theme	Public Figures
Hyperlink	Reforms
Image – Cartoon	TV
Image – Image Macro	
Image – Infographic	
Image – Photo	
Image – Poster	
Image – Screen capture	
Image – Text as Image	
Image – Website	
Mentions – Guest	
Mentions – Host	
Mentions – Political Parties	
Mentions – Public Figures/ Political Parties	
Mentions – Public Institutions	
Quote	
Quoted tweet	
Reply	
Taboo Language	
Video	

This pilot study (published in an earlier, abbreviated form as: Ibarra Herrera & Unger 2017), like the main study, was structured in two stages. The first stage identified the main topics discussed in the sample and the most relevant features of the texts, and the second involved analysing the argumentative resources of a subsample of tweets. In this subsample

I found that diverse multimodal features present in the tweets were used as evidence for the arguments. This analysis identifies the different characteristics of texts related to different television shows. In some of the TV shows analysed, the users speak more directly to the guests and participants of televised debates. This is the case for *Estado Nacional* and *Ciudadanos*, which display tweets from the public during their broadcasts, ostensibly increasing the interactivity with the audience online. Meanwhile the television shows *El Informante* and *Entrevista Verdadera* use more aggressive language, including more swearing and vulgar expressions, usually linked to ad hominem attacks against different participants in online televised debates. As in the main study, I also analysed different argumentative strategies, such as topoi and fallacies, used by the participants of online debates to build their arguments. These diverse practices in relation to televised debates can be influenced by the different structures of the televised shows, which shape the way in which the users interact with each other and also with different media (Ibarra Herrera & Unger, 2017).

The first stage of the analysis showed the most recurrent topics of the tweets analysed. Every tweet was linked to only one code to identify the main topic of the text. The table above contains some topics that can be clustered, e.g. “Reforms” and “Constitution”, in that changes to the Chilean Constitution can be considered a reform, or the “Government” can be considered an “Institution”. The topics are mainly related to the themes proposed by the TV shows (e.g. introduced by short clips explaining the most relevant facts about a specific topic), but they are also linked to other topics by the tweets. Following this initial coding process for the pilot data, I refined and re-elaborated the codes to make the process of coding more efficient and systematic.

#### 4.6.4 Refining the categories

With the information obtained from the pilot study, I was able to refine and re-elaborate the codes used. The aim of this procedure was to make the coding process for the whole data set more efficient, coherent and systematic.

To check the efficiency of the coding set I conducted a short survey to check the applicability of the codes to topic identification. The codes were tested with a sample of 12 tweets. I asked a group of 15 first-language Spanish speakers, most of them professionals related to social sciences, from 20–30 years old, to identify the topic of each tweet, writing a short answer. I then elaborated new categories starting from the short answers and codes from the first cycle of coding. With those codes, I explained each code

to the group and asked them to classify each of the tweets. This was a way to test the efficiency of the coding system: as Rapley (2016) proposes, when the process of coding is carried out by just one researcher, the study can benefit from the inclusion of other participants to re-apply the codes and test the process.

After testing the codes, I reclassified them and eliminated redundancies in different categories. To achieve that, I tried to group the codes and create wider categories that could help to link different codes. Regarding the codes used to identify topics, those were grouped into two bigger categories, namely social actors and social processes. In the case of codes applied to formal features, I re-elaborated and re-grouped the categories first used in the pilot study. I also added two more related to new features of the Twitter platform: GIFs and Polls. Furthermore, I eliminated the code related to audio, mainly because the platform does not allow the direct inclusion of audios or songs, these can only be integrated with hyperlinks. Finally, I restructured the codes for images, which I had initially coded in different categories for posters and infographics. An infographic is defined as an information visualization or a graphic composition of one or more data visualizations to make them accessible and comprehensible (Amit-Dahni & Shifman, 2018); in that sense, the information on a poster can be considered a visual display of information that allows the user to share information of a different nature to other users. For that reason, I merged both categories, posters and infographics, which proved to be more efficient than classifying them separately.

The tweets analysed were classified by topic and formal features, but I also tagged tweets unrelated to the political discussion, TV shows or related topics, as advertising different products or services. These were marked as *Spam* and I did not tag other features or topics, as the following example shows:

Example 1



[Try #Hosting 30 days FREE cPanel Softculous +200 apps #HappySunday #SadStoryInThreeWords #enacional]

This kind of tweet was identified with the code *Spam*, however, they were not identified as having different formal features present in them. The hashtag of the TV show is used to advertise a product, alongside other hashtags. This type of tweet was coded in a total of 1,022 tweets and counted in the total data set.

#### 4.6.4.1 Social actors as participants in political tweets

Social actors can be broadly defined as participants in social processes, with different roles, and they can be represented in diverse ways in texts (Van Leeuwen, 2003). The different social actors present in the tweets were classified with the following set of codes:

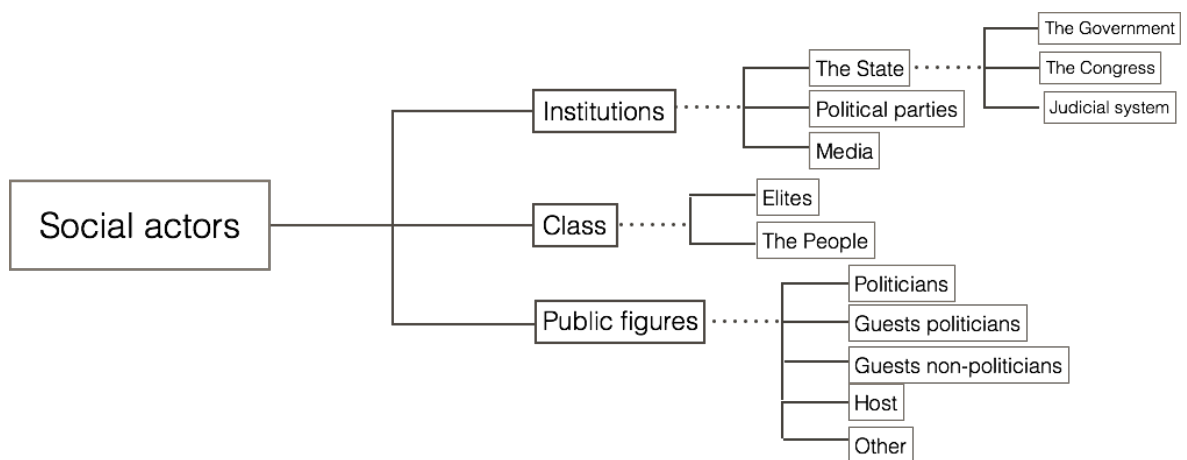


Figure 9 Categories and codes related to social actors in the topic classification

As is illustrated in Figure 9, in the case of social actors, I identify three categories under

this concept. *Institutions*, *Class* and *Public Figures* are overarching categories for the other codes (see examples in section 4.7). The category of *Institutions* was used to identify different organizations that are included in the tweets.

- The State: is a broader category that groups codes related to the different branches of the state in the Chilean political system, such as central government, congress and the judicial system.
  - Government: related to centralised government institutions. This code mainly refers to the ruling government at the time of data collection, that of Michelle Bachelet, part of a centre-left coalition of parties, called *Nueva Mayoría*, which includes Christian Democrats and Socialists, among others.
  - Congress: related to the parliament and its activities. This category includes the lower (Representatives or Members of Parliament) and upper (Senate) chambers.
  - Judicial System: linked to the Chilean judiciary system, including the supreme court, courts and attorneys, mainly related to high profile cases.
- Political parties: related to Chilean political parties, mainly those which are represented in Congress. I include in this category not only political parties, but also coalitions and references to the two-party system (Left-Right). For the purposes of this research, in this case, I considered institutions that seem to be recognised as political parties by users.
- Media: media organisations and output, and specifically mass media. This category is used to classify tweets related to the TV shows and broadcasters, but also related to other types of mass media, such as print and radio.
- Others: other public and private institutions that are part of the political debate, such as the armed forces, universities, churches (usually the Catholic Church) and private companies.

The codes in the category of *Class* are mainly related to the dichotomy between different classes and those in power. The concept of class is always determined by the domination or exploitation of one group over another, inequality and constant class struggle (Fuchs, 2014). Even though the struggle between different groups can be considered a social process, in this research, the category *Class* was used to identify social groups that can be characterised by their position in relation to power, such as those with power (*Elite*) and the common people (*The People*):

- Elites: tweets about groups of privileged people who have the most power in Chilean society, e.g. the political class or the upper class. I also include in this category tweets about nepotism, despotism and explicit mentions of political class.
- The People: in contrast to the code *Elites*, this code group's tweets related to ordinary people, the mass population, who are the labour force in the country and have no privileges.

The category of *Public Figures* is used to refer to different actors in the public sphere in the Chilean context. This concept groups the following codes:

- Politicians: politicians, people involved in Chilean political activity, e.g. public servants or parts of political parties that are not directly a part of the televised discussion as guests.
- Guests (politicians): politicians who are invited onto TV shows as guests and participate directly in the televised discussion.
- Guests (non-politicians): guests of the programme, such as journalists, experts, analysts or panel members who do not have a political position.
- Host: the hosts of the TV shows analysed, who moderate the televised debate.
- Other: other public figures whose activities are not explicitly or directly involved with politics and are not part of the show as guests.

#### 4.6.4.2 Social processes

The other main category of topic codes relates to social processes. The category *Social processes* is related to actions, which are the core of social practices, as van Leeuwen (2003) proposes. Even though the classification of social actors and social processes is inspired by van Leeuwen's (2003) distinctions, the different codes in this research, as discussed

previously, emerge from this specific data set.

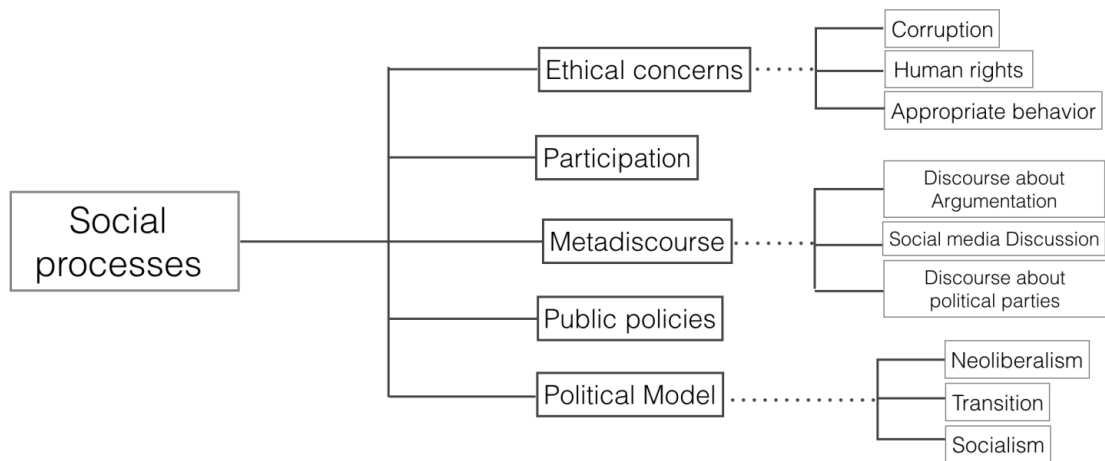


Figure 10 Categories and codes related to social processes in topic classification

The figure above shows the codes related to social processes identified in this data set. The first category in the figure is about *Ethical concerns*. This concept groups different types of issues related to ethics:

- **Corruption:** different corruption cases, such as embezzlement, bribery and tax evasion among others, not only from government figures but also for other political and public figures. Ríos-Figueroa (2012) defines corruption as the misuse of public goods for private gain. For the purposes of this research, I included in this classification most criminal activities related to the exercise of politics.
- **Human rights:** related to human rights conventions and humanitarian values, especially violations of rights in different contexts, and a lack of dignity, among others. For this research, I understand human rights as a programme of social action based on the premise that every human being has inalienable rights.
- **(In)appropriate behaviour:** tweets linked to different actions that are considered by Twitter users as unethical behaviour, but not necessarily criminal, especially by members of the public sphere. This includes laziness, dishonesty, indifference, insincere behaviour and ignorance, among others.

The category *Participation* groups tweets related to the participation of citizens in the political and public spheres. As explained in Chapter 3, participation is the right of people to be part of decisions, to control and govern structures that affect them (Fuchs, 2013). This code groups all tweets related to formal participation in the public sphere, such as elections and referendums, but also includes other means of participation of social



movements, such as calls for protest and other types of activism both online and offline.

*Metadiscourse* relates to those texts that specifically refer to language and language use. Bennett (2014) explains that the concept of metadiscourse can be used in the media to comment on and interpret others' discourses.

- Discourse about argumentation: identifies tweets about the quality of the discussion, argumentative strategies, fallacies and the structure of argumentation in a televised debate.
- Social media discussion: refers to the use of language to comment on social media activity and discourses. Digital media metadiscourse is described by Barton and Lee (2013) as how social media users talk about language related to their participation online.
- Discourse about political parties: refers to political discourse related to the manifestos and programmes of different political parties in the Chilean context. In this category I included tweets about populist rhetoric and xenophobic discourses, among others.

The code *Public policies* relates to those tweets about different reforms and public policies implemented by the government. Public policies can be defined, as Marin (2013) proposes, as government actions which influence or modify citizens' lives and their environment. For example, in the case of this data set, this code groups tweets related to changes and reforms to the current Constitution, the abortion law or new reforms to the educational system in Chile, among others.

The category of *Political models* groups different political and economic models that are relevant to the Chilean political context.

- Neoliberalism: refers to the economic model imposed by the dictatorship in the 1980s in Chile to today. Stromquist and Sanyal (2013) explain that the concept of neoliberalism refers to an economic and political theory which proposes that human wellbeing can be achieved through free-market policies, rigorous property rights and free trade.
- Transition: relates to the process of transition from a dictatorship to democracy in Chile, which is usually associated with the first four *Concertación* governments (for more see Chapter 2). This period is characterised by economic growth, the implementation of certain social policies and prudent management of macroeconomic and political processes (Valenzuela et al., 2013).

- Socialism: related to socialist regimes and policies. In the Chilean context, this can refer to Salvador Allende’s socialist government, which was democratically elected in 1970 and overthrown in 1973, but it also refers to other past or current socialist regimes around the globe, such as those in Cuba, the Soviet Union, North Korea or Venezuela.

#### 4.6.4.3 Formal Features

As previously discussed, this first stage of analysis involves the codification of formal features in tweets related to televised discussions. To the purpose of this research, the concept of formal is related to form, as in contrast to function. In this thesis, the classification of different features of the texts as formal is related to the form of the tweets, identifying diverse elements and semiotic resources in the texts analysed. The codes used in this stage are shown in the following figure:

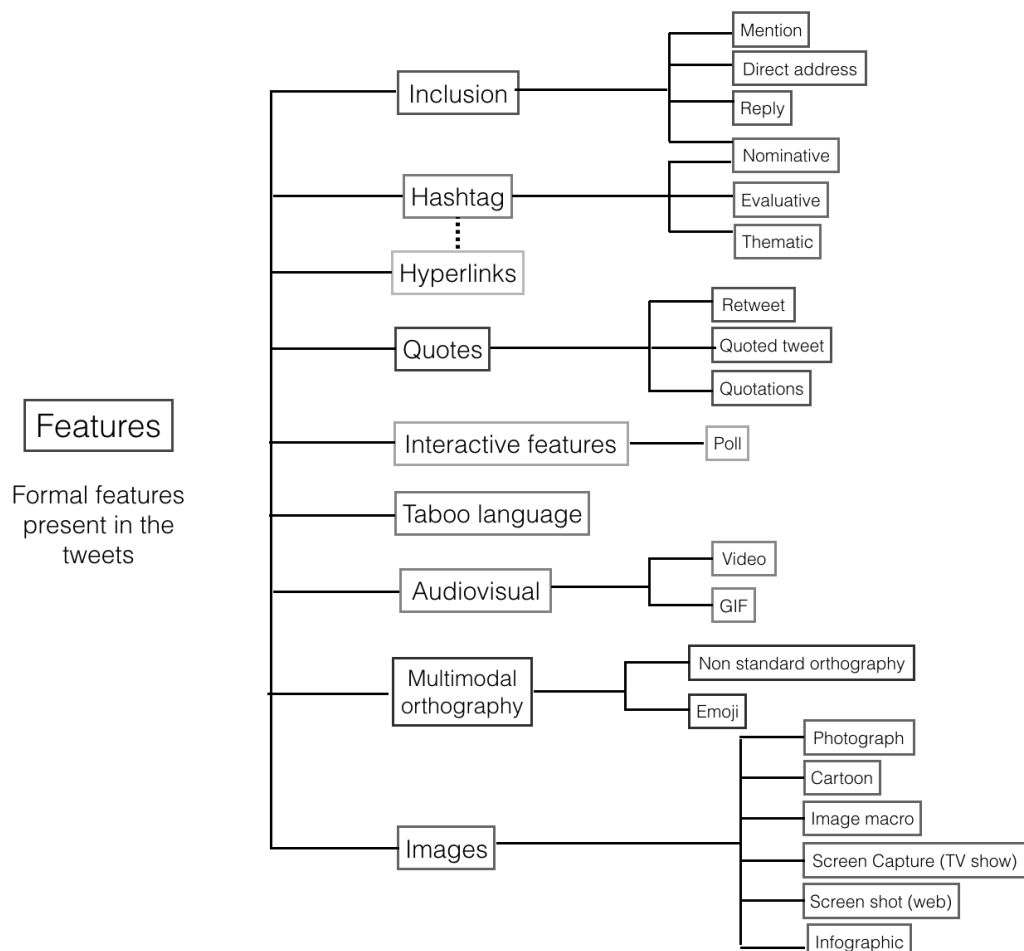


Figure 11 Classification of codes that identify formal features in tweets

Figure 11 illustrates the classification of codes related to formal features in the data collection. As part of the process of re-elaboration of the categories to make the coding

procedure more efficient, I eliminated codes that specified who was mentioned or addressed directly in tweets. That information is available through topic codification via social actor groupings. In the coded tweets, there are different formal characteristics that can be described as semiotic resources, which help their producers to construct their texts in an online debate. The formal features found in tweets are listed and briefly described below:

- Mentions: named social actors who occur in the text. This classification was used if tweets referred to guests, the host of the TV show, public figures, political parties or public institutions, among others, in the tweet.
- Direct Address: inclusion of social actors using their Twitter usernames. The usernames are preceded by an @ symbol and link the tweet to a specific account.
- Reply: response to another tweet. This procedure links a tweet as an answer to a previous one.
- Hashtags: these are short snippets of contiguous text preceded by a # mark. As Page (2012) explains, hashtags enable visibility and increase the potential interaction of other users with tagged tweets. Twitter has a built-in function that makes hashtags searchable on the platform and treats each hashtag as a hyperlink to a collection of the most recent/ salient tweets with the same hashtag. They are classified into three subcategories: thematic, which indicates the topic of the tweet; nominative, which is used to link the tweet to someone; and evaluative, which indicates a particular stance or viewpoint. It is important to note that all the tweets from the data set are marked with the hashtag of a TV show in order to be part of the discussion of the programme, but I did not include these as part of these codes.
- Hyperlinks: links to other websites or non-embedded multimodal resources.
- Retweet: repost of someone else's tweet, indicating the original source.
- Quoted tweets: Twitter allows its users to repost someone else's tweets and add a comment to it.
- Quotations: insertion of quotes into the text of a tweet. Usually the quote is from the guests on TV shows or other public figures.
- Polls: survey provided for the Twitter platform, which allows the user to ask a question that can be answered with several options for other Twitter users

- Taboo language: colloquial expressions and swear words used in tweets. For the purposes of this research, the code ‘taboo language’ was used to identify different colloquial expressions and swear words used in tweets. As McEnery (2006) explains, the use of this type of language is a very complex social phenomenon. However, in this case, I use this label to point out some words and expressions that are considered taboo in Chilean Spanish (according to my own contextual knowledge). The code taboo language is therefore used for a type of language that is not present in television shows, excluded from televised debate, and considered vulgar.
- Videos: audio-visual resources added to tweets using the Twitter platform or others, such as Periscope or YouTube.
- GIF: today ‘GIF’ is typically used to mean an animated GIF or an otherwise short, silent, looping, untitled moving image (Eppink, 2014). Often, this type of feature has captions which complement the animation.
- Non-standard orthography: defined as unconventional or stylised spelling and punctuation. Also, the use of acronyms or word reductions, among others.
- Emojis: pictograms used in digital communication. As Danesi (2016) explains, emojis can be seen as symbols or signs that are linked with each other in specific ways, not only formally but also semiotically. These symbols are currently an active part of online communication.
- Images: visual resources added to tweets using Twitter’s native image upload capabilities or hyperlinks linking directly to image files (which are displayed as embedded images in most Twitter clients). Images can be considered to be a partial construction of the social world, that can work as an evidential document (Hand, 2016). Subcategories include photographs, cartoons, image macros (images, typically established memes, usually with large areas of white text at the top and bottom of the image, and usually with humorous intent), screen captures of TV shows, screenshots of websites and infographics, which are graphic displays of information.

#### 4.6.5 Applying the codes

After the process of re-elaboration of the codes to identify topics and formal features, I tested the efficiency and viability of the coding procedure. In contrast with the first coding

process for the pilot study, under the revised process each tweet can have more than one topic code. The coding process in this study is focused on topic classification and not on the identification of actions carried out by the Twitter users in their texts, such as ways to protest against, sanction or even congratulate others. In this section, I will present some examples of the data to illustrate the application of the codes (examples are presented in the following section 4.7). Topic identification can involve one or more codes, as shown in example (2). The example shows a tweet about participation in citizenship as a way to reject the elite. Even if the user is arguing against political participation from a conservative perspective, the main topic of the tweet is still participation. For that reason, that text was tagged with two codes that were described previously: *Class – Elite*, which refers to the political class in the text in opposition to the people, and the code *Participation* that shows a way to be part of political action. In example (3), the topic of the tweet is related to the codes *Class – the people* and *Human Rights*. In this case the code *Class – the people* is suggested by “Chilean workers” and “our brothers”. The tweet is also about decent salaries for workers and maintaining their dignity, which is identified using the code *Human Rights*.

The aim of this coding process is not only identifying the topics in texts and trying to summarize the content of the discussion, but also describing the main formal features of tweets. Likewise, in the first coding process, there can be more than one code, as shown in example (4). The tweet shows different formal features that help to enhance the text with other semiotic resources, such as images. In this case, a photograph of a protest, a hyperlink to a Facebook publication and a hashtag with the motto of a protest, which demands the end of the current pension system. As the example shows, each tweet can be assigned different codes simultaneously. In this case, three are related to formal features: **images, hyperlinks** and **hashtags**; and two are related to topics of the tweet. ATLAS.ti allows different codes to be linked and it can then create families and relations between diverse categories to get a more complete overview of the data. In this study, I use this feature to analyse how social media discussion is related to politics and other types of media.

The codes are wide categories that can group large numbers of tweets. The tweets in my data set can be easily identified with particular topics if they include some terms related explicitly to the codes but can also require closer examination to determine the code to be applied. Example (5) shows a tweet linked to the code *Political model – Neoliberalism*. The words neoliberalism or capitalism are not mentioned, but the tweet refers to the current political and economic model. Furthermore, the tweet mentions “shopping malls”, which

are usually linked to neoliberalism and the importance of the market, as opposed to industry processes (Harvey, 2007). In this case, I drew on my contextual knowledge, which would arguably be shared by many Chileans, to assign this tweet to this topic, even though it is not explicitly mentioned. A similar case can be observed in example (6), which is classified as part of the code *Political Model – Transition*, even though there is no explicit reference to the transition as a model or period. There is, however, reference to a slogan used in the campaign in 1988 for the plebiscite to return to democracy (*Chile, the joy will come*), in which the *Concertación de partidos por la Democracia* defeated Pinochet. The *Concertación* campaign proposed that, after the dictatorship, democracy would bring joy to Chileans and new ways to exercise politics. This campaign originated in the transition period and was widely reproduced by the *Concertación* parties. For this reason, it is reasonable to relate this tweet to the topic of transition.

The manual coding process manages to capture not only diverse formal features used in the tweets to enhance communication but also different levels of meaning in the texts and contextual references that would be missed in an automatic classification, allowing a more accurate classification of tweets. This process, therefore, leads to a better understanding of the dynamics between the content produced in social media linked to political TV shows.

## 4.7 Examples

### Example 2



**Caminante...** @jaran\_13 · 19 Jun 2016  
Una forma democrática y pacífica de protestar en contra d la clase política es rechazando su forma d reproducción, las primarias. #enacional  
Translate from Spanish  
2 2

Quotation 2:1  
Class - Elite  
Participation

*[A democratic and peaceful way to protest against the political class is rejecting their reproduction system, the primary elections.]*

### Example 3



**Francisco Vidal** @fcovidalv · 22 Jun 2016  
70% de los trabajadores chilenos gana menos de 450 lucas #inaceptable sueldos dignos para nuestros hermanos #opinoev #fundacionsol  
Translate from Spanish  
1 2 3

Quotation 2:1  
Class - People  
Ethical Concerns - Human Rig...

*[70% of Chilean workers earn less than 450 lucas<sup>3</sup>#unacceptable decent salary for our brothers #fundacionsol]*

### Example 4



**OPAL** Prensa OPAL Chile @prensaopal · 25 Jul 2016  
#MHCC Así marcharon cientos de miles de personas en Santiago para decir #NOMasAFPs m.facebook.com/story.php?stor...  
Translate from Spanish

Prens...  
Hyperlink  
Image - Photograph  
Hashtag - Theme  
Participation  
Class - People

*[Here are hundreds of thousands of people protesting in Santiago to say #NOMasAFPs (NOMoreAFP)]*

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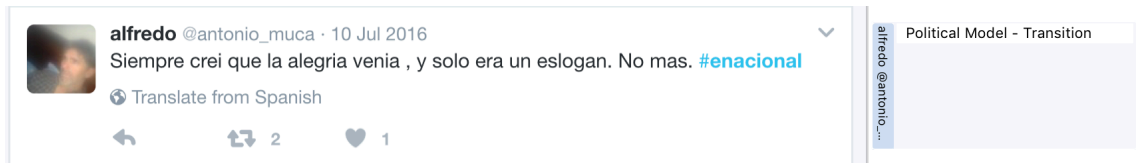
<sup>3</sup> Lucas is a colloquial way to refer to 1,000 Chilean pesos; similar to *quid* for *pounds* in the UK context, or *bucks* for *dollars* in the US.

Example 5



*[The economic model finished Chilean industry, that's why secondary technical schools have decayed. The shopping malls are not industry]*

Example 6



*[I always believed that the joy would come, and it was just a slogan. No more]*



## 4.8 Semiotic resources

Van Leeuwen (2004) defines semiotic resources as signifiers, actions or objects which can be observed and have a role in social communication. These semiotic resources have a theoretical semiotic potential, developed by past uses and potential ones. These uses are mainly situated in social contexts. For this reason, as social practices, their uses are regulated by the situation or their users. Semiotic resources are part of a system which evolves to serve different social functions. According to Lemke (2009), the study of semiotics and how semiotic resources construct meanings is necessary to understand how political power works. This type of analysis can help to explain how power is exercised and distributed. Twitter users can draw on different types of resources to build their arguments. Unlike some older forms of purely verbal social media platforms (including previous iterations of Twitter), users are not restricted to traditional verbal argumentation. The users of this platform draw on a wide range of other types of resources to construct their arguments when participating in online discussions. This could be related in part to the fact that Twitter allows texts of a very limited length within each post (140 characters at the time the data were collected), which can be complemented with other kinds of semiotic resources.

### 4.8.1 Verbal resources

There are different ways to linguistically represent the actors involved in a specific text. As suggested above, Reisigl and Wodak (2016) describe some analytical categories that are useful in analysing the representation of social actors in discourse. These categories can help to identify how others are represented in this type of discourse and how arguments are constructed. In the same way, the Twitter platform has different features that allow users to enhance their texts, facilitating interaction. For example, **directly addressing**, **mentioning** or **replying** to other Twitter users involves different elements to connect these texts. These features can be used to represent others in an online discussion and address texts to certain actors. In this category, I also include different ways to include other texts in tweets, such as **quoting**, **retweeting** and **quoted tweets**. The following example shows a tweet that has a **quotation** from one of the guests on the TV show, in quotation marks, and also includes the guest with his username (**direct address**):

### Example 7



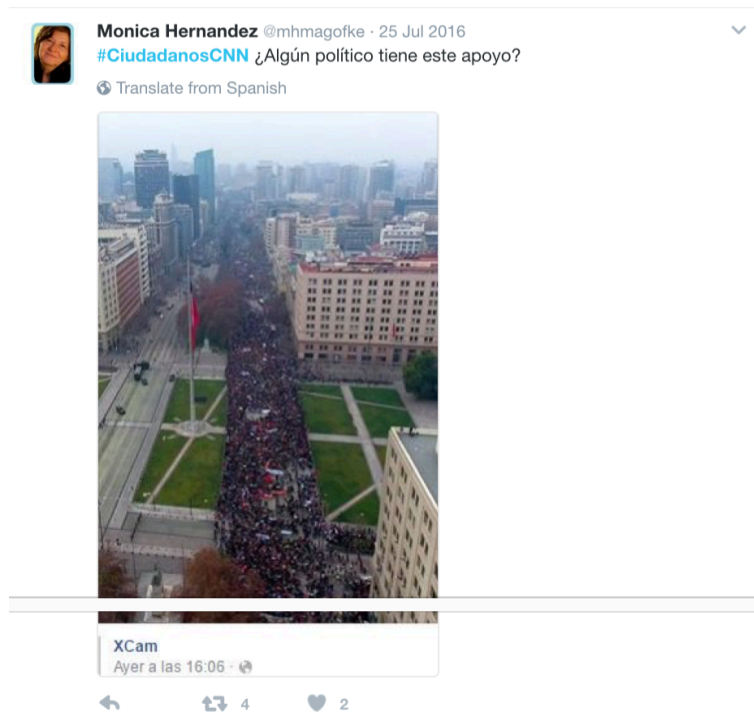
*["I've made more friends from the other side than from my coalition" @SenadorGuillier after the show was ended]*

This example illustrates the inclusion of others in text. In this case, the user not only includes the username of one of the guests on the show, but also includes his utterance from the show.

#### 4.8.2 Visual resources

As I suggest above, if language is conceived as a resource to store social knowledge and construct the reality, this means that the analysis cannot focus only on the verbal component of texts. For a more holistic interpretation of communication in a broader sense, it is also necessary to incorporate semiotic resources going beyond verbal language. Jancsary, Höllerer and Meyer (2015) propose that different modes are semiotic resources that are shaped in a given social and cultural context to create meaning. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) explain that visual structures can point to particular forms of social interaction and experiences. The choice to express something verbally or visually can make a difference and affect the meaning. The meanings of visual representations can be analysed using elements of visual grammar or structure. Different modes are restricted by situations; not everything is appropriate all the time. As Jancsary, Höllerer and Meyer (2015) explain, different modes are determined by institutional and cultural conventions or rules. In the case of social media, for example, platforms allow different modes in the discourses produced, such as visual resources, **images**, **videos**, **emojis** and **GIFs** among others, which help the users to construct their texts. This is shown in the following example, with an image of a protest in Santiago:

### Example 8



*[Is there any politician with this much support?]*

The example above shows a tweet that addresses politicians as a group, questioning their popular support and relation to citizens' concerns. To achieve this, the user shows an image of a massive protest of the NO+AFP movement that brought together thousands of citizens. In this case, the image is very important to understand the user's standpoint in relation to the debate.

#### 4.8.3 Hypertextual resources

Following Lemke (2009), hypertexts can be defined as a type of digitally mediated text which links one unit to another and establishes different relations between modes. These multimodal relations cannot be considered as a juxtaposition of text and other resources, but rather as a new type of modality. These resources allow users to interact with the platform and jump (or as Lemke puts it, traverse) to other texts, images, websites or platforms, and these connections involve particular social practices that are useful to analyse in the context of dual screening. Hypertexts, according to Lemke (2002), are multisequential. The links in hypertexts make them versatile because they have multiple trajectories or traversals on websites. For that reason, there is not a single default reading for a hypertext. This feature allows the users of these platforms to create new sequences and participate more actively in the creation of meanings. Hypertext from this perspective

offers more complex dialogical relations between developers and consumers and also offers new possibilities. The different modes involved in a text contextualise each other and are influenced by each other's interpretations. In the case of this research, I consider hypertextual resources to include **hyperlinks**, **hashtags** and **interactive features**. The tweet below shows an **interactive feature** (a **poll**) in which the user asks other participants in the discussion about the political role of one of the guests:

*Example 9*



Leo \\_(ツ)\_/ @Leo\_Carvajal\_R · 27 Mar 2016

Usted cree que Andrade llego a ser presidente de la cámara de diputados por un favor político?? [#enacional](#)

Translate from Spanish

91%	Si
0%	No
9%	Se lo merecía

11 votes • Final results

*[Do you believe that Andrade became president of the lower chamber as a political favour??*

*Yes/No/He deserved it]*

In the tweet above, the user asks other users of the hashtag and his timeline about their opinion in relation to one of the guests on the show. The poll shows the different percentages for each possible answer and also the number of users that participate in the survey. This new element helps to monitor the reactions of a community of users and allows people to vote without comment or engaging in the rest of the debate.

#### 4.9 Second stage of analysis: Argumentative and discourse strategies in the dual screening context

In the second stage of this study, I conducted a detailed analysis of a sample of the Twitter data I gathered. As Marwick (2013) states, analysis of discourse in digitally mediated contexts, and specifically its relationship with power and ideology, needs to be carried out on a relatively small sample to allow the researcher to explore texts in more detail and depth. For this reason, the second stage of analysis comprised a small sample from the larger data set that was analysed in the first stage. This analysis focused on argumentative strategies present in different texts and their relation to the discussion on TV. To select tweets for a detailed analysis, I used a random formula to collect ten tweets related to each television show per month analysed to get a sample of 140 tweets.

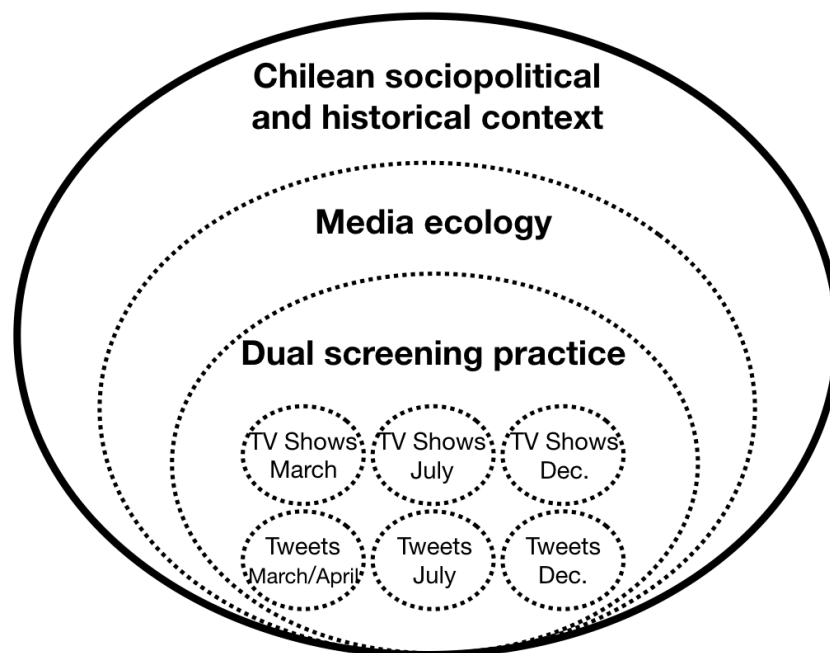
Unger, Wodak and KhosraviNik (2016) argue that due the large amounts of data generated for social media sites, one of the methodological steps in the discourse-historical approach to study discourse involves the downsizing and selection of data. After selecting the tweets, I examined them and carried out a detailed argumentation analysis. Critical discourse studies provide the analytical framework of analysis, in this case, the discourse-historical approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). The analysis focused on different argumentative strategies, specifically how users justify and defend their standpoints in political discussions, but also encompasses other types of discursive strategies in the discourse-historical approach framework such as nomination, predication, legitimation and mitigation/intensification, where these are salient to the practices under investigation.

I also consider the use of multimodal resources, such as images, videos, hyperlinks, GIFs, and others as part of the argumentative strategies used by Twitter users to build their arguments in the context of dual screening. As Richardson and Wodak (2009) propose, visual elements can constitute arguments in the sense that they can be used to defend or justify standpoints. To analyse these kinds of data, the authors state that it is necessary to reconstruct the arguments from images and explore how these are used to advance a standpoint. Also, it is important to consider that tweets, as a microblog text with a limited length, have high intertextual potential. For this reason, exploring the relation between tweets and other texts is useful in understanding the arguments and different elements in a digitally mediated debate.

#### 4.10 Discourse-historical approach

As one of the main objectives of this research is to explore and understand argumentation practices in digitally mediated contexts, the analysis of argumentative strategies and resources involved in tweets about politics in social media related to TV shows is a key element of the study. To achieve this, the discourse-historical approach (henceforth DHA) (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016) is a useful way to gain a more holistic understanding of the phenomenon through the analysis of different discursive and especially argumentative strategies. As discussed in Chapter 3, there are studies (see e.g. KhosraviNik & Unger, 2016; KhosraviNik & Zia, 2014; KhosraviNik, 2017) that show the possible applications of the discourse-historical approach to social media communication, specifically related to politics. As Wodak (2011) explains, the DHA helps researchers to understand and explain the latent power dynamics and potential agents involved. This approach triangulates and integrates different sources of knowledge, including historical sources, the sociopolitical background and discourses related to those fields. Furthermore, this approach not only considers different sources to describe the diverse layers of the context but also distinguishes between three constitutive dimensions of textual meanings: topics that are spoken or written; the discursive strategies used and the linguistic means that are able to realize both topics and strategies (Wodak, 2011).

To integrate the historical background into the analysis and explore how texts and discourses evolve and change in different contexts, the DHA posits four layers of context (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016). The first layer is identified as the immediate relationships between utterances, co-texts and co-discourses. The second layer describes intertextual and interdiscursive relations, for example how all texts are related to other texts (intertextuality) or how topic-oriented discourses are linked to others in different ways as interdiscursive relations, as in this case, where the practice of dual screening other tweets relates to hashtags and televised debates. A third layer relates to external variables, such as extra-linguistic or sociological variables, in other words, a context of situation. In this case, this can be related to the media ecology in the political sphere. Finally, the fourth level is the historical and socio-political context related to the texts, which in this case is Chilean history and the broader political context (for further discussion see Chapter 2). These different layers are illustrated in the following figure:



*Figure 12 Context of the research from a DHA perspective*

The above figure illustrates the four layers of context described by Reisigl and Wodak (2016) in the context of this research. The first layer shows the sample of tweets and the different TV shows related to those productions in the timeframe selected. The second layer shows dual screening as a social practice. The third layer can be described as the media ecology, related to the concept of the hybrid media system in which the practice of dual screening is inserted. Finally, the fourth layer is related to the Chilean political and historical context which frames the political discussion in this social practice.

Concerning the texts analysed in this research, it can also be argued that these have other contexts at different levels. For example, among the audiences of these political TV shows not everyone engages in dual screening activities, and also not all users who tweet about the topics discussed online watch the TV shows, though they are still part of the same media ecology and socio-politico-historical context. Twitter is available almost worldwide, which also allows people from other countries and contexts to engage with tweets produced in relation to the TV show. Nevertheless, in this study, I consider the most likely contexts for the consumption/ production of media texts, those presented in Figure 12.

The approach presented by Reisigl and Wodak (2016) is a critical perspective for studying language in use. It tries to explain the contradictions and tensions which occur at different

levels of societies. The discourse-historical approach tries to integrate different social theories and disciplines to explain the context in which they operate. The authors explain that this is described as a problem-oriented approach, and the method and categories must be elaborated to analyse any problem in a particular way. For this approach, discursive practices are considered to be:

- a cluster of context-dependent semiotic practices that are situated within specific fields of social action;
- socially constituted and socially constitutive;
- related to a macro-topic;
- linked to argumentation about validity claims, such as truth and normative validity involving several social actors with different point of views. (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016, p. 27)

For the purposes of this work, I see the DHA as a very useful way to analyse political discourse on social media sites and television. From this perspective, the argumentation present in this type of text is an essential discursive macro-strategy for political texts. Moreover, this approach is used to study discursive practices from an interdisciplinary perspective which can be theoretically and methodologically eclectic, and this is important to achieve a more holistic understanding and explanation of the studied phenomena.

