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## Mediatization(s) Studies

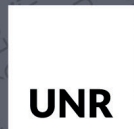
CIM 10th Anniversary

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**Mediatization(s) Studies:  
Exploratory Notes on an  
International Conversation**

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## Introduction

This book is dedicated to the commemoration of CIM's 10th anniversary and is the result of the articulation of several researches by CIM's members and other colleagues from different international academic institutions with important contributions in Mediatization(s) Studies.

The purpose is to intensify a transnational academic conversation to contribute to consolidate this field of study that, being still new, already has a rich and important history.

The texts presented here raise concerns about different levels of the mediatization process and its connections with contemporary issues. As a team of researchers in Mediatization(s) Studies, we became interested in both understanding the contemporary modalities of construction of meaning and, simultaneously, if history is a guide, expand our genealogical knowledge into further results in future.

Researchers, as society as a whole, were not prepared for the Coronavirus pandemic in 2020; however, we were quickly able to deal with the situation by deepening previous links and generating new intellectual

and critical associations. In this way, among other activities, we held a virtual Colloquium at CIM with colleagues from different latitudes and published an E-book with the presentations, which is a sample of our first impressions on the pandemic.

Since the Covid-19 pandemic caused all universities to switch to remote work, new opportunities have been a concern. Although relying on electronic contacts can be a challenge, there are many reasons to strengthen our research motivation. What can we do as academics to face an age of rampant complexity? This book tries to be a contribution to shine light on present challenges.

*Mediatization* as a social, cultural and perceptual environment, whose weightiness is central in current societies, requires interdisciplinary and multiple approaches. Assuming the significant presence of this term in academic discourse, we are faced with the risk of turning it into a fuzzy notion. That is why this book proposes argued analytical perspectives that duly mark its semantic boundaries in the context of what is perceived as a blurred unlimited semiosis.

In this way, in several chapters of this book, delimitation of the different meanings of mediatization is proposed, from the empirical description and analysis of its different levels of operation - devices, intersubjective interactions, institutional spaces, memory representations, political imaginaries, community dimensions, etc.-, to theoretical, philosophical and epistemological developments.

The complexity of mediatization is approached from the consolidated corpus of semiotics which is continuously crossed by other theoretical perspectives that enrich the analysis. The impact of *circulation* in digital platforms and interfaces on the physiognomy of studies is noted, placing the level of interaction in a new way that is boarded from sociological, anthropological, ethnographic and culturalist perspectives, in interdependence with semiotics. In the same way, the mutations of the media and languages system are analyzed.

The presence of general approaches of an essayistic, metaphorical and philosophical tone also continues questioning the current way of being

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in mediated society and culture. The resumption of classical authors, whose theories acquire new meanings in our context as significant interpretative keys, is remarkable.

Different perceptions about Artificial Intelligence, Big Data and Geodatication are a central part of the current academic debate, so the texts here include present the controversial variety of senses involved.

From reading this book arises, then, a singular and notable perception: not only Mediatizations Studies are interpellated by the complexity of the present, but also Communication Research itself, in its proper long history, is being retaken in renewed ways. The articulation between new and old theories in a hybrid ecosystem of academic enunciation is a loop that always acts *après coup*.

We trust, as always, on suspicious readings to deepen the controversial nature of the debate and thus be able to advance our own understanding of the growing complexity of mediatization.

Rosario, Argentina.

August 2021

# Mediatization of Politics on Instagram in Argentina

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## **Abstract**

The aim of this article is to analyse contemporary modes of mediatization of politics on Instagram in Argentina. It focuses on the publications posted on the accounts of President Alberto Fernández, former president Mauricio Macri, former president and current vice-president Cristina Fernández de Kirchner and congresswoman Myriam Bregman. The focus is on the modes of enunciative construction and the ways in which political internet users are called upon. From the conceptualizations of the mediatization of politics, and using socio-semiotic tools, a comparative analysis is carried out in order to find variants and invariants in politicians and in the modes of mediatization of the body in the feed of the media platform.