The discourse historical approach entails identifying different discursive strategies as a useful analytical tool to conduct a discourse analysis. Reisigl and Wodak (2016) describe a strategy as a plan of action to achieve a specific goal. Some of the discursive strategies that can be particularly productive in political discourse are:

- Referential/nomination: focuses on the discursive construction of social actors, objects, events, processes and actions. Can be expressed in different devices, such as membership categorization, deixis, tropes, anthroponymy or verbs and nouns to denote processes, among others.
- Predication: focuses on how social actors are represented in discourse (negatively or positively). This strategy can be defined as the discursive qualification of social actors, objects, events, processes and actions. This category includes stereotypical evaluative attributions, explicitly predicated or predicative nouns, collocations, rhetorical figures, allusions and implicatures.



- **Argumentation:** defined as questioning or justifying allegations of truth and right. Includes topoi and fallacies.
- **Perspectivation:** expresses the position of the speaker and their involvement or distance, and point of view. For example, the use of deixis, direct/indirect speech, metaphors, animating prosody etc.
- **Intensification/mitigation:** Modifying the illocutionary force and epistemic status of a proposition. Can be identified with diminutives/augmentatives, modal particles, hyperboles, indirect speech acts or verbs of saying, feeling and thinking, among others.

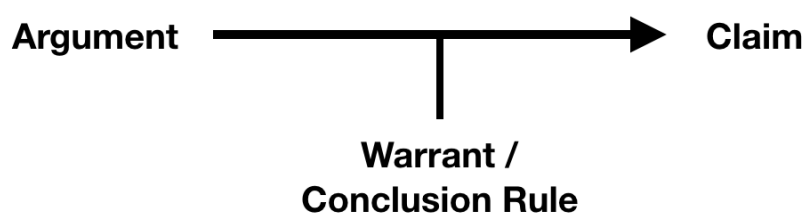
These types of strategies can be applied in different ways. For example, referential or nomination strategies mean that social actors can be represented in different ways, and these can be analysed via different discursive phenomena such as metonymy and metaphors, among others. The study of nomination strategies can show how social actors are included or excluded in online discussion, in order to understand how power structures are embedded in social media posts related to TV shows.

#### 4.10.1 Argumentation in the DHA

Reisigl and Wodak (2016) argue that argumentation is not only a linguistic but also a cognitive pattern of problem-solving that is expressed in a sequence of speech acts which creates a coherent and complex network of statements. Argumentation can be used to challenging or justify systematically different claims and its main purpose is to persuade addressees with convincing arguments or fallacies. To analyse argumentation following the DHA it is necessary to consider different dimensions, such as functional, formal, content-related and descriptive categories. Functional categories are related to claims, arguments/premises, conclusion rules and modality. Formal categories can be described as formal topoi and fallacies, e.g. topos of definition, topos of authority, topos of comparison and topos of examples. Content-related categories are linked to content-related topoi or fallacies, such as scheme of ignorance, scheme of manipulation or scheme of nature. Finally, categories that describe argumentative structures are related to stages of argumentation, the complexity of argumentation and the dependence between or of arguments.

Analysing arguments and argumentative strategies can be useful in understanding how social media debates are performed, in terms of what is considered truthful or right in these contexts and how users justify and support their claims. This type of analysis can

help to identify which attributions, positive or negative, are justified through topoi. Topoi are “parts of argumentation which belong to the obligatory premises of an argument, whether explicit or tacit” (Wodak, p.35, 2015). As Reisigl and Wodak (2016) explain, topoi are warrants that connect arguments with their central claims or conclusions. They are socially conventionalised and, for this reason, it is important to analyse fallacious arguments that are extensively used in political discussion. The following figure shows a simplified model of argumentation developed by Kienpointner (1996), as cited in Reisigl (2014), which shows the relation between arguments and claims:



*Figure 13 Simplified model of argumentation (Reisigl 2014)*

The figure above shows a simplified model of argumentation presented by Reisigl (2014), in which the three main elements of an argument are shown. In the figure, the warrant or conclusion rule connects an argument with a claim. The conclusion rules or warrants are topoi in this argumentation model.

Reisigl (2014) states that topoi are content-related conclusions that are recurrent in a determined social field, discipline or theory. Topoi are used as an argumentative strategy to justify positive or negative attributions and can be considered reasonable, but also fallacious. Wodak (2001) develops a list of the most common topoi that serve to analyse this type of argumentative strategy. This list is incomplete but serves as a guideline for the identification of topoi in the context of political discourse. The following table shows some of the topoi present in the literature, along with examples extracted from the data set of this research (Wodak, 2001b; Wodak 2011; Reisigl, 2014):

*Table 7 Examples of topoi extracted from the data*

TOPOS	CONCLUSION WARRANT	EXAMPLES OF DATA
Topos of burdening	If an institution is burdened by a specific	Para financiar la gratuidad, hay que ordenar la casa. Reforma Tributaria, Penal, Laboral,

	problem, then one should act to diminish the burden	Fomento a la Investigación... etc... [To finance the gratuity, you have to clean up the house. Tax Reform, Criminal, Labour, Research Promotion ... etc ...]
Topos of urgency	Decisions/ actions must be carried out very quickly because of an external and important event beyond one's own reach and responsibility	1. El Sistema de Pensiones en Chile esta a punto de colapsar y pronto generará un problema social y de pobreza grave #elinformante [The Pension System in Chile is about to collapse and will soon generate a social problem and serious poverty]
Topos of authority	If someone with authority approves of a certain action/ makes a claim, then the action must be carried out/ the claim must be true.	No se trata de ideologizar de debate. Es un tema de DDHH reproductivos básicos apoyado por la ONU [It is not about ideologizing debate. It is a subject of basic reproductive human rights supported by the UN]
Topos of history	If history proves that a specific action or decision has certain consequences favourable or unfavourable, one should perform or omit that specific action or decision	Mal Saffirio el inicio de la " cuestión Palestina" también ocurrió en el siglo pasado, entonces olvidemos las masacres. [Bad Saffirio, the beginning of the "Palestinian question" also happened in the last century, then we forget the massacres.]
Topos of justice	If something or someone is equal in certain aspects, they should be treated in the same way	mal si las leyes son para defender a los mismos de siempre, olvidando que todos debemos ser iguales ante la ley. [it is bad if the laws are to defend always the same people, forgetting that we must all be equal before the law.]
Topos of	If an action or decision	Donde están los paladines de los ddhh

humanitarianism	does not follow human rights conventions, it should not be carried out	frente a esta grave violación de los derechos humanos de NIÑOS  [Where are the champions of human rights in the face of this serious violation of the human rights of CHILDREN?]
Topos of decency or respectability	If somebody is not decent/ respectable, she/ he should resign or stop doing what they are doing	Javiera Blanco está metiendo demasiado ruido, debería dar un paso al costado silenciosamente...  [Javiera Blanco is making too much noise, should step aside silently...]

The table above shows some examples of arguments found in the data and related warrants. The identification of topoi, as the examples show, can help to explore how users in this kind of media justify their arguments regarding political debate.

To analyse fallacies, Reisigl and Wodak (2016) draw on van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1992) and their pragma-dialectical approach, which identifies ten rules for constructive arguing and rational disputes. These rules help to identify how critical discussion is being carried out and whether the arguments can be considered fallacious:

1. Freedom to argue: The parties should not preclude each other from presenting points of view or challenging claims
2. Obligation to give reasons: A party having a point of view is obliged to defend it if the other party asks it to do so.
3. Correct reference to previous discourse by the antagonist: An attack on a point of view, presented by the counterpart, must refer to the point of view that has actually been presented by the other party.
4. Obligation of “matter-of-factness”: A party can only defend its point of view by presenting an argument that is related to that point of view.
5. Correct reference to implicit premises: A party cannot falsely present something as if it were an unexpressed premise by the other party, nor disown a premise that it has implied itself.

6. Acceptance of shared starting points: parties cannot falsely present a premise as an accepted starting point, nor deny a premise that represents an accepted starting point.
7. Use of plausible schemes of argumentation: A party may not consider a point of view as having been conclusively defended if the defence does not have an appropriate argumentative scheme that has been applied correctly.
8. Logical validity: a party can only use arguments that are logically valid or that are capable of being validated by making explicit one or more implicit premises.
9. Acceptance of discussion results: A failed defence of one point of view must result in the party submitting it withdrawing from it and a conclusive defence must result in the other party withdrawing their doubts about the point of view.
10. Clarity of expression and correct interpretation A party should not use formulations that are insufficiently clear or confusingly ambiguous and must interpret the formulations of the opposing party as carefully and accurately as possible.

The violation of any of these rules can lead to fallacious arguments. Wodak (2011) describes some fallacies that are frequently used as argumentative devices, e.g. *argumentum ad baculum* which is defined as the use of intimidation instead of using persuasive arguments; *argumentum ad hominem*, with its different realisations, which can be described as verbal attacks on someone's personality or character instead of focusing on the content of an argument; *argumentum ad verecundiam*, which represents an abuse of authority; the fallacy of hasty generalization, it can be identified as making generalizations about features attributed to a group without any evidence to prove it, extending the features of few to many; and *argumentum ad populum* that can be defined as appealing to emotions and convictions to generate sympathy instead of using rational claims. The incorporation of elements of the pragma-dialectic approach allows me to characterise the discussions carried out in my data. The following table shows some example of fallacies found in the online debates:

Table 8 Examples of fallacies from the data set

Fallacy	Example from the data
<i>Argumentum ad verecundiam</i>	#enacional @estadonacional Recordar también qAllamand ya se ha retirado 2 veces d la política luego de perder elecciones. Un tipo de palabra  [Remember too that Allamand has already retired twice from politics after losing elections. A man of his word]
<i>Argumentum ad hominem</i>	#ENACIONAL ESTA SEÑORA APARTE DE DÉBIL INTELECTUALMENTE CREE QUE LA GENTE ES TONTA,es decir Longueira es una blanca Paloma, noooooooooooooo  [THIS LADY, APART FROM BEING WEAK INTELLECTUALLY, BELIEVES THAT PEOPLE ARE SILLY, that is Longueira is a white Dove, noooooooooooooo]
Straw man	El populismo ama tanto a los pobres que los multiplica. Mas temprano que tarde veremos como el populismo da frutos en Chile.  [Populism loves the poor so much that it multiplies them. Sooner rather than later we will see how populism bears fruit in Chile.]
<i>Argumentum ad misericordiam</i>	#ENACIONAL Q pasa si alguna de sus hijas es violada y queda embarazada. No apoyarán su decisión de no querer tener eso hijo que no busco..??  [What happens if one of your daughters is raped and becomes pregnant? Will they not support their decision not to want to have that son that I do not seek?]
Hasty generalization	#ENacional DEBERIAN RENUNCIAR TODOS LOS POLITICOS. CERO APPRTE AL PAIS ...TODOS...TOODOSS. LADRONES  [ALL POLITICIANS SHOULD QUIT. ZERO CONTRIBUTION TO THE COUNTRY...ALL...AAALLL.THIEVES]

Table 8 shows some examples of fallacies found in the data. Although van Eemeren and Grootendorst's approach (1992) is based on an ideal model of deliberation, this can help with the analysis of argumentation in a context such as social media or dual-screening. As Ihnen and Richardson (2012) argue, the pragma-dialectical approach contributes to the field of critical discourse studies, in relation to the incorporation of a systematic theory to reconstruct arguments and methods to evaluate argumentative discourse. The pragma-dialectical approach and its rules to evaluate rational discussions help to identify the processes of justification that are present in data. For these reasons, I consider that the model for deliberation proposed by the pragma-dialectical approach is useful to evaluate and identify the used in the dual screening practice.

The analysis of different argumentative strategies, such as fallacies and topoi, used in this kind of media can help to explore political debate and how people discuss different controversial topics in these new social practices. The exploration of how users persuade others in this kind of media can provide new insights into the different ways in which participants justify their standpoints and negotiate meanings in the hybrid media context.

The characterization of formal features and topics, in the first stage, and the analysis of argumentative resources in the second, can provide valuable information about this relatively new social practice, describing its main features but also analysing how users interact and debate in this media context. The following chapters will present the analyses of each data set, the entire collection for a general overview of the data and, later, a sample of tweets to analyse more deeply the argumentative resources and the discussion carried out in this new media ecology.

## Chapter 5: What are they talking about and how? Topics and features of tweets related to TV shows

This chapter will present the results of the first stage of data analysis, in which I give a general overview of the data and explore the topics and formal features of the tweets coded. In this section, I will describe a data set of 38,684 tweets relating to five TV shows broadcast during 2016, identify their main formal features and topics, and thereby explain how those tweets are related to the Chilean context and current political debates. Also, I will explore the co-occurrences of different codes, such as the relationship between topics and formal features.

### 5.1 General overview of social media data

As outlined in Chapter 4, in the first stage of this research I analysed tweets related to the hashtags of five Chilean political TV shows over approximately three non-contiguous months in 2016. The tweets were coded in order to capture most of the information associated with the texts, such as tweets containing images, emojis or links. As I discussed in Chapter 4, a quantitative analysis has several limitations and can be considered superficial. However, a quantitative approach to the data can provide an overview of the data set and support discourse analysis (Wodak & Wright, 2006). This first stage of analysis provides an overview of this data set to establish patterns that help me to approach the social phenomenon under study more systematically. The coding process of this first stage comprises the analysis of 5,335 pages of tweets corresponding to three months of activity related to five Chilean political TV shows. The months were selected to match the beginning, middle and end of the Chilean television season, which usually starts in March or April, but in the case of one of the TV shows, *El Informante*, starts in July. The PDF files contain a total of 39,684 tweets that were manually selected and coded according to the parameters previously established in the pilot analysis (for further details see Chapter 4). The following table shows the number of tweets coded per TV show and month analysed:



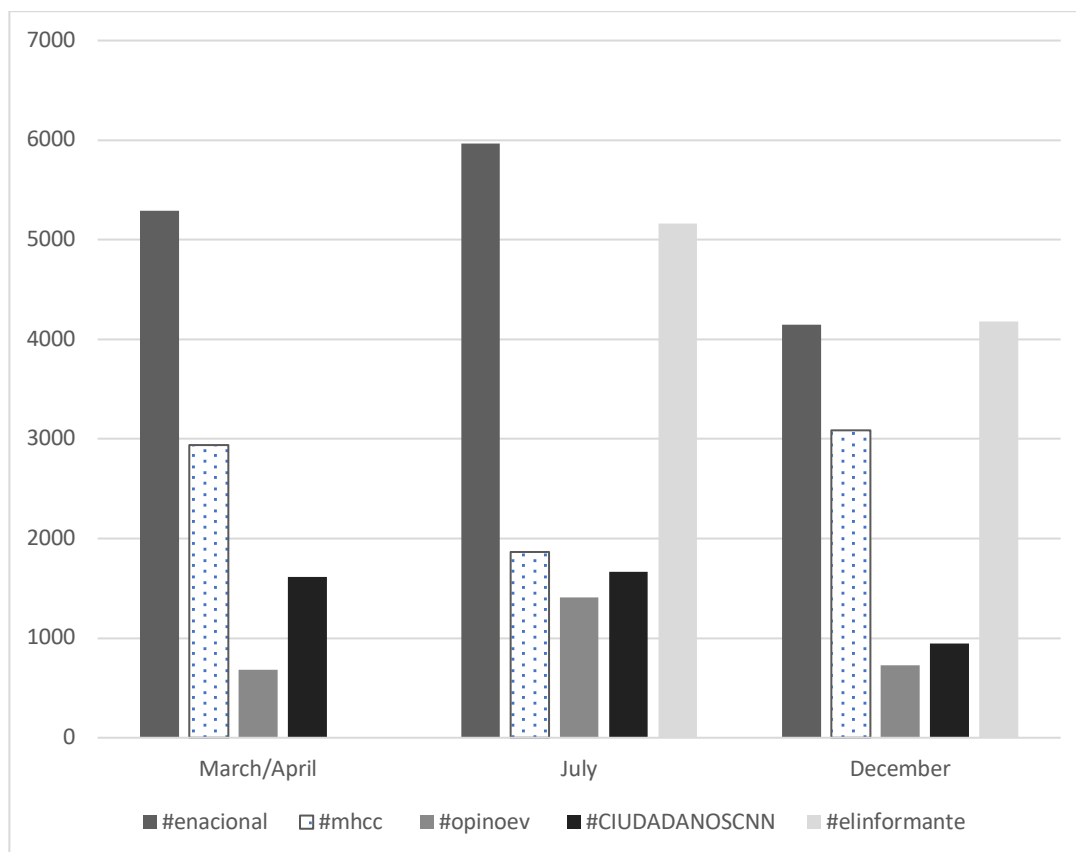
Table 9 Tweets coded per month

Month	TV show	From	To	Number of pages	Number of tweets
March/ April <sup>4</sup>	Estado Nacional #enacional	01-03-2016	30-03-2016	728	5,294
	Mejor Hablar de Ciertas Cosas #mhcc	01-03-2016	30-03-2016	383	2,936
	Entrevista Verdadera #opinoev	01-03-2016	30-03-2016	92	680
	Ciudadanos #ciudadanoscn	01-04-2016	30-04-2016	214	1,617
July	Estado Nacional #enacional	01-07-2016	30-07-2016	799	5,967
	Mejor Hablar de Ciertas Cosas #mhcc	01-07-2016	30-07-2016	233	1,866
	Entrevista Verdadera #opinoev	01-07-2016	30-07-2016	190	1,406
	Ciudadanos #ciudadanoscn	01-07-2016	30-07-2016	228	1,669
	El Informante #elinformante	01-07-2016	30-07-2016	724	5,165
December	Estado Nacional #enacional	01-12-2016	31-12-2016	549	4,145
	Mejor Hablar de Ciertas Cosas #mhcc	01-12-2016	31-12-2016	382	3,084
	Entrevista Verdadera #opinoev	01-12-2016	31-12-2016	108	728
	Ciudadanos #ciudadanoscn	01-12-2016	31-12-2016	132	946
	El Informante #elinformante	01-12-2016	31-12-2016	573	4,181
		TOTAL		5,335	39,684

The results show that the TV show with the most interactions, using the hashtag promoted on-screen, was *Estado Nacional* with 39.8% of the tweets collected. *Estado Nacional* is the longest-running political TV show broadcast in Chile and is aired every Sunday morning. Following that was *El Informante*, from the same network, but transmitted on Thursdays in prime time, with 24.2%. In third place is *Mejor Hablar de Ciertas Cosas*, which launched in

<sup>4</sup> One of the TV shows, *Ciudadanos* from CNN, starts its season in April instead of March.

the same year as the data collection (2016), with 20.4%. *Ciudadanos*, broadcast by CNN Chile, had 8.3% of total tweets. Finally, *Entrevista Verdadera* was the show with the least tweets, comprising only 7.3% of the total. Also, it is important to note that occasionally some tweets overlap between the shows, which are counted more than once, as some users tagged more than one show in a tweet, mainly to expand the reach of their posts.



*Figure 14 Number of tweets posted per TV show and month*

The figure above illustrates the frequency of tweets related to each television show per month analysed in the research. As the graphic illustrates, the number of tweets per television show is relatively constant across the time frame analysed. Participation in the different shows provides a large data set to analyse the diverse formal features and topics in this kind of social practice.

## 5.2 Main topics in the TV shows and social media discussion

In this stage of the study, I linked each tweet to specific topics using one or more of the codes previously stated in the Methods chapter (see Chapter 4). I argue that the process of identification of topics shows the most relevant themes in the digitally mediated debates and how there is a parallel discussion on social media platforms and in TV shows.

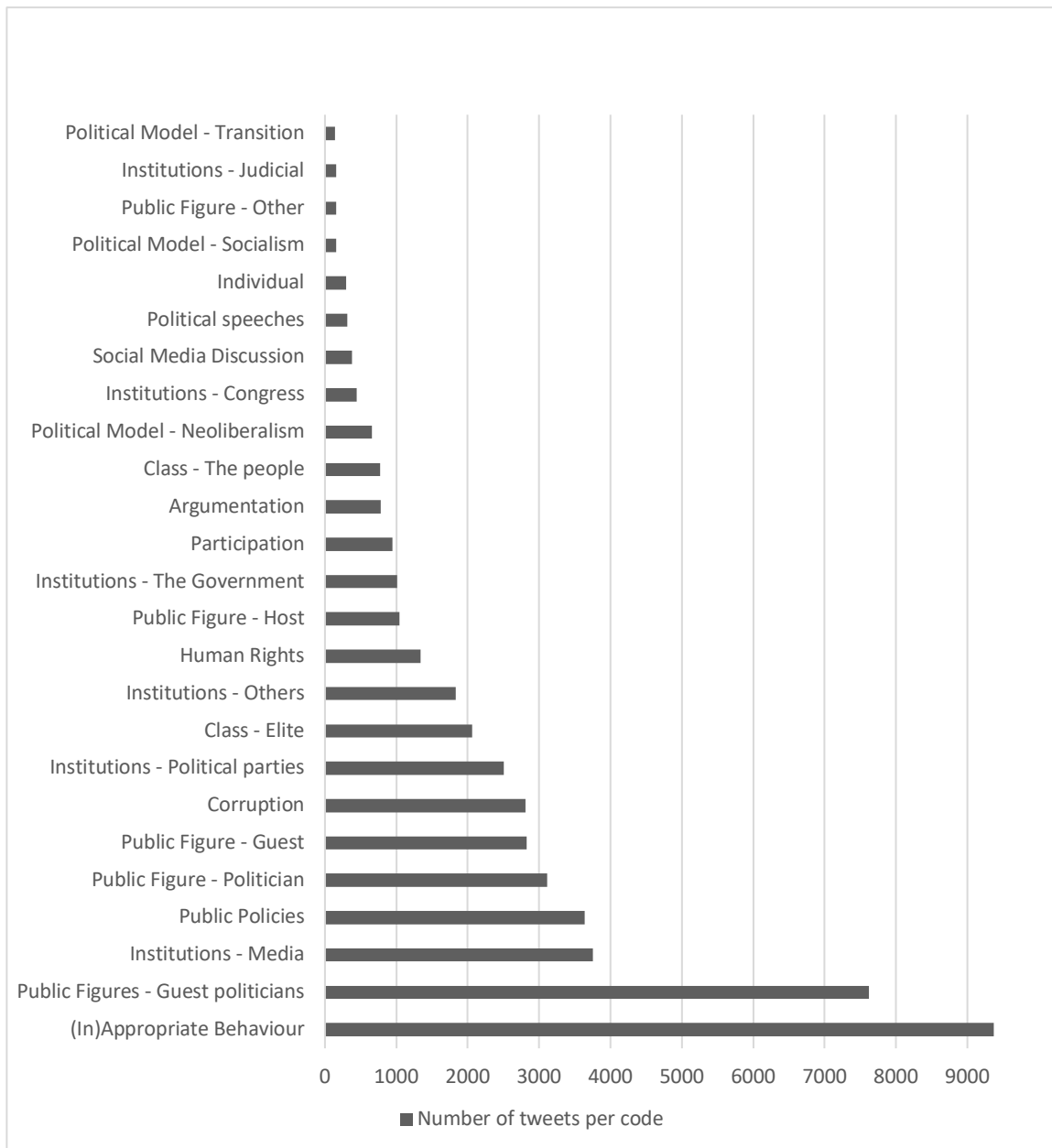


Figure 15 Number of tweets per code related to topics

Figure 15 shows the number of tweets per code that indicate topics in the data collection, from the least frequent to the most, excluding spam. The following section conducts a discussion of the topics in the data.

### 5.2.1 Social Processes

As Figure 15 shows, the most frequent code is related to *(In)appropriate behaviour*, with 9,368 tweets (approximately 24% of the total of 39,684 tweets). The code *(In)appropriate behaviour* was used for tweets that are evaluations related to ethical or unethical behaviour. However, the data show that most of the posts relate to behaviour that was considered ethically questionable and that this is mainly linked to public figures or institutions.

### 5.2.1.1 Ethical concerns

The code *(In)appropriate behaviour* excluded all the felonies and crimes related to political practices, which were coded as *Corruption*. The frequency of this type of topic linked to ethical concerns can be considered an expression of the crisis of democracy outlined by Luna (2016), in which the political exercise is constantly evaluated and criticised by the citizens, who feel underrepresented by political figures and institutions. The participants in the social media debates are not only concerned about corruption, but also about the ethical standards that institutions and public figures need to satisfy. As outlined in Chapter 2, politics in Chile has a long history of probity and honesty and can be considered an exceptional case in Latin America (Silva, 2016).

Tweets linked to the code *(In)appropriate behaviour* are related to dishonesty, e.g. to unfulfilled promises, contradictions of previous statements, conflicts of interest or even the laziness of public figures or institutions. They also related to a lack of capacity or education related to certain activities, e.g. specific knowledge necessary to enact and manage public policies. In this category, different personal and cultural values are relativized. An example of *(In)appropriate behaviour* is the lies or dishonest behaviour of diverse public figures, which constitute frequent claims in the discussion.

#### Example 10



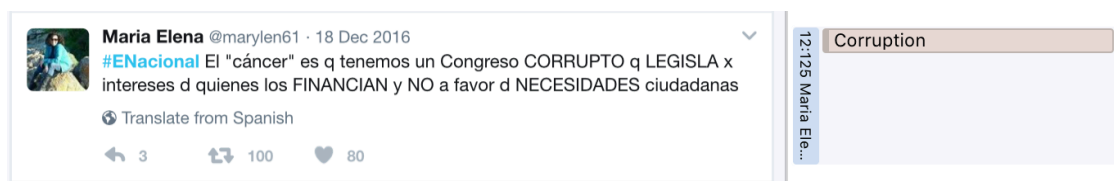
[Projects and more projects sleeping the eternal dream! Lying and dirty politicians, and no side is safe, poor children]

The example above shows a tweet related to the code *(In)appropriate behaviour*, it is a criticism of the behaviour of politicians, specifically their neglect of processes of policymaking to solve urgent issues such as the SENAME crisis. The user states that politicians, regardless of their political affiliation, are dirty and deceptive. In this case, the user judges their behaviour as public figures (*“sucios y mentirosos”*), focusing on actions that should be carried out (e.g. *“proyectos y más proyectos”*), as they are supposed to be responsible for these kinds of issues.

Among the ethical concerns discussed by Twitter users, the code *Corruption* linked all the tweets related to different criminal activities and political acts and those which are relevant

to public opinion. This code identified 7% of the total data set. In this category, I included different cases of public funds embezzlement, influence trading or bribery, as well as cases of collusion of big companies that affect the everyday lives of Chilean citizens. The code *Corruption* was used to identify specific cases of corruption exposed by the media, but also generalizations about a corrupt political class. Silva (2016) argues that the fear of becoming a corrupt country can explain the overreaction of public opinion against not only corruption scandals but also the unethical behaviour of public figures which cannot be considered criminal.

#### Example 11



*[The “cancer” is that we have a CORRUPT congress that LEGISLATES for the interests of those who FINANCE them and NOT for the NEEDS of citizens]*

Example 11 shows a critique of member of Congress and their interests, they are seen to be influenced by others who are not citizens. The user includes a metaphor of illness to refer to corruption, a “cancer” that affects the Congress and prevents solutions to or the fulfilment of the people’s needs. The tweet relates to corruption as an institutionalised practice in the political sphere and not to a specific case. As the example shows, tweets related to this code usually indicate that corruption is a generalised practice in different institutions, including government, political parties and traditional media, among others.

Among the ethical concerns expressed in the tweets coded was a discussion about *Human Rights*. Although human rights are defined and guarantee by international institutions, in digitally mediated discussions they are often relativized. This code was identified in 3.37% of total tweets. Garretón (1989) explains that Chile, since the dictatorship, has had ongoing human rights issues that were not resolved in the post-transitional era with the return of democracy. This is related to different mechanisms that were created to “protect” democracy, such as the creation of the 1980s Constitution or the amnesty law.

Example 12



[We still cannot resolve human rights violations. Those involved continue to swear that they saved the country.]

As the example shows, the human rights violations committed during the dictatorship in Chile are still a topic of discussion. Human rights are mentioned in that tweet as “DDHH”, the acronym of *Derechos Humanos*, which refers specifically to human rights violations during Pinochet’s dictatorship carried out by the army and intelligence agencies. In the case of this tweet, “those involved” refers mainly to members of the military who murdered, detained and tortured citizens to eliminate the “Marxist threat”.

Fries (2012) explains that in Chile the relationship between public opinion and human rights is closely related to historic dictatorship experiences, in which human rights were systematically violated, affecting thousands of Chileans who were opposed to Pinochet’s regime. This explains why the majority of the tweets related to human rights are linked to human rights violations during the dictatorship, mainly forced disappearances, murders and torture. As Fries (2012) states, the trauma of Pinochet’s dictatorship and the institutional efforts to correct these violations hinder the construction of a wider human rights discourse and narrow the public’s perception of what is possible. Nevertheless, there were tweets related to other current political issues that are treated by social media users as having a human rights focus. In the discussions about abortion law, the social services crisis, migration or inequality, users mention human rights such as freedom, nationality or human dignity in the debate and form arguments around them. Social media platforms linked to television shows are, furthermore, used as platforms to expose violations of the essential rights of some groups that are sometimes ignored by the traditional media, such as minors in the social care system or indigenous groups. The discussion about human rights can show a transition to a broader human rights discourse present in Chilean society, which includes different social actors and viewpoints.

Tweets related to *Ethical concerns* comprise 34% of the total tweets coded. They can also be identified in the discussions presented by the TV shows, but it is in the Twitter debate where they are really addressed as a problem. The ethical crisis (Montecino & Arancibia,

2014) that Chile is experiencing is widely discussed in this kind of media, where users address different issues, usually criticising the actions of those in power.

### 5.2.1.2 Participation

Another frequent topic in the social media discussion related to diverse TV shows was *Participation* and social movements. This code related to different forms of participation of the citizens in the public sphere, not only in official scenarios such as elections but also political activism and protests. A total of 947 tweets were tagged with this code, which is 2.4% of the total number of tweets. Institutional participation represented by elections and the voting system used in Chile was part of the online debate. The period analysed in this research overlaps with the council elections in Chile, in which council members and majors were elected. Luna (2016) describes how the party system in Chile secures the representation of parties in Congress and other public institutions. However, Chilean citizens display very little party adherence and political parties are constantly criticized. This is at the heart of a crisis of representation, as the parties have failed to represent social demands.

#### Example 13



*[Only it depends on us that these guys are still there, we have not been able to change the course of politics, is that because of our apathy?]*

Example 13 shows a tweet in which the user puts the responsibility on the people for the political status quo. The people should be responsible for the election of their representatives and the future of the political scene.

Another type of participation identified with this code is related to social movements that are present not only in the streets but also on social media platforms. Social media users propose topics and debates that are not discussed in official stances, such as traditional media, but are real issues for citizens. The most representative of those is the NO+AFP movement, which fights against the private pension system that has operated in Chile since Pinochet's dictatorship. This movement has gained some recognition because of the high level of popular support it enjoys, not only in street protests, and because of the diversity of its participants. Tweets related to the code *Participation* not only show different types of

participation in diverse political arenas in the Chilean context but also question the influence of common citizens in political decisions.

#### Example 14



*[Turn off the TV and go into the streets!]*

The tweet above shows a photograph of one of the meetings of the NO+AFP movement that was being held during the transmission of the television show. The photograph shows the *Plaza Italia* in Santiago de Chile, a historical meeting point for protests. In the foreground of the picture, there is a Chilean flag with the inscription of NO+AFP. The text on the tweet invites the reader to turn off the television and join the protests to change the pension system, as an expression of activism present in this kind of media intersection.

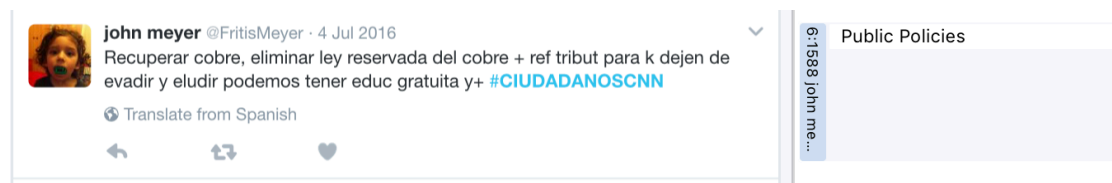
#### 5.2.1.3 Public Policies

Another topic found in the data set was *Public Policies*, which was related to the different reforms proposed and discussed in 2016 in Chile. This code applies to 3,635 tweets about various reforms, criticising or approving policies, but also tweets that propose a plan of action with respect to certain situations. In total, tweets with the code form 9.2% of the total data set. Tweets coded as *Public Policies* are often about the changes to the pension system, for which there is no consensus about the best way to create a system that guarantees good pensions and dignity for older people. In relation to this, different Twitter users propose diverse plans of action, different from those proposed on the TV shows by guests. Tweets coded *Public Policies* suggest that participants in the debate not only criticize the status quo but also propose solutions to current issues. However, this can also be



considered a demonstration of the lack of capacity of experts and politicians to solve the pension issue, and thereby implicit criticism. Discussing and proposing solutions can be considered a participative use of social media that shows users trying to get involved in the political decision-making process.

#### Example 15



[Take back the copper, eliminate the secret law on copper + tax reform to stop the evasions and we can have free education and +]

In the post above, the user proposes several possible steps or policies to finance an educational reform that would provide free education for all. The tweet states that the profits from the copper mines, specifically abolition of the secret law on copper, and a tax reform that would ensure that taxes are paid, could help to solve the deficit, which was proposed as one of the reasons mitigating against free higher education for everyone. The secret law on copper is a controversial law enacted in 1958 and later modified by the dictatorship that allows the army to spend 10% of the profits from copper (the main source of the state's income) on the maintenance and purchase of armaments, without any controls or audits. The user, in this tweet, proposes a plan of action to solve an issue that would potentially benefit all Chileans.

#### 5.2.1.4 Metadiscourse

Tweets related to metadiscourse are understood as discourse about discourse, in other words, language-related topics that are discussed by users. It comprises 3.7% of the total number of tweets in the data set, at 1,472 tweets. The most frequent code in this category is *Argumentation*, which relates to tweets about the quality of argumentation, the use of fallacies and different strategies to win a debate. This code was identified in 784 tweets, approximately 2% of the total data set. The code *Argumentation* was used to tag tweets that evaluate the performance of different participants in the discussion, e.g. how arguments are structured, but also the use of language with a normative focus, and what is considered appropriate or inappropriate in terms of language use in political debate. Along the same lines, tweets about social media debates were included in the category of *Social media discussion* and comprise 378 tweets, representing 1% of the total. Tweets tagged as *Social*

*Media Discussion* were mainly metadiscourse related to social media activity, discussions among users and other tweets about tweets, as shown in the following example:

*Example 16*



*[interesting that social media platforms are more interested in showing social issues than traditional media]*

In example 16, the user highlights the role of social media platforms to communicate social issues in opposition to traditional media. The tweet contrasts traditional media with social media, using the hashtag promoted by the TV show to criticise the role of traditional media in a hybrid media context.

The code *Discourses about political parties* is used to tag those tweets that identify or comment on specific ideological ways of using language, including hate speech and anti-immigration or populist content, as well as the identification of ideological content in other tweets, TV shows or other texts. Tweets related to the code *Discourse about political parties* make up 0.7% of the total data set, with 310 tweets. The most common type of political speech found in the data set is related to populist content. Twitter users identify instances when guests or politicians use populist arguments or persuasive strategies, and generally, these are considered empty promises to satisfy people's expectations. *Discourses about political parties* are often criticised by participants in social media discussions, who also warn other users to avoid believing in those kinds of rhetoric.

#### 5.2.1.5 Political Models

Among the tweets related to social processes I also tagged tweets about different political models, such as *Neoliberalism*, *Socialism* or *Transition to democracy* in Chile, which were identified in 2.4% (955) of the total number of tweets. Tweets related to *Neoliberalism* comprise 70% of tweets related to political models, followed by *Socialism* at 17% and *Transition* at 13%. Users identified and criticised or promoted political models, e.g. the virtues or vices of the socialist model. Tweets linked to these codes illustrate the differences between models implemented not only in Chile but also worldwide, which are often linked to the Chilean reality, e.g. Cuban socialism or the North Korean case. However, the code *Socialism* also refers to Salvador Allende's presidency or the democratic road to socialism that was implemented (or at least attempted) by Allende in the seventies. This applied to

159 tweets, 0.4% of the data set. Meanwhile tweets marked as *Neoliberalism* mainly related to the current political model imposed by the ‘Chicago boys’ during Pinochet’s dictatorship, imported from the US and based on Milton Friedman’s ideas. This last code was the one most tagged among political models with 657 tweets or 1.7% of the total. The code *Transition* is related to the process of transition to democracy, which is identified as a model itself in which the centre-left parties tried to implement social policies without modifying the free market system. This code was also identified with the first *Concertación* governments (1989–2010). This code comprises 0.35% of the total with 139 tweets.

#### Example 17



[*knock down the Afps is knock down neoliberalism, the workers have to go on the offensive, there is no other way*]

#### Example 18



[*The Chilean transition kept the constitution, the privatization, the criminals, the economic system, it kept everything*]

The examples show two tweets related to political models. The first one (17) refers to the neoliberalism imposed in Chile and the consequences for the workers and their social security. The second tweet (18) refers to the model described as the transition to democracy, arguing about the lack of reforms and changes since the dictatorship. This promised a change to the dictatorship paradigm in the country, but during this period, in fact, the democratic government kept many of the policies imposed by Pinochet.

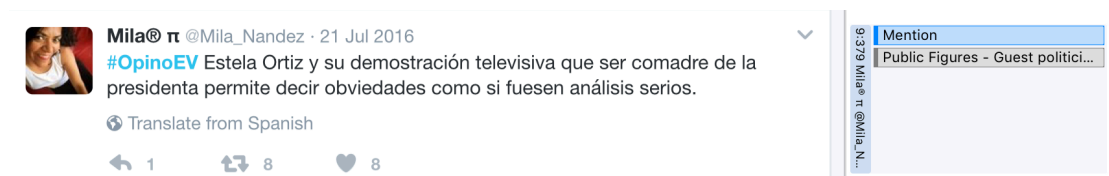
As the examples above show, the identification of social processes in this kind of data is not always easy. The highly contextual nature of the texts means that careful manual analysis is necessary to explore what is discussed in this kind of text. The social processes identified in the data illustrate the diverse nature of topics discussed in the media but also the focus on ethical concerns and values. Social media platforms help users to express and share these concerns and criticise the status quo.

## 5.2.2 Social Actors

### 5.2.2.1 Public Figures

Concerning the social actors involved in the Twitter discussion, one of the most frequent categories identified in the data was *Public figures – guest politicians*, which relates to tweets about political figures who participate directly in the TV shows as guests, with 7,620 tweets, or 19.2% of the whole data set. These tweets comment on (and mostly attack) guests on the TV programmes, which links the social media discussion with the shows in real time. This interaction between TV show broadcasts and the social media discussions generates an illusory dialogue between the guests on the shows and social media users, creating an illusion of participation (Chadwick, 2013).

#### Example 19

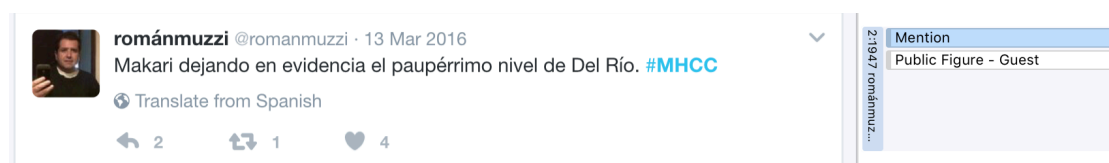


[*Estela Ortiz and her televised demonstration that being a close friend of the president allows her to say obvious things as serious analysis*]

The example above shows a tweet that criticises a guest on a TV show. The text refers to Estela Ortiz, executive officer for the National Council for Infancy, who is known for being a close friend of President Michele Bachelet and the widow of José Manuel Parada, one of the victims of the *Degollados* case. The tweet criticises her and her interventions regarding her political analysis, which is considered inadequate by the user, implying that the guest was invited for her contacts and not for her capabilities.

Among the codes identified as *Public figures*, *Guests* occurs frequently. These are not politicians, but often experts and journalists or other public figures who have some connection to current issues. There were 2,882 tweets coded as *Public Figures – Guests*, some 7.2% of the total.

#### Example 20



[*Makari showing the poor level of Del Río*]

Example 20 expresses approval for the interventions of one of the guests on a show (the journalist Mirko Macari, whose name is spelt wrong in the tweet), and supposedly evidences the poor intellectual level of the host (Del Río).

The category *Politicians* was found in 3,116 tweets, equivalent to 7.9% of the total. This category includes politicians who are mentioned in the discussion as public figures and who are named and cited in a TV show, as long as they are not part of the TV show as guests. Politicians are frequently mentioned in social media data (and on TV shows) to expose their behaviour when it is considered inappropriate.

#### Example 21



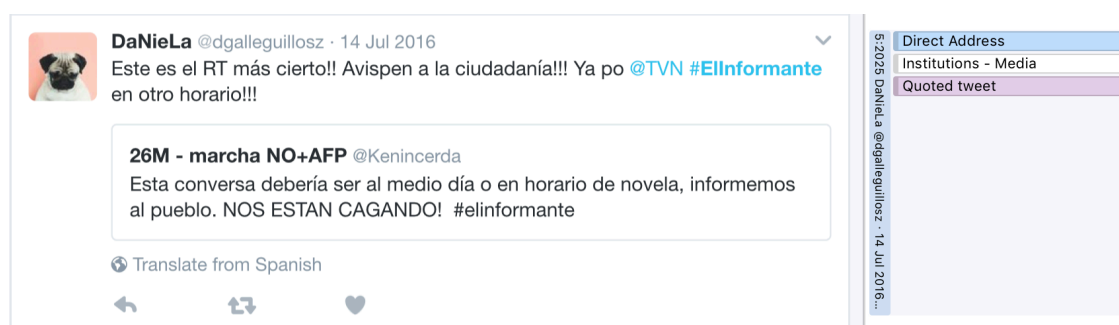
*[Piñera will offer explanations as he had his trust funds, one-eye]*

The tweet above is an example of a post about a politician (Piñera) who is the subject of a discussion on a TV show but not a guest on the show. The actions and sayings of the politician are criticised by the user, who suggests that Piñera is not worthy of trust due to his personal enrichment during his term in the office. The user pointed out Piñera's "fideicomiso tuerto" (one-eye trust fund) in relation to the "blind" trust fund created with his fortune during his term in office, in which he arguably gave up control of all his assets to avoid conflicts of interest with his role of president.

#### 5.2.2.2 Institutions

The code *Institutions* was used for different organizations mentioned in the discussions and represents 24.3% of the entire collection of tweets. Within this, the category with most tweets was *Media*, at 3,757 (9.5%). This code identifies tweets that are about media in general, but specifically about traditional media, mainly television and printed media. Most of the tweets coded in this category were related to criticisms of traditional media, for their lack of coverage of topics that are relevant to the people and for being accessories to corruption. The following example shows a tweet that criticises the media using both a TV show's hashtag and including the username of the broadcaster:

### Example 22



*[This RT is so true!! Alert the citizenship!!!! Come on @TVN #ElInformante in another time slot!*

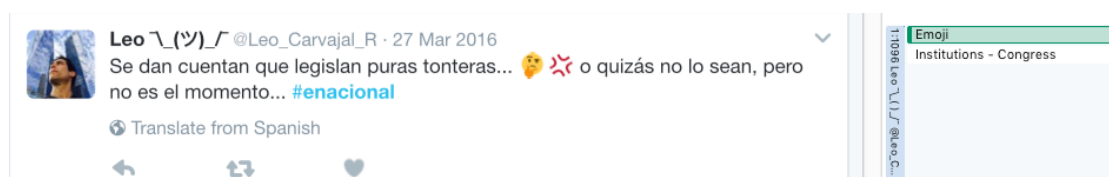
*This conversation should be held at noon or in the soap opera time slot, let's inform the people! They're screwing us]*

The example shows a tweet that criticised the broadcast media for not informing and alerting the citizenship regarding important topics. The tweet is addressed directly to the broadcaster's Twitter account. The post also includes a quoted tweet which asked for changes in the schedule to promote political shows and expand the reach of the political debate to another kind of audience.

Other institutions frequently mentioned, in 6.3% of the tweets in the data set, were *Political Parties*. As explained in the outline of the Chilean political system (for further discussion see section 2.3), the political party system in Chile and the electoral system mean major coalitions are likely to be in government. However, as explained in Chapter 2, the political parties are not representative of civil society, as Luna (2016) states, in that Chilean democracy can be considered “uprooted”. That is observed in the data, where numerous political parties are strongly criticized and accused of a lack of empathy with the people.

Among the institutions, three codes represent the state, namely *Congress*, *Judicial System* and *The Government*. These three institutions were mentioned in the data, but less than the political figures that run them. Criticism of institutions focused on the people who were in charge of them, instead of the structure of the organization. This example shows a tweet that criticises one of these institutions:

### Example 23



[*Did you realise that they legislate nonsense ... or maybe they don't, but it is not the time for that...*]

The tweet questions the actions of Congress regarding the processes of law-making. The user analyses the work of Congress but also give advice about processes. This tweet shows the inclusion of an institution that is part of the state and criticism of one of the state's branches.

The code used for *Other institutions* identifies different organizations that are not directly related to the state or political field. This applied to 1,831 tweets, approximately 4.6% of the data set. This code marked tweets about the Army, which in the case of Chile has a separate status from other government institutions, universities and the Catholic Church, among others. This code represents other institutions that have a big influence on public opinion but not necessarily on the state. The Catholic Church, for example, is an institution that was separated from the Chilean state in 1925 in the Constitution, but which has a strong influence on right-wing parties, particularly on legislation around controversial topics such as gender or abortion, and for this reason is part of the social media discussion. Other institutions tagged with this code were AFPs, which were central to the debates, mainly because of the rise of the NO+AFP movement that criticized the private pension model. As mentioned in section 2.5, AFPs are private companies that administer pensions in the country and are widely questioned, as shown in the following example:

#### Example 24



[*The logic of the AFP: give me your money, if I win, I will give you a little and if I lose, you're screwed*]

The tweet above gives an explanation of how the user perceived the functioning of the AFPs, which are widely criticised by citizenship. The AFPs were included in the category of *Institutions – Others*, because although the problems with the pension system concern the public sector, the institutions that administer the funds are private companies.

#### 5.2.2.3 Class

The category that groups tweets related to *Class* includes those tweets that refer to the dichotomy between *Elites* and *The people* and represents 7.1% of the data set. The code *Elite* was used to tag tweets that talk about economic or political elites, especially the political class or upper classes that dominate the political arena. This code includes

(over)generalizations about certain groups of politicians and their practices. The political class and the economic elite were described and criticised as incestuous communities, which usually overlaps in the Chilean context and hold the power in different sectors of society. This code was linked to 2,063 tweets, 5.2% of total tweets. On the other hand, the code *The people* was coded in 770 tweets (1.9% of the entire data set) and used to identify common and laypeople who are neither powerful nor influential, though they are sometimes constructed as a force (the many against the few) or a citizenry, which suggests greater participation in the political sphere. The codes related to *Class* are also related to different social actors in the decision-making process. Twitter users reveal the inequalities and the between classes that the system imposes. The examples show different tweets related to the group *Class*:

*Example 25*



*[The kidnapping of institutions by the political-economical mob is a problem for both hegemonic political sectors]*

*Example 26*



*[The common people are not stupid. We know they lie]*

The tweets above show two different posts about class, the first one (25) criticising the elites, who are described as a political-economical mob that hold the power. The second one (26) is related to the people and how they, usually underestimated, know about the behaviour of the elite. In both tweets the dichotomy of class can be observed, the contrast between elite groups and the people, with the distinction of us (the people) vs them (the elite).

The previous section illustrates how diverse codes classified as *Social Actors* are represented in digitally mediated discussions. The examples help to show how different actors are included in the debates related to television shows. These include actors on-/off-screen, institutions and groups that are part of the televised discussions in different ways.



### 5.3 Links with the political context

In this section, I will link the topics identified in the digitally mediated discussions with current affairs topics broadcast on the TV shows. In the process of coding, the tweets were tagged with broad categories that represent different social processes or actors. However, to understand the political debate carried out in social media it is beneficial to relate these more abstract categories to current issues in the Chilean political arena. Furthermore, there are some issues that are not covered in traditional media but found space in the social media debates. Among the more important issues treated in traditional and social media in the period analysed were the different reforms of Bachelet's government, corruption cases and social movements.

#### 5.3.1 Bachelet's reforms

Michelle Bachelet Jeria was elected president for a second period in 2014 (the first was 2006–2010). As explained in Chapter 2, in her campaign, Bachelet took on the discomfort and claims of different social movements, translating those into a reforming political programme that included the implementation of new policies related to labour, education, pensions and taxes, and even constitutional reform.

The different reforms proposed under Bachelet's government were criticised by different sectors, the right wing, which claimed that Bachelet wanted to impose a socialist model, but also the far left, considering that the reforms were not enough. This tension was present in the social media discussions, especially in tweets about public policies and those which refer to institutions and political actors involved in the reform process. The reforms discussed in the media debates are often personalised, in the sense that the public face of the legislative process represents the entire project.

One of the most important reforms related to education, and this would have brought about free access to higher education for poorer students and more participation by the state in educational institutions. Due to the neoliberal transformation of the state carried out by Pinochet and the so-called Chicago Boys, education in Chile had been significantly privatised, reducing the influence of the state in the educational system. In the Twitter debate, the educational reform, proposed by Bachelet and inspired by the 2011 student movement, was widely criticised. Twitter users argued that the new public policies were poorly conceived, mainly because education is treated as a commodity in a neoliberal system as opposed to a right. Some users argued that the reform proposed by Bachelet does not change the root of the problem, which is the privatisation of the educational

system, but rather just pays private institutions to educate poorer students. In that sense, one of the criticisms in the online debates is that the reform guarantees access for the less affluent but does not improve the general attitude to education nor its quality.

The topic code used for tweets in this discussion was mainly *Public Policies*. *Other institutions* in this case was used to talk about the universities as private organizations in contrast to *The Government*, which was involved in the development of this reform. There were also tweets related to *Neoliberalism*, as the current economic model in Chile and *Discourse about political parties* to identify populist speeches related to the reform. The example below shows a tweet that explains the educational reform carried out by Bachelet:

#### Example 27



*[Free education will be dependent on economic growth and fixed with amendments to the budget: Conclusion: #BoastfulReform]*

Example 27 shows a tweet that criticises how the reform has been carried out. Even though the tweet does not explicitly include the concept of educational reform, free higher education is one of the main aims of this reform, as stated before. The user in the post questioned the policy created to fund free higher education, implying that is not a stable income if it depends on economic growth, which then endangers the prospects of students.

Other reforms discussed in the traditional and online media were tax and labour reform and the abortion law which was part of the presidential agenda proposed by Bachelet during her candidacy and widely criticised by right-wing commentators and politicians. In addition, themes related to other changes demanded by the users were also discussed, such as the crisis in child services (SENAME). In this sense, social media users did not only comment on the agenda proposed by the government but also included and discussed other issues related to the presidential agenda.

### 5.3.2 Corruption cases

As stated in Chapter 2, there have been several notorious political corruption cases, most notably Penta and Caval. The Penta case was exposed towards the end of 2014, but the evidence-gathering for the case continues. Penta is a powerful financial holding company

that owns businesses in real estate, healthcare and banking, among other fields. It was investigated by the National Tax Services (SII) due to illegal political campaign-financing operations. At the beginning of the investigation, it was discovered that Penta financed some right-wing politicians for their senatorial campaigns. However, the investigation carried out in the following months proved that the operation was bigger and involved politicians not only from the right wing but also from the centre left. This financial support for political campaigns was to secure influence for business in the political field and in processes of decision-making. This case was discussed widely by Twitter users, who condemned and criticised the elite that for them entails not only economically affluent groups and individuals but also the political class as a whole. In this case, the tweets that talk about Penta were mostly tagged with the codes *Corruption*, *Elite* and *Public Figures*.

#### Example 28



[Now in #enacional the mob aristocracy fully attacking progress! Pentaboyos united will never be defeated]

The tweet above (28) criticises the role that the elite, characterised as a mafia, plays in the country. This ‘aristocracy’, the Twitter user suggests, attacks progressive reforms that favour the people. The user includes the label “*pentaboyos*” for members of the Chilean elite that participated in the corruption, which could also be a reference to the Chicago Boys and the Penta case (see Chapter 2). The user makes them the first element in the phrase “*Pentaboyos unidos jamás serán vencidos*” (Pentaboyos united shall never be defeated), a phrase more usually associated with a popular protest chant about the people.

The other case broadly discussed in the public debates was the Caval case (Nicklander, 2016). Caval was a business run by the daughter-in-law of President Michelle Bachelet. The day after Bachelet assumed the presidency, her son, Sebastián Dávalos, and her daughter-in-law, Natalia Compagnon, received a loan for US\$10 million from a bank. The money was used to buy a large property, change the permitted use of the land from agricultural to residential and later resell it, generating US\$5 million in profit. The case was labelled by the media as an example of influence traffic but not a felony (Sallaberry, 2015). In the social media discussions, the focus was on Bachelet, even though she was not directly involved, and on Dávalos, and their lack of ethical standards. However, the case was constantly

referred to as a corruption scandal or a robbery by the political class from the people. Relevant tweets were categorised as *(In)appropriate behaviour*, *Corruption* and *Public Figures*.

*Example 29*



*[The Caval case is a stone in the shoe for the government...]*

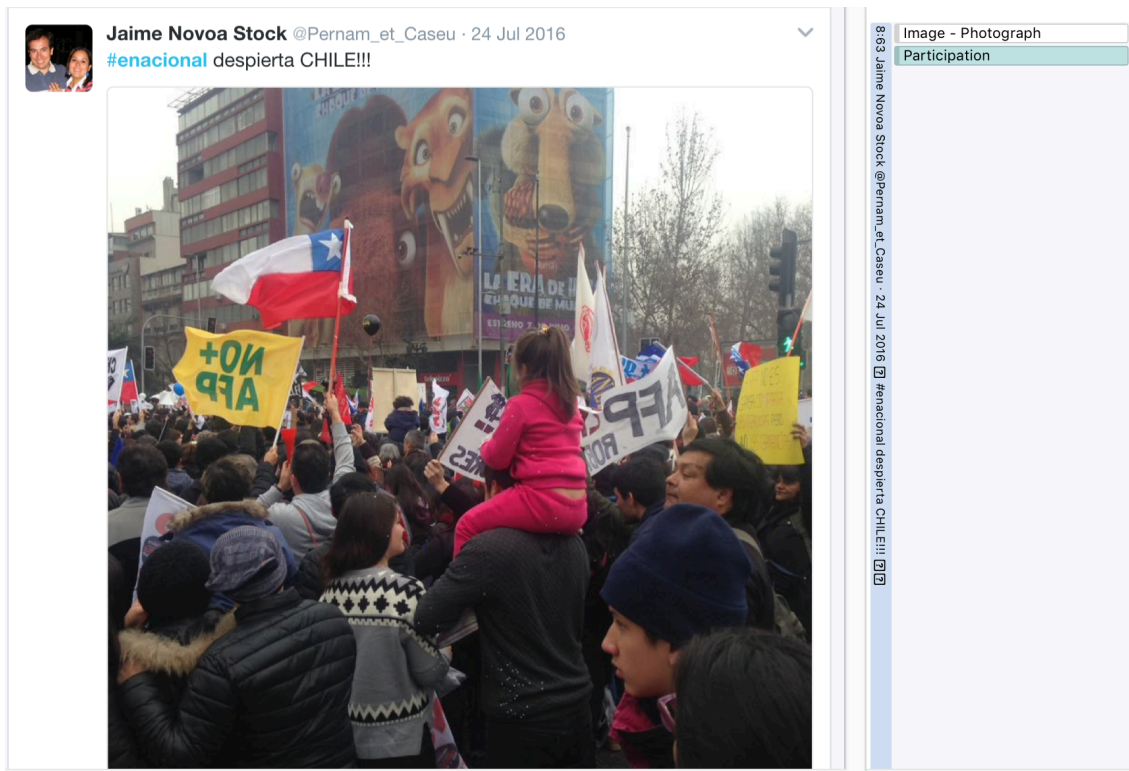
The tweet above describes the Caval case and its implications for the government. The user states that the case will disrupt Bachelet's term of office. The Caval case called into question Bachelet's capacity to lead the government and her authority regarding other corruption cases. The involvement of the president's family in an unethical issue implied the involvement of the most powerful institutions, and this had considerable repercussions for the levels of trust that the people had in Chilean institutions.

### 5.3.3 No + AFP movement

One of the most notorious political issues during the time period analysed in this research is the origin of one of the biggest Chilean social movements of the last decade, NO+AFP, which demands a new public pension system, as discussed in Chapter 2.

The social media discussion around the pension system can be characterised as a constant struggle between the political/economic elite and the needs of the people. Also, the social media discussion related to the TV shows is used as a space for activism, to promote the social movement. Tweets related to the TV shows were used to make visible the protests not covered by the TV shows. In the social media debates, elites as a whole were criticised, including the media. They were characterised as being divorced from social needs and marginalising the NO+AFP movement. For that reason, the most frequent codes used in the discussion related to this topic were: *Participation*, relating specifically to the social movement; *Public Policies*, to mark talk about reforms to the pension system; *Other Institutions* to mark tweets that talk about the AFPs; and *Elite*, to link the discussion with the dominant class and illustrate the tensions between the classes.

Example 30



[#enacional wake up CHILE]

Tweet 30 shows one of the protests of the NO+AFP movement in Santiago, with the text “despierta Chile”. The photograph shows a meeting with flags and banners against the AFPs. In this case, the inclusion of the hashtag of the show serves to show and share the activities of the movement, promoting participation in the movement against the private pension system.

Example 31



[Let's all change to fund e and tell them to fuck off #byeAFP]

The example above shows a tweet in which the user states that all workers should change to the E fund in the system to overwhelm the pension administrators. Users of the system can choose the fund for their savings from funds A, B, C, D and E, depending on their risk adversity. Fund A is a riskier but also more profitable fund and fund E is a more cautious and less profitable one. The AFP movement proposes that if every worker in the system changes their fund to the most conservative one, the administrators cannot keep

up with their investment schedule and the system will potentially collapse. This is another way to mobilise against the pension system, threatening the status quo, in which the social media platforms related to television shows are a space to promote other forms of activism.

The use of codes that link tweets to their sociopolitical context helps to give an overview of the discussion carried out on social media regarding the TV shows. The contextual information provides a good picture of the political debate, which includes political topics proposed by television programmes, but also criticism of the media, and other topics that are relevant to the users. The identification of topics present in the tweets and the different codes associated with them helped to group the tweets and classify diverse processes and actors. The highly contextual nature of the data requires explicit links to the political sphere to explain the different dynamics present in dual screening, as part of which different elements of the public sphere converge. This investigation of the data, in this first stage of analysis, includes not only topics of the shows but also the main formal features in the data, which are described in the following section.

#### 5.4 Description of the features of tweets

As explained in Chapter 4, the tweets in my data set were tagged with codes related to formal features, as shown in the following figure:

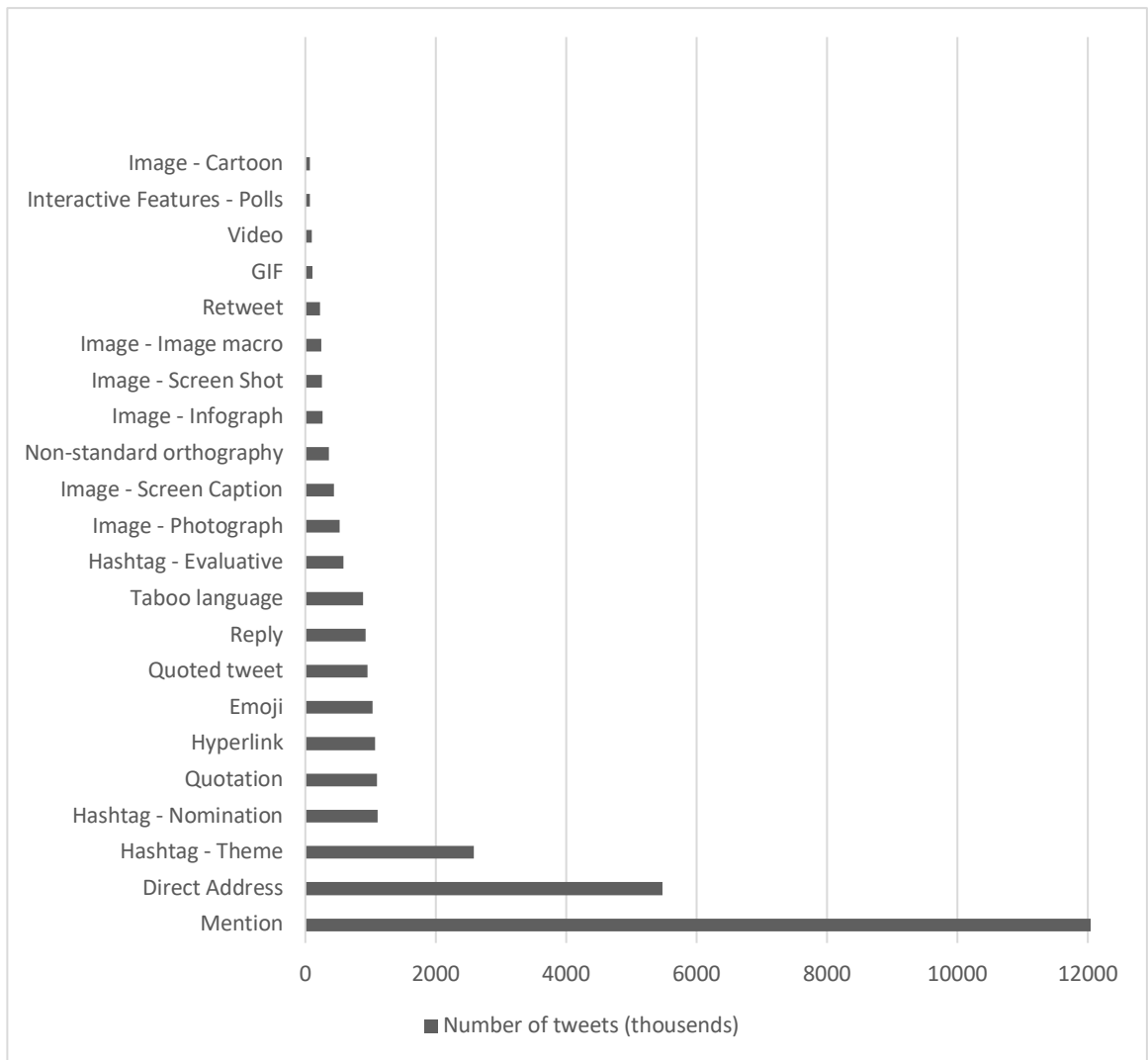
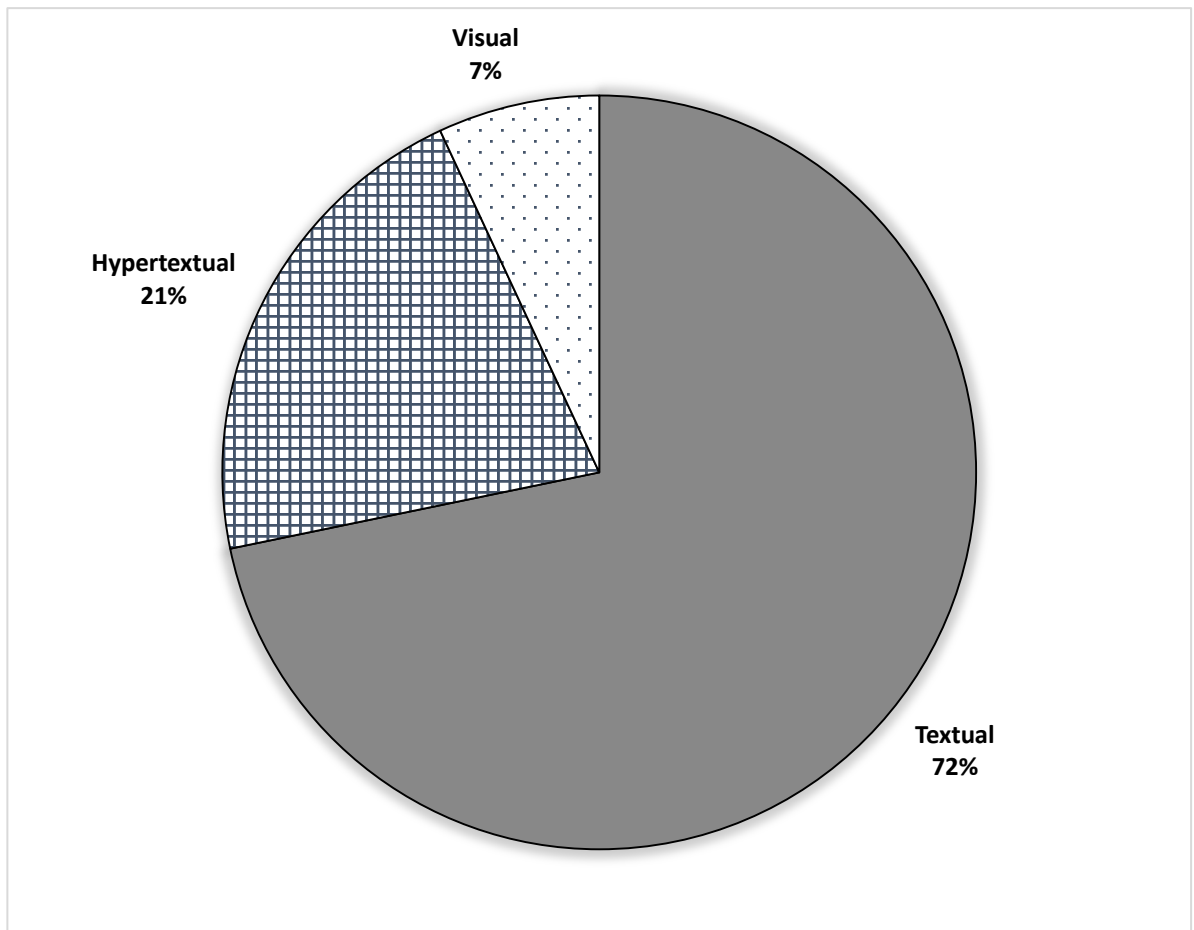


Figure 16 Number of tweets per code related to formal features organised by frequency

As Figure 16 shows, the most frequent code used for formal features was **mentions** (i.e. the inclusion of a name without using a Twitter username) of different actors in the discussion, followed by **direct address** (using a Twitter username). A fuller description of each category of formal features is provided in Chapter 4.

### 5.5 Overview of semiotic resources

The formal features in the data set were classified into three main categories, namely, verbal, visual and hypertextual resources, as shown in the following figure:



*Figure 17 Percentage of formal features in the data set by type of resource*

As Figure 17 shows, the biggest percentage of tweets coded in the first stage of analysis corresponds to textual resources that entail **mention**, **reply**, **direct address** and **quotation**, among others, at 72% of all tweets coded. The second was hypertextual resources at 23%, which included **hashtags**, **hyperlinks** and **interactive features**. Third, visual resources comprised 7% of tags and included the use of different kinds of **images**, such as **screen captions**, **photographs**, **memes** and **cartoons**, as well as **videos**, **emojis** and other multimodal features. These three categories are not rigid or exclusive and some features overlap. They are all resources exploited by users to argue and discuss on this social media platform. In the following section, I describe and illustrate the formal features coded in the data collection using examples extracted from the main data set.

#### 5.5.1 Verbal resources

The verbal resources coded in the data set were mostly related to the representation of different social actors, not only those present on TV shows but also some other actors with a public profile. Twitter users include others in their tweets, using not only the affordances provided by the platform, such as **direct address**, but also by writing their



names without any hyperlinks or other additional affordances. The interpersonal dimension of language is the most salient feature enacted by verbal resources in this type of text. Verbal resources, for example, help to identify the way that social actors and other processes are linguistically represented in the texts.

**Mentions**, i.e. the different ways in which users refer verbally to the participants of public debates on social media, comprise 31.3 % of the data set with 12,392 tweets. This is the most frequent code among the formal features identified in this data set. Most of the mentions match the names of public figures present in the discussion, but they also change those names to make a statement in a tweet, mainly for comical or aggressive purposes, e.g. Sebastián Piñera was often referred as “*Piraña*” (piranha) by his opponents. Another type of mention found in the data set is the use of initials to identify different public figures, e.g. Michelle Bachelet as MB or Sebastián Piñera as SP. This may be explained by the constraint on the length of posts: only 140 characters at the time of data collection.

*Example 32*



*[Piranha and almost all his cabinet are involved in corruption cases ... and they want to govern again!!! #enacional]*

The use of the name of the participant is not the only way to introduce another actor into the debate. As explained in Chapter 4, the Twitter platform allows its users to **directly address** others by adding their usernames with an @ symbol (@username). This type of verbal resource is present in 13.7% of the tweets. By using this procedure, the people mentioned in the tweet can be made aware of texts in which they are involved. The use of **direct address** and **mention** is not exclusive; there were tweets in which the use of a username was complemented with the use of a direct address, as seen in the following example:

*Example 33*

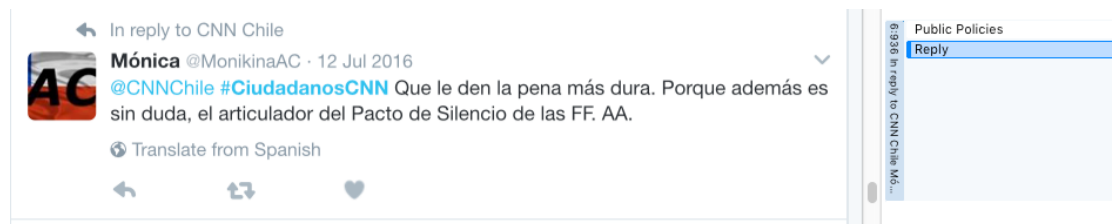


*[#enacional Lavín dropped his candidacy because he will be a minister of @sebastianpinera in the next government, and Alessandri assures the town hall in Santiago]*

In the example above the user mentions diverse politicians using different strategies. The presidential candidate is named using his Twitter username, linking this post with his Twitter account. By contrast, Lavín and Alessandri, are politicians from the same political coalition, but with minor roles on the political scene at the time. Although, Alessandri and Lavín had Twitter accounts, these are not mentioned in the post, addressed exclusively to Sebastián Piñera.

The third type of verbal inclusion in tweets which is, however, less frequently represented is **replies**, which allows users to answer other tweets. Tweets identified as **replies** in the data set comprised 2.3% of the total. This feature allows the threading of messages, which can help to establish patterns and create a longer, more dialogical discussion (Halavais, 2013). Apart from creating a dialogue between users, in the case of this data set **replies** were mainly to interact with the TV shows and their Twitter accounts, as the following example shows:

*Example 34*



*[@CNNChile #CiudadanosCNN give him the harshest punishment. Because he is also definitely the articulator of the pact of silence of the army]*

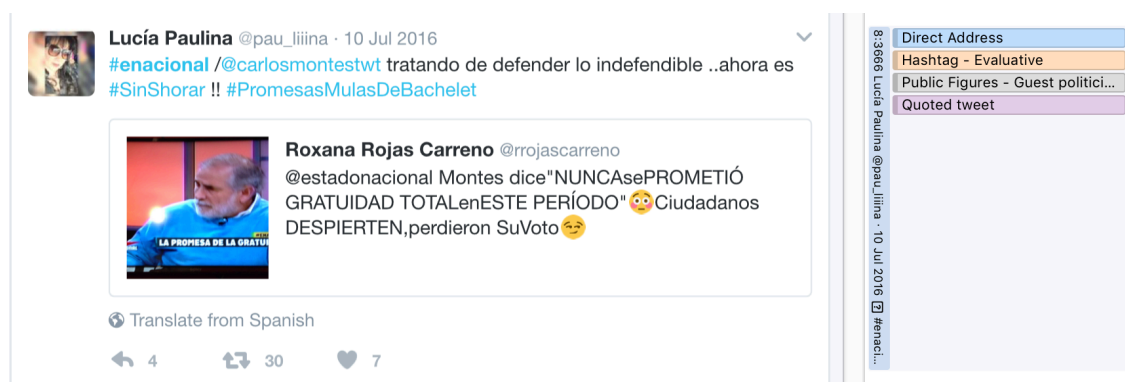
Doughty et al. (2011) argue that mentions and replies are resources used by the participants of social media debates to socialise with others. In the case of this data set, most of the **mentions** and **direct address** are used to question and interact with public figures, and make tweets more visible, rather than interacting with other Twitter users. The resources to include others, specifically **direct address** and **reply**, are used to link the conversation with the accounts of diverse public figures. This can be interpreted as a strategy to get involved in a televised discussion, via guests and other public figures related to the discussion.

Among the verbal resources coded in the data set, there were features that allow interdiscursivity between different texts on Twitter but also in different media. These

elements were **retweets**, **quoted tweets** and **quotations**, tags which identified texts that included other voices and reproduced someone else's texts. **Retweets** were coded in 222 tweets or 0.6% of the whole data set. Retweeted texts are marked to specify that they are original posts by other users, thereby creating an intertextual and hypertextual link.

Unlike retweets, **quoted tweets** include a comment or text that complements a republished tweet. **Quoted tweets** comprise 2.4% of the total data set. This procedure can establish connections between texts explicitly through the incorporation of the post of another user, as in the example below:

*Example 35*



*[#enacional / @ carlosmontestwt trying to defend the indefensible .. now it's #WithoutCrying!! #BacheletsEmptyPromises*

*Roxana Rojas Carreno @rrojascarreno @estadonacional Montes says "NEVER was PROMISED TOTALLY FREE [EDUCATION] in THIS PERIOD" 😏 Citizens WAKE UP, you lost your vote 😏]*

Example 35 shows a quoted tweet in which the original user includes some of the utterances of a public figure in a show, supporting and expanding a **quoted tweet**. In this case, the quoted tweet is shared by the user but also enhanced with the inclusion of other formal elements, such as **hashtags** and **direct addresses**.

The **quote tweet** and **retweet** features built into Twitter are not the only ways that users of the platform can link their posts to other texts. A frequent practice in the data analysed is the **quoting** of different texts incorporated into tweets via the use of quotation marks and other discourse markers which indicate the origin of the text and its connection to the new one. This practice was identified in 2.7% of the tweets, becoming the most frequent intertextual practice in this collection. The quotes found in the data set respond to different types of text linked to the social media discussion, including quotations of participants of

the TV shows themselves. The inclusion of **quotes** is an interesting practice because it can help to link the discussion in social media with a discussion carried out on a TV show, thereby creating a dialogue across media types.

### Example 36



*[A phrase cast in bronze!]*

*Cecilia Pérez in #ENacional "raped women cannot think; we just need to take care of the foetus"]*

As example 36 shows, the Twitter user quotes a phrase uttered by Cecilia Pérez, one of the panel members on the TV show *Estado Nacional*, and adds a comment. This allows the user to link the two media, including fragments of the TV discussion on Twitter. **Retweeting** and different types of **quotation** are intertextual devices used on the social media platform not only to link the content of the political discussion to other sources in social media, but also outside the online debate. The use of **quotations** also helps to link the Twitter discussion with traditional media, especially TV shows. Quotes extracted from interventions in TV shows establish a link between what is happening on television and how that is part of the online discussion.

Another type of verbal resource identified in the data set is the use of **taboo language**. As described in Chapter 4, this category codes vulgar expressions and swear words used in tweets. Tweets that include that type of intervention make up 2.3% of the total, corresponding to 883 tweets. The use of **taboo language** in social media can be considered part of the use of colloquial language there but it is also related to expressions of violence and anger for some Twitter users.

The identification of verbal resources present in the data set shows different ways to linguistically include others and their texts in a social media discussion. These resources enhance communication in social media by allowing intertextuality not only in online interaction but also between media involved in the dual-screening practice.

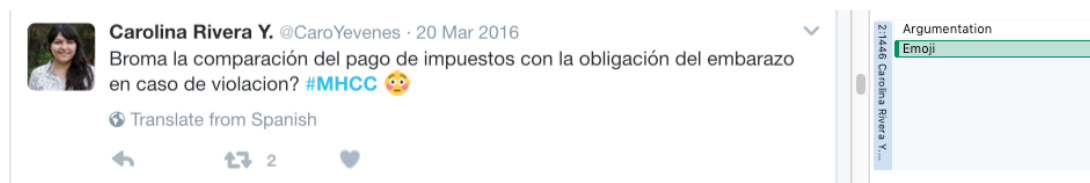
#### 5.5.2 Visual resources

The Twitter platform allows its users to integrate diverse visual resources in their posts. Twitter users can include **images**, **emojis**, **GIFs** and even **videos** as part of the 140

characters in each tweet. These features were grouped in the category of visual resources, which comprises different visual semiotic features. The visual resources identified in these tweets were mostly coded as **images** and **emojis**, which were added to texts with different purposes. Most of these visual resources tagged in the data set were coded alongside the texts of the tweets and rarely identified without a text.

The most frequent visual resource in the development of an online discussion is the insertion of **emojis** into tweets, at 2.6% of the total of the data set. In this case, the code **emoji** was used to group not only emojis but also emoticons in the same category as digital pictograms. As mentioned in Chapter 4, **emojis** are defined as digital pictograms present on different media platforms. Emojis and emoticons are part of the written messages of tweets and are each counted as a character in the 140-character limit of each post. The **emojis** identified in the data were used for different purposes, but mainly for emphasis or to express emotion, as shown in the following example:

*Example 37*



*[It's a joke the comparison between payment of taxes and pregnancy in a case of rape? #MHCC 🙄]*

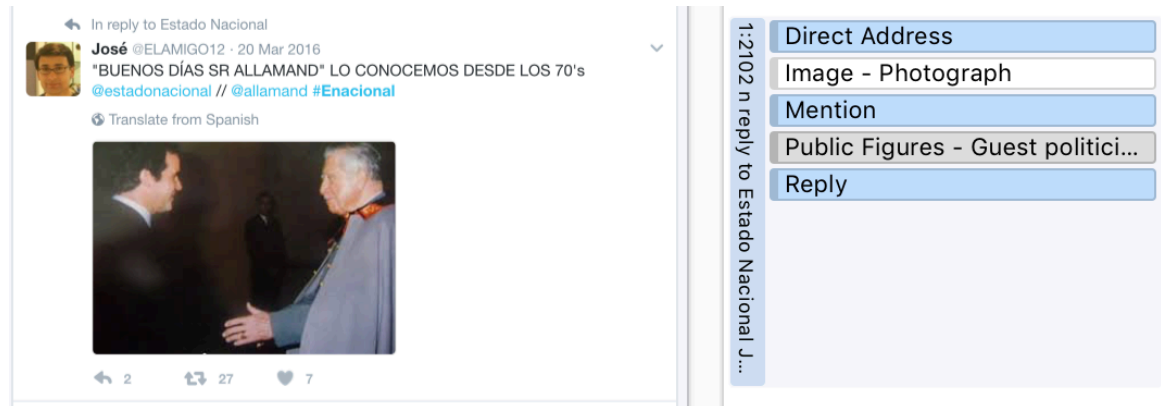
Tweet 37 shows a post about reforms to abortion law. The user includes an **emoji** of a blushed/surprised face to express her reaction of shame/surprise about the intervention of one of the guests on the show. The **emoji**, in this case, indicates the reaction of the user and the rejection of the guest's utterance.

Another type of visual resources coded in the data set is **images**, which are found in 4.6% of all tweets. Using the Twitter web client, **images** are displayed in the same tweet and appear in the timeline along with text as part of the post. There were different types of images identified in the data set, these were coded as **photographs**, **screen captures** of TV shows, **infographics**, **screen shots** of websites, **image macros** and **cartoons**. The images included in the data set are part of a dynamic stream and have different functions in different tweets.

The most frequent **images** coded in the data set were **photographs** (1.3%), mainly related to public figures and guests present in the conversations on television shows. In the case of this data set, **photographs** are mostly used as evidence in tweets. **Photographs** provide

visual evidence about the actions of social actors involved in online discussions, and many of them show public figures in official situations, as shown in the example below:

*Example 38*



*[‘GOOD MORNING MR ALLAMAND’ WE HAVE KNOWN YOU SINCE THE 70’s  
@estadonacional/ /@allamand #Enacional]*

Example 38 shows a photograph of Andrés Allamand, a politician invited onto a TV show, and Augusto Pinochet, Chilean dictator from 1973 to 1989. The **photograph** works in this case as documental evidence provided by the Twitter user to show the guest on the TV show linked to the dictatorship and its crimes.