## **Keywords**

Mediatization, politics, Instagram, internet users, politicians

## Introduction

In today's societies, there are new types of political discourses due to the ten-year-old crisis in the mass media hegemony (Verón, 2011 [2007], Carlón and Scolari, 2009), the appearance of a new media system based on the Internet and telephone networks and the relations between the two media systems: the traditional and the one of the social media (Carlón, 2015). Political Internet users can be found within a *post broadcasting* framework, where platforms coexist with *networking* and *broadcasting* (Fernández, 2018). In addition, there is also a new stage regarding the mediatization of politics, since over the last decades, political bonds got weaker, and the processes of political personalization and personalism were accentuated (Castells, 2009; Cheresky, 2006; D'Adamo and García Beaudoux, 2013; García Beaudoux, D'Adamo y Slavinsky, 2005; Manin, 1998; Slimovich, 2016).

A new phase started with the expansion of social media, which accentuated political and media processes from the last quarter of the century, and the appearance of new practices, social movements, political types, genres and discourses. Since contemporary politics is pierced by new ways of citizen participation, this kind of democracy is called "continuous" (Cheresky, 2015, 2019), because the legitimacy of the decisions made by politicians is permanently at stake. Contemporary democracies are characterized by a fluctuation regarding citizens' preferences and new ways of citizen participation: debate processes among peers, social movements on the Internet's public space, and a process of citizenship expansion.

Moreover, the COVID-19 pandemic has transformed political, economic and social practices among others. In addition, the mandatory confinement that took place during February/March, and the regulation of social practices in different parts of the world, with different restrictions for the life within a community, have transformed the political communication all over the world.

In this article, we will analyze the discourses of the Argentine President, Alberto Fernández, former Argentine President Mauricio Macri, current



Vice President and former Argentine President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner and Congresswoman Myriam Bregman on their Instagram official accounts. We will take into consideration the discourses made during the years before the coronavirus pandemic – 2018 and 2019-, and those made in 2020 during the outbreak.

We aim at looking into the mediatization built from Instagram in the different accounts. On the one hand, this article will analyze the type of digital argument, the type of operation and the staging of the mixture between public and private. On the other hand, taking into account that the publications posted on Instagram come from a political Internet user, we will analyze the ways the citizen Internet user is called upon, as well as how institutional channels that are aimed at debating are constructed on Instagram.

On the first part of the article, we will state the methodological framework chosen for this work. Then, we will also analyze the historical features of the mediatization of politics on social media in Argentina. On the third section, we will reflect on the emergency political discourses on Instagram of other countries. Later, we will present the results of the analysis in politicians. In the sixth section we will outline the debates. And finally, we will make some final considerations.

### **Methodology**

We made a sociosemiotic analysis of the Instagram accounts of Alberto Fernández, Mauricio Macri, Cristina Fernández de Kirchner and Myriam Bregman on the two years before the virus emerged, and the moments after the outbreak of coronavirus was declared a pandemic. Discourses are considered as space-time configurations of meaning, with a social anchor, which have restrictions on their creation and their reading (Verón, 1987a). We believe that this contemporary time is pierced by convergent and divergent relations in the world of politics.

As the objective of this research is linked to the analysis of political discourses located in a media platform, the traditional analysis of mass me-

dia semiotics (the analysis of enunciation, of the conditions of production and recognition, of devices and media) will be articulated with the theory of the mediatization of the political and the conceptualizations of social media and hypermedia circulation (Carlón, 2014, 2015; Couldry and Hepp, 2017; Fernández, J.L, 1994, 2018; Fernández, M., 2014; Hepp, 2020; Hjarvard, 2014; Mazzoleni y Schulz, 1999; Scolari, 2008, 2020; Steimberg, 1993; Strömbäck, 2008; Valdetaro, 2014; Verón, 1986, 1987a, 1987b, 1998[1995], 2001 [1984], 2013).

The analysis we made is related to the publications and stories on the Instagram accounts of the politicians between March and December 2018, and it is focused on the comparison between them. We considered those publications that had more amount of 'I Like' and the comments of every month, on every Instagram account. Among social media, Instagram has increased its users over the last years, and it has particularly concentrated political discourses from politicians, as well as unknown Internet users.

According to the survey of Cultural Consumption, in 2017, Instagram was already positioned as the second most used social network by Argentinians: the 27.3% had an Instagram account, whereas Facebook led the ranking with a 64.4%. In addition, other authors state that Instagram is the social network that receives the greatest number of Facebook migrants, and that has younger users (Amadeo, 2018). On the other hand, the election of Instagram for this work has to do with the fact that it is the social network that had more amount of political debates during the last two years, since not only leaders and politicians opened an account and use it as part of the political campaign, but also they make publications that are only streamed on this platform,-such as the Instagram Live used by President Macri in July 2018-.

### **Contemporary mediatization of politics**

The mediatization-according to the Latin American perspective, as well as the one coming from European countries- is conceptualized as a process that has several stages, with a leap and acceleration during the last

quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Couldry, 2014; Hjarvard, 2008, 2014; Mazzoleni and Schulz, 1999; Strömbäck, 2008; Verón, 1986, 1987a, 1987b, 1987c, 1998[1995], 2001 [1984], 2013). This transformation also causes changes regarding political logics and media logics<sup>1</sup>.

From Eliseo Verón's perspective (2001 [1984]), the era of mass media can be divided into two moments. First, when traditional media appeared, their function was to "influence" political practices. In effect, in this society, which he calls "media society", the television, the printed press, the films, the radio, creates a representation strategy. However, as of the 80s, there is a change in the process of mediatization of politics and a new type of society emerges, which Verón calls "mediatized society". Here, the media "constructs the reality". Political logics are organized according to the logics of traditional media. The politics no longer uses the media to be represented before the citizens (it is not about linking the two worlds); but it thinks itself as of the logics of mass media. This way, in an advanced audiovisual democracy "(...) an election campaign is not a process external to the media (it is a part of the political field), which the media would only reflect, reproduce, better or worse: an election campaign is every day more oriented, organized, regulated, according to the television" (Verón, 2001 [1984]: 15).

One of the aspects that involves the mediatization of politics is the management of the political collectives (Verón, 1987b), which have contact with political leaders and as well as journalists. Both manage the collectives, and therefore, the media discourse and the political discourse are mediators of the collective. In effect, Verón states that political and media collectives mix in a mediatized society.

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1. The historical process of the mediatization of politics, and the specific issue of the relation between political and media, in the veronian theory and the conceptualizations from Nordic countries, surpass the objective of this article. An approximation, among others, can be found in "la mediatización de lo político" [the mediatization of politics] (Slimovich, 2016). It was also specified the relation between political and media logics, in the case of the Argentinian political party Cambiemos, in "El camino de Cambiemos en las redes sociales: entre las lógicas políticas y las mediáticas" [The path of Cambiemos in social media: between political and media logics] (Slimovich, 2020b).

At the time being, we follow Carlón (2015) who thinks we are living in a “hyper mediatized society”, pierced by relations between the system of mass media – in crisis – and the social media. From his point of view, collectives emerge from social media, which then ascend to mass media and can occupy public space, such as the Internet users on Twitter attached to a hashtag.

Approaching to the mediatization of politics, a historical process of imbrication of the political field in the mass media (Verón, 1984), is essential to understand the current moment, in which the political discourses are also in social media. Current democracies are characterized by installing new ways of political discourse and expansion processes of politicians, among which we can find different kinds of Internet users, who distinguish each other depending on the relation they have with the social network and the political field, as well as those who explicitly aim at manipulating the political conversation, such as trolls and bots.

The mass media keeps making some of the stories and the political arguments that are in the center of the social life; however, there are new *unintermediated voices from politicians themselves and citizens* in the public space, which are amplified thanks to social media (Slimovich, 2012).