Another type of **image** found in the data set was **screen captions** of television shows. This type of image directly linked a Twitter discussion with a TV show broadcast. Images coded as **screen caption** comprised 1.1% of the total data set. In this category, I included screen captures of Internet broadcasts of shows and also photographs taken by users of their own televisions while a TV show was on air. This type of image can reflect not only what is happening in a TV show, but also visually illustrates the activity of dual screening, as shown in the examples below:

Example 39

In reply to GranSopi Fisher  
julio César hernández @juliocesar\_3ro · 28 Mar 2016  
"@gransopi: #MHCC  
Guillier reconoce haber votado a favor por sancionar filtraciones sin darse cuenta. " Periodista?  
Translate from Spanish




2:146 In reply to GranSopi Fisher julio César herrá...

- Image - Screen Caption
- Mention
- Public Figures - Guest politici...
- Reply

[ "@gransopi: #MHCC Guillier acknowledges that he voted in favour of sanctioning leaks without realising it." Journalist?]

Example 40

GranSopi @gransopi · 27 Mar 2016  
Por filtraciones sabemos que Müller está vinculado a 125 millones SQM  
Con nueva ley no nos enteraríamos  
#enacional  
Translate from Spanish



1:1007 GranSopi: @gransopi · 27 Mar 2016 [ ] Por filtraciones sabemos que Müller...

- Corruption
- Image - Screen Caption
- Mention

[Because of the leaks we know that Müller is linked to 125 million SQM

With the new law we would not know]

The tweets show two different ways of including **images** from the TV shows on the online timeline. The first one (Example 39) shows a photograph of the TV during a broadcast, illustrating the practice of dual screening, while the second one (Example 40) is a screen capture of the show, from an online stream. Both images help to include televised elements in the digitally mediated discussion and provide evidence of the content of the show in

users' arguments.

Among the images used for Twitter users to participate in social media discussion, another category is **infographics**. This code was identified in 0.7% of the tweets. **Infographics**, as described in Chapter 4, can be defined as a new way to visualize data, one that integrates different elements, such as images, texts and diagrams, among others. A total of 263 tweets included different types of visualization of information, as shown in the following examples:

*Example 41*

The infographic titled "AFP invierten, desde los ahorros de los trabajadores, más de \$4,35 Billones de pesos en 7 empresas del Grupo Luksic (US\$6.563,3 millones)". It features a tree diagram where the trunk is labeled "\$4.354.068.000.000" and branches out to seven companies: SAAM (\$4.388 Millones), Bancic (\$30.996 Millones), ECU (\$31.376 Millones), Banco de Chile (\$88.158 Millones), Gobierno S.A. (\$3.996.190 Millones), CSAV (\$176.275 Millones), and another company (\$26.687 Millones). A text box states: "Mientras las empresas reciben dinero fresco de todos los trabajadores. Las pensiones que pagan las AFP no superan los \$156.000\*".

5:3027 Fundación SOL @lafundacionsol · 14 Jul 2016 AFP invierten 4,35 billones d...

Image - Infograph  
Institutions - Others

[AFP invest 4.35 billion Chilean pesos (more than US\$6,000 million) in 7 companies in the Luksic group]

*Example 42*

The poster for the "1ERA GRAN MARCHA NACIONAL Y FAMILIAR CONTRA LAS AFP" is held on Sunday, July 24th. It lists meeting points across various cities: Valparaíso (Plaza O'Higgins), Santiago (Plaza Italia), San Antonio (Plaza San Antonio), Arica (Lynch con 21 de Mayo), Iquique (Manuel Bilbao con Vivar), Calama (Paseo Ramírez), Cobique (Plaza de Armas), Chillán (Gobernación), Linares (Independencia), Valdivia (Terminal de Buses), Temuco (Plaza del Hospital), Osorno (Plaza de Armas), Castro (Plaza de Armas), Pto. Moret (Plaza de Armas), Coyhaique (Paseo Horn).

5:4160 Prensa OPAL Chile @prensaopal · 13...

Image - Infograph  
Participation

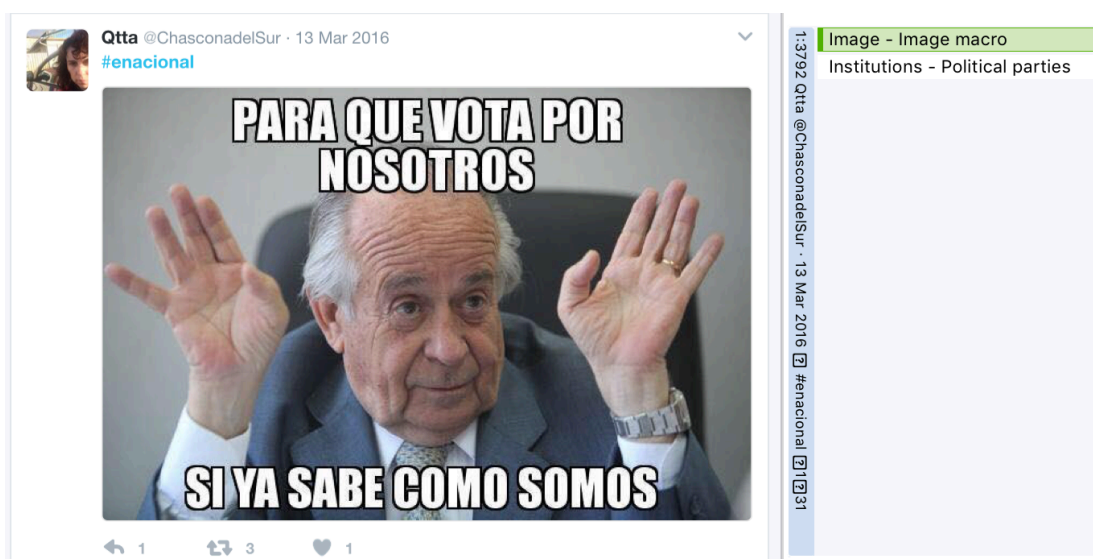
[All Chile will march against the sinister pension system. NO+AFP Sunday 24<sup>th</sup> July. Spread]



The first example (41) shows a figure that illustrates the links between the pension institutions (AFPs) and one of the most prominent business groups in Chile, the Luksic Group. The image shows the distribution of AFPs' income to different corporations related to Luksic and how they have used ordinary people's pension money for their own profit. The infographic shows a diagram with trajectories of the money to explain the connection with private Chilean business. The image also includes a picture of the CEO of the Luksic Group, Andrónico Luksic, as the face of the corporation and a recognisable public figure. The second image (42) shows a call to participate in the next meeting to protest against the pension system. The image shows a photograph of a previous protest and details of protests staged nationwide. It includes a graphic display of information relevant to participation in the event.

As discussed in Chapter 3, social media platforms generate new ways to communicate meaning via new genres. Among these, **image macros** are frequently associated with Internet memes, which are defined by Shifman (2014) as digital units of culture that are propagated person to person via the Internet, allowing transformation during circulation. These items share common characteristics of content and form. **Image macros** were identified in 0.6% of the data collected, which is 245 tweets. **Image macros** mainly have a humorous function in tweets. Internet memes in this data set are mostly about politicians, and they represent, usually with some ironic elements, public figures and their involvement in controversial actions.

*Example 43*



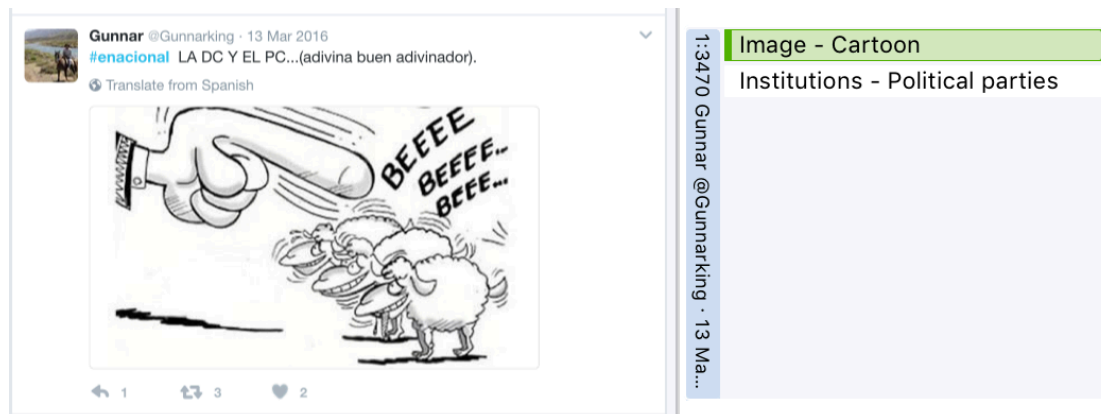
[WHY DO YOU VOTE FOR US

*IF YOU KNOW WHAT WE ARE LIKE]*

The example above shows a photograph of a Chilean politician, Andrés Zaldívar, former president of the Senate and historic member of the Christian Democratic Party, holding up his hands in a gesture often associated with blame avoidance. The caption on the **image macro** shows a joke that evidences the lack of ethics among political parties. “NOSOTROS” (US), in this case, represents the Christian Democratic Party and arguably could mean the entire political class that has been ruling the country since the sixties.

A further type of image coded in the data set was **cartoons**, which are present in 0.5% of all tweets tagged. **Cartoons** were usually used to represent comic situations related to discussed topics. As Van Leeuwen (2009) states, political cartoons often represent politicians and public figures as animals. The representations of cartoons can be considered visual metaphors.

*Example 44*



*[The CD and CP ... (guess good guesser)]*

The example above shows a representation of sheep receiving a command from a person in a suit, which is suggested by the hand and cuff. The verbal text of the tweet alongside it refers to two Chilean political parties, the “DC” (Christian Democrats) and the “PC” (Communist Party) that were part of the same coalition. The **cartoon** uses sheep to metaphorically represent the political parties and their lack of independence to carry out their own agendas, in which the hand represents the establishment or those who hold economic power in the country. The **cartoon**, in this case, acquires a specific meaning in relation to the text of the tweet, providing the context to understand the political implications of the image and the position of the user in relation to the debate.

In this category, I also classified non-static images such as **videos** and **GIFs** (moving clips,

usually with captions). Tweets coded as **videos** represent 0.2% of all tweets. Most of them correspond to one TV show that shows short video clips in a section of the show called the “in confidence minute”, a section in which the guest has a minute to talk about any subject in relation to or not the topics proposed by the show. That section is often shared not only with participants of the TV show and its official Twitter account but also with other Twitter users who comment on the clips.

*Example 45*

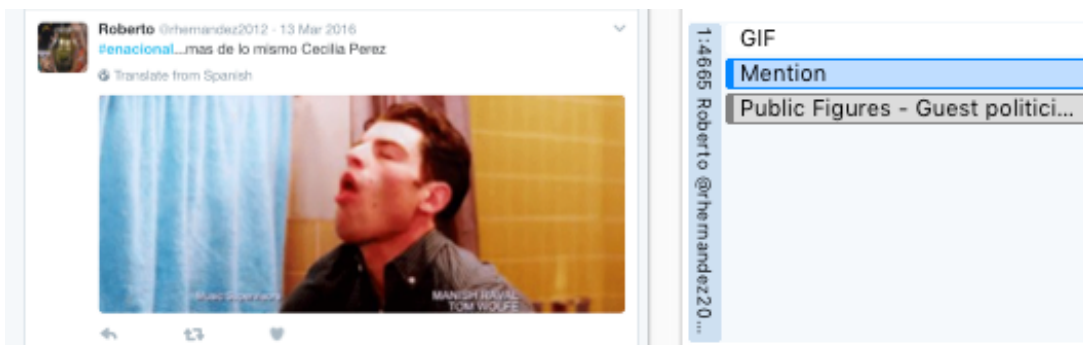


*[Daniel Matamala’s confidence minute in #CiudadanosCNN via @Youtube]*

In the caption, tweet (45) includes a hyperlink and a clip from the show. The user re-posts a fragment of the TV show in which the host gave his point of view in relation to a specific issue. In the tweet, the clip is also linked to the video platform YouTube, allowing the user to explore other videos linked to the TV show. In this case, unlike other tweets, the user is not taking any stance on the content of the video, just sharing it without comment.

**GIFs** are defined as moving short clips without sound that can be inserted into tweets. These moving images were identified in 0.3% (i.e. 108) of the total of tweets coded. The GIFs identified in the data set usually related to expressions of emotions linked to texts present in the tweets. **GIFs** helped the users to emphasise and illustrate their reactions in messages they posted.

*Example 46*



*[#enacional ... more of the same Cecilia Pérez]*

### Example 47

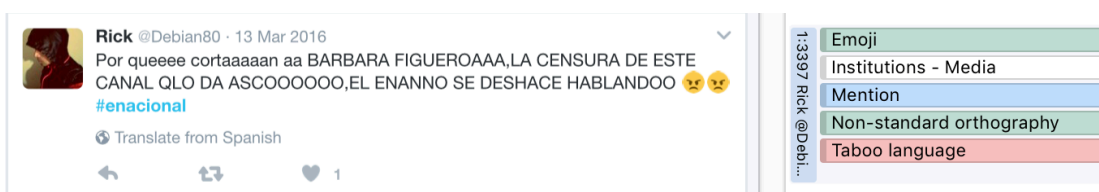


[When Chilean politicians call themselves 'public servants'...]

The first example, (46), shows a **GIF** of a nauseous reaction alongside text related to one of the panel members of the show *Estado Nacional*, Cecilia Pérez. The image related to the tweet suggests that Cecilia Perez's contribution to the show led to nausea. In the second example, (47), the **GIF** shows a big and expressive laugh following a text about politicians' behaviour. The **GIF**, in this case, plays with the comic sense of the caption, showing the use of the label 'public servants' for politicians as a joke. Both examples show that the use of **GIFs** adds an appraisal to the verbal text of the tweet, adding to or changing its overall meaning.

The final resource identified in this category is **non-standard orthography**, which is present in 0.9% of the whole data set, i.e. 360 tweets. The use of different styles and orthography in social media platforms has been studied as a multimodal feature and even considered to be a visual component (Barton & Lee, 2013). **Non-standard orthography** can be considered part of the structural features of online communication and includes stylized spelling, acronyms and initials or unconventional punctuation.

### Example 48



[Whyyyyy you cuuuunt to BARBARA FIGUEROAA, THE CENSORSHIP OF THIS FK CHANNEL SUUUUCKS, THE IMP TALKS LIKE A TORRENT]

The example above shows the use of stylized spelling to emphasize certain words in the message. Furthermore, the use of all caps to highlight parts of the message can be considered an intensifier for emotion or affection, as the written equivalent of shouting (Lin, 2016). The capitalization of words is also considered part of social media communication, a hybrid form which combines elements of speech and writing communication (Barton & Lee, 2013), considering that **non-standard orthography** can work as a multimodal resource combining more than one mode to make meaning.

The different visual resources identified in the data collected show the different affordances of social media communication and how multimodal resources are incorporated into social media debates. The use of visual resources to participate in political discussion is a way to expand the political debate and incorporate different modes in dual screening practices.

### 5.5.3 Hypertextual resources

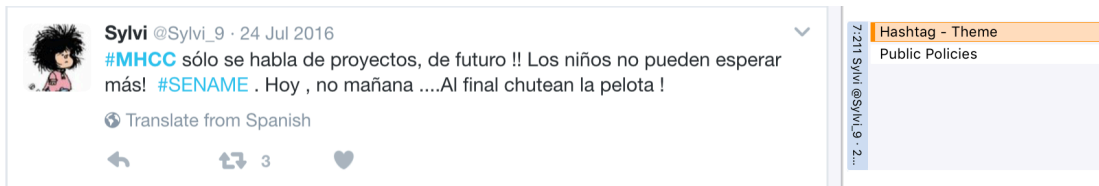
As the data analysed show, hypertextual resources are frequently used to construct arguments and back up statements. The Twitter platform allows different forms of hypertexts to enhance texts posted on the platform. Tweets have a very limited length (140 characters at the time of data collection). For this reason, there are other features that can help Twitter users make the most of their interventions in online discussions. As discussed in Chapter 4, hypertextual resources can be defined as a type of text that links one unit to another and establishes different relations between modes. These multimodal relations cannot be considered as juxtapositions of text and other resources, but rather a new type of modality. These resources allow users to interact with the platform and redirect their readers to other texts, images, websites or platforms.

One of the most frequent hypertextual resources was **hashtags**, with a total of 4,281 tweets or 14% of all tweets coded. Although all the tweets in the data set include at least one TV show's hashtag, because this was used to find tweets for the data set, any other hashtags present in tweets that were not the official TV show hashtags were included in this category. These tweets that contain hashtags that were classified in relation to their function in tweets, namely an evaluation, someone's name or the theme of the tweet.

The most prominent type of hashtag coded in this data set was **hashtags** that identify the **theme** of the tweet, with 2,587 tweets, or 6.5% of the entire data set, with 60.4% of the tweets coded including hashtags. In this category of tagged tweets, each one contains a hashtag that describes the main theme of the text. These **hashtags** help to link tweets to

other online conversations and make them searchable not only by the TV show but also by topic.

*Example 49*



*[#MHCC just talk about projects, in the future!! The children can't wait anymore! #SENAME . Today , not tomorrow ... In the end they avoid kicking the ball!]*

In the example above, the tweet shows the hashtag #SENAME. linking the tweet not only to a TV show (#MHCC) but also to a discussion around the National Service for Minors (SENAME). The inclusion of a second hashtag expands the potential reach of the tweet, increasing its chances to be read and shared by other users. The hashtag, in this case, pointed out the main theme of the tweet, namely that is about the function and public policies related to SENAME, an institution that has lost credibility in recent years, mainly because of the exposure of child abuse cases and the deaths of hundreds of children in the system. This issue was addressed by the media as the SENAME crisis and was widely discussed in different media.

Another type of **hashtag** identified in the data set was one to name participants in the discussion. Although the name of a participant can be considered a theme in a tweet, for the purposes of this research, hashtags that have specific names are classified in the category **Hashtags – Nomination**. This type of hashtag occurred in 1,105 tweets, equivalent to 2.8% of the total data set and 25.8% of all tweets coded as containing **hashtags**. These hashtags are often used instead of the names of actors in tweets, as shown in the following example:

*Example 50*



*[#guillier in #MHCC doesn't say anything different than the mobster #girardi says, the inept #bachelet, or the fraudster #andrade...]*

The example shows the inclusion of four names in the text using hashtags. The tags

*#guillier*, *#girardi*, *#bachelet* and *#andrade* are the surnames of four politicians related to the ruling coalition at the time of collection (*Nueva Mayoría*). The hashtags were introduced in the text to replace the names of politicians involved in the discussion. The use of nominative hashtags helps users to link their texts with others related to the same person, which may or may not be related to the same event commented on in the tweet.

The third category of hashtags coded in this data set is **Hashtag – Evaluation**. This category groups hashtags used to add evaluative sentiments (Page, 2012) about the texts in which they are included. Tweets that include evaluative hashtags comprise 1.5% of the total of tweets coded, and 13.8% of the tweets in the category **hashtag**, with 589 tweets.

#### Example 51



*[How irresponsible it is to have a ‘system for protection’ for boys, girls and teenagers in these conditions #ElInformante #nationaldisgrace]*

The hashtag “*#verguenzanacional*” (*#nationaldisgrace*) in the example above expresses an evaluation in relation to the child protection system (i.e. the SENAME crisis). The user pointed out the irresponsibility of retaining a system in those conditions, stating a personal opinion related to the system and its function.

A further resource classified as hypertextual is the use of **hyperlinks** in tweets. Moe and Larsson (2013) explain that hyperlinks are visible ways to share information and create connections with other online sources. This type of resource can have different uses, e.g. to integrate more extensive texts and videos and link to other social media platforms. The use of hyperlinks was coded in 1,074 tweets, representing 2.7% of the data collected.

#### Example 52

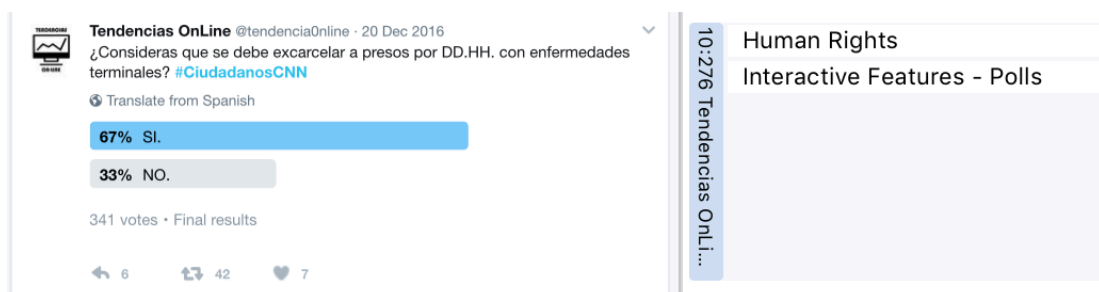


*[Those who have investments or businesses in “tax havens” couldn’t access public positions senado.cl/prontus\_senado... / #enacional]*

In the example above, the **hyperlink** serves to complement the text of the tweet. In that case, it is possible to state that the hyperlink is a way to include further information about the main topic and expand the meaning of the tweet. The **hyperlink** included in this tweet led to an institutional website (the official website of the Senate) that has more information about the theme of the tweet, allowing other users to access more information outside the Twitter platform. The use of this type of resource helps users to include more information in microblog posts and redirect other users to relevant sources.

The final type of hypertextual resource coded in the data was the use of **polls**. **Polls** are a relatively new feature on the Twitter platform, they allow users to ask their followers a question, providing pre-determined answers to vote on. **Polls** are shared on the platform, which means anyone with a Twitter account can vote. These surveys have a determined duration that is set by the user who posts it, which can be between five minutes and seven days. After that length of time, the poll ends and shows the final results. The results of these surveys are immediately available to the creator of the **poll**, and to the people who vote in it. The incorporation of **polls** is a way to add content to tweets and also to participate in other users' questions. **Polls** were identified in 70 tweets, which represents 0.2% of the total.

#### *Example 53*



*[Do you consider that prisoners for human rights crimes should be released due to terminal illnesses?  
YES/NO]*

The example shows a question related to the topic of the TV show. In this case, the user asks their followers whether prisoners who are incarcerated for human rights violations should be released if they are terminally ill. The poll shows two possible answers to that question, yes or no. As the poll was finished at the time of collection, it showed the final results: a total of 341 votes, 67% choose the option YES and 33% voted NO. The usernames of the people who vote in this type of survey are not posted with the results, and so they remain anonymous.



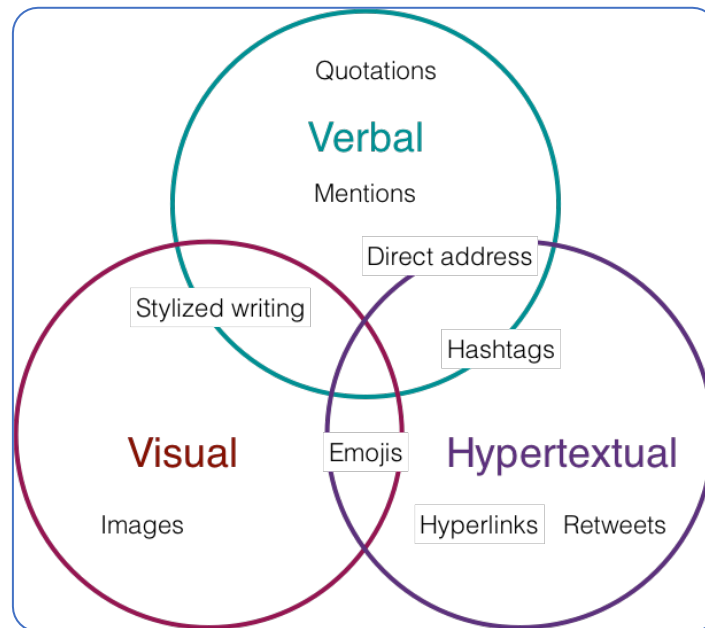
Hypertextual resources coded in this data set are important features in the configuration of the online debate related to TV shows and allow users to expand and create new meanings using features provided by the platform. The use of hypertextual resources helps the users of social media to navigate through a political discussion and create their own paths and meanings on the platform, but also outside Twitter, across the Web.

#### 5.5.4 Relation between overall resource categories

The semiotic resources identified in the data set were classified into the categories of textual, visual and hypertextual. However, these classifications are not rigid or exclusive. As the examples in the previous sections show, many of the semiotic resources identified in the data set operate in more than one semiotic domain. For that reason, it is important to mention the limitations of these categories and the resulting implications when they are used as semiotic resources.

For example, **hyperlinks** are not only a resource that establishes a connection between two texts, identified as a hypertextual resource, they are also essentially multimodal. As mentioned in Chapter 4, Lemke (2002) states that hypertexts are hypermodal in the sense that they cannot be constrained to one mode. Another example of this phenomenon is **direct address** in tweets. Mentioning participants with their usernames creates a link between two or more accounts on Twitter, making the user traceable on the platform. A similar case is the inclusion of **quoted tweets**, which can be considered a textual resource that includes other users' tweet in a post. But this kind of quotation not only includes the plain text of the quoted tweet but also links the tweet to the original post, allowing navigation across tweets.

Arguably, **hashtags** can be part of different semiotic modalities too. They can be a hypertextual resource because they can link different tweets related to the referent of the hashtag, and they are turned into hyperlinks by Twitter. Also, hashtags can be used as a verbal resource to represent a social actor or issue and evaluate it. In the data analysed, I found that hashtags are used as a nominative resource, not only to mention someone but also to link all the texts related to a specific actor.



The figure above shows how different semiotic resources are linked to different types of semiosis and that most of them cannot be limited to one type. The semiotic resources in the data analysed can be classified into different categories depending on their function in texts. For example, stylized writing cannot be classified as only a verbal resource, because it has a visual component which influences the meaning of a text. Different semiotic resources can overlap in the different categories defined, illustrating the complexity of the analysis of social media data.

The functions of different semiotic resources as part of argumentation in these political debates will be analysed in Chapter 6, but it is important to mention that the type of analysis described and discussed in this chapter can help to triangulate the results of a more detailed analysis and get an overall picture of the practices involved in tweets related to political TV shows.

## 5.6 Linking codes: co-occurrences between topics and formal features

In the process of coding the data set, as discussed in Chapter 4, I identified topics and formal features in 39,864 tweets. In this process, each tweet was linked to codes related to its topic and formal features. As each tweet can be coded using more than one code, how the codes are connected can be a way to understand the function of these two categories in the data set. In this section, I will present a description of the co-occurrences in the data set along with associated frequencies to illustrate the main tendencies in the data. As Bezeley (2013) explains, the coding process helps to identify, with a label, a fragment of

the data, but also to connect fragments of data and identify patterns. These occurrences can link different codes and identified patterns of codes through the examination of frequencies. The identification of topics in the tweets was done using the set of codes previously described, which can tag not only social actors but also processes. In the process of coding, it quickly became apparent that there were tweets related to more than one topic. In 9,717 tweets, corresponding to 24% of the whole data set, there was more than one topic, and hence more than one topic-related code. Tweets in this data set were tagged with a maximum of two codes related to topics. This may in part be due to the shortness of most of the texts (140 characters), which usually does not allow the development of more than one topic.

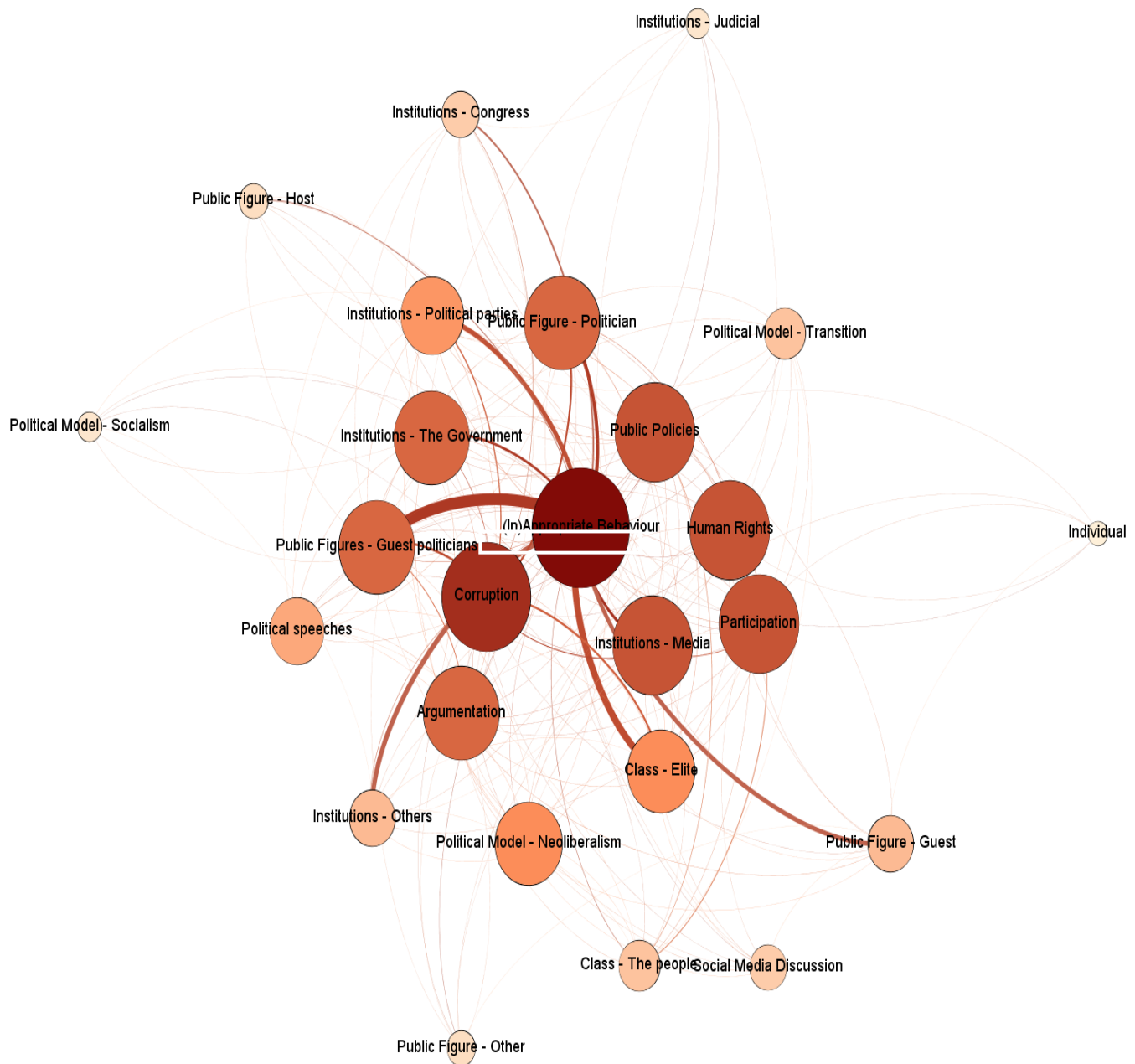
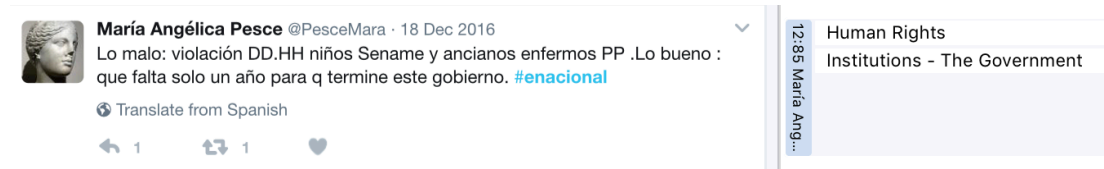


Figure 19 Network of relations between co-occurring topics

The figure above shows a network of relations among codes that co-occur in the data set. The darker spots illustrate the most frequently co-occurring categories and the thickness of the links between the codes shows how often they co-occur with each other. Despite the low character limit on Twitter at that point, almost a quarter of the tweets were coded with more than one topic-based tag. The code with the most topic co-occurrences in the data set was *(In)appropriate behaviour*, comprising 17.5% of all co-occurring codes in tweets, followed by tweets about *Public Figures*, specifically, about politicians in the role of guests on TV shows. As the figure shows, the co-occurrence of codes in the data set

frequently involves a relation between social processes and social actors. Many of the co-occurrences in the coding process were identified in tweets that were structured as a two-part tweet in which the user of the platform mentions more than one topic to be discussed, as shown in the following example:

*Example 54*



*[The bad: violations of Human Rights of child services for children and sick old people. The good: that there is only one year left until this government ends]*

In the example, the tweet is structured as a two-part tweet, in which each section addresses a different topic. In the first part, the tweet states issues related to human rights violations of minors and sick elders, and in the second section about the term of office of the government. In this example, each topic is not directly related to the other, only as good or bad points in the year.

With regard to formal features, 27% of the tweets in the data set were tagged with more than one code related to formal features, making a total of 10,699 tweets. Unlike the codification of topics, in the case of formal features there were usually multiple codes related to a single post. Each tweet can make use of multiple formal features, as shown in the example below:

Example 55



[This is the problem: [latercera.com/noticia/caso-s...](http://latercera.com/noticia/caso-s...) @SanBetsabe @Memeamunategui]

The example shows a tweet that includes multiple codes related to formal features, namely **reply**, **direct address**, **hyperlink** and **image – screenshot**. The tweet includes a screenshot of a newspaper website with an article regarding a corruption case that involved one of the guests on the show. The tweet also includes a hyperlink for an article and another username in addition to the user who is being replied to. In this case, the different formal features help the user to support his claim by providing evidence. The use of formal features can help to enhance communication in a restricted format, expand the reach of posts and link the discussion to others.

The identification of diverse codes related to formal features in tweets shows how formal features complement each other in the construction of posts in social media discussions. Co-occurrences among codes related to formal features are illustrated in the following figure:

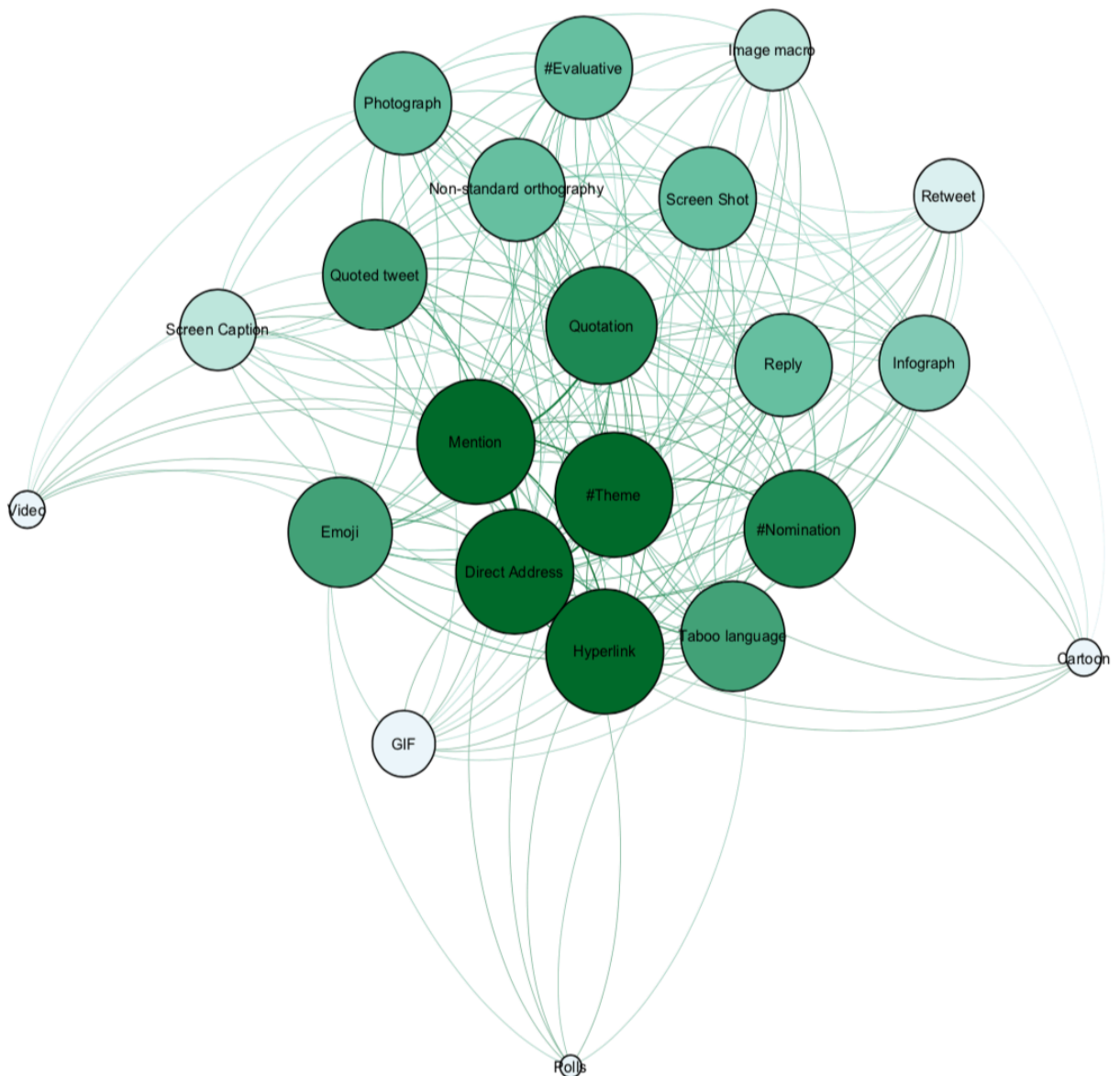


Figure 20 Network of the co-occurrences of formal features

Figure 20 shows the codes related to formal features that co-occur most frequently in the data set, and proximity and a darker shade mark the strongest relations among codes in the data collection. As the figure illustrates, these are **Mentions** and **Direct address**; both codes are related to the inclusion of others in tweets. The different ways to include others in tweets co-exist in the texts, which can be interpreted as Twitter users choosing how to address others using a variety of resources in a single tweet. Among the most frequent codes that co-occur with others are also thematic **hashtags** (**#Theme**), which co-occur frequently with other hypertextual resources as **hyperlinks** and other types of **hashtags** found in the data set (**#Nomination**), but also with **emojis**. Furthermore, intertextual resources such as **quotations** and **quoted tweets** frequently co-occur with other codes

that include others in the text: as they are used to identify the authors of quotes and those included in quotations.

#### 5.6.1 Co-occurrence of formal features and topics

The codes used to tag formal features and topics are also related to each other. In the data set, each tweet was tagged with a code that indicates the topic of the tweet or spam. In the process of coding, it became apparent that the majority of tweets both had topics and used formal resources, resulting in 93% of the total of the data set being coded with at least one topic and one formal feature, equivalent to 37,204 tweets. The high percentage of tweets that include formal features suggests that Twitter users generally enhance their messages using different semiotic resources beyond just plain verbal text in the context of dual screening.



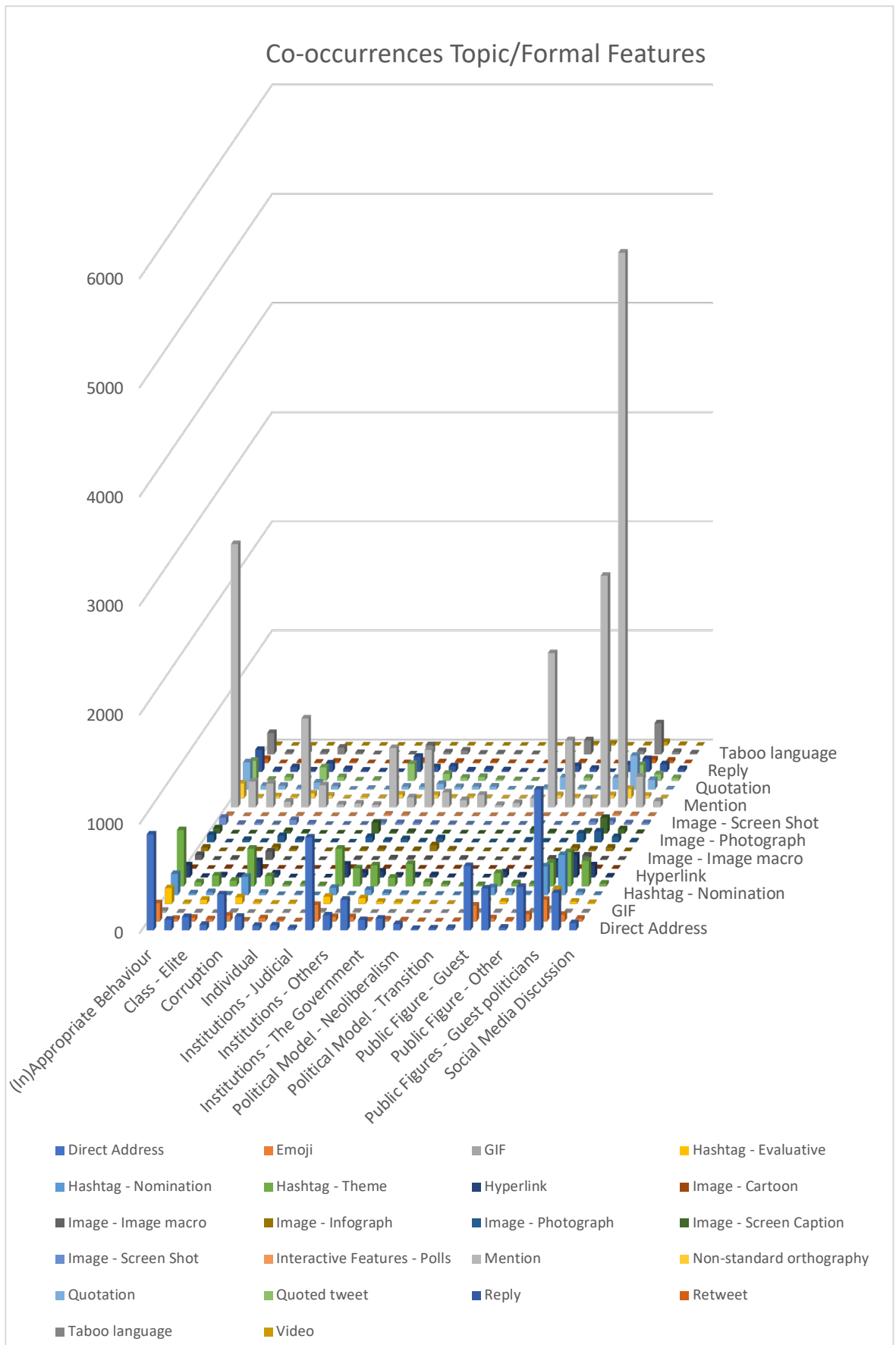


Figure 21 Co-occurrences between topics and formal features

Figure 21 shows the co-occurrences among topics and semiotic resources. This graph illustrates the variety in the combinations of codes that were found in the data collection, showing several possibilities. Most of the tweets in the data set include more than one code related to formal features or topics, linking semiotic resources with themes discussed in online debates. It can be observed in the figure that the most frequently co-occurring categories are related to the ways in which different social actors are introduced in the text, via **mentions**, **direct addresses** and **nominative hashtags** used for diverse public figures and their behaviour. Related to the inclusion of social actors, other features that co-occur frequently with these topics are visual resources, especially images of a different kind. Also, it is noticeable that there is frequent use of hashtags to tag the topics of tweets related to institutions and social processes, such as the creation of public policies or other ethical considerations, including corruption cases, human rights violations or (in)appropriate behaviour. These combinations illustrate the how people participate in social media in relation to certain topics, in the context of dual screening.

A more detailed illustration of this is displayed in the following figure that shows only the most frequent combinations in the data (over 500 tweets) among topics and formal features.

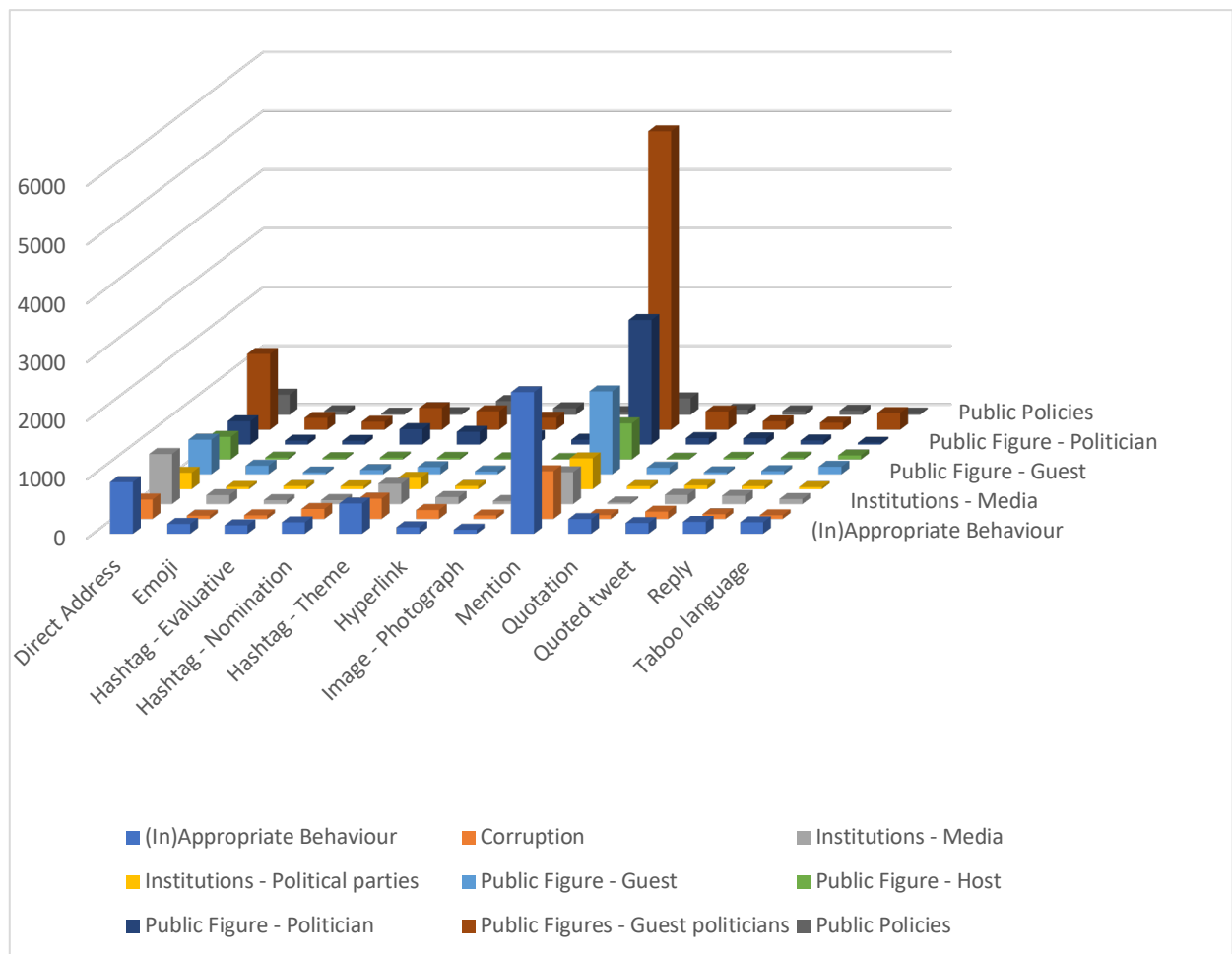


Figure 22 Selection of the most frequently co-occurring features and topics

The figure above shows the most frequently co-occurring features and topics in the whole data set. The most frequently combined formal feature is **mention** in tweets related to politicians invited onto TV shows. This feature helps users to include the participants of televised debates in their texts, and thus introduce part of the televised debate onto their timelines while dual screening. Additionally, naming public figures instead of using their usernames, as previously stated, means they are sub-tweeting, i.e. other participants are not tagged in the text and therefore not directly linked to the conversation. Related to this is the inclusion of other politicians who are not guests on television shows. This does not mean that they are irrelevant to the discussion occurring on TV: most of the politicians mentioned in the tweets are part of the televised debate as subjects of the discussion. Other topics with a high frequency of co-occurrence with mentions are codes related to *(In)appropriate behaviour* and different *Public Figures* with **mentions**, **direct address** and **hashtags**. Tweets tagged with the code *(In)appropriate behaviour* were linked alongside codes that indicate a name or a username on the platform. The same pattern can be observed in the category *Corruption*. Different semiotic resources are therefore used to include others

in the text and thus expand the potential meaning of a tweet to not only be about ethical concerns but also target specific public figures.

The use of **direct address** and **mentions** is not exclusive to tweets that talk about *Public figures*, they are also present in tweets related to *Institutions*. In those cases, *Institutions*, such as the *Media* or *Political parties*, are directly addressed using their official accounts, but often the names of important figures linked to institutions are also mentioned. The use of these resources can help users to contact or criticise institutions directly. Twitter users can use this platform to address non-personalised institutions using diverse semiotic resources, including **replies**, **hashtags** and **direct addresses**, among others. The use of **quotations** also co-occurs with codes related to *Public figures* and *Ethical concerns*. The use of **quotations**, **replies** and **quoted tweets** can be interpreted as a way to illustrate and support the statements in tweets. With these resources, Twitter users can include intertextual references, integrating other's voices in their own posts and also including elements of televised discussions on their own timelines.

The use of **hashtags** is a way to include other participants in the discussion and evaluate, but it is also a way to link those texts to other online debates related to the same topic. In the case of this research, this feature was related to different *Public figures* and *Institutions*, but also to processes such as *(In)appropriate behaviour*, *Corruption* and *Public Policies*, as the main themes in tweets. These resources were used to highlight issues from the political agenda, which were usually also discussed in televised debates. Examples include #SENAME and #AFP, which identify policies, or #CAVAL, #PENTA and #SQM, which mark corruption cases. The use of hashtags related to different processes and public figures in this context can be interpreted as an extension of the political debate to other audiences that can participate via the use of other hashtags not related to television shows. The other type of hypertextual resource that frequently co-occurs in the data set is the category of **hyperlinks**, which co-occurs with *Corruption* and *Public figures*. The **hyperlinks** in this data collection, usually linked tweets to other websites outside the Twitter platform to disseminate information or back up statements in posts.

Among visual resources, **photographs** and **emojis** most frequently co-occur alongside the category of *Public figures* (*guests* and *guest politicians*). The use of **emojis** regarding public figures can be seen as elements that emphasise the messages in tweets by adding indicators of emotion, usually evaluating the main topic of the tweet (mostly *guest politicians*). In addition, the inclusion of **photographs**, as stated above, relates to the presentation of evidence related to the actions of participants on TV shows, especially guests.

The patterns of codes that co-occur in the data set help to describe tendencies of use on social media platforms. The highest frequencies identified in this data collection illustrate how Twitter users tend to debate in this specific context. In the case of this data set, it seems that users include different semiotic resources to comment on and criticise different actors and their behaviour, mainly related to those who are present in televised debates. Features that include others in texts were the most frequently co-occurring codes, alongside categories related to public figures and ethical concerns. This can be interpreted, taking into account also the context of production, as questioning how those in power use it to their own advantage and neglect the needs of the people. Social media discussion, in this case, can be considered a social practice, which is promoted by powerful traditional media institutions as well as social media platforms themselves, where users can comment on and participate in political debates, but also criticise and question the same power structures.

## 5.7 Summary

This first stage of the analysis provides an overview of the data set, characterising the main topics and formal features of the data. The analysis of data generated in this hybrid media context helps to explore the social practice of dual screening in political debates by describing the main content of discussions and the main means of realisation of digitally mediated debates. The codification process was applied to 39,684 tweets in the entire data set from three months in 2016. Although there does exist software that can identify topics and some of the affordances of social media data automatically, it is not able to capture some of the complexity present in this type of data. As previously stated, manual coding, although it is a slower and more limited process, allows the researcher to explore the data in more detail and consider contextual and co-textual elements in the categorisation of texts. The identification of topics, using content analysis and the application of a systematic set of codes in the data collection, allows for a big picture discussion of the practices carried out in social media related to political TV shows. The occurrence of different codes helps to illustrate the main features present in online conversations and the most relevant topics for online users in relation to televised debates.

As the analysis shows, the most frequent topics in digitally mediated discussions were codes related to ethical concerns, namely, *(In)appropriate behaviour* and *Corruption*. These codes relate to particular cases but also to the general behaviour of the political class, public figures and institutions, and they are generally used to criticise those in power. Another ethical concern coded in this data set is *Human Rights*, a code which marked tweets related

to violations of human rights in the Chilean context. This code related to violations of human rights during the dictatorship, but was also used to report and make visible some violations of human rights around the time of collection. The hashtags of the shows allow users to expose certain issues or situations to a wider audience that engage in political discussions, not just other dual screeners.

Another frequent code related to social processes was *Participation*. This code groups tweets related to different forms of participation in the political sphere. Tweets in this category not only discussed formal instances of political participation, such as elections, referendums or political campaigns but also social movements, protests and other physically mediated ways of participating in the political scene. The hashtags of the shows might be used in these cases to engage with a community of viewers, which is concerned about the political sphere, and thereby reach wider audiences for users' own political goals.

The establishment of political goals is also related to the code *Public Policies*, which groups texts related to reforms and policies carried out by the government. These reforms are often criticised, but users also proposed plans of action to improve or replace the policies discussed in televised debates. The different reforms and policies proposed by participants in the televised debates seem to fail to meet the real needs of users, who present several alternatives to solve diverse issues that the policies are supposed to tackle. The policies discussed on TV are often described as cosmetic, superficial or insufficient. As part of their dual screening interactions, users promote their own political goals and share their suggestions to change the model and bring about reform.

Diverse social actors, as the analysis shows, were also frequent categories in the discussions. The tweets in these categories refer to a wide variety of actors from *Public figures* to *Institutions*. The most frequent codes in these categories were politicians acting as guests on different TV shows. The tweets in this category usually criticised and commented on the politicians present on the shows, engaging with the discussions on TV but also linking the two media types, television and social media. Among *Institutions*, the most frequent code was the category *Media*. As stated previously, in this case, tweets often criticised the media, using the channels provided by the same broadcasters to participate in political discussion. In several tweets analysed, the *Media* are seen explicitly as part of the political debate, not only a means for disseminating it. The editorial position of the media regarding different political issues is questioned by the users, criticising the bias of the media and how they cover different topics. This criticism is extended to different institutions, not only the media, including =different powers of the state and private companies, AFPs, the Army

and the Church, among others.

To understand the political discussions carried out on social media, it was necessary to link topics identified in the data with the context at the time of collection. Codes related to different reforms and policy changes carried out by the Bachelet administration, including as educational reform, restructuring of the tax system, changes to SENAME and abortion law. Other issues related to the codification process were various corruption cases, especially Caval and Penta, and the social movement for changes to the private pension system (NO+AFP). As I argue in previous sections, the social movement that promotes restructuring of the pensions system in Chile used the hashtags of the TV shows not only to discuss changes to the system but also to promote the movement itself and their meetings. This can be considered an expression of digitally mediated activism, in which social media platforms and, in this case, the hashtags of political TV shows, helped the users to communicate and promote their cause to other communities.

The codification process includes the classification of formal features, the different resources and affordances used by participants in the debates to interact in this context. As the analysis showed, the most frequent features were those related to the inclusion of others in tweets, such as **mentions**, **direct address** and the inclusion of others' texts, as **quotations** and **quoted tweets**. These resources helped users to include other participants in the interaction and integrate different social actors into their tweets. The codification process also allowed me to explore co-occurrences among codes and how these are connected. As explained, the most frequently co-occurring categories among formal features were those related to the inclusion of others, particularly *Public figures* involved in televised debates and their *(In)appropriate behaviour*. The inclusion of participants in televised discussions and their quotes incorporates elements of traditional media into the social media feed, illustrating the process of dual screening and the hybrid media system. The inclusion of others on this platform also allows users to **directly address** not only *Politicians* or *Public figures*, but also *institutions* through their accounts, generating interaction among different actors in the public sphere. Digitally mediated discussion is not limited to the community of viewers of the shows; users also include different **hashtags** to comment on and criticise different *Public figures*, their behaviour and different social processes, expanding the reach and potential of political discussion and including other communities online besides the community of viewers that engages with television shows. Also, co-occurrences among the codes show the inclusion of different visual resources in discussions related to *Public figures*, especially **emojis** and **photographs**. The first of these mainly emphasises

messages and shows emotions, while the second mainly presents evidence about different social actors.

The analysis presented in this section helps to characterise the political discussion on Twitter related to political television shows. The examination of codes and their relative frequencies provides an overview of a large data set, as a first approach to the phenomenon of dual screening from a discursive perspective. The political debate carried out is characterised by the use of diverse semiotic features that help users to participate in political discussions, criticising the current state of affairs but also proposing new plans of action. The ethical concerns discussed in the online debates illustrate the ethical crisis mentioned by Arancibia and Montecino (2017), and also the crisis of representation related to traditional ways of exercising politics (Luna, 2016). The discussions in social media can be explained by the marginalization of common citizens by the traditional media, represented in this case by television, and the political and economic elite.

As the analysis shows, participation in dual screening practices allows users to be part of the political debate in the media, allowing them to comment on and criticise the political elite. This includes traditional media institutions that provide an opportunity for this focused participation by suggesting hashtags. Broadcast media do not usually participate actively in online debates, but the incorporation of social media discussion creates a new space to debate politics online and to promote viewers' political agendas.



## Chapter 6: Show and tell: Interaction patterns and argumentative strategies in digitally mediated political debates

This chapter examines the interaction patterns and diverse argumentative strategies and resources used in Twitter discourses related to political TV shows. The main aim is to contribute to a more nuanced and detailed understanding of digitally mediated argumentative strategies in this hybrid media phenomenon. I present an analysis of argumentative and discursive strategies used in a sample of 140 tweets in which I examine new or reconfigured argumentative strategies in this type of media and also discuss interaction in digitally mediated dual-screen debates. This second stage of analysis for this research was based on tweets randomly selected from the data for each month and each TV show. This random sample of tweets allowed me to explore in more depth the construction of meanings in the hybrid media system, and more specifically in the dual screening phenomenon in the Chilean context.

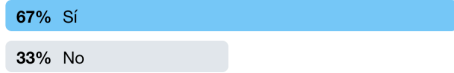
### 6.1 Interaction in dual screening contexts

In the context of dual screening, interaction among different participants from different media can be considered part of the complexity of the phenomenon. The analysis of texts generated in this type of social practice must take into account the diverse kinds of interactions produced in the dual screening phenomenon. The following section will explore the different patterns of interaction found in the data sample to characterise the practice of dual screening.

The discussions carried out on Twitter are linked to TV shows but not limited to them and their topics or discussions. For example, the hashtags of the shows are used to promote social movements, meetings, propose new topics, criticise the media and others, feed digitally mediated discussions and the political debate in general. Twitter activity in this context cannot be considered a backchannel or an isolated manifestation because social media interaction is not only encouraged by some TV shows but also incorporated into televised discussions, as shown in the example below:

Vota y participa en #CiudadanosCNN: ¿Cree Ud. que Sebastián Piñera será candidato presidencial? ¡Recuerda comentar usando nuestro hashtag!

Translate Tweet



1,831 votes • Final results

8:56 PM - 12 Dec 2016

[Vote and participate in #CiudadanosCNN: Do you think that Sebastián Piñera will be presidential candidate? Remember to comment using our hashtag! Yes/No]



Figure 23 Examples of social media data incorporated in a TV show

Figure 23 above shows a poll (top) that was posted on Twitter followed by a screenshot of one of the TV shows which encouraged viewers to take part (bottom left). The show then displayed the results of the poll (bottom right) in the last few minutes of the show, followed by a brief discussion by the panel. This is one way to incorporate Twitter into the interaction between the TV show and the audience of the TV show, using content generated in social media by the viewers.



Figure 24 Other kinds of interaction with social media data displayed on TV

The images above illustrate other types of interaction between different media found in

the data analysed. This involves displaying tweets on the screen of televised shows. Although most of those tweets are not directly addressed by the participants of the televised discussions, the display of tweets from the online feed, or the interaction of the host that speaks directly to the viewers of the show's streams on Facebook and Twitter, can be seen as interaction among participants in different media.

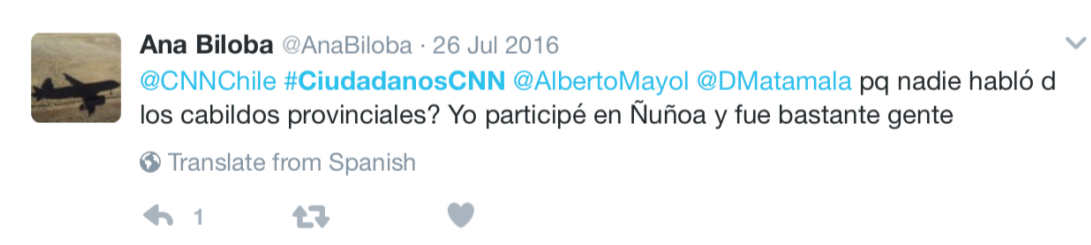
Several scholars (Gil de Zúñiga et al, 2015; Chadwick, O'Loughlin & Vaccari, 2017; Vaccari & Valeriani, 2018) propose that social media data generated by viewers in political contexts is a way to interact with other users, discuss the content of a show and socialise. The authors state that interpersonal communication in this kind of media engagement is used to participate politically. In this study, the data show that, for instance, socialization among users, with replies and direct address to other participants, is not the most common type of interaction. In this data set, interaction using the affordances of the platform to socialise with other dual screeners works in diverse ways (see section 5.1.2), allowing dual screeners to communicate with different actors involved in a political debate, not restricted to social media discussion. For example, this might be addressed directly to the media, television shows and written media, to the participants of TV shows and the hosts, as shown in the following examples:

*Example 56*



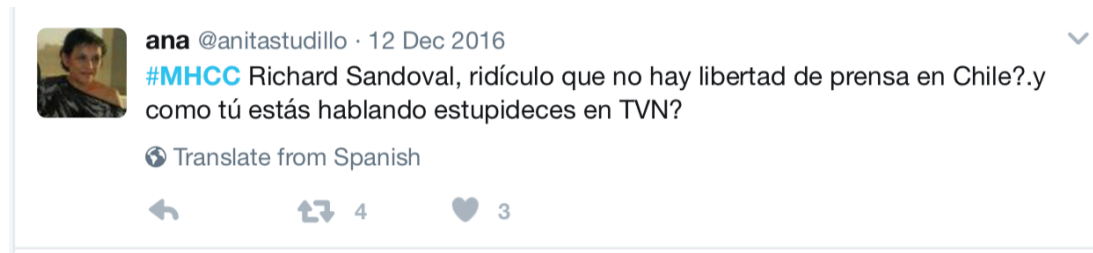
*[The invitation of panelists to #MHCC was quite unbalanced. What does @chilevision intend?]*

*Example 57*



*[@AlbertoMayol @DMatamala why does nobody talk about provincial councils? I participated in Ñuñoa and there were a lot of people]*

Example 58



*[Richard Sandoval, you're being ridiculous, there is no freedom of the press in Chile? And why are you talking stupidly on TVN?]*

The examples show tweets that directly address different actors involved in the dual screening process, not only other viewers but also institutions and participants of televised discussions. In the first example (56), the tweet directly addresses the TV show using the hashtag promoted on-screen and the username of the TV network. It further criticizes the show and the influence of political actors on the show, with regard to the lack of balance among the panellists and their political beliefs. In the second example (57), the user addresses the panellists of the show, commenting on their behaviour and interventions on-screen using the platform features. In this case, the user directly addresses (using @username) the network, host and panellist to question the selection of content displayed on the show. The last example (58) shows a tweet in which the user spoke directly to a guest (using the second person *tú*), naming him but excluding his username, i.e. subtweeting, to criticize his interventions in the show.

The examples illustrate different ways to address others by including the names of others and using the features provided by the platform (for more features and ways to include others see Chapter 5). These tweets show the diverse actors included in the texts, evidencing the expansion of addressees in dual screening interactions. The diversity of recipients in this kind of text poses a challenge to the analysis of interaction, and therefore of argumentation, which cannot be studied as a face-to-face dialogue or a political speech in an institutional context. The Twitter feed also incorporates content generated by the television show during transmission, providing other users with context and topics. As Chadwick (2013) proposes, with the rise of social media, television offers more than an illusion of interaction due to the response of Internet-based platforms. In that sense, it can be stated that the interactions in this kind of media flow both ways, between television and social media.

The 140 tweets in the smaller data set also incorporate elements of televised interaction

into digitally mediated discussions. Twitter users can interact with different actors and share content generated by the TV shows on their timelines, thus expanding the reach of the televised debate, not only to a live or a time-delayed audience, but also to other users of the platform.



*[This person lies, it's just logical that he stands for the big companies that are paying him, he is immoral!]*

*Figure 25 Television elements integrated on Twitter*

The figure above shows a tweet with a photograph of a television screen from the broadcast of a political TV show. This type of tweet illustrates the practice of dual screening in which viewers interact with the show through hashtags and incorporate part of their experiences as viewers in their own feeds. The integration of elements from TV shows in social media helps not only to illustrate users' views, but also provides a context to such posts for other users.

The interaction patterns identified in the data set show a new way to interact in the public sphere in a hybrid media environment that involves diverse social actors. Barnidge, Gil de Zúñiga and Diehl (2017) propose that the use of social media related to TV shows influences and reshapes people's political opinions. The participants in these interactions

try to persuade others to change and affect the political debate, highlighting the argumentative value of discourses generated in this media context. The interaction frames used by dual screeners show how people participate in new media contexts and how the public sphere is reconfigured.

For these reasons, I introduce a new category to describe the interaction among participants in dual screening practices in the Chilean political context. Based on Goffman's interaction patterns (1981), I propose a new category, *hybridplay*, which complements the categories of crossplay, byplay and sideplay, including encounters framed in the hybrid media system (2013). *Hybridplay* refers to communication among a wide variety of social actors present in digital and traditional media, blurring the boundaries between encounters across media. This new type of interaction integrates social media, especially Twitter, into Goffman's (1981) model and adds the hybridity component of dual screening by integrating participants of diverse older and newer media and transcending the boundaries among encounters. This category will help to explain how communication is carried out in a hybrid media context and how the political debate is reconfigured in these new media ecologies. The introduction of *hybridplay* will contribute to the analysis of argumentation and discourses generated in digital media and the study of dual screening practices from a discursive perspective, including more participants in the interaction across media and platforms. This concept also helps to integrate Goffman's model with the concept of the hybrid media system. Chadwick (2013) proposes that the hybrid media system generates complex and ever-evolving dynamics among media and the actors involved in these. Interactions in these cases are always mediated by concentrations of power, which generates flows of information across diverse media settings. The concept of *hybridplay* helps to describe communication in the hybrid media system in which the limits between media and encounters are blurred and different media logics converge.

As argued in Chapter 3, to fully analyse argumentation in social media data it is necessary to consider the diverse interaction patterns present in these kinds of texts. Political debate in digital media ecologies involves multiple participants and diverse elements from different media that make interaction on this platform a complex phenomenon. As Zappavigna (2012) states, Twitter, like other social media networks, allows its users to interact with others using different features provided by the platform. As explained previously, the follower/following structure of the Twitter platform allows different types of interaction and contact with other users, but it does not necessarily establish a mutual relationship. In the case of this research, interaction is not limited to conversations on

Twitter or in televised debates. For that reason, this account of interaction in these contexts incorporates different elements that can capture the complexity of encounters.

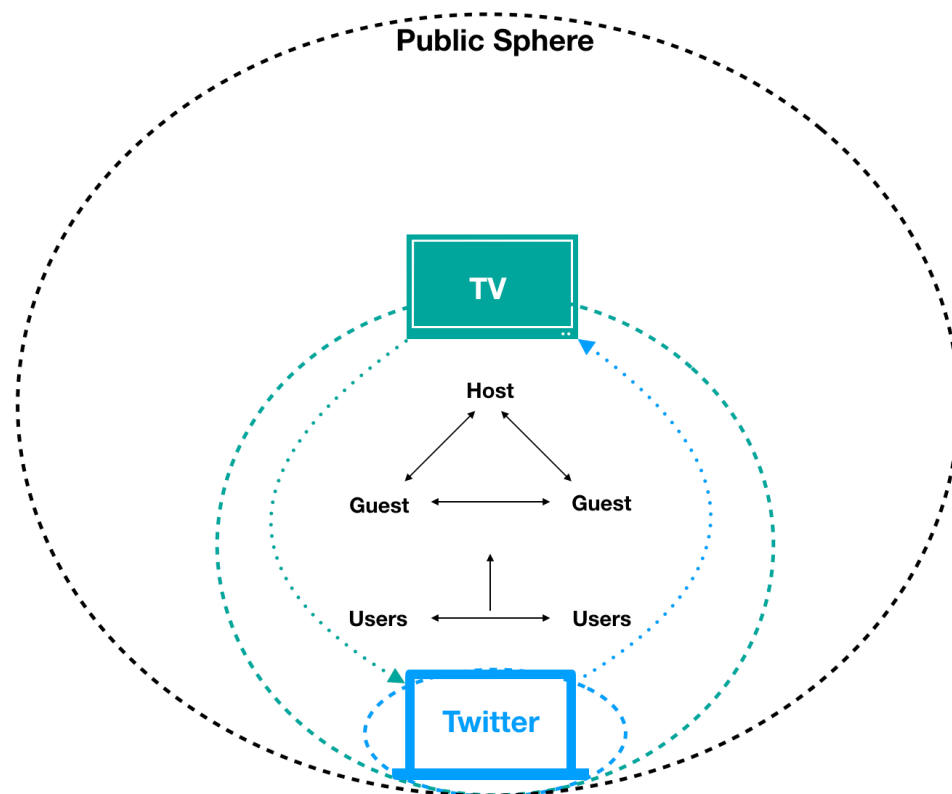
As discussed in Chapter 3, Goffman (1981) proposes a framework to analyse interaction in communicative encounters, considering diverse participants and roles in interaction. However, Goffman's notions of main interaction, the classification of participants as ratified and nonratified, and his way of accounting for communication among nonratified participants, are too narrow to apply to the dual screening phenomenon in which two media interact with and feed each other. Applying Goffman's (1981) unmodified framework to the dual screening phenomenon would entail recognising one of the media as the main encounter developed in isolation. However, the process of hybridization, which blurs the boundaries among media and makes this process more complex, rejects hierarchies among different media and characterises these patterns as a continuum. Although the television shows can stimulate certain topics to be discussed in social media, considering the interaction on social media platforms among users as "sideplay" is too restrictive to describe this practice. As Fetzer (2014) proposes, the boundaries between producers and recipients in media discourse have become blurred with the introduction of more interactive formats that encourage audience participation in traditional media.

In the texts analysed in this research, interaction is carried out between media as well as within them. There are multiple speakers and also multiple audiences involved in the interactions in both media, television shows and Twitter. In this media context, the producers of texts address not only other users on the social media platform but also address the TV shows and their participants. The TV shows also incorporate some content generated by social media users in their broadcasts, e.g. some tweets commenting on the shows and polls posted on Twitter for social media users. As Kopytowska (2013) explains, interaction in the virtual public sphere can be characterised as non-linear and hypertextual, because the affordances of social platforms make encounters more complex.

Also, to analyse this type of encounter, it is necessary to consider the working practices of Twitter and television shows. Although social media activity is encouraged by the different TV shows analysed, and is incorporated at certain points, most of the direct interaction in TV shows is between its guests and the host, not with viewers who interact via social media. On the other hand, as Zappavigna (2012) explains, interaction among users on Twitter can in many cases not be classified as direct because users do not necessarily follow each other, but Twitter still generates other types of interaction. The system of followers/following allows users to spread their posts via their followers' timelines without replying directly to

other users. The use of hashtags and the searchable nature of posts can generate new networks of interaction among users of the platform, thus expanding the community and the reach of tweets.

From the observation of social media data and their relationship to TV shows and other media, the media dynamics and interaction patterns of the public sphere can be illustrated as follows:



*Figure 26 Interaction and media dynamics in the public sphere*

The figure above shows the interactive dynamics involved in dual screening among participants and media, in which social media platforms and television feed each other with content. Connections between media in the mediatised political context are shown using dotted arrows to exemplify the permeability of the different media and how the boundaries of different media are blurred with interaction. Although the participants on the TV shows did not usually directly address participants in social media interactions, Twitter users not only interact with each other as “sideplay” but also directly question the guests on and hosts of TV shows, rather than only commenting on them. Furthermore, the relationships between television shows and social media cannot be classified as first frame and second frame, as per Fetzer (2014), because interaction on social media as a backchannel is also



restricted.

The examples analysed illustrate that the interactions present in digitally mediated debates integrate elements from televised shows, and the shows also incorporate elements from online discussions on the televised debates, generating an interdependent relationship, in which a wide variety of actors are involved in communicative encounters. Although the data show that public figures usually do not reply to tweets, the users address and mention several participants of the public sphere, using several resources to do that. The power dynamics present in these interactions determine how the different actors get involved in these interactions. Despite the fact that the television shows do not engage directly with online discussions, both media feed each other and provide new spaces and ways to discuss politics. The interactions and the constant changes and evolution in this hybrid media system help to shape the relations between media but also promote and reconfigure political engagement (Vaccari, Chadwick & O'Loughlin, 2015).

## 6.2 New and reconfigured argumentative strategies in digitally mediated discussions

As discussed previously, tweets generated by viewers of political TV shows can be described as discourse embedded in technological and sociopolitical contexts. These texts are part of political debate and discussion in the public sphere, in which citizens can participate and contribute to the deliberation process. As Wodak and Reisigl (2016) propose, there are different discursive strategies (see section 4.10) that can be used to achieve a specific goal in a social, psychological, political or linguistic practice. It is possible to identify the discursive strategies used in tweets. The participants in interaction on Twitter use different strategies to get involved in the debate, including the semiotic resources identified in the previous chapter, such as multimodality and intertextuality. Analysing tweets generated in the dual screening context related to political TV shows can contribute to a better understanding of the practices around political debate. The analysis of the sample of tweets shows that there are some patterns discernible in how the discussion is constructed in this specific context. The texts analysed show different ways of constructing and participating in the discussion and the various argumentative strategies used to justify positive or negative evaluations of social actors and processes salient to the Chilean public sphere. The tweets analysed in this second stage of the research can be classified according to the different strategies used to participate in political discussion online. As outlined in Chapter 4, I analysed 140 tweets which were randomly selected and

extracted from the larger collection. They were examined in detail to identify and categorise their multiple features and their context of production. The analysis follows the analytical categories typically used in the discourse-historical approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2016) to identify and explore argumentative strategies used in this type of text, including fallacies and topoi.

The first stage of analysis presented in the previous chapter (see Chapter 5) helped to identify semiotic resources and formal features in the tweets, which underpin the analysis of argumentative strategies in this second stage. Different semiotic resources were used to build arguments in digitally mediated discussions, and these are discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

### 6.2.1 Fallacious arguments in the dual screening context

Among the argumentation resources analysed in the sample of tweets, I found diverse realisations of fallacies. As discussed in Chapter 3, fallacies are common argumentative devices that can be found in political discourse (Wodak, 2011). In addition to the discourse-historical approach, with its close attention to how argumentative strategies contribute to the exploration of how people interact and debate, I also draw on the pragma-dialectic approach to argumentation to help examine fallacious arguments in the context of this type of political discussion. As discussed in Chapter 3, although the pragma-dialectical approach proposed by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2012) is based on an ideal model of discussion, in this case it is a useful way of describing some practices in the deliberation carried out in social media.

One of the most salient fallacies found in the sample of tweets was *argumentum ad hominem*. This type of fallacious argument is described by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2012) as one of the fallacies related to violation of the first of the ten rules proposed for a critical discussion (see Chapter 4), the freedom rule, which states that participants can present their standpoints freely and without casting doubts on them. *Argumentum ad hominem* is an attack on one of the parties involved in the discussion, instead of the arguments stated in the discussion (van Eemeren & Henkemans, 2017). Several *ad hominem* arguments found in the sample of tweets are addressed to guests on the TV shows, attacking the participants of televised debates. These texts try to delegitimize people who are part of the discussions on televised shows without attacking other parties; standpoints or claims. Van Eemeren and Henkemans (2017) identify different kinds of *ad hominem* attacks, including direct personal attacks (abusive variant), indirect personal attacks (circumstantial variant) and *tu quoque* or

“you also” variant.

Participants in digitally mediated discussions used different ways to verbally attack others in the sample collected, using multiples semiotic resources to do so. One of the semiotic resources used to personally attack other parties in the discussions was the inclusion of quotations, as show the following example:

*Example 59*



[*Ossandon .. ... "You are neither cider nor lemonade" (neither fish nor fowl)*]

Claim: “Ossandón cannot have a correct or reasonable standpoint due to being accused of being not enough of one thing or another”.

In the tweet, the user directly attacks Manuel José Ossandón, a right-wing politician invited onto the show, instead of considering arguments exposed by the guest. In this case the user calls the guest “*ni chicha ni limonada*” (an idiom which can be translated as “neither fish nor fowl”). This is a popular saying to refer to something that does not clearly belong to a particular category, and therefore has no value. However, the popular saying is phrased using one of the verses of the song “*Ni chicha ni limoná*”<sup>5</sup> by the Chilean singer and songwriter Víctor Jara, which is reproduced in quotation marks. The inclusion of the word “*limoná*” instead of “*limonada*” is a stylistic resource used by Víctor Jara to replicate the popular spoken version of the word. In Chilean Spanish the last syllable or consonant after a stressed syllable is often elided, not unlike the use of “*usté*” rather than “*usted*” or “*ná*” instead of “*nada*”. This intertextual element may allude to the message of the song, which talks about people who are not consistent in following particular causes or professing clear values. Víctor Jara is also a significant figure in the recent history in Chile and in the political context because he was an active supporter of Salvador Allende’s government and was tortured and brutally murdered days after the coup (Jara Bustos & Ugás Tapia, 2017). Víctor Jara’s songs were notorious for portraying the inequalities in Chilean society and criticising the elites who abused workers and peasants. In this tweet, the user claims that

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<sup>5</sup> The song continues with the verse: “se la pasa manoseando/caramba samba su dignidad” which can be translated as: “*he keeps pawing, caramba samba his dignity*”.

Ossandón is not consistent in his political views, due his criticism of the right-wing alliance in the TV show, in which he states that “they have not been able to recognize the mistakes and ask for forgiveness” (02-03-2016, Entrevista Verdadera). The quotation, in this case, is not used to directly quote the interviewee but to illustrate his character, using an intertextual reference to a popular song.

The diverse intertextual resources found in the tweets relate not only to popular culture but also to other media, e.g. televised debates and viral posts from internet platforms. The following tweet shows a quotation extracted from a meme, very popular in Latin America, that is used to directly attack a guest on a TV show:

*Example 60*



*[Richard Sandoval: "and why do they invite me onto the panel if they know what I am like?"]*

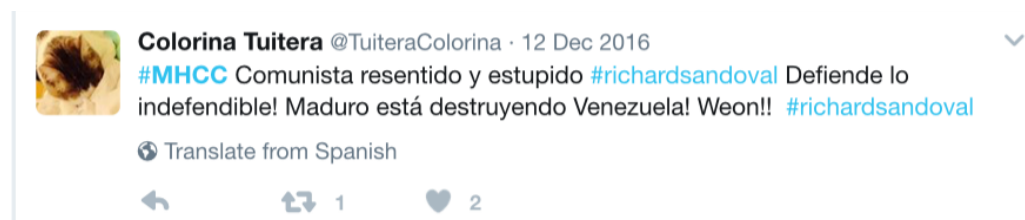
Claim: “Richard Sandoval cannot have a correct or reasonable standpoint due to his bad behaviour on the show as a guest”.

In tweet 58, the user attacks one of the guests on the TV show, Richard Sandoval, who is a journalist. To do this, the user includes a quote (identified by quotations marks) from a popular saying based on a viral video, which shows a drunken man being ejected from a party. The user also includes a screen capture of a viral video, which shows a drunken man yelling. This is likely to allude to the behaviour of the guest on the show. The tweet suggests Sandoval is like the drunk man as a metaphor for his behaviour on the TV show, using the

phrase in the video and crediting it to Sandoval. This phrase refers to his real acknowledgement on the show of his previous bad behaviour and the consequences of his actions. In this case, the user identifies Sandoval as an unsuitable guest for the show, attacking him directly as a person, not his arguments expressed on the show.