As regards the press conferences, it is worth mentioning that since the establishment of the quarantine in the country – from March 19 until June, President Alberto Fernández held several press conferences, nationwide TV broadcast or announcements. We consider presidential press conferences as “political-media events” (Slimovich, 2011, 2016), quoting Dayan and Katz (1992), who consider “media event” as a television genre which attracts massive audiences, in real time (live and outside the studio). In another paper (Slimovich, 2016), we have combined the category of the authors: “media event” with the television broadcasting of political events, a presidential press conference, opening and closing of the political campaign (which are later reproduced by news programs, political opinion programs and entertainment shows), and we have called it “political-media event”:

It is a type of television broadcast, which has political logics (...) there are also other logics that come from the informative discourse in television, such as the type of shot, the fragment of the candidate's speech that replicates on stage, how it is summarized off-stage, how it is related and argued by the political specialist, how it is broadcasted, through which device, etc. (p.90).

In this case, they are “political-media events” that generate loads of information and repercussion, in social media and traditional media, and expectation from the citizens. In every one of these announcements, the authorities informed the new measures and the evolution of the quarantine, differentiating the particular situations in the provinces.

It is worth mentioning that live broadcasts were a highly used genre by former President Cristina Fernández de Kirchner. She used nationwide TV broadcasts – with multiple associated mediatized representatives (Fernández and Cingolani, 2019) – while she deployed in social media a “private ethos” (Gindin, 2018). And he deployed in public presentations a recirculation of power by avoiding the gaze of the camera (Valdettaro, 2014).

On the contrary, former President Mauricio Macri hardly used this type of broadcast, and he concentrated the spreading of his political communication in social media, like Facebook, Twitter and Instagram (Slimovich, 2017, 2018a, 2018b, 2020a, 2020b ; Annunziata, Ariza and March, 2018).

In the present investigation, we consider that the contemporary phase of political mediatization supposes, on the one hand, unintermediated operations in the relation between political leaders and citizens, since politicians reach their recipients through social media, without journalists acting as intermediaries. On the other hand, there are interface operations of informative/journalistic and political discourses in the space of social media, and fragments of news programs, political opinion programs, and printed press surface again on the mediatized public space of the politicians in Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Pinterest, and Snapchat.

At this point, it is worth mentioning that in the contemporary society, there are more political enunciators and political discourses, since there

is a *widening of public space*. It was demonstrated that the public that answer back on Internet, which is formed by political supporters or political-party members, has widened. “Citizens that had not had an active role in political campaigns that took place only in mass media have been incorporated to the public sphere” (Slimovich, 2014: 15), as well as *trolls* and *bots* were added in the scheme of contemporary political discourse -being impossible to determine previous effects of their intervention in political campaigns. In this sense, Internet users “have strengthen their capacity of production and informative consumption, questioning the traditional place of the mass media in the agenda setting” (Mitchelstein, Leiva Giuliano, Boczkowski, 2018: 169).

The process of mediatization of politics has caused, over the last decades, a passage from a political-party democracy to an audience democracy (Manin, 1998), since political-party bonds have weakened, there has been a process of political personalization and there has been a variation regarding citizens’ electoral preferences (Castells, 2009; García Beaudoux, V., D’Adamo, O. and Slavinsky, G., 2005; Novaro, 1994). This weakening process of great party identities started in the 90s and the expansion of social media allowed a new *turn towards the accentuation of personalization and the process of political personalism*, which we will describe next.

In his studies about digital discourses in Spain, Dader (2003) glimpses a replicant democracy, since part of the public joins the political dialogue thanks to the possibility of questioning that allows the new media. That is to say, there is a multiplication of issuers of digital political content. On the other hand, Beas (2011) investigates Barack Obama’s political campaign in the United States, and he affirms that the public sphere is renewed when the citizen is actively added to the political life through digital platforms. Thus, it is mentioned a co-construction of the political storytelling (D’Adamo and García Beaudoux, 2013) by political candidates and citizens.