Among the resources used to attack others directly it is possible to identify different ways to represent and introduce others in an online discussion. The participants in Twitter debates use diverse features provided by the platform to attack others and expand the reach of their attacks. Hashtags are one of them, they allow users to link their texts to others related to the same subject, as shown in the following tweet:

*Example 61*



*[Communist, resentful and stupid #richardsandoval Defends the indefensible! Maduro is destroying Venezuela! idiot! #richardsandoval]*

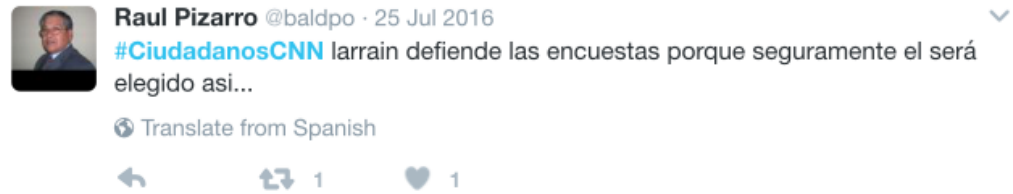
Claim: “Richard Sandoval cannot have a correct or reasonable standpoint because he is stupid and because of his personal beliefs.”

In this example, apart from describing him as stupid and resentful, the user also labels him as a “Communist”. In this case this is used as an insult that groups together all left-wing supporters (Richard Sandoval is a supporter of the left wing but not a member of the Chilean Communist Party). The political position of the guest is evidently unacceptable for the user, who characterises it as idiotic and insults him with taboo words. The user further suggests that the arguments exposed by Sandoval, which support Maduro’s regime, are unreasonable because the Venezuelan president is destroying the country with his policies. Sandoval was supporting Venezuela's government and arguing against the military coup d’état and foreign intervention (12-12-2016, Mejor Hablar de Ciertas Cosas). Another resource included in this text is a hashtag, to link this conversation with others: the user addresses the guest twice using a hashtag with his name, connecting the attack with other texts about the journalist or the MHCC TV show on which he appears.

Another kind of *argumentum ad hominem* characterized by van Eemeren & Henkemans (2017) is an indirect personal attack, also known as a circumstantial variant. This type of personal

attack is based on a suspicion of the motives or real intentions of the other party, which are considered to be biased. This kind of argument assumes the personal interest of the counterpart, as the following example shows:

*Example 62*



*[Larrain defends the polls because he will be chosen like this]*

Claim: “Larrain cannot have a correct or reasonable standpoint due to his personal interests related to the issues discussed.”

In this case, the user states that the argument made by one of the guests in the televised debate is based on his own personal interests. Hernán Larraín, a right-wing politician and guest on the show, claims that surveys are a legitimate and trusted tool to learn about people’s needs and political interests (25-07-2016, Ciudadanos). Larraín and his party were supported by public opinion according to some surveys presented on the show, which led to legitimization of his political actions and views. The user questions this claim on the basis that it serves the personal interest of the politician and not the common interest as, in the user’s view, it should do. The tweet implies that surveys are represented as a valid tool for measuring public opinion only because they favour Larraín’s political party.

There is a third type of *ad hominem* attack that tries to destroy the other party’s credibility by suggesting a contradiction in the opponent’s previous words or actions. This type of attack is known as the *you also variant* (*tu quoque*), which can be explained as a discrepancy between what the opponent says and does. This type of fallacy was found in several tweets in the sample analysed, as in the following example:

Example 63



*[Piñera talks about the distrust that exists in politics.]*

*[Marcela Sabat: Pedro Sabat on police bail and extrajudicial detention for the Trash Case. She is investigated by the district attorney's office for many millions in cheques with her father's name,*

*Sebastián Piñera: 4 pending trials: Exalmar/ Terminal Bloomberg/ SQM/ Bribes Lan*

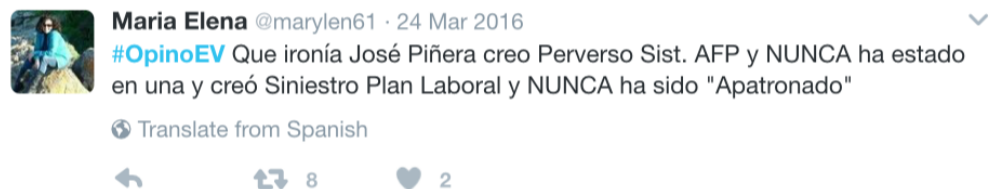
*Jacqueline van Rysselberghe: Accused by the State Attorney in the Semco case and the black hole in the Concepción council funds.]*

Claim: “Sebastián Piñera cannot have a correct or reasonable standpoint due to his previous contradictory actions”

In the case of this tweet, the argument is expressed not only by the text but also by the image. As discussed in Chapter 4, Richardson and Wodak (2009) state that visual elements can constitute arguments. Images can communicate meanings, and in that sense, visual elements can be used to support a standpoint in a discussion. In this example, the image shows three politicians from the Chilean right-wing coalition “*Chile Vamos*”, a member of the parliament, Marcela Sabat, a former president, Sebastián Piñera, and a senator, Jacqueline van Rysselberghe. The three representatives were photographed at an official event with more people in the background. Speech balloons were added to the image with

text that mentions the different prosecutions that the politicians face in court, related to the embezzlement of public funds. However, the speech balloons in this particular case do not indicate a dialogue between the figures in the photograph or their supposed utterances, as would be the case in a comic or cartoon, but rather show their links to corruption cases. This unusual use of this resource in this case involves the balloons working as arrows to link the elements, namely text with the subjects in the picture, without integrating a third element. The user points out the inconsistency and contradiction in Piñera's intervention that relates to distrust in politics and politicians regarding his own unethical behaviour. In this case, the text itself does not show the attack. However, the image (in this case, classified as macro) showing the president with two other politicians involved in different corruption cases points to the contradiction in his words. The position of Piñera is criticized by the user for being involved in corruption cases and thereby shows distrust in politics, which is caused by corruption within the political class. Trust, for the user, is not a topic that can be discussed by someone prosecuted for corruption, and whom the citizens therefore cannot trust. In this example, the user does not directly attack Piñera's standpoint but instead tries to invalidate his position by emphasizing his questionable previous behaviour related to the topic discussed.

*Example 64*



*[What irony, José Piñera created the perverse AFP system and has NEVER been in one; and created the sinister employment policy and has NEVER had an employer]*

Claim: “José Piñera cannot have a correct or reasonable standpoint due to his (lack of) personal experience regarding the pension system.”

The tweet above shows an attack on José Piñera, the creator of the private pension system in Chile imposed during the dictatorship, which is described as sinister and perverse. In the text, the user attacks José Piñera, blaming him for his creation and questioning his authority in relation to the topic discussed. José Piñera, a former minister of Augusto Pinochet and Sebastián Piñera's brother, is accused of not having any experience as a user of the AFP system, even though he has theoretical knowledge as its creator. In this case, the user attacks Piñera for not being part of the AFP system. Legitimate knowledge from this



viewpoint is based on experience of the system, instead of academic or professional knowledge. This is emphasised with the word in capitals “NUNCA” (NEVER), to characterise his (lack of) experience of the system. In this case, the user points to the contradiction of José Piñera being the creator of but not a user of the pension system, which invalidates Piñera’s standpoint for the author of the tweet.

The *you also* variant of *argumentum ad hominem* can be used explicitly in a debate but also implicitly, attacking others’ credibility to undermine their participation in the discussion, as shown in the following example:

*Example 65*



*[Nadia Comaneci is an espadrille next to Mónica González and her triple round of flip with flip flap and inverted swirl.]*

Claim: “Mónica González cannot have a correct or reasonable standpoint due to her previous contradictory utterances on the show”.

The user points out the irrelevance and contradictions of Mónica González, one of the guests on the show, and compares her to the gymnast Nadia Comaneci (famous for being the first gymnast to get a perfect score in an Olympic competition) for her flips and somersaults. The flips in this case are used as a metaphor that indicates changes of opinion and position of the guest regarding certain topics, pointing out the contradictions in her utterances. The user also includes the phrase “*es una alpargata al lado de*” (an espadrille next to), a colloquial expression to indicate that one of the parts has qualities inferior to those used as a point of comparison. An espadrille is an inexpensive sandal, which is inferior to any other kind of footwear, and in this case it is used metaphorically to show, in a hyperbolic and ironic way, that the contradictions and changes in Mónica González’s opinions and beliefs are superior to the extraordinary performance of an Olympic athlete.

A further type of fallacious argument found in the data collection is an appeal to pity, known as *argumentum ad misericordiam*. This fallacy is characterized as using the other party’s emotions to invalidate their interventions (van Eemeren & Henkemans, 2017). The use of

emotions to win a dispute is also a violation of the freedom rule, in which one party tries to prevent the other parties' advances using affection and pity, as shown in the following example:

*Example 66*



*[And that guy wants to have people working until they're 90 years old, has he seen how poor old people are who work in construction?]*

Claim: "The guest on the TV show cannot have a correct or reasonable standpoint due to his lack of empathy with disadvantaged people."

The user presents his argument against the standpoint of one of the guests on the TV show, accusing him of not considering the situation of less advantaged people. The argument appeals to empathy with the situation of old people in the country regarding the pension system. The user, in this case, appeals to emotions, opinions and convictions of a specific social group, in this case old people, who need to keep working after retirement age because their pensions are insufficient for them to survive. The adjective "*pobres*" (poor) in this case is used to show old people as worthy of pity, forced to work in physically demanding activities, such as the construction industry, in the context of small pensions.

Among the tweets analysed were fallacious moves related to the authority of other parties involved. These fallacies are known as *argumentum ad verecundiam*, and are defined by van Eemeren & Henkemans (2017) as an abuse of authority by one of the parties, who is neither an expert in the field nor has first-hand experience. The following tweet shows an argument that questions authority in relation to experience presented in the case of a discussion of abortion law:

Example 67



*[Who is this woman who says that an abortion due to an unwanted pregnancy can be tolerated? Has she been raped that she knows so much?]*

Claim: “The guest on the show cannot have a correct or reasonable standpoint due to his lack of personal experience regarding the issue discussed.”

In this case, the user claims implicitly that one of the guests is not qualified to argue against abortion and specifically about cases of rape resulting in pregnancy, because the user assumes that the guest has not had this experience. The guest on the show, Teresa Marinovich, argues against the new abortion law in Chile that decriminalizes abortion in three specific cases: when the life of the mother is at risk, when the foetus cannot survive the pregnancy and in a case of rape. This last clause is discussed by the guest, arguing that a pregnancy caused by rape is bearable for the nine months of gestation (28-03-2016, Mejor Hablar de Ciertas Cosas). The user also includes some utterances considered colloquial and vulgar, mainly to emphasize the message (e.g. *wn*) and attack the other party.

Another fallacy found in the sample was the *straw man*, which is defined as the misrepresentation of the other party’s argument by attributing a fictional standpoint. The *straw man* is a violation of the third rule of argumentation described by van Eemeren & Henkemans (2017), which states that an attack on the other party’s standpoint must relate to the original counterpoint expressed. In other words, the attack must consider the original standpoint without alteration. In this case, the example can be interpreted in different ways, with one possible explanation being a straw man fallacy. The tweet relates to a freedom of speech discussion carried out on the TV show, in which the host of the show, Consuelo Saavedra, and one of the guests, the journalist Mirko Macari, discuss limitations on the press imposed by politicians. The press, according to the user and Macari, are being sanctioned for doing their job properly and uncovering corruption cases (13-03-2016, Mejor Hablar de Ciertas Cosas). This fallacy does not directly attack the counterpart but rather attributes a standpoint that is easier to attack, by exaggerating or caricaturizing the other party’s argument, as the example below shows:

Example 68



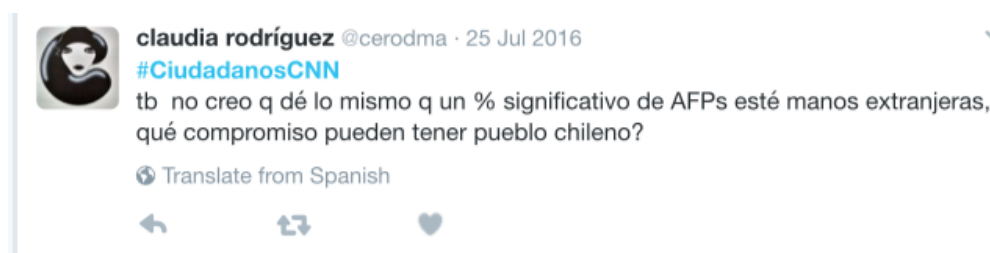
[ouuuuuuch to CT #MHCC for talking too much]

Claim: “As the panel on the show argue that journalists are sanctioned for doing their job, they should be severely punished by the constitutional court for what they have said”.

The tweet above presents an argument against questioning freedom of speech. The user implies that the panel of the show, which is included via the hashtag of the show (#MHCC), are journalists who cannot speak freely without facing terrible consequences, because they are proposing that freedom of speech should be limited in Chile. The user includes the abbreviation TC (*Tribunal Constitucional*, Constitutional Court), which is an institution that regulates and controls the constitutionality of laws in Chile. The hashtag of the show, in this case, links the tweet to a social media debate related to the show, but also serves to talk about the show itself, including it as the subject of the tweet and characterising the panel as journalists discussing politics on TV. The inclusion of this institution apparently serves two purposes in the tweet: to exaggerate the consequences of utterances by the panel members, and to claim a lack of freedom of speech in Chile, which is thought to be unconstitutional.

The *straw man* fallacy can also be expressed by attributing a fictitious standpoint to a counterpart. For example, this can include assuming certain positions that are not necessarily implied in the other party’s deeds, as the following tweet shows:

Example 69



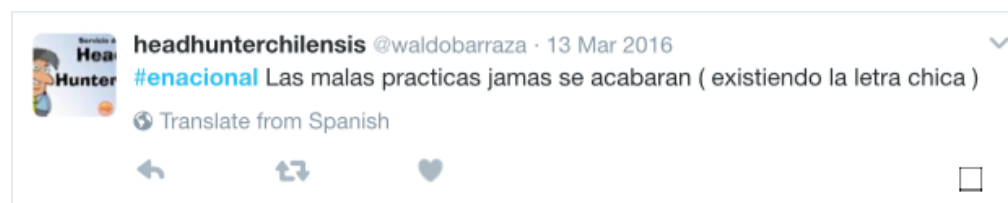
[#CiudadanosCNN I do not think it doesn’t matter that a significant % of AFPs are foreign hands, what commitment can they have to the Chilean people?]

Claim: “As the AFPs have foreign capital investment they cannot address the needs of the Chilean population.”

In the tweet above, the user presents an argument against AFPs (private companies that manage pensions in Chile), a claim that these companies do not care about Chileans’ interests because they are owned by foreigners. The tweet is related to a discussion about the mass disapproval of the current pension system, which has led to various protests and meetings about improving inadequate pensions. The user, in this case, implies that one of the reasons for the failure of the system to provide good pensions is that AFPs do not care about the Chilean population. In this case, the fact that AFPs have stockholders is not pointed out as one of the reasons for the failed system, therefore, the degree of commitment to Chilean citizens is not stated as a flaw. The discussion around this point and the origin of the investors is an example of a distorted argument in the political debate around the pension system, in which the user assumes that the fact that the funds are managed by foreign companies is related to the level of commitment to the Chilean population and the crisis with their pensions.

Another fallacy found in the sample was *hasty generalization*, which is a violation of the 8th rule of argumentation. This violation refers to the application of an incorrect argumentation scheme. This fallacy is recognised by the establishment of a general statement based on restricted observations, which are considered insufficient. The following example shows a tweet about the corruption scandal that involved Pablo Longueira, a right-wing politician and former minister in Piñera’s administration:

*Example 70*



*[The bad practices will never end (see fine print)]*

Claim: “The observation shows that the bad practices in politics will never end, no matter what.”

The example above shows a faulty or hasty generalization in which the user states that bad practices, such as corruption in politics, will never end, despite the laws or regulations that apply to these issues. This tweet also implies the extension of corruption in the political

sphere as a generalized and inevitable practice among political figures. Although there are several cases of political corruption or unethical behaviour, there is insufficient evidence to support this claim, considering that Chile is a relatively honest country, and the least corrupt in the region (Silva, 2016). The tweet presents a claim that is not supported by evidence regarding the future of corruption in the country or related policies.

As the examples show, some texts in this discussion cannot easily be classified into a single category as a fallacy. Interventions in digitally mediated debates can show more than one violation of the rules of argumentation proposed in the pragma-dialectical model, as shown in the following tweet:

*Example 71*



*[What a way to lend clothes among #Enacional panellists. They are all drug lords!!!]*

Claim: “The panel members of the show cannot have a correct or reasonable standpoint due their behaviour.”

In the example above, the user states that the panel members of the TV show back each other up in their unethical behaviour. This can be considered *argumentum ad hominem* of the abusive type, in which the user attacks the panel members of the show for their behaviour. For this purpose, the popular phrase “*prestarse ropa*” is used, which can be literally translated as “lend clothes”. The suggestion is that the participants mutually support and defend each other. The tweet also contains a *hasty generalization*, in which the user states that every panel member on the show has behaved inappropriately. To emphasise this, the tweet hyperbolically labels the guests as drug lords to describe their unethical behaviour, comparing them to criminals and emphasising this with the non-standard orthography of the word “*narcos*” and exclamation marks. The tweet can therefore be considered mainly an attack on the panel member, and it uses a hasty generalization to reinforce the standpoint presented.

As the previous examples illustrate, there are different kinds of fallacious arguments in the data set. The discussion carried out on this platform combines different multimodal and hypertextual elements that allow users to put forward arguments and emphasize their

claims. Most of the tweets analysed in this sample can be identified as attacks in different ways against diverse political actors and public figures, questioning the legitimacy of their actions but also attacking their arguments on-screen. Although the study of argumentation usually involves comparing real-world arguments against an ideal model of deliberation, in the case of the fallacious arguments in dual screening, it can help to characterise political discussions on social media platforms. The range of argumentative strategies is restricted somewhat by the platform's affordances, in terms of the number of characters, but it is also expanded by users via other multimodal features available and hypertextual references to co-texts on the timeline and the television show, as well as other texts. As the previous examples also showed, the analysis of argumentative resources provides different ways to participate in a digitally mediated discussion and confront the actors on-screen for their behaviour and interventions in the show, even though their tweets will not be displayed on-screen or answered by public figures. These kinds of texts are inserted into a dual screening practice, whereby diverse elements converge, and diverse participants are involved in the context of a hybrid media system. The diversity of interactions is also described by the concept of *hybridplay* (see previous section, 6.1), which helps to explain how interaction works in these encounters. Addressing characters on-screen in these types of texts does not guarantee a dialogue with public figures or among social media users, but it helps to nurture the political debates related to the shows and their reach on social media platforms. The different argumentative strategies present in this type of text help users to engage with debates in the political field, positioning themselves in relation to the topics discussed and proposing their own agendas. The analysis of fallacious arguments in this context provides valuable insights into the argumentative practices utilised in these kinds of social practices, characterising how people present their standpoints and debate in this context.

As discussed in previous sections, van Eemeren and Henkemans (2017) state that argumentation is a verbal, social and rational activity present in everyday life that aims to persuade another party with a different standpoint. These disagreements are present not only in formal situations, but also in everyday informal situations, such as the use of social media. Considering that dual screening involves different patterns of interactions among participants and also different expectations of argumentation, the identification of fallacies in does not suggest that an alternative, ideal and rational debate is necessarily possible, instead it helps to understand how users interact in social media and how these arguments prevent the resolution of conflicts.

### 6.2.2 Topoi in the dual screening context

The second main type of argumentative feature identified in the data sample is topoi, which are defined as warrants or conclusion rules that link an argument with claims in the argumentation (see section 4.10). As Wodak (2011) explains, these content-related warrants are used in political discourses to persuade and negotiate in relation to specific goals or aims. Although the study of topoi has usually been related to political speeches and other types of texts, these resources can also be found in political discussions in a hybrid media system with diverse means of realisation. Among the tweets analysed in the sample, I found different kinds of topoi that legitimise users' arguments in the online debates related to television shows.

One of the topoi found in the sample is the topos of burden, which states that if there is a specific problem burdening an institution, then someone should do something to resolve it (Wodak, 2011). The topos of burden in the case of this sample is used to make claims about different topics discussed on TV shows. This is a common topos used in the discussion of political agendas and, in these examples, it is used to argue about plans of action for specific issues identified by users mentioned in the televised debates. Twitter users identify issues in political agendas and call for action to diminish them, as shown in the following example:



ARGUMENT	WARRANT/CONCLUSION RULE	CLAIM
<p><i>Example 72</i></p> <p>Antónimo @EL_Antonimo · 5 Jul 2016 @CNNChile Para la gratuidad... habría que cambiar todo el "modelo" #Neoliberal #Capitalista ambicioso, codicioso y avaro. #CiudadanosCNN</p> <p><i>[For free education... we would have to change the entire #Neoliberal #Capitalist ambitious, greedy and miserly "model".]</i></p>	<p>if an institution is burdened by a specific problem, then one should act to diminish it</p>	<p>The current socio-economic model is preventing free education and therefore needs to change</p>

In the example above, the user proposes that to carry out higher education reform and offer free education it is necessary to make bigger changes to the system. The changes to the education system have been widely discussed in the media, and social media platforms have played an important role in this (Scherman, Arriagada & Valenzuela, 2015). The student protests in 2011 led to a number of changes to educational policies and the reforms discussed by the user. In this case, the user proposes that the government, to carry out reform, should terminate the neoliberal model, which the user characterizes as greedy. The tweet also includes the hashtags “#neoliberal” and “#capitalista” to link the conversation to others related to the economic model, usually considered the cause of most of the problems that affect the Chilean population (Stromquist & Sanyal, 2013). In this case, the socioeconomic model can be considered a burden on the people, and for that reason, the user calls for change to the neoliberal model that causes inequalities and excludes citizens, as can be seen in relation to tuition fees. The tweet also directly addresses the channel account, potentially creating a dialogue with the broadcaster regarding the discussion on the show.

A further topos related to a call for action by different social actors is the topos of responsibility, which can be characterised with the following conditional expression: if an institution, or a group of people, is responsible for a specific problem, they should act to solve the problem (Wodak, 2009). In the case of these data, this topos was related to a

discussion of the SENAME crisis:

ARGUMENTS	WARRANT/CONCLUSION RULE	CLAIM
<p><i>Example 73</i></p> <p>kako mat @kakomat · 18 Dec 2016 #enacional por qué no se preocupan “ en serio “ por los niños del SENAME</p> <p><i>[#enacional why do they not worry “seriously” about SENAME children]</i></p> <p><i>Example 74</i></p> <p>Nacho Martínez @nachomartinez · 17 Jul 2016 El Sename es el pariente pobre de la justicia. 1/4 del despilfarro en la política serviría para destinarlo a su real mejoría #MHCC</p> <p><i>[Sename is the poor relative of justice. 1/4 of the waste in politics could be used for real improvements]</i></p>	<p>If a state or a group of people is responsible for the emergence of a specific problem, it or they should act in order to find a solution to that problem.</p>	<p>The authorities/ politicians are responsible for the crisis in SENAME so they should act in order to find a solution to this crisis.</p>

In the cases above, users suggest that the authorities and politicians who are responsible for the crisis in children’s’ services due to their negligent management should take real action to help SENAME. This topic was discussed in diverse TV shows in which politicians from different political sectors argued about restructuring the institution and a proposed increase in its budget. As previously mentioned, SENAME is part of the ministry of Justice. In 2016, following the death of an 11-year-old girl in a SENAME centre, it was discovered that minors were being kept in unsuitable conditions. Since that episode, the SENAME crisis has become part of televised debates and is widely discussed. In the first example (73), the user claims that “they” are not solving or proposing any solutions to the SENAME crisis. In this case, “they” are the people and institutions with the power and

the responsibility to act in this kind of situation, i.e. those in charge of the administration of SENAME, such as the Minister of Justice, politicians and other authorities. Furthermore, the user emphasizes the expression “*en serio*” (seriously) with quotation marks, suggesting that most of the actions that have been carried out are not serious enough or do not convincingly address the issue. In the second example (74), the user implies that the authorities have been incapable of resolving the SENAME problem due to their poor administration, because money was spent on political favours. This user points to politicians as the cause of the SENAME crisis, urging them to solve it. The user states that a quarter of the money spent on political irregularities could improve the actual system, which implies that waste is very high or that the funds needed to improve SENAME are not excessive, rather the issue is the poor administration of funds by the Ministry of Justice. In the tweet, SENAME is also referred to as “*el pariente pobre de la justicia*” (the poor relative of justice). This is a metaphor concerning the relation between the Ministry of Justice and SENAME, with the latter being overlooked and neglected. The topos of responsibility not only identifies the cause of the issue, which in this case is the different authorities and politicians that neglect children’s services, but it is also used to propose specific actions to solve the SENAME crisis.

Other realisations of the topos of responsibility are related to criticisms of the political class or parties, suggesting that where political parties are responsible for the emergence of a representation crisis, they should face the consequences. This is shown in the following example:

ARGUMENT	WARRANT/CONCLUSION RULE	CLAIM
<p><i>Example 75</i></p> <p>Maria Elena @marylen61 · 1 Mar 2016 #OpinoEV PREGUNTA: SER el Partido con MAS RECHAZO junto a la UDI y RN no les dice NADA? @pizarrosenador FRENAN TODO CAMBIO junto a la Derecha</p> <p><i>[QUESTION: does being the Party facing MORE REJECTION next to the UDI and RN not mean ANYTHING to them? @Pizarrosenador they STOP EVERY CHANGE shoulder to shoulder with the Right]</i></p>	<p>If somebody does something, they should be responsible for the consequences</p>	<p>A political party should be responsible for its actions and accept that it has been rejected.</p>

The example above shows a topos of responsibility, in which the user claims that the political party of the guest, Jorge Pizarro, who in this case is included as @pizarrosenador, should accept that it has been rejected by the voters. The political party, the Christian Democratic party, is accused of delaying reforms and new public policies. To state this, the user includes a rhetorical question to claim that the party is one of the most rejected in the country because of its position on new policies. The user also includes the username of the guest @pizarrosenador and addresses the question to him. The criticism of the party and its behaviour is also emphasized with capitals, “MAS RECHAZO” (MORE REJECTION), “NADA” (ANYTHING) and “FRENAN TODO CAMBIO” (STOP EVERY CHANGE), and it also states the consequences and origins of the problem. This topos illustrates the crisis of representation stated in previous sections, in which political parties are indicated as the cause of political disaffection in the country since the return of democracy.

Another topos related to the discussion of political agendas is the topos of urgency. In the

case of this sample, this topos is used to debate the pension system and its consequences for pension recipients. They will be affected by the current pension administration that delivers small pensions to the workers, as the following examples show:

ARGUMENT	WARRANT/CONCLUSION RULE	CLAIM
<p><i>Example 76</i></p> <p>Rodrigo Salvo @rsalvop · 10 Jul 2016 #enacional Sea lo q sea con pensiones.Apurense!!@carlosmontestwt @ceciperez1 @AndreaAristegui @Barbara_figue</p> <p><i>[Whatever is with pensions. Hurry up! @ Carlosmontestwt @ceciperez1 @AndreaAristegui @Barbara_figue]</i></p> <p><i>Example 77</i></p> <p>Álvaro Flores @floresortz · 11 Apr 2016 #ciudadanoscn la sensación de bienestar se terminará cuando la tasa dejubilados afp y sus precarias jubilaciones se de con la realidad</p> <p><i>[The feeling of well-being will end when the rate of afp retirees and their precarious retirement catches up with the reality]</i></p>	<p>Decisions/actions must be carried out very quickly because of important events beyond someone's responsibility</p>	<p>Someone should do something quickly to reform the pensions system because the population is ageing.</p>

The examples show two tweets related to the pension system that request immediate changes to it. In the first tweet, the author uses the platform to demand action in relation to the pension crisis discussed in the television show. In this case the tweet does not specify a particular plan or action to address the pension system but calls on politicians to do something to change this situation quickly. To do this, the user includes the usernames of politicians of different political orientations who are guests on the TV show in a discussion about the pension system, directly addressing them (@carlosmontestwt, @ceciperez1, @AndreaAristegui and @Barbara\_figue). The tweet also explicitly states the urgency of

the matter, asking the addressees to hurry. This may be mainly because, as stated in Chapter 2 in relation to the crisis in the AFP system, people are ageing and retiring on very small pensions that are not enough to cover basic needs. Likewise, the second tweet (77) puts forward an argument in relation to the pension system and the imminent future of the workers. The user argues that the current system has failed AFP members and, in a few years, they are going to face the consequences. The tweet implies that the system will collapse with the ageing of the population and that inadequate pensions will bring misery to a large part of the Chilean population in the short term. These examples show that the urgency to reform the pension system in Chile stems from the ageing population, which is seen as an unavoidable fact that will increase the number of retirees and therefore leave people impoverished. The topos of urgency shows in these cases demands for changes to the status quo and helps to persuade by using “shortcuts” in the arguments against a system that fails and abuses the workers in the country.

In the sample analysed there were also tweets that use topoi to criticize the political class and corruption in the country. One strategy for this is the topos of comparison, which endeavours to emphasize negative common features or similarities, as shown in the example below:

ARGUMENT	WARRANT/CONCLUSION RULE	CLAIM
<p><i>Example 78</i></p> <p>Carol Cortés            @maestra_carol · 20 Mar 2016 #ENACIONAL ¿Y la recaudación de fondos para la campaña de Bachelet en un Yate? Eso es tan malo como el avión de MEO...y están calladitos.</p> <p><i>[And the fundraising for Bachelet's campaign on a yacht? That's as bad as MEO's plane ... and they're silent]</i></p>	<p>if something or someone is similar in certain aspects, they should be treated similarly in relation to those aspects</p>	<p>Bachelet and MEO's campaigns both have irregular funding and for that reason should be blamed equally.</p>

The tweet above shows a comparison in which the user compares issues related to irregular

funding in the presidential campaigns of 2013, in which Marco Enriquez Ominami (also known as MEO) used a private jet loaned by a Brazilian oil company involved in several corruption cases in Chile and Brazil. This incident was widely discussed in the media. The other issue mentioned in the tweet was a fundraising event for Michelle Bachelet's presidential campaign carried out on a yacht off the East Coast of the US. The user argues that both incidents are equally irregular and dubious and should therefore be treated equally by the media, whereas President Bachelet's campaign irregularities have apparently been concealed. The topos of comparison, in this case, is used to illustrate the behaviour of the political class, in the sense that irregular funding is not an isolated issue but an extensive practice among politicians of diverse political coalitions, but also to denounce the media and their different treatment regarding corruption issues.

The topos of comparison is used in this type of text not only to argue in relation to corruption cases in the media but also on other issues such as the debate for new migration policies, in the face of an increase in migration to the country. This version of the topos was identified in the data, as the following example shows:

ARGUMENT	WARRANT/CONCLUSION RULE	CLAIM
<p><i>Example 79</i></p> <p>Karina Zuñiga            @karlaygray71 · 5 Dec 2016            #MHCC deben crear políticas claras... Con inmigrantes.. Como para nosotros en otros paises..y eso no es discriminacion.</p> <p><i>[#MHCC should create clear policies ... With immigrants ... Like for us in other countries ... and that is not discrimination.]</i></p>	<p>if something or someone is similar in certain aspects, they should be treated similarly in relation to those aspects</p>	<p>If there are migration policies for Chileans in other countries, Chile should have migration policies for foreigners</p>

The tweet above (79) is in the context of the growth in migration discussed on the television show. The discussion about immigration on the show was triggered by the statements of two candidates for the presidency, Sebastián Piñera and Manuel José

Ossandón, it linked the growing migration with the increase in crime, proposing that migration without regulation would increase crime in the country, and therefore arguing for new regulations to deport migrants who commit crimes. As a guest on the show was Miguel Yaksic, director of the Jesuit Migrant Service, who was arguing about the growth of migration and the racism against migrants descended from enslaved Africans in Chile. In this context, the user proposes that the government should create policies to regulate migration. In this case, the user legitimates the policies proposed on the show, which include immediate deportation for crimes, without a proper trial. To legitimise this, the user uses a topos of comparison and includes an explicit statement to claim that the proposed new migration policies are not discriminatory, as other countries have restrictions on the numbers of Chileans (*nosotros*) who may enter. The tweet tries to justify the exclusion of migrants, using a topos of comparison, by claiming that Chileans are allowed to restrict migration in the same way that other countries place restrictions on Chilean migrants. The comparison, in this case, also implies a distinction of us versus them. So, at the same time as drawing parallels in terms of policy, this can also be seen as a strategy to exclude immigrants, differentiating them from Chileans, and their regulation. The topos of comparison, as shown in the examples, is used not only to discuss issues such as the corruption of different political figures but also to legitimise some policies that are considered discriminatory.

Another topos identified in the sample is the topos of decency, which is related to the abilities or characteristics needed to become or be a political figure. As Reisigl (2014) states, the topos of decency is a warrant commonly found in populist rhetoric, usually used to attack “traditional politics” or to promise a cleansing of dirty politics in a specific context.



ARGUMENT	WARRANT/CONCLUSION RULE	CLAIM
<p><i>Example 80</i></p> <p>Caoss @caroladelaflor · 18 Dec 2016 #ENACIONAL A. Guillier q pretende ir a la presidencia q rie x esta broma q rie xq la muñeca es una mujer no merece llegar a la moneda.</p> <p><i>[A. Guillier who intends to stand for the presidency, who laughs at this joke, who laughs because the doll is a woman who does not deserve to get to La Moneda]</i></p> <p><i>Example 81</i></p> <p>#26deMarzo #NO+AFP @chileconvoca · 8 Dec 2016 #NoLoContóLaTV Gob Argentino deja como mentiroso a Piñera Sí se reunió con ministro en 2006 #CoimasLAN bit.ly/2bbh6lm #ElInformante</p> <p><i>[#ItwasnttoldbytheTV Argentine Gov't keeps Piñera who is a liar Yes, he met the minister in 2006 #bribesLAN bit.ly/2bbh6lm]</i></p>	<p>If somebody is not decent and respectable, they should not be a politician.</p>	<p>Alejandro Guillier/ Sebastian Piñera should not be politicians as they are neither decent nor respectable.</p>

The examples above show different realizations of the topos of decency. In the first tweet (80), the user claims that Alejandro Guillier, a Senator from the Radical Party and presidential candidate, is not qualified to run for president. The reason stated is that he participated in and laughed at an unfortunate joke that compares women with the economy using the metaphor of a sex doll in a business owners' conference. This episode was widely

discussed on TV shows as an expression of misogyny and sexism. To the user, participation in this scene disqualifies him from running for the presidency and taking a seat in the government palace. In this case, the sexism or misogynistic acts of a public figure can be considered a valid argument or a legitimate critique. However, the argumentative “shortcut” in the tweet does not explain how sexism make someone unsuitable to hold a public position.

The other example (81) of this topos of decency shows a tweet related to Sebastian Piñera and his involvement in corruption cases in Argentina, specifically, the use of bribes to politicians to authorize his airline. This seeks to imply that he is not suitable for politics. This statement is made in the context of the announcement that he intended to run for re-election on the TV show *El Informante* (8-12-2016). To support the claim that Piñera was involved in corruption cases, the tweet includes a hyperlink to an article that proves his involvement in illegal payments. The user states that the information provided by the link is not available from Chilean television broadcasters, with inclusion of the hashtag “#NoLoContóLaTV” (#ItwasnttoldbytheTV). Also, the user includes another hashtag “#CoimasLAN” (#BribesLAN) that links this tweet to the conversation about bribes related to the airline owned by the former president. Another type of evidence presented in the tweet to support that claim is an image of Sebastián Piñera and Néstor Kirchner (former president of Argentina) exchanging a briefcase.



In this case, the image can be misleading, because the image is not related to the corruption

case and shows an official visit by the ex-president from Argentina to *La Moneda*. The image shows a connection between two politicians but does not prove any illegal or suspicious activity. This can be considered a straw man fallacy in which the user misrepresents the other party in his tweet, attributing to him a fictional standpoint or behaviour. In the example, the fictional standpoint could be that the image alongside the tweets insinuates that there are bribes actually in the suitcase or that the image shows an illegal exchange. The text in the tweet suggests that Piñera was involved in illegal activities. However, the image shows an official activity, which is recontextualised and presented as part of the corruption case previously described. The topos of decency or respectability is used in these cases to point out the inappropriate behaviour of public figures, setting ethical standards for the people who are in charge of decision-making that affects the population.

A further warrant used in the posts was the topos of authority, which can be characterised as follows: if someone in authority proposes a certain action, that action is legitimate. In the data set there were different ways to do this, as these examples show:

ARGUMENT	WARRANT/CONCLUSION RULE	CLAIM
<p><i>Example 82</i></p> <p>mdgrkb @mdgrkb · 7 Dec 2016  "Las falsedades que cualquier persona puede dispersar se transforman en mitos urbanos"  Presidente @SebastianPinera  #ElInformante</p> <p><i>["The falsehoods that any person can disseminate are transformed into urban myths" President @SebastianPinera]</i></p>	<p>If someone in authority approves a certain action/ says something, then the action must be carried out/ it must be the truth.</p>	<p>The arguments exposed by Sebastián Piñera regarding false accusations must be true.</p>
<p><i>Example 83</i></p> <p>Viviana @vivivaldivia66 · 11 Apr 2016 #CiudadanosCNN Mónica Gonzalez está equivocada parece q no leyó el informe de la Cepal, sobre gobierno de Piñera y la desigualdad</p> <p><i>[Mónica Gonzalez is wrong, it seems that she did not read the ECLAC report, about Piñera's government and inequality]</i></p>		<p>The argument of Mónica González is flawed because the UN said the contrary (if the UN office said it, it must be true)</p>

The example shows two different topoi of authority, the first one (82) is related to the false accusations in the political discussion and the second one refutes one of the guests on the show with contradictory information. In the first example the user quotes directly from the intervention of Sebastián Piñera in the television show. The tweet uses quotation marks to point out the words of Piñera. In this case, the user implicitly legitimises Piñera's utterance by including his intervention in the discussion. The quote draws on elements of the TV debate and incorporates them into the Twitter discussion, spreading the messages to other platforms. This legitimisation is emphasised by the use of the label "President",

even though he was not in office at that time, and the inclusion of the username (@sebastianpinera), which connects the quotation to the ex-president's Twitter account. The title of President can be seen as a technique to strengthen the authority of Piñera in the discussion, and therefore the legitimation of his utterances.

The second example (83) of the topos of authority shows a tweet in which the user questions the arguments of one of the panel members about the inequality index in Sebastián Piñera's first government, arguing that the panel member's account differs from a report produced by CEPAL, the United Nations Latin American Office (known as ECLAC in English). In this case, the user attacks the standpoint of the guest, using a topos of authority, in which the content of the UN report is neither detailed nor explained but, nevertheless, is said to contradict González's argument. By invoking an authority, the user appears to suggest that the international prestige and relevance of CEPAL is enough to reject the guest's argument regarding inequality during Piñera's term. These examples show two different realizations of the same topos, in which the users apply this argumentative scheme to support their standpoints or refute their counterparts, based on the legitimation and authority that they assign to their sources.

Related to the discussions about inequalities found in the data set, the other topos linked to this issue is the topos of justice. This is used to make claims about discrimination and how the principle of equality in front of the law should be applied. The topos can be paraphrased as: if something or someone is equal in certain respects they should be treated equally or in the same manner. The topos of justice can help to argue against discriminatory practices or policies that affect certain groups, especially those marginalised by society.

ARGUMENT	WARRANT/CONCLUSION RULE	CLAIM
<p><i>Example 84</i></p> <p>Bárbara González @babiptomontt · 14 Jul 2016 Pensiones FFAA, herencia de Pinochet!! Y todo Chile les paga sus pensiones vitalicias mientras nos cagamos trabajando #elinformante</p> <p><i>[Army Forces' pensions, inheritance of Pinochet! And all of Chile pays their annuities while we screw ourselves working #elinformante]</i></p> <p><i>Example 85</i></p> <p>Jose E. Contreras @JECQ84 · 27 Mar 2016 presunción de inocencia para ricos, detención por sospecha para pobres, así estamos... #enacional</p> <p><i>[presumption of innocence for the rich, detention due to suspicion for the poor, this is how we are ... #enacional]</i></p>	<p>if something or someone is equal in certain respects, they should be treated in the same way</p>	<p>The army forces and the rest of the population should have the same social security.</p> <p>Poor and rich people should be treated in the same way by the judicial system</p>

The examples show two different arguments that use the same conclusion rule. The first is related to the pension system and the second to discriminatory policies against suspected criminals. In the first example (84), the user argues that the pension system of the military forces in Chile is abusive and unfair compared to the rest of the population. As mentioned before, the pensions system in Chile has been widely criticized as it is mandatory for all workers, except the military that have kept the old tax-funded pension system. Army pensions are considered a privilege because they are funded by the government and are

substantially higher than for the rest of the workers in the AFP system, which is individually funded. The tweet states that army pensions are part of the dictatorship legacy that delegitimizes this model, considering this an inheritance from Pinochet for the army's sole benefit. The tweet implies that the differences in the pensions systems are unfair and all workers should be treated equally. Also, the user creates an us vs them distinction, in which Chileans (us) are abused to fund the pensions of the army (them) with our taxes.

In the second example (85), the topos of justice is used to make an argument about the justice system in Chile. The user claims that the poor and the rich are treated differently by the judicial system, which is not equal for all, mainly due to prejudice against the poor and criminalisation of the lower socioeconomic classes. The tweet relates specifically to a public policy whereby the police can ask any person for their identification and, if they refuse, arrest them, mainly based in how they look or other potentially prejudicial causes. This policy is very similar to the one implemented during the dictatorship, when the police could arrest anyone without evidence, just on suspicion of being involved in criminal or illegal activity. The tweet argues about the differences in the treatment of people from different classes in Chile and implies that this new policy should not be implemented because it constitutes a threat to equality before the law. As the examples show, the unequal treatment of different members of society can be identified in diverse policies and legislation which contradict the constitutional principle of equality before the law. The users, in these cases, distinguish among different groups in Chilean society, pointing out the different treatment and privileges of certain elite groups, and with their tweets they criticise and speak out about the ruling classes and their abuses.

Another topos related to the topos of justice is the topos of humanitarianism or human rights. This topos is used when some action or decision does not comply with humanitarian values or human rights conventions, and therefore should not be implemented. This, in the context of Chilean politics, is usually linked to the many human rights violations committed by the state in the past, but which are still part of the political debate as an unresolved issue in political discussions (see Chapter 2).

ARGUMENT	WARRANT/CONCLUSION RULE	CLAIM
<p><i>Example 86</i></p> <p>David Espinoza F. @danton1948  · 19 Dec 2016 #CiudadanosCNN  Militares, FFAA chilenas, mataron a miles de personas. Sin piedad, sin moral, sin Dios ni ley. que se mueran en la carcel.</p> <p><i>[The military, Chilean armed forces, killed thousands of people. Without mercy, without morals, without God or law. let them die in jail.]</i></p> <p><i>Example 87</i></p> <p>Vicente Revello @cosmovisscion  · 12 Dec 2016 La Udi es un partido fascista y antihumanitario que deberia estar prohibido. #ciudadanoscn</p> <p><i>[The Udi is a fascist and anti-humanitarian party that should be banned.]</i></p>	<p>If an action or decision does/ did not follow human rights conventions it should not be/ have been carried out</p>	<p>If the actions of a political party (UDI) or an institution (FFAA) did not comply with human rights conventions in the past, they should not continue now.</p>

The examples above show two tweets related to the discussion about systematic violations to human rights during the dictatorship in the country. In the first example (86), the user criticizes the army in the discussion about pardons on the grounds of illness for the perpetrators of crimes against humanity. The user states that the army and military forces violated the human rights of thousands of Chileans and for that reason they don't deserve any prison benefits, such as pardons for illness, and they should die in jail for the crimes they committed. In the document “Principles of international co-operation in the detection, arrest, extradition and punishment of persons guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity” (1973) the United Nations explains that whoever is found guilty for this



kind of crime should be punished and states should guarantee that the punishment will be carried out, as an obligation to the international community. For that reason, benefits and pardons for the army for humanitarian reasons, in this case, are against international human rights conventions. To emphasize the message, the user includes an anaphoric element as an intensification strategy, “*sin*” (without), which aims to describe the brutality of crimes committed by the armed forces against their own people.

Following this, the second example (87) shows a tweet related to political supporters of the dictatorship. In the tweet the user states that the UDI (Democratic Independent Union), a right-wing political party, should be banned for humanitarian reasons. The UDI party was one of the main political supporters of Pinochet’s regime; its founder, Jaime Guzmán, was one of the closest advisors of the dictator and is considered one of the main supporters of the neoliberal policies imposed on the country. The UDI is described in the tweet as “fascist”, which refers to its political position on the right wing in relation to its defence and support of an authoritarian regime which oversaw crimes against humanity. For the user, the fact that the party strongly supported the dictatorship constitutes an act against human rights, because supporting the military dictatorship in Chile means support for their extermination policies against their opponents. The examples show that the discussion about humanitarian values and violations of the human rights is still in progress in the political field. The recent past of Chilean history remains a controversial topic in which Twitter users questioned the human standards of the televised discussion.

Related to the discussion about human rights and the recent past in Chile is the topos of history or *historia est magistra vitae*. This topos supports claims that people should learn about the past, to avoid committing the same mistakes again or using past experiences as an example. This conclusion rule takes into account previous experience to achieve positive outcomes, as the example shows:

ARGUMENT	WARRANT/CONCLUSION RULE	CLAIM
<p><i>Example 88</i></p> <p>Claus @magallaniaclaus · 9 Mar 2016 La verdad no nos hace volver al pasado,sino construir nuestro futuro dignamente. Arellano siniestra parte de historia #opinoEV @carmen_hertz</p> <p><i>[The truth does not make us return to the past but lets us build our future with dignity. Arellano is a sinister part of the story #opinoEV @carmen_hertz]</i></p>	<p>If history proves that a specific action or decision has certain consequences, favourable or unfavourable, one should implement or omit that specific action or decision</p>	<p>Arellano Stark carried out terrible actions in the past, therefore we should learn from this and proceed differently in the future.</p>

In the example above, the user states that the truth about human rights violations in the past, specifically the dictatorship, will help to build the future. In this case, the tweet implies that acknowledging past events, in seeking the truth, is a way to improve future generations, and secure the dignity of the Chilean people, who were violated during the dictatorship. The lessons of the past, in this case, are related to the violations of human rights carried out by the military, which are still approved of by some political groups or whose perpetrators are unpunished. Likewise, the claim about truth is also related to the lack of cooperation by the army with investigations into the crimes committed by the institutions, which is often called a “silent pact”. The tweet also includes, as an example of this, Arellano Stark, a military officer who led the “*Caravana de la muerte*” (Caravan of death) in the first months of the dictatorship (see further discussion in Chapter 2). The figure of Arellano Stark is, in this case, part of a troublesome past that should not be forgotten, but also should never happen again, so that Chileans can build a future with dignity and therefore respect for human rights. The user also includes the username of the guest on the show to link her with the post. The guest on the show was Carmen Hertz (@carmen\_hertz), a lawyer who fought against the regime and especially in the *Caravana de la muerte* case, in which her husband, Carlos Berger, was brutally murdered. The topos of history, in this

case related to the (lack of) judgment of Arellano Stark, is used to remind the reader that pursuing truth and justice is not to get stuck in the past or relive tragic moments of history (*“no nos hace volver al pasado”*), but to learn about mistakes that were made, and thereby improve future decisions and pursue a dignified future.

The different argumentative devices used in this kind of media illustrate the diverse ways in which users debate in digitally mediated discussions related to televised shows. As the examples have shown, users include different resources to create their texts and support their standpoints. The texts analysed helped to characterise the debate in this context and to explain how users interact and build their arguments as part of the hybrid media practice of dual screening.

### 6.3 Summary

The analysis of interaction patterns and different argumentative strategies present in the digitally mediated discussions related to political TV shows has provided insights into how people debate and interact while dual screening in the Chilean political context as part of an expanding public sphere. As the analysis shows, interaction in the dual screening context can be considered a complex phenomenon. Encounters between actors in this hybrid media context involve multiple participants and interaction among different elements of the public sphere. The communication carried out in this media context can also be characterised as multidirectional, in that the participants of the debates not only try to interact with other viewers, but also with participants of the televised debates, the media themselves, public figures and institutions that were the subject of televised discussions, as well as additional related entities not discussed on TV.

A digitally mediated debate, as previously observed, does not only work as a backchannel for a televised show. As the examples in this chapter illustrate, social media and televised discussions feed each other with content, challenging the notion of second screening (Gil de Zúñiga et al., 2015), in which television-related debate is considered a complement to television consumption. In the case of this data set, social media discussion is not only used to complement the experience of viewers but also to provide content to televised debate. The social media users who post about televised discussions use diverse mechanisms and features to include others in their texts, not only participants in televised debates, but also other social actors in the political sphere.

Interaction in this kind of practice is a complex phenomenon. To describe the different communicative dynamics in the media I draw on Goffman’s model of interaction patterns

(1981). The categories proposed by Goffman (1981) help to illustrate how participants behave in encounters as *crossplay*, *byplay* and *sideplay*. However, in dual screening contexts, these categories seem to be too restrictive to characterise interaction. For this reason, I introduce a new category that complements Goffman's model, namely *hybridplay*. I define *hybridplay* as communication among a wide variety of social actors across different participation formats, whether digitally or physically mediated. This blurs the boundaries between communicative encounters, creating fluxes of content within and between media. The integration of participants of diverse media, digital and traditional, transcends boundaries among encounters due to the hybrid practices involved in dual screening as part of a hybrid media system. Although the hybrid media system focuses mostly on interactions between media, these can be extrapolated to interactions among social actors involved in this media ecology. The hybridisation process can not only be observed in the practice of dual screening with the interaction of media, it is also present among the participants in communication across platforms.

As discussed in section 6.1, Chadwick (2013) proposes that hybrid interactions have the potential to reshape the system and how the media relate to each other, revealing the power structures present in these relations. As the examples show, a televised show integrates the elements of an online debate on-screen as online users integrate elements of the televised discussion on their timelines. Some of the interaction generated by social media users addresses other public figures and participants from the public without any reply. This can be considered to be what Chadwick (2013) calls *illusory interactivity*, in which the televised debate does not integrate with social media. However, these new spaces and ways of interacting do promote political engagement and discussion regarding the media, as Gil de Zúñiga and Liu (2017) also find. The data analysed show that there is a complex relationship among the media logics that evolves dynamically. Interactions patterns in data generated by viewers in the Chilean context provide some insights into the dynamics among diverse social actors in the digitally mediated public sphere. The analysis of interactions also helps to understand the media ecology as a hybrid media system in which online data include broadcast content and in which a wide variety of social actors on and off screen are included.

The analysis of the sample of tweets allowed me to explore different argumentative strategies in the data. Dual screening allows viewers to question, critique and attack politicians and other prominent figures publicly, using hashtags to create and connect with a community of viewers. Even though these critiques are often expressed in fallacious

arguments, the attacks or sanctions are shared via hashtags in the feed related to the TV shows. As the analysis shows, one fallacy found in the sample was *ad hominem* attacks in their different realisations. Users have different strategies to delegitimise others in online discussion, directly attacking their counterparts rather than their arguments. The examples show that *ad hominem* attacks use different resources to build their arguments, including images, quotes and intertextual references to popular culture. Users in the tweets from the sample usually attack participants of televised debates, questioning their behaviour and capacity as public figures. Other fallacies found in the data include *argumentum ad misericordiam* or an appeal to pity, in which the user appeals to emotions and empathy with disadvantaged groups, such as the elderly and vulnerable. Furthermore, the *argumentum ad verecundiam* or abuse of authority fallacy was found in the sample, in which users questioned the arguments of other parties for their lack of experience in the subjects discussed. This might be related to the crisis of representation identified in the Chilean political field (Luna, 2016). The lack of experience in issues that affect citizens is criticised by viewers who cannot identify with the politicians on-screen and politicians who fail to relate to the needs and concerns of viewers. Other fallacies were also found in the data set, including *straw man* and *hasty generalisation*.

The categorisation of fallacies and the application of the ten pragma-dialectic rules of argumentation can in some cases be a complex process, mainly because of the nature of the texts, which are highly situated and condensed. The interpretation of texts was carried out considering the different levels of context and integrating some elements of the televised debates in the analysis to understand how discussion is performed in this context. The pragma-dialectic rules are based on an ideal model of argumentation; however, these can help to critically evaluate arguments in the dual screening context and explain how these prevent the resolution of disagreements online.

The other main argumentative strategy analysed in this section was *topoi*. These argumentative ‘shortcuts’ were found in the data set in different realisations. The first *topos* outlined in this chapter was the *topos* of burden, which was related to the main issues discussed in the televised debates, e.g. various reforms, such as educational reform. Users tried to promote their own political agendas and plans for action to diminish the problems that affect them. The *topos* of burden can be considered a conclusion rule applied to demand changes in the political sphere. The use of this *topos* might be interpreted as a way to get involved in the decision-making process by promoting solutions and users’ personal political agendas. Related to the claim for action on issues that affect Chileans was the

topos of responsibility, linked to the SENAME crisis and the responsibility of the authorities in relation to the abuse and neglect of children in that institution. This topos was also related to the responsibilities of public figures and politicians and their conduct. The topos of responsibility was used to criticise a political party and its participation in different reforms, accusing it of stopping changes that would benefit citizens. A further topos analysed in this sample was the topos of urgency, used mainly in the discussion related to the pension crisis. The users state the urgency of solving the pension crisis before the inevitable ageing of the population and actively ask public figures participating in the televised discussion for a solution to the issue. This topic is related to active citizen participation in the NO+AFP movement, which is manifested digitally and physically, and can be interpreted as an expression of online activism in which Twitter users promote social movements and their actions.

As the previous analysis shows, there were also topoi whose realizations were related to ethical concerns, such as the topos of comparison, which in this case compared two cases of irregular funding for political campaigns and the treatment received in the televised debate. The topos of comparison was also identified in the discussion on migration, to justify some discriminatory policies discussed online. Further, the topos of decency was used to question the behaviour of some of the guests and their suitability to hold public office and political positions. Ethical concerns and disaffection with the political class were expressed in several tweets from the sample, which reinforces the idea of an ethical crisis proposed by Arancibia and Montecino (2017), who refer to the diverse unethical behaviours observed by the population in their representatives and the ruling elites. Further topoi found in the data were the topoi of authority, of justice, of humanitarianism and of history. The topos of authority in the tweets analysed was used to legitimise diverse positions for and against what was discussed in the television shows. On the other hand, the topos of justice helped users to show and expose the inequalities in the country in relation to diverse topics, showing unequal treatment among citizens. Finally, the topos of humanitarianism or human rights and history in these cases was used to refer especially to events of the recent past in the country, such as the dictatorship and the human rights violations committed by the regime, considering justice and reparation for the victims of those crimes.

As the analysis of topoi showed, the argumentative strategies used in these kinds of texts show how debate is carried out in a dual screening context. The study of these argumentative schemes, from a critical perspective, in an online discussion can illustrate

how users try to persuade others of their standpoints, proposing their own political agendas and legitimising or criticising the power represented by public figures and institutions. Most of the examples analysed criticised the status quo and questioned the different participants in the discussion. As explained before, the tweets analysed in these sections relate to a crisis of representation between the political institutions and the citizenship (Luna, 2016). The different arguments present in the sample show a lack of coordination between citizens' needs and desires and the political class in power, which should prepare the ground for change. In the online debates, users share their criticisms with an elite that includes the media and the political class present in the televised debates. Political discussion in this context involves users trying to persuade others, not only other viewers but also other participants, such as politicians and other actors mentioned in the televised debates. Although social media posts are not frequently replied to by televised shows or public figures, the arguments exposed in this context are part of the political debate. As Edelman (1967) proposes, the abstract symbols of politics have the potential to change citizens' lives in a positive or negative way. The justification of these changes is associated with emotions and ideologies that are expressed in the texts, such as those produced in this context. These emotions and ideologies can be expressed in the different attacks found in the data and in the diverse critiques against those in power. The anxieties and hopes, in Edelman's (1967) terms, displayed in those texts are a way of expressing feelings about the diverse crises present in the Chilean context, which constantly challenge the values on which Chilean society is based.

The analysis of the argumentative resources and interaction patterns that form these social practices shows that there are new spaces to debate and exercise politics. The criticism towards and questioning of the status quo in tweets related to TV shows helps to expand and to a certain extent enhance the public sphere, allowing users to express themselves in relation to politics and to participate in political debate. Social media posts related to television shows not only provide a space for socialization or comment but also generate new interaction dynamics that help to transcend and blur the boundaries between media. Participation in dual screening provides a platform to promote activism and participation in social movements, and also to challenge the power structures of the media while showing to other viewers what the media apparently do not cover. As Chadwick (2013) proposes, interaction in this hybrid media system helps to reshape the system, affecting power structures. These interactions and participation in dual screening may eventually lead to smaller distances between social actors, especially between citizens and their

representatives, promoting a more democratic public sphere.



## Chapter 7: Conclusion

This thesis, by analysing tweets related to political television shows in the Chilean context, has illustrated the practice of dual screening and political communication in a hybrid media system. As the previous chapters show, engaging in digitally mediated debates related to political TV shows allows users to participate in political discussions, using diverse semiotic resources and interacting with a wide variety of actors to debate different topics, engaging in civil debates. Furthermore, this research has identified the main argumentative strategies used as part of these practices. The different strategies and resources used in this type of text contribute to our understanding of how viewers participate in the public sphere.

In this concluding chapter, I will first summarise the main findings of the thesis, considering the analyses in previous chapters, in order to address the research questions posed at the beginning of the thesis. I will further state the main limitations and contributions of this research and outline possible further directions for research related to the topic under investigation before coming to some final remarks.

### 7.1 Summary of the findings

This research explores the dual screening phenomenon in the context of political TV shows in Chile. To achieve this, I analysed social media data generated during three discrete months of broadcast shows from a qualitative perspective and in two stages, as discussed in detail in Chapter 4. The first stage comprises a content analysis and coding of the entire data set of 39,684 tweets, and the second is an analysis of a detailed sample of the data with a particular focus on argumentative strategies. The analysis of the data sets was developed and described in Chapters 5 and 6. In the following section I will present a summary of the findings and a discussion relating to each research question.

#### 7.1.1 Addressing the research questions

In this section, I will return to each of the research questions presented in the introduction to this thesis:

**RQ1: How do Twitter users debate and interact in relation to TV shows about Chilean politics?**

The first stage of the analysis provides an overview of the practice of dual screening by analysing the data generated by viewers of political television shows in Chile. This part of

the analysis illustrates the main topics discussed online, and the most salient formal features used in the social media discussion. The main topics discussed on Twitter were those relating to ethical concerns, which mostly involved users criticising and pointing out diverse ostensibly unethical or illegal behaviours which were attributed to different public figures and institutions. These tweets can be considered as evidence of the disaffection with the political class and parties, as also described by Luna (2016). The political class, in other words political figures and parties, is criticised and linked with different unethical behaviours that distance them from the people and their interests. This results in a crisis of representation for the authorities and political figures.

Users in the online debate criticise and comment on public figures, but they also talk about the media themselves, which I consider to be explicit participants in the political discussion and not only platforms for debate. The inclusion of the media in the debate might indicate that users recognise the power structures at play in the hybrid media system. The crisis of political representation can be also observed in the characterization of the media as complicit in ethical issues. Users portrayed the media as biased, both in relation to the choice of topics on TV shows and which public figures were invited onto them. As Chadwick (2013) argues, the media help to shape the political discussion and public opinion. In this case, users criticise the role of media broadcasters in the configuration of the public sphere. Users are not only receivers of the content created by televised programmes but also debate that content online and criticise the position of the media in the configuration of the political discussion, blurring the boundaries among media logics and participating in the debate by integrating television shows into online discussions and also being part of broadcasting.

Participation in the hybrid media system is also thematised by users: there are several tweets that discuss different forms of political participation in the public sphere. These are related to institutional ways of participating in the political arena, such as political campaigns and elections, but also to other forms of activism on- and offline. One of the most salient forms of participation visible in the data set was the NO+AFP movement against the private pension system in the country. This movement was not only discussed in political debates, but also promoted on platforms using the hashtags of the different shows. The movement organises different meetings and protests, and there were promoted in online discussions. The inclusion of this movement was shown in different examples in Chapter 5, linked to the codes *Participation* and *Public Policies*, but also in relation to diverse semiotic resources. The different ways of positioning the movement in online debates in the dual screening

context were a form of online activism, which involved using the hashtags provided by the TV shows not only to comment in relation to the shows but also to promote its own agenda.

Users also commented on the different reforms carried out by the government and discussed by Congress. This category, *Public Policies*, comprised posts related to diverse policies ongoing during the period of study, but also different plans of action proposed by users in online debates. The users share their own political agendas, suggesting new plans to tackle the issues that affect them, in contrast to the reforms proposed by different political sectors that did not fulfil their expectations. Differentiation between users' proposals and those discussed on-screen also evidence the crisis of representation.

As explained in Chapter 5, the topics discussed on Twitter are closely related to the context of production and can be linked to the main issues of political agendas. Examples of these include the diverse reforms carried out by Bachelet's government, the various corruption cases discovered by the media and the NO+AFP movement, most of which are discussed by the television shows. However, in digitally mediated debates, the users demand more coverage from the press of topics they consider are more relevant to the political debate.

The first stage not only tagged the topic of each tweet but also its formal features. Regarding the different semiotic resources used in this kind of social practice, as shown in Chapter 5, the most prevalent codes were those that identify features to include others in online discussion, namely mentions and direct address. Users mention and address a wide variety of participants in the discussions, mostly public figures, such as politicians and guests on the shows, but also institutions with a presence on Twitter. The users of this social media platform directly address the accounts of different institutions, i.e. political parties, government agencies and media organisations.

Users include the participants in the televised debates in their texts, not only naming them, but also integrating quotations in different ways. They integrate texts produced on the shows via quotes from the utterances of the guests or hosts, or images of text displayed on the TV screen during the shows. These semiotic resources linked both media, incorporating elements of the televised debates on the Twitter timeline and addressing a wide variety of social actors involved in public debates.

Among the resources found in the data, hashtags were an important category as a hypertextual feature that allows users to navigate within modes and across the network. These resources were incorporated to expand the debates by relating the shows to other

online discussions on the same topics. As Zappavigna (2012) states, the inclusion of hashtags makes a discussion searchable on the site, allowing more people to interact around a certain topic. In this thesis, I classified hashtags into three categories: theme, which marks the main topic of the tweet; nomination, which is used to include others and in place of the names of the actors involved; and evaluation, used to give an appraisal of a tweet, usually linked to disapproval of the actions of others. This feature helps users to connect debates across platforms, thus increasing their potential targets and including other communities online, not only viewers of the shows, thereby expanding the political discussion.

Other hypertextual features found in the tweets were hyperlinks, which help users to include other resources outside the Twitter platform in their texts. Hyperlinks can redirect other users to additional information sources, expanding the network and the online discussion to other platforms across the Web. Users who engaged in this practice also include visual elements to create their posts. There were different types of images included in this type of text, but also emojis and GIFs. The most frequent visual elements were emojis. These were integrated by users to incorporate emotions and evaluations in their posts, expanding their semiotic potential. Other frequent elements were different kinds of images, such as photographs, screen captures of television shows and infographics, among others. Photographs were the most frequent group of images, they usually portrayed participants of the interaction in other situations, which helped users to support their standpoints and back up their claims.

With regarding to interaction, the texts produced by social media users related to TV shows addressed a wide variety of social actors, including not only the participants in televised shows but also other public figures, institutions and social media users, among others, as illustrated in the following figure:

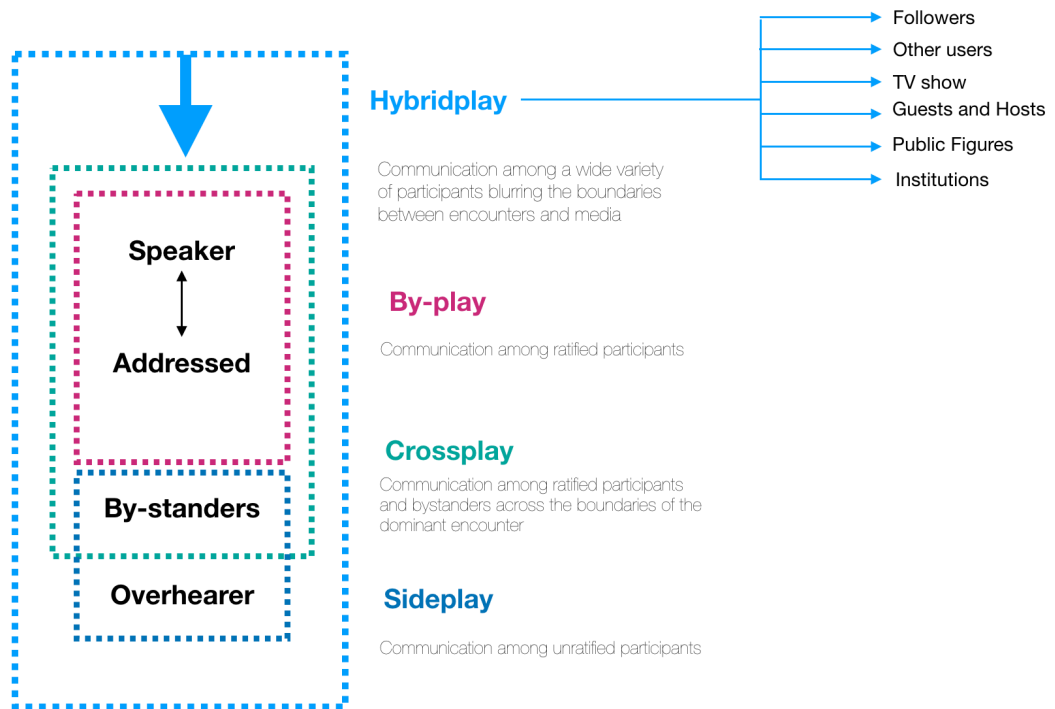


Figure 27 Reconfiguration of Goffman's interaction model to the dual-screening phenomenon

Figure 28 (above) shows a new way of conceptualising interaction as part of dual screening. It is based on Goffman's (1981) interaction patterns, see Chapter 3, and incorporates the new elements of social media and hybrid media systems (Chadwick, 2013). The dotted lines in the figure illustrate the blurriness of hybrid media in which communication is carried out across different levels and among different participants. Adding to the classification developed by Goffman (1981), I incorporate a fourth category, *hybridplay*, to integrate the social media component into the model. *Hybridplay* refers to the communication carried out by different participants, across different media encounters that connect different social actors, blurring the boundaries and hierarchies among interactions and media. Fetzer (2014) explains that the new media and their interactive features blur the boundaries of interaction in media. Participatory media ecologies and the interaction of different communicative spaces have led to the development of new ways of interacting with others, incorporating elements and features from different media. As discussed in Chapter 3, dual screeners not only interact in this kind of media but also try to reshape the political scene by sharing new information and trying to influence their followers and other participants in political debates (Chadwick, O'Loughlin & Vaccari, 2017).

This new category integrates the conceptualization of the media system as hybrid in the description of interaction patterns. This entails not only blurred boundaries across

communicative encounters, but also blurred boundaries within media logics, allowing the expansion of interaction and, with that, of the public sphere. *Hybridplay* is a useful category to describe interaction in the dual screening context in which social media are integrated into other media ecologies and are an active part of political discussion. This reconfiguration of Goffman's model tries to capture the complexity of interaction among diverse social actors in a hybrid media system. The different media involved in this context allow content to flow from diverse sources and thus enable users to participate in the public sphere, enhancing and expanding political discussion in media contexts. As illustrated by the analyses in Chapters 5 and 6, dual screening is a complex practice in which multiple media and participants converge. The characterization of this practice illustrates contemporary media logics and how power is negotiated and structured on social media platforms, and how users communicate about and around politics.

**RQ2: What can analysing context-related semiotic practices contribute to an understanding of digitally mediated argumentative strategies?**

The second stage of the analysis explored the diverse argumentative strategies present in the online debates related to political television shows. To achieve this, I analysed a 140-tweet sample of the data. As explained in Chapter 6, I identified diverse argumentative strategies in the sample that were used to justify positive and negative evaluations of social actors and institutions and how these helped to construct political debate. As the analysis showed, these argumentative strategies were enacted through different semiotic resources and it was necessary to consider carefully the context of production to understand how discussion is carried out in this kind of media. To understand and explain how discussion is performed in dual screening involved considering not only the sociopolitical and historical context but also the context of production, more specifically related to the TV shows that were broadcast at the time of production of the tweets. The analysis of argumentative strategies within this practice includes understanding the intertextual resources from the television shows used in tweets, which in turn helps to interpret the claims made in digitally mediated discussions, describing the main participants of the shows and their interventions. The widespread use of these intertextual resources might be explained by different factors, including the limitation on word count on this platform, which required users to condense their messages, privileging brevity over exposition. A further factor is the interaction patterns present in this kind of practice, which involve users addressing a wide variety of participants simultaneously, as explained above (i.e. *hybridplay*). This links different media platforms and involves interaction with the television shows and

their participants, and thereby integrates elements of the televised discussions into online debates.

Despite the claims that social media generate non-sensical and uncivil interactions (as explored in Chapter 3), the analysis of the sample showed diverse argumentative devices that contribute to the development of political discussion in this kind of media context. In the sample analysed, I found several fallacious arguments, identified using the ten rules for critical discussion developed by van Eemeren and Grootendorst (2012). Even though this approach is based on an ideal model of argumentation, the identification of fallacies can help to explore how the discussion is carried out and what is preventing the resolution of disputes. One of the most common fallacies identified in the sample was *argumentum ad hominem* in its different guises, in which users attack the parties to the discussion instead of their arguments. The examples in Chapter 6 show that tweets use different semiotic resources to attack their counterparts in debates. The users include in their tweets different features, such as images, memes and intertextual resources. Most of the personal attacks found in the sample relate to different public figures present in the televised discussions as guests or subjects of discussion. These texts usually question the behaviour or personal characteristics of political actors and those in charge of the decision-making processes in the country.

Other types of fallacies found in the data sample were *argumentum ad misericordiam*, which is an appeal to pity, and *argumentum ad verecundiam*. The latter fallacy is related to the false authority of a counterpart. In those cases, users criticise political figures mainly for their lack of experience regarding problems of citizenship. Experience of everyday issues that affect citizens and the general population are considered by users an important source of information, which can give public figures the authority to comment on different issues, as opposed to what they see as the purely theoretical knowledge of most public figures.

I also identified some arguments involving hasty generalisations and straw man fallacies. These fallacies are used to indirectly criticise and attack the participants in a discussion. They were often used to criticise public figures and to argue against the elites present on television shows. The classification of fallacies, as explained in Chapter 6, is not always a straightforward process, it requires the incorporation of several contextual elements to understand and interpret the different arguments present in a discussion. The process of identification of argumentative strategies in this kind of media requires an approach that incorporates context at different levels, not only co-text.

Another type of argumentative strategy present in the online debate is the use of topoi. These argumentative devices were found in different realisations in the data. Among the topoi found in the data sample, the topos of burden was used to identify the main issues and claims for action discussed on the television shows, e.g. the educational reform proposed by Bachelet's government. Furthermore, claims around the actions (or inactions) of the authorities draw on the topos of responsibility, which was used to argue about different crises, in relation to SENAME and the representation of political parties. Users proposed their own political agendas in relation to these topics. In these cases, users often criticised the plans of action discussed on the shows, proposing new ones that, from their perspective, would contribute tackling the issues in a better way. They demanded actions and new policies to diminish the problems that affected them as citizens, contributing to the debate and, in a certain way, to potential solutions. The topos of urgency was also among the topoi identified in the sample. This argumentative 'shortcut' was mainly related to the crisis in the private pension system in Chile and the fact that the population is ageing. This topos was used in an attempt to persuade public figures that they are able to change the system and participate in the process of decision-making in relation to pension legislation, urging them to act in order to diminish the pension problem. Other topoi found in the data sample were the topos of comparison and the topos of decency. The first related to the media treatment of two corruption cases and migration policies in the country. The topos of comparison was used to illustrate the differences among the media's treatment of corruption cases involving different politicians, the president at the time of data collection and a candidate for the presidency. Using this topos, users pointed out different treatments by the media of the president in relation to the same unethical behaviour. On the other hand, the topos of comparison was also used in relation to migration to justify new migration policies that would potentially exclude immigrants. The topos of decency or respectability was also used to criticise several public figures and to point out their unethical behaviour.

The criticism of the political class and their behaviour is a recurrent topic in the sample analysed. There were different arguments that imply these criticisms and question the actions of public figures using different strategies. One example of this is the topos of responsibility, in relation to the crisis of representation in the country, in which the political parties are disconnected from the people's reality and their issues. Other topoi used to criticise the elite and the system of privileges in the country included the topos of justice. This argumentative strategy is related to equality under the law. In the sample under



investigation, users illustrated the differences in treatment of people from different classes, which led to the poor receiving different treatment under the law compared to the rich. These differences among citizens are produced and reinforced by the current Chilean socioeconomic model, as explained in Chapter 2, which promotes social inequalities (Cabalin, 2013). These inequalities, as Luna (2016) explains, have been perpetuated by the political elite, which is widely criticised by users in the sample collected. The dichotomy of privileged versus unprivileged and exclusion versus inclusion, i.e. “us versus them”, are present in different realizations of several topoi, pointing out the differences between diverse participants of the political sphere and the lack of representation of the people in televised debates. As the examples in Chapter 6 show, there were different realizations of topoi and fallacies that help to explain how a digitally mediated debate works. Users engaged in digitally mediated debates to criticise the current system and the status quo but also to challenge it, propose specific changes and promote their own political agendas. Even though the use of certain fallacies and topoi can, in some cases, prevent the resolution of a dispute, they can contribute to the discussion in other ways, criticising the political class or expressing concerns about the ethical standards of public figures.

The focus on argumentation in this media context has allowed me to explore how users try to resolve different issues that affect citizens and how they justify their claims. Users in digitally mediated discussions participated in and via the hybrid media system by presenting different standpoints and questioning extant power structures. The analyses of discussions on online platforms related to broadcast TV helps not only to explore how discussion is carried out in this media context but also to understand how power structures and values are negotiated more broadly through this social practice.

**RQ3: To what extent can participation in debates at the intersection of social media and traditional broadcast media be considered an enhancement of the public sphere?**

As I state above, digitally mediated debates related to political television shows can be considered part of the hybrid media system, and with that, part of the transformation of the media and power structures embedded therein. The relations between newer and older media logics reconfigure and reshape the political system. This new kind of social practice can also be considered an example of the hybrid media system and an enhancement of the public sphere for multiple reasons. Dual screening allows users to be part, to a certain extent, of televised political debates. The intersection between media logics in this case opens up new ways to communicate and interact, blurring the boundaries of what was

known as mediatized political debate. Interaction in this kind of media, as described in Chapter 6, can be considered an enhancement of the public sphere, in which different participants in the public sphere and different media converge.

These new ways of interacting and participating in the political debate are characterised in the concept of *hybridplay* explained above (Section 6.1). As the examples show, users in this media practice address a wide variety of participants in the public sphere: not only the guests on TV shows, but also other politicians, institutions and public figures. Nevertheless, these interactions are usually not replied to or answered by the diverse actors in online debates. Rather, the relation between social media and televised discussion encourages political engagement and participation in the political field. This practice also allows users to question the media and criticise the power structures present in institutionalised media, including broadcast and printed media. The hybrid media system (Chadwick, 2013), and dual screening generate complex relations among the media, in which newer and older media feed each other with content. As I show in Chapter 6, although there was typically no direct dialogue with or replies to viewers by the participants of the shows, some TV shows integrate content produced online on-screen, illustrating the flow of content across media in multiple directions.

Dual screening political debate has become a space for people to express themselves, generate a community of viewers and expand the discussion about politics. Digital participation in the public sphere has created new ways to interact and new spaces for political deliberation (Jones, 2008). As Anstead and O'Loughlin (2015) suggest, viewers were never passive receptors in the political debate, but with the advent of the digital debate they have a space to share and articulate their thoughts and complaints. Dual screening allows users to participate at certain junctures in political discussion. Although some authors propose that these spaces for political deliberation relate to television shows, this can be considered illusory participation, in which a digitally mediated debate is not integrated into or considered in a televised debate. In this research, as the examples show, the relation between different media cannot be characterised as being one way from the Twitter debate to the televised show, but a bidirectional relation in which the televised debate integrates elements of the online debate and they feed each other with content. Furthermore, the data show that dual screening has also been configured as a space for the people, in which they can criticise the social and power structures of Chilean society. The examples illustrate a constant tension between citizens and the elite, which is usually identified with the participants of televised debate. Online discussion helps users to express

their opinions regarding those in power, which includes public figures and institutions. This relation is often expressed by an exclusionary strategy that distinguishes “us” from “them”.

A digitally mediated debate in this context also allows users to make visible some issues that may be neglected or omitted by traditional media. There were posts in the social media discussions that were used to expose some topics, such as violations of human rights in indigenous communities or the overexploitation of natural resources in small rural communities. The use of a show’s hashtag in those cases might serve to expand the potential reach of such topics to other communities interested in political debate, and also to denounce how traditional media neglect those issues. The political debates carried out on Twitter related to television shows can therefore also be considered a platform for political activism and non-digitally mediated political participation. As the examples in Chapter 5 show, tweets on this kind of media not only comment on televised debates but also use this platform to promote different movements. The most notorious example was the movement against the private pension system, NO+AFP, which promoted its meetings and protests using the hashtags of the shows and its own, expanding the reach of its messages. Furthermore, the movement demanded more coverage by traditional media outlets and criticised the lack of interest in the social movement. Among the actions promoted by the movement regarding the pension system were protests, strikes and changes to the funds. These changes to the funds were a direct measure to apply pressure to the pension companies promoted by the movement and its users, whereby citizens change the investment risk of their pension funds to a less risky programme of investment. This measure restricts the investments of the pension administrators using the people’s assets, thus limiting their business and profits, and potentially leading them to bankruptcy. As discussed in Chapter 3, social media platforms have the potential to contribute to political debate but also to promote flaming and incivility online. Even though discussions in social media may display uncivil behaviour, the analysis shows that online debates related to political television shows can also be considered a space for deliberation. The participants in this kind of online debate, even though in some cases they use fallacious arguments to participate in a discussion or engage in more heated discussions, usually debate the political scene and contribute to the political sphere by diverse means, such as criticizing the status quo, pointing out the inconsistencies of public figures or proposing new agendas. As mentioned in Chapter 5, most of the tweets coded criticised the behaviour of different social actors in the Chilean political context, contributing to the political

debate. Likewise, the argumentation devices identified in the sample, in Chapter 6, serve different purposes in the online discussion, mainly criticising the political class in Chile and how it fails to respond to citizens' demands.

Tweets related to television shows, in this context, allow different manifestations, which include hostility and uncivil discourse. However, in the case of the sample analysed, these kinds of behaviour were marginal in relation to the overall discussion in the political debate. As I show in Chapter 6, most of the tweets analysed contribute to the political discussion, even though they include some fallacious arguments. Some of the fallacies analysed were considered direct and personal attacks against several participants in the discussion, though these were not seen as targeted harassment or a threat to personal or democratic values. In the sample analysed (see Chapter 6), there were several direct attacks and diverse fallacies that criticised different public figures, including *ad hominem* attacks in different guises and *argumentum ad verecundiam*. These fallacies usually related to their lack of ethical standards or inappropriate behaviour in the political sphere, without threatening them or the political system.

The tweets analysed in this research, as I show in Chapters 5 and 6, used multiple resources to engage in political debate. Although argumentation in social media platforms has been described as simple (Ott, 2017), the texts analysed in this research present complex patterns and resources to construct a political debate and support the users' standpoints concerning the political sphere. The users create complex texts in which they interact with diverse participants in the public sphere, encouraging civil discussions about politics. The inclusion of the audience through social media opens up new spaces for political debate in this context. It allows interaction between different participants across the public sphere, which, considering the crisis of legitimization of the political class, the corruption cases exposed and the lack of representation of public figures, could have led to uncivil behaviour and rage among users. However, as I discuss above, users contribute to the debate in different ways, criticizing the political class but also promoting social change to overcome the crisis of representation.

Different digitally mediated actions and the promotion of social movements can be considered an enhancement of the public sphere which encourages political engagement and digitally mediated and physically manifested activism. As I explain in Chapter 3, the configuration and characteristics of the public sphere in Latin America are influenced by the colonization process and interruptions to democratic regimes in the region (Oxhorn, 2016). These characteristics shape the Latin American public sphere and participation in

political debate. Considering that, and the data analysed, the dual screening practice and the social media discussion related to political debates might be considered part of the changes to the public sphere, enhancing and expanding it. Participants in social media debates related to the television shows not only comment on on-screen debates, using the online platform as a backchannel, but create a new space for political deliberation, in which newer and older media converge, co-construct and coevolve. In Chapters 5 and 6, I illustrated the use of this platform to promote political activism in the case of the NO+AFP movement; questioning the status quo in relation to different reforms and institutional crises, as the SENAME crisis or educational reform show; and criticism of the (lack of) media coverage of different topics. These can all be considered part of this new evolving media ecology in which viewers interact and question the power structures in which political debate is embedded. This new space allows the promotion of political participation and the expansion of televised debates, not only across media logics, but also across the public sphere.

## 7.2 Limitations and contributions of this research

### 7.2.1 Limitations

One of the main limitations of this research was the quantity of data generated by viewers in social media. As explained in Chapter 3, users of social media generate large amounts of data with hashtags of different shows. Due to the time limitation for this thesis, I needed to narrow the data down from an entire season to three months to be able to complete the codification on time and explore the data in more depth. This research investigated the practice of dual screening and analysed the strategies present in digitally mediated political debate as a relatively new phenomenon, so this research can be considered a first approach to this phenomenon from a discursive perspective. Another factor that limited this research is the dynamic nature of and continuous change in social media texts. Social media platforms are constantly evolving and incorporating new ways to generate content and socialize, and this is a further reason why the claims arising from this research are also somewhat limited by the period of collection.

The analysis of dual screening practices could have benefited from analyses of the different semiotic practices and discursive strategies present in the television shows themselves. Although this thesis incorporates part of the television programmes as the context of the data and provides a description of each episode where relevant, analysis of the discursive practices on screen would enhance the analysis of the hybrid media system. The

incorporation of a discursive analysis of broadcast media texts could help to contrast the different practices regarding political discussion in the Chilean context.

This research would have benefited from the incorporation of the views of actors who work in broadcast media organisations in relation to social media data generated by their viewers, in order to understand the role of social media platforms in the configuration and production of televised debates. This could be achieved through interviews with different relevant stakeholders, such as the guests on shows, producers and executives. However, although I attempted to find willing and suitable participants, it was not possible to incorporate these data due to different constraints, including limited time, the busy schedules of different public figures and media executives, and the potential amount of data to analyse. However, the body of data I was able to collect directly from social media platforms seemed appropriate to pursue a first approach to the phenomenon of dual screening, allowing me to identify the main features of the practice and how it is carried out in the Chilean context. The integration of the perspective of different television shows related to this research may be useful in future (see also below) to explore the relations among media and the importance of social media to broadcast media in the generation of new content.

### 7.2.2 Contributions of this thesis

This research contributes to several different fields of study in relation to language, politics and media in the Latin American context. On the one hand, it contributes to critical discourse studies in the exploration of a relatively new phenomenon, namely digitally mediated communication within the hybrid media system. As discussed in Chapter 3, the investigation of political communication in the hybrid media system offers new challenges and a promising area for discourse studies to explore how media and power structures are reconfigured in this media context (Gruber, 2017). On the other hand, this research contributes to the expansion of research into social media platforms in the Chilean context in relation to politics. Connected to this, exploration of the public sphere in Latin American digital contexts is also a growing area. As Oxhorn (2016) states, the concept of the public sphere in Latin American countries has different characteristics to the European conception of the public sphere. In that sense, the study of political discussion and dual screening practices in the digital public sphere in a Latin American context might also contribute to our understanding of political deliberation and the public sphere in the region.

As stated in Chapter 3, most of the studies that explore dual screening practices are focused on this practice's penetration of different groups, as both a media phenomenon and a political practice, using quantitative methods. Studies of dual screening have been carried out mainly for media studies to evaluate its effect on television shows in relation to political engagement. However, there has been little focus on the discourses embedded in the dual screening phenomenon, which can provide some insights into what is discussed and how it is discussed in the hybrid media system. In that sense, this research presents a new approach to dual screening, incorporating elements from within critical discourse studies. The exploration of multimodal argumentative strategies from a CDS perspective contributes to exploration of the power structures within the hybrid media system and to our understanding of new practices in this kind of media.

Furthermore, this thesis develops a methodology for studying dual screening practices which tries to integrate different contextual elements to better understand the data. This involves a qualitative approach to a large data set, and a two-stage analysis. The methodology selected to explore this phenomenon helped me to identify the main features and practices used for communication during dual screening, and then explore in depth the argumentative resources present in digitally mediated discussions. Manual coding of the data set allowed exploration and categorisation of the data with consideration for contextual factors, leading to more accurate codification and identification of the topics.

A further contribution of this study is the development of a new concept to characterize interaction in this media context. The concept of *hybridplay* contributes to the exploration of communicative encounters, combining the concept of hybridity in media (Chadwick, 2013) and Goffman's model of interaction (1981). This new category helps to explain political communication in participatory media ecologies, which include multiple participants in encounters.

Finally, this research provides some insights into new social movements in the Chilean context and their strategies of online engagement, as in the case of the NO+AFP movement. This social movement used hashtags promoted by the television shows to make the movement visible and promote its activities. These practices employ dual screening to help further the aims of the movement and use this media context for online activism.

### 7.3 Further research

Further research in this field should consider the new affordances of Twitter which allow users to produce longer texts. Since 2017, the Twitter platform has allowed longer tweets,

up to 280 characters, and also offers “threads”, which allow users to link different tweets to develop a topic more extensively. Although users had already found ways of writing longer texts within the previous affordances of the platform (e.g. replying to themselves to create threads), these changes could transform how discussion is carried out in relation to the diverse semiotic features used on the platform.

Future research could also focus on specific salient topics that have arisen in the data set collected for this thesis, such as different forms of participation and online activism, protests related to corruption cases or the conceptualization of human rights in media contexts. Furthermore, further research could consider other sociopolitical contexts of production in which this type of study could be replicated, e.g. analysing argumentative strategies in dual screening contexts. This could help to better describe the public sphere and its relation in the hybrid media system both within Latin America and in other countries of the Global South and East, providing new information about political relations and digital practices in the region and beyond.

Research on media hybridity is not restricted to the relation between television and social media. This kind of study of hybrid media systems can integrate multiple media logics and different platforms, such as radio, news websites or print media. Future research could explore the different intersections among the media and explore diverse social media platforms. Another possibility for research is the exploration of other kinds of political discussion in broadcast media. An example of this would be the study of other television formats and genres, such as morning talk shows, news or late-night (comedy) talk shows. As Chadwick (2013) explains, broadcast TV is a productive hybridizer of genres in which the shows include elements from diverse genres, and also generate new ones. The study of other kinds of televised shows would help to explore other manifestations of everyday politics online (see also Highfield, 2016). Even if these different genres are not exclusively about politics, they include a different approach to debates of political issues and citizen participation that could contribute to further study of the public sphere and political deliberation. Furthermore, this kind of research can help to examine the role of different social media platforms and traditional media broadcasters in this new media ecology.

#### 7.4 Final remarks

The conceptualization of the hybrid media system poses new challenges and also alternatives to the development of the public sphere. I do not want to be naive and suggest that this kind of practice will open the debate to a more democratic public sphere. As I



argue above, digitally mediated debate is mediated not only by digital technologies but also by power structures that are present in all areas of life and define social relationships, limiting access to the public sphere to more marginalised or disadvantaged groups. Nevertheless, I am enthusiastic about the different ways in which citizens can be part of political discussions at different levels, can express themselves and try to challenge the status quo, questioning power structures and different participants in political debates in several ways.

Although the argumentation patterns in this kind of platform have been considered simple and shallow (Ott, 2017), my analysis shows that users build their arguments using different argumentative strategies and semiotic resources, generating complex patterns to participate in political debate. As discussed, the tweets analysed in this research show that the use of social media in this mediated context can help in the development of political debate.

The dual screening practice has, to an extent, opened up the concept of media, allowing citizens to criticize traditional media institutions and question the structures behind them. It has also become a more democratic space than traditional media, one in which users can participate to a certain extent in political debate and political engagement. These new spaces also allow citizens to expose some issues regarding topics they are interested in and open up the debate. This does, however, also carry new risks, such as the proliferation of fake news, and the role of social media companies needing to be critically examined. Nevertheless, the inclusion of a social media component in broadcast television helps to promote social movements and digitally mediated activism and, with that, political participation. The dual screening phenomenon, as I argue throughout this thesis, is more than a backchannel or sideplay in which users comment on shows, instead it is a space for political participation and deliberation.

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## Appendix

### A. Description of the television shows

#### 1. El Informante (TVN)

Date	Length	Main Topic	Name of the Guests	Affiliation	Notes	Keywords
July 6th	60 min	Educational reform, the perspective of the University Chancellors. Free education projects	Ignacio Sanchez	Chancellor Catholic University	Structure: this episode starts with a short clip that shows the main problematic addressed in the show. Includes a clip with the students' opinions related to the reform.	Education l Reform, Public Policies
			Andrés Benitez	Chancellor Adolfo Ibañez University		
			Aldo Valle	Chancellor University of Valparaíso		
			Hugo Lavados	Chancellor San Sebastián University		
			Carlos Henriquez	"Agencia de Calidad de Educación"		
July 13th	68 min	SENAME crisis (child's protection service), possible solutions and responsibilities. Shows the relation between child protection by the state and future crime.	Francisco Estrada	Former SENAME director	Short interview of SENAME survivor Khristian Briones, shows the terrible conditions of the system. Clip that presents the problem and the opinion in the street.	SENAME Crisis, Public Policies
			Clarissa Hardy	Sociologist		
			Claudio Valdivia	Lawyer		
			Rene Saffirio	Member of parliament (Christian Democratic Party)		
			Claudia Nogueira	MP Independent Democratic Unity (UDI)		
July 27th	56 min	Terrorist attacks and nationalism	Gilberto Aranda	Academic University of Chile	Different nationalist movements in the world, populism and political speeches related.	Public Figures, Political Speeches
			Guido Larsson	International analyst		
			Florent Sardou	International analyst		
			Cassandra	Academic		

			Sweet		Migration	
December 1st	64 min	Lagos Answers. The former president and current candidate gave his vision of Chile today in an interview. Discussed future policies and his economic and political agenda.	Ricardo Lagos Escobar	Ex-president. (Socialist Party)	Includes a clip with interviews of people on the street asking about the best and the worst of Lagos' former presidency and quotes from Lagos' interviews	Public Figures, Public Policies
December 8th	54 min	Piñera answers. Deep interview with Sebastian Piñera former president and candidate for re-election. Discussed future policies, economy and the political scene.	Sebastián Piñera	Businessman and former president (re-elected at the time of writing)	Deep interview. Includes some clips of quotations and a summary of his past government	Public Figures, Public Policies
December 15th	52 min	Fake news. The TVN editorial programme tackled one of the most recurrent problems on the Web and how to spot fake news.	Cony Stipicic	Host and Editor of radio	Participation of a Chilean pop group. Includes clips to illustrate the main topic	Media
			Arturo Arriagada	Media expert		
			Paula Escobar	Journalist Editor of <i>El Mercurio</i>		
			Angelica Bulnes	Editor <i>La Tercera</i>		
December 22th	56 min	The keys for the next 2017 what? The host led a multidisciplinary panel of experts who gave projections in their respective areas.	Gonzalo Cordero	Political Analyst	Includes two clips of different topics. Summary of the year and challenges for the next one.	Public Figures, Public Policies
			Max Colodro	Political Analyst		
			Gilberto Aranda	International analyst		
			Aldo Lema	Economist		
			Daniilo Diaz	Sports Journalist		
			Manuel Maira	Musical critic and		



				journalist		
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## 2. Entrevista Verdadera (La Red)

Date	Length	Main Topic	Name of the Guests	Affiliation	Notes	Keywords
March 1st	25 min	Current affairs analysis with Jorge Pizarro. Interview with the senator involved in one of the most important corruption cases in the past years in Chile: SQM.	Jorge Pizarro	Senator and president of the Christian Democratic Party	Internal crisis in the party related to their position in the coalition. Controversial topics: abortion, legislation and the labour reform.	Public Figures, Political Parties, Corruption
March 2nd	30 min	Current affairs analyses with Manuel José Ossandón. Role of the right-wing coalition in the political scenario. Expectations to constitute the next government.	Manuel José Ossandón	Senator (National Renewal Party) presidential pre-candidate	Political parties and Probity. "Irregular" practices (euphemism for corruption) of the coalition.	Public Figures, Political Parties, Corruption
March 3rd	28 min	Current affairs analyses with Giorgio Jackson. Citizen participation and representation in parliament.	Giorgio Jackson	Member of parliament (Democratic Revolution Party). Former student leader	Constitution of new political parties and a new coalition composed by social movements. Council elections. Different reforms.	Public Figures, Political Parties, Participation
March 4th	25 min	Analysis of the Ponzi scheme "AC Inversions", how it works and how can you spot one.	Rafael Garay	Economist	Most of the victims of this case were retirees from the army. The role of institutions.	Corruption
March 8th	24 min	Current affairs analyses with Carolina Goic. Corruption cases and ethical concerns.	Carolina Goic	Senator (Christian Democratic Party)	Labour reform and abortion	(In) appropriate behaviour Public Policies, Political

		Congress				Parties
March 9th	28 min	Analysis of the death of Sergio Arellano Stark. Arellano Stark was the leader of "Caravan of death", an army death squad that travelled across Chile (from south to north) torturing, killing and disappearing opponents of Pinochet's regime	Carmen Hertz	Human Rights Attorney	Protection network of the army. The lack of justice in relation to crimes. The caravan of death was one of the most well documented cases of massacre during the dictatorship.	Human Rights, Institutions
March 10th	27 min	Current affairs analyses with Osvaldo Andrade. Corruption cases	Osvaldo Andrade	Member of Parliament. President of the Socialist Party	Labour reform and royalty law for the copper mines in Chile	Political Parties, Corruption
March 11th	29 min	Current affairs analyses with Francisco Chahuán. Right-wing coalition and its internal issues: dealing with corruption and ethical concerns	Francisco Chahuán	National Renovation Party (RN) senator	Piñera's policies and labour reforms	(In) appropriate behaviour, Public Policies, Political Parties
March 16th	28 min	Current affairs analyses with Adriana Muñoz. Abortion law	Adriana Muñoz	Senator of the Party for Democracy	History of the law review	Public Policies, Abortion Law
March 17th	27 min	A story of abortion. Paola Dragnic's story about her pregnancy and interruption to save her life	Paola Dragnic	Activist for the legal end of pregnancy	Abortion law in three specific cases. Violence from the state against women	Public Policies, Abortion Law
March 23th	22 min	Analysis of the Democratic Independent Union (UDI) Party crisis. Corruption cases in the party	Felipe de Mussy	Member of Parliament (Democratic Independent Unity party)	Dictatorship links with the party	Political Parties, Corruption

March 24th	28 min	Current affairs analyses with Karol Cariola. Labour reform.	Karol Cariola	Member of Parliament (Communist Party)	Presidential candidates Centre-left coalition tensions	Public Policies, Political Parties
July 1st	27 min	Myths and truths of the Chilean educational system	Ricardo Martinez	Academic	Based on the guest's book: "40 questions about education in Chile"	Public Policies
July 5th	28 min	Higher education reforms. Quality and equality in higher education.	Ernesto Treviño	Academic	Main concerns of the universities	Public Policies
July 5th	27 min	Current affairs analyses with Luis Felipe Céspedes. Different public policies to improve the economy	Luis Felipe Céspedes	Minister of the Economy	Policies against collusion and monopoly. Public concern	Public Policies, Corruption
July 7th	27 min	Cheyre case and Miriam Olate. One of the figures of the transition to democracy is found guilty in cases of violations of human rights. The case of Miriam Olate, a member of the socialist party that took advantage of the pension system of the army	Juan Pablo Letelier	Senator (Socialist Party)  Son of a politician murdered during the dictatorship	Juan Emilio Cheyre, head of the army, asks for forgiveness for human rights violations. Miriam Olate had a pension paid by the government of almost \$8,000 USD monthly (95% of the population at the time had a pension of \$280 USD monthly).	(In) appropriate behaviour, Public Figures, Political Parties
July 12th	28 min	Pension system. The private pension system imposed by the dictatorship is generating poor pensions, failing to fulfil the people's needs. The private institutions that administrate the pension generate	Marco Kremerman	Economist	Discussion about not only the pension system but the economic model	Public Policies, Political Model

		profits that are not distributed among the contributors				
July 13th	24 min	Pension system. The army defends its model of pensions and accuses some people in the government of taking advantage of the system	Juan Carlos Orellana	President of the ANFUP (gendarmerie association of workers)	Asks for the resignation of the Minister of Justice	Public Policies, Institutions
July 15th	25 min	How to break the paradigm of consumption. The economic model and the Chilean educational system	Cecilia Montero	Sociologist and expert in public policies	The people are conscious that there is something wrong with the system	Public Policies, Political Model
July 19th	26 min	Current affairs analyses with Manuel José Ossandón. His resignation from the National Renovation Party and primary elections	Manuel José Ossandón	Senator (ex-National Renovation party) and presidential pre-candidate	Ethical concerns re. the right-wing coalition	Public Figures, Political Parties, Corruption
July 21th	27 min	SENAME crisis. Why are children dying in the public system? How to improve the SENAME institution?	Estela Ortiz	Executive from the National Committee for Infancy	Externalization of the services of SENAME: voucher system as the main issue of the system.	Public Policies
July 22th	27 min	Trans-Pacific Partnership	Carlos Figueroa	Director of the organization against the partnership	Why is TPP dangerous for Chile? the impact of TPP in different areas of national development	Public Policies, Political Model
July 26th	26 min	NO+AFP movement and the pension crisis. Organization of the movement. Ethical problems of the system and the generation of great profits in the	Luis Mesina	Leader of the NO+AFP movement	Social media's relevance in the movement	Public Policies, Participation

		AFP.				
July 27th	22 min	SENAME crisis. The failure of the state re. child protection	Rafael Rodríguez	Member of the San Carlos de Maipo Foundation	Correlation between the child protection service and crime in adulthood.	Institutions, (in)appropriate Behaviour
July 28th	24 min	New environmental projects in the south of Chile	Ana Stipicic	Environmental activist	New coal mines in reserved areas, "sacrifice" zones. Environmental impact	Public Policies
December 1st	27 min	CODELCO. How it runs the national copper company and its relationship with the state. Investments in the company	Oscar Landerretche	President of CODELCO (National copper company owned by the state)	Secret law on copper: profits of the company to fund the army	Public Policies
December 6th	24 min	Social movements and political parties	Carola Canelo	Pre-candidate for the presidency and academic	New social movement without political parties. Political elite against popular participation	Political Parties, Participation
December 7th	23 min	Crisis in ARCIS University. Bankruptcy of the university	Elisa Neumann	Ex vice-chancellor of ARCIS university	The government will close ARCIS leaving students without a university	Public Policies, Government
December 8th	27 min	The privatization of roads. The high prices to use the motorways	Vicente Faúndez	President of the Association of Motorists	Toll prices are increasing every year and unfair for users	Public Policies, Government
December 9th	28 min	Power of Opus Dei in Chile. Ultra-conservative movement in Chile and its power	María Oliva Monckeberg	Journalist and Author	The new Minister of the Interior is part of a religious movement. Politicians are members of the movement.	Institutions, (In)appropriate Behaviour

December 13th	26 min	Inefficiency of the justice system. The case of a 13-year-old child, tortured and murdered, falsely accused of raping a 5-year-old girl	Pablo Aranda	Attorney	Fear of crime, victim rate, sensation of inefficiency of the justice system	Public Policies, Institutions
December 14th	27 min	Primary elections in the centre-left coalition. Socialist party presidential decision and legitimization of the candidates	Fernando Atria	Pre-candidate for the presidency and academic	Transition from academia to the political arena. Education, pension and tax reforms	Public Figures, Political Parties, Participation
December 15th	24 min	Venezuelan crisis: Maduro's regime	Ana Julia Jatar	Sister of a political prisoner in Venezuela	Prosecution for political reasons in Venezuela.	Human Rights
December 20th	25 min	SENAME crisis. Internal issues of the institution and lack of resources to face the crisis.	Alicia del Basto	President of the Child Services Union	Deaths of children in the system (more than 200 victims)	Public Policies, Institutions
December 21st	27 min	Primary elections and UDI crisis. Precandidates and participation within the party.	Jacqueline van Rysselberghe	Senator and president of the Democratic Independent Unity party	Critiques of reforms carried out by Bachelet Ethical crisis	Political Parties, Corruption
December 22nd	24 min	Skin colour as a key to success in Chile. Discrimination in Chile and the education system	Jorge Manzi	Academic and researcher	Results of a recent study carried out by the Catholic University	(In)appropriate Behaviour
December 23rd	22 min	Collusion cases in Chile, tissue paper and nappies	Ernesto Muñoz	Director of Consumers National Service	Compensation for consumers	Corruption
December 27th	28 min	Debate on benefits for human rights violators. Ask for forgiveness of those convicted of crimes against humanity and pardon for the presidency	Hugo Gutierrez	Member of Parliament (Communist Party) and human rights attorney	Special treatment and a private prison for these criminals as an obstacle to real democracy	Human Rights, Institutions

December 28th	26 min	Crisis in Amplitud party. Lack of participation and representation of political parties	Pedro Browne	Member of Parliament (Amplitud)	Presidential elections	Political Parties, Participation
December 29th	26 min	Crisis in Christian Democratic Party (DC). Ethical concerns in the party and corruption cases	Ricardo Hormazábal	Candidate for the presidency of the Christian Democratic party	Disaffection with political parties	Political Parties, Participation
December 30th	26 min	Preparations for New Year in the city	Claudio Orrego	Mayor of Santiago	Christian Democratic Party crisis	Public Policies

### 3. Ciudadanos (CNN Chile)

Date	Length	Main Topic	Name of the Guests	Affiliation	Notes	Keywords
April 4th	54 min	Panama Papers, hiding wealth. Ethical concerns about different levels of the public sphere. Ethical minimum salary: increase of 40%	Mónica González	Journalist <i>CIPER</i>	The show includes introductory clips that summarise the main topics. Confidence minute: support of different political sectors for Longueira. The government and its reforms. Anti-terrorist law, sanctions in corruption cases.	Public Policies, Corruption, (In)appropriate behaviour
			Hernán Larraín Matte	Lawyer and politician		
			Rafael Bergoing	Economist		
			Alberto Mayol	Sociologist and politician		
			Daniel Matamala	Journalist		
April 11th	54 min	Regulation of new platforms like any business: Taxi drivers vs Uber and Cabify. The economic model Crisis in America Latina: corruption and economic models imposed	Mónica González	Journalist <i>CIPER</i>	Confidence minute topics: Unethical profits: Privatization of the higher education system. Labour reform. Participation of younger people in politics. Class and political parties.	Public Policies, Corruption, Political model
			Hernán Larraín Matte	Lawyer and politician		
			Rafael Bergoing	Economist		
			Alberto Mayol	Sociologist/ politician		
			Daniel Matamala	Journalist		
April 18th	54 min	Damage after the storm in the central zone. The	Mónica González	Journalist <i>CIPER</i>	Confidence minute topics: The concerns of	Public Policies, Corruption

		role of the government and private institutions after damages= caused by the storm. Debate on constitutional reform: process to create a new constitution and participation	Hernán Larraín Matte	Lawyer and politician	the different political sectors for the pardon of Carlos Cardoen, an arms dealer who funded political campaigns. Privatization of public services. Education reform wrongly focused on the higher education system. SENAME crisis, child poverty in Chile.	, Political model
			Rafael Bergoing	Economist		
			Alberto Mayol	Sociologist and politician		
			Daniel Matamala	Journalist		
April 25th	48 min	Round Rivas vs Luksic. An argument between an MP (Gaspar Rivas) and Andrés Luksic Populism and the challenge to the economic power of showbiz. Funeral of Patricio Aylwin, one of the main characters in the transition to democracy. Try to reconcile Chile (left-right) after the dictatorship.	Mónica González	Journalist CIPER	Confidence minute topics: Political collusion and unethical behaviour. Political transition and its link with student protests. Recognition of the model as the cause of the public unrest. Constitutional process and the participation of right-wing parties. Aylwin's public policies and legacy. The end of the transition to democracy era. Peaceful transition to democracy.	Political Model, Human Rights
			Hernán Larraín Matte	Lawyer and politician		
			Rafael Bergoing	Economist		
			Alberto Mayol	Sociologist and politician		
			Daniel Matamala	Journalist		
July 4th	55 min	Educational Reform: Reform of the higher education system Two paradigms for education: as a right or as a traded good The use of public funds for private institutions of higher education. The issue of	Mónica González	Journalist CIPER	Confidence minute topics: Political parties and censorship in corruption cases. 80% of utilities of CODELCO belong to the army, with a restrictive law and protection for the army. Tax reform and budget of the government. Piñera interview	Public Policies, Political Model
			Hernán Larraín Matte	Lawyer and politician		
			Rafael Bergoing	Economist		
			Alberto Mayol	Sociologist and politician		
			Daniel Matamala	Journalist		



		quality in the education system.			and policies of the Bachelet government	
July 12th	54 min	The crisis in the pensions system. Dispute over the role of the state regarding pensions and social security. Social outrage over pensions in the armed forces that are publicly funded. Juan Emilio Cheyre: figure of reconciliation after the dictatorship was accused of systematic violations of human rights.	Patricia Politzer	Journalist	Unfulfilled promises of Bachelet's government, especially the free education reform Former President Lagos, candidate for the centre left. Primary presidential elections. Centre left has failed the country Evasion in the public transport system Cheyre as the army figure in the transition to democracy.	Political Model, Human Rights
			Hernán Larraín Matte	Lawyer and politician		
			Rafael Bergoing	Economist		
			Alberto Mayol	Sociologist and politician		
			Daniel Matamala	Journalist		
July 18th	52 min	Presidential campaigns: a symptom of the failure of Bachelet's government. Crisis of the government and traditional political parties. How corruption cases influenced political participation. SENAME and gendarmerie crises, both part of the Ministry of Justice	Patricia Politzer	Journalist	Confidence minute topics: Sudden promotions in the army force pensions system to secure pensions as a bribe for stopping protests. Villa Baviera and impunity for their crimes. Educational reform and the unfulfilled promise of free education. New policies for food.	Public Policies, Political Model
			Hernán Larraín Matte	Lawyer and politician		
			Rafael Bergoing	Economist		
			Alberto Mayol	Sociologist and politician		
			Daniel Matamala	Journalist		
July 25th	52 min	Criticism of the pensions system by the NO+AFP movement Changes to the system and new policies to improve pensions. Citizens' participation.	Claudia Sanhueza	Economist	Confidence minute topics: Class struggles and football in the media. NO+AFP movement as a class struggle. US elections and populism in the far right. The financial	Public Policies, Political Model
			Hernán Larraín Matte	Lawyer and politician		
			Rafael Bergoing	Economist		
			Alberto Mayol	Sociologist and politician		

		Council elections and political coalitions damaged by corruption cases	Daniel Matamala	Journalist	struggle of CODELCO. Chilean economic structure built during dictatorship	
December 5th	52 min	Different positions on the immigration debate. Migration as a strategy for right-wing xenophobia, opportunism of the political elite.	Mónica González	Journalist <i>CIPER</i>	Confidence minute topics: The case of thousands of stateless children in Chile. Violations of human rights. Human traffic and new slavery. Populism in Chile. Migration issue as a right-wing strategy to win elections.	Political Model, Human Rights
			Hernán Larraín Matte	Lawyer and politician		
			Rafael Bergoing	Economist		
			Alberto Mayol	Sociologist and politician		
			Monica Rincón	Journalist		
December 12th	55 min	Will Sebastián Piñera be a presidential candidate? Right-wing coalition and its presidential candidate. Primary elections: Sebastian Piñera and Alejandro Guillier and their unethical behaviour	Mónica González	Journalist <i>CIPER</i>	Confidence minute topics: Trump policies and ignorance in power. Prostitution network related to the child service. Failure of the state. Financing of public policies. Abolition of the copper law for funding the army.	Political Parties, Public Figures, Participation
			Hernán Larraín Matte	Lawyer and politician		
			Rafael Bergoing	Economist		
			Alberto Mayol	Sociologist and politician		
			Daniel Matamala	Journalist		
December 19th	53 min	Release prisoners for human rights crimes with terminal illnesses? Debate benefits for human rights violators: human rights for human rights violators. Justice related to crimes against humanity in Chile.	Mónica González	Journalist <i>CIPER</i>	Confidence minute topics: Corruption cases and association of businessmen New constitutional process and political debate for new elections Populism from the government. Migration process and system collapse.	Political Model, Human Rights
			Hernán Larraín Matte	Lawyer and politician		
			Rafael Bergoing	Economist		
			Alberto Mayol	Sociologist and politician		
			Daniel Matamala	Journalist		
December 26th	54 min	Collusion over diapers/nappies. Effectiveness of	Mónica González	Journalist <i>CIPER</i>	Confidence minute topics: Reaction to the earthquake.	Public Policies, Corruption, Political
			Hernán	Lawyer and		

		laws that punish collusion. Impunity for the powerful elite The best and worst of the year: International politics Corruption and new policies for probity	Larraín Matte	politician	Gender discrimination in the private health system. Post-truth and populism in political discourses. Differences between the private and public education systems.	model
			Rafael Bergoing	Economist		
			Alberto Mayol	Sociologist and politician		
			Daniel Matamala	Journalist		

#### 4. Mejor Hablar de Ciertas Cosas (TVN)

Date	Length	Main Topic	Name of the Guests	Affiliation	Notes	Keywords
March 6th	62 min	Humour and political class: a danger to the institutions or a natural reaction to public outrage and corruption cases? Evaluation of Bachelet's government: Different reforms (education, labour and tax).	Maria Olivia Monckeberg	Journalist and author	Side topics: Freedom of speech. Political parties unaffected by unethical behaviour. Populism and disgrace of the political class. Trust crisis; church, education system and political corruption	Political Parties, Class, Public Policies
			Eduardo Sepúlveda	Chief editor of <i>El Líbero</i>		
			Camilo Escalona	Politician and vice-president of the Socialist Party (PS)		
March 13th	70 min	Resignation of Pablo Longueira, an important figure of the Chilean right wing, for corruption. Political elite and corruption that led to social unrest.	Mirko Macari	Chief editor of <i>El Mostrador</i>	New sector in the right wing. Crisis of the old right wing that imposed neoliberalism Role of the state as regulator	Political Parties, Corruption
			Alejandro de la Carrera	Journalist		
			Jaime Bellolio	Member of Parliament for the UDI		
March 20th	80 min	Brazil, the workers' party and corruption. Accusations against Lula Da Silva and Dilmah Roussef Corruption cases and policies for	Paula Molina	Journalist	The right to live vs social rights. Quality of argumentation in the abortion debate. Corruption as an endemic disease in Latin America	Political Parties, Corruption, Public Policies
			Teresa Marinovic	Columnist		
			Lily Perez	Senator Centre-right party		

		probity. Abortion law		Amplitud		
March 28th	73 min	Obama visits Cuba and human rights. Corruption and Caval: The role of the government in corruption cases. Education, labour and tax reforms.	Margarita Hantke	Journalist	Rule by civil society. The importance of social movements and people's needs	Political Parties, Corruption, Public Policies
			Juan Carlos Eichholz	Economist and Columnist		
			Alejandro Guillier	Senator Radical Party (PRSD)		
July 3rd	79 min	Education reform: strengthen the state and free education Universal gratuities and private universities Corruption and policies for probity.	Carlos Tromben	Economist and author	New auditing of institutions AFP crisis. Changes and improvements. Difficulties to change the system Distribution system vs private pensions Balance economic growth and redistribution	Public Policies, Corruption
			José Ramón Valente	Economist and Columnist		
			Eduardo Engel	Economist, president of the probity committee		
July 12th	86 min	Analysis of the Higher Education Reform project. Disagreement with the reform and links to the student movement.	Harald Beyer	Ex-education minister and economist	Two paradigms for education: as a right or as a traded good Solidary system: taxes to fund reform. Education as a state responsibility: Regulation of access and fees.	Political Model, Public Policies
			Fernando Atria	Academic and Politician		
			Ricardo Paredes	Director of Higher Education Institute		
July 19th	80 min	SENAME Crisis and political struggle. Pre-candidates Ricardo Lagos, Marco Enríquez-Ominami and the legitimation crisis in Chilean politics.	Pablo Ortúzar	Sociologist and columnist	Moral crisis in politics. Systemic crisis and the responsibilities of the elite. Against the media for public exposure	Political Parties, Corruption, Public Policies
			Carlos Ominami	Politician		
			Mirko Macari	Chief editor of <i>El Mostrador</i>		
July 25th	84 min	NO+AFP movement and pensions crisis. Permanent	Nestor Aburto	Journalist	Unsolved issues in human rights and justice. Populism and	Political Model, Public Policies,
			Gloria de la Fuente	Political Analyst		

		SENAME crisis and its political component Cheyre and the "Caravan of death".	Estela Ortiz	Executive from the National Committee for Infancy	social movements	Human Rights
December 4th	84 min	Migration and myths that relate migration to crime New border policies. The importance of teachers in the education reform	Alejandra Matus	Journalist and Author	Migration as a human right/ Part of the political debate. Racism and xenophobia in Chile.	Political Model, Public Policies, Human Rights
			Teresa Marinovic	Columnist		
			Miguel Yaksic S.J.	Director of Jesuit Migrant Service		
			Mario Aguilar	President of the teachers' union		
December 11th	75 min	Venezuelan humanitarian crisis and Maduro's regime Right-wing parties' elections Political parties crisis Presidential candidates	Richard Sandoval	Journalist and Author	Human rights violations. Corruption at different levels of the political arena	Political Parties, Political Model, Human Rights
			Max Colodro	Columnist		
			Ana Julia Jatar	Sister of Braulio Jatar, a Chilean-Venezuelan journalist arrested.		
December 19th	74 min	Presidential candidates and the current political arena Political parties and the transition to democracy model.	Luis Larraín	Economist	Social movements and the disgrace of political institutions Highlights of the year and predictions for 2017.	Political Parties, Political Model
			Carlos Ruiz	Academic		
			Alfredo Jocelyn-Holt	Academic		

#### 5. Estado Nacional (TVN)

Date	Length	Main Topic	Name of the Guests	Affiliation	Notes	Keywords
March 13th	99 min	Analysis of the resignation of Pablo Longueira due to his questions over the process of royalty and the approval in	Bárbara Figueroa	President of the Central Workers Union	Clip that includes interviews and records related to the main topics. Shows documents as evidence. Quotes from	Political Parties, Political Figures, Corruption
			Eduardo Saffirio	Lawyer (Christian Democratic party)		
			Francisco Vidal	Politician (Socialist Party)		

		particular of Labour Reform. Ethical concerns about different public figures.	Cecilia Pérez Gonzalo Muller Andrés Zaldívar	Politician (National Renewal Party) Lawyer (UDI) Politician (Christian Democratic party)	diverse political figures. Kitchen metaphor: how laws are “prepared” by political institutions	
March 20th	107 min	Marco Enriquez Ominami and irregularities in candidates’ funding. Abortion law debate in Congress. Right-wing as opposition and its role	Eduardo Saffirio Francisco Vidal Cecilia Pérez Gonzalo Muller Andrés Allamand	Lawyer (Christian Democratic party) Politician (Socialist Party) Politician (National Renewal Party) Lawyer (UDI) Senator (National Renewal Party)	Includes some clips of interventions and argumentation in Congress. Short interviews with MPs	Corruption, Public policies, Argumentation, Political parties
March 27th	112 min	Bolivian access to the Pacific. Policies that sanction information leaks during the judicial process. Labour reform	Eduardo Saffirio Francisco Vidal Catalina Parot Gonzalo Muller Ivan Mlynarz Osvaldo Andrade	Lawyer (Christian Democratic party) Politician (Socialist Party) Politician (National Renewal Party) Lawyer and member of the UDI Geologist and Trade unionist Politician (Socialist Party) President of the Lower Chamber	Clips of a parliamentary debate.	Public Policies, Corruption
July 3th		Educational reform and constitutional reform. Higher rates of unemployment. Municipal elections.	Eduardo Saffirio Gonzalo Muller Francisco Vidal Cecilia Pérez Mario Desbordes	Lawyer (Christian Democratic Party) Lawyer (UDI) Politician (Socialist Party) Politician (National Renewal Party) Politician (National Renewal Party)	Clips of a parliamentary debate.	Political Parties, Public Policies

July 10th	97 min	Pensions crisis (Olate case). Human rights violations and the Cheyre case. Educational reform in Congress	Eduardo Saffirio	Lawyer (Christian Democratic Party)	Includes clips of Cheyre's trial and interviews with prosecutors.	Human Rights, Public Policies
			Gonzalo Muller	Lawyer (UDI)		
			Clarissa Hardy	Sociologist (Socialist Party)		
			Barbara Figueroa	President of the Central Workers Union		
			Cecilia Pérez	Politician (National Renewal Party)		
			Carlos Montes	President of the Senate. (Socialist Party)		
July 17th	105 min	Crisis in the right wing. Possible candidates for the next presidential elections. Reforms	Eduardo Saffirio	Lawyer (Christian Democratic Party)	Includes clips of Minister of Finance declarations and tax reform, parliamentary debate	Political Parties, Public Policies
			Gonzalo Muller	Lawyer (UDI)		
			Francisco Vidal	Politician (Socialist Party)		
			Catalina Parot	Politician (National Renewal Party)		
			Andrés Zaldívar	Politician (Christian Democratic Party)		
July 24th	97 min	SENAME and penitentiary administration crisis. Cheyre case. Next municipal elections	Eduardo Saffirio	Lawyer (Christian Democratic Party)	Includes clips of the most relevant news of the week	Human Rights, Public Policies
			Gonzalo Muller	Lawyer (UDI)		
			Clarissa Hardy	Sociologist (Socialist Party)		
			Ivan Mlynarz	Geologist and Trade unionist		
			Julio Isamit	Politician. Republican Movement		
			Cristián Monckeberg	President (National Renewal Party)		
December 4th	84 min	Migration policies and presidential campaigns. Presidential election	Eduardo Saffirio	Lawyer (Christian Democratic party)	Includes clips with declarations of several politicians regarding	Public Policies, Public Figures
			Gonzalo Muller	Lawyer (UDI)		

			Francisco Vidal	Politician (Socialist Party)	migration and interviews with migrants	
			Cecilia Pérez	Politician (National Renewal Party)		
			José Miguel Insulza	Politician Party for Democracy		
December 11th	81 min	Education reform (Arcis University case), presidential candidates in the centre left, tax reforms	Eduardo Saffirio	Lawyer (Christian Democratic Party)	Includes clips of students and politicians	Political Parties, Public Policies
			Francisco Vidal	Politician of the Socialist Party		
			Barbara Figueroa	President of the Central Workers Union		
			Gonzalo Muller	Lawyer (UDI)		
			Aldo Cassinelli	Political Scientist		
			Gonzalo Navarrete	President of the Party for Democracy		
December 18th	84 min	Sexism in politics (ASEXMA incident), Caval case and other corruption cases related to the next presidential campaigns	Eduardo Saffirio	Lawyer (Christian Democratic Party)	Clips of the ASEXMA incident, declarations of the people involved (politicians) and other public figures commenting on the incident	Corruption, Political Parties, Public Figures
			Francisco Vidal	Politician (Socialist Party)		
			Cecilia Pérez	Politician (National Renewal Party)		
			Gonzalo Muller	Lawyer and member of the UDI		
			Ivan Mlynarz	Geologist and Trade unionist		

## B. Main topics by television show

Frequency of primary topics from each TV show

Topics	El Informante	Entrevista Verdadera	Ciudadanos	Mejor Hablar de Ciertas Cosas	Estado Nacional	
Education reform	2	4	1	3	3	13
Corruption cases	0	8	3	4	3	18
Pensions System	0	5	2	1	2	10
SENAME Crisis	1	4	0	1	1	7



Labour reform	0	3	1	1	2	7
Migration	0	0	1	1	1	3
Constitution	0	0	1	0	1	2
International Affairs	1	1	0	1	1	4
Media	1	0	0	0	0	1
Tax reform	0	1	0	1	0	2
Abortion law	0	3	0	1	1	5
Elections	2	5	2	3	6	18
Total	7	34	11	17	21	90

Percentages of primary topics presented on TV shows