The contemporary moment has been defined as one of “deep mediatization” (Hepp, 2020) as a product of digitalization. It is an advanced stage of the process in which all elements of the social world are intrinsically

linked to social media and their underlying infrastructures (Couldry and Hepp, 2017). In terms of the conceptualization of the new media ecology, it is “the multiplication of actors, texts, technologies, practices, and the relationships they maintain with each other” (Scolari: 2020: 3); in this sense, it is a more complex ecosystem in which the coronavirus can generate effects at different scales and levels.

One of the main characteristics of politics in the era of mediatized society (Verón, 1986) is the “*personalization* of the political campaign” within the media. That is, the centralization in the media coverage of the political life of certain leading figures or political leaders. For many years, there has been in western democracies the presence of charismatic personalities, who concentrate party loyalty; process that was called “the personalism of the political process” (Slimovich, 2016). During the time of contemporary politics, there is an acceleration of these two processes, as a consequence of the new digital spaces and the current strategies of politicians (Van Aelst, Scheafer y Stanyer, 2011).

### **Personalization of politics**

Currently, the bond between representatives and voters is based on proximity, according to Annunziata (2012). We link this to the term “proximity legitimacy” by Rosanvallon (2009), which implies the attention to the individual/particular. The term assumes that citizens demand political leaders to consider and pay attention to their life experiences, their point of view and their requests. At this point, the author considers that nowadays there is a type of representative bond, “which is built over a base of anti-charismatic identification between representatives and voters, and is expressed by presenting the first ones as ‘common people’” (Annunziata, Ariza and March, 2018: 62). Politicians appear as men capable of sharing citizens’ common experiences, emerging from the mundane, from their capacity of “understanding their daily experiences, paying them attention and listening to their concerns and needs” (Annunziata, 2012: 73).

This method includes features from previous ones, such as the mediatization and the increasing role of party leaderships; however, it involves, at the same time, a rejection to those politicians who are not close to the citizens. Candidates are thus presented as “common men”, “who are positioned close to them”; therefore, they hide their representative difference. Annunziata et al (2018) analyses Facebook, Twitter and Instagram publications made by macristas<sup>2</sup> leaders in 2018, and she concludes that it predominates private content – “it is transmitted a message that shows leaders’ private life and their family” (p. 76); and the citizen – it is transmitted a message where common citizens have leading roles (idem) – over the institution – “it is transmitted management messages” (idem) – and over politics – “it is transmitted values or take a significant stand regarding the identity of the political space where leaders belong (idem)”<sup>3</sup>.

The following are some of the features of the historical modes of mediatization of politics on social media of the Macrista and Kirchnerist parties.

### Macristas’ Social media

At the beginning, in Mauricio Macri’s social media, there was a mixture of *campaign slogan, balloons and good vibes* (Vommaro, Morresi, Belloti, 2015) and management description. The ludic component is present in Macri’s political discourse in social media from the very first. In this sense, there is a “dramatization of private life” (Slimovich, 2012): a staging of the subjectivity in his Facebook wall and Twitter, a process that enhances his role as a mundane man, according to the processes of personalization and personalism of contemporary politics. The materia-

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2. *Macrista*: supporting Argentine former president Mauricio Macri, or his political beliefs.

3 Annunziata, Ariza and March (2018) state that this kind of strategies are shown in PRO’s\* political campaigns since 2007, and that the content that predominates in the digital spaces of Macri and Maria Eugenia Vidal in 2017, is exactly proximity.

\* *PRO: Propuesta Republicana is a political party in Argentina. It is usually referred to by its abbreviation PRO.*



lization of this operation is made through videos that show fragments of door-to-door surveys made by candidates/leaders, visits to the citizens' homes and shops, management events, telephone calls, stories about private life, "family album" photos, linguistic texts about political-media events, among others.

The passionate component is present in Macri's political discourse in social media from the beginning, during campaign moments, as well as governments' communication, and while he was Chief of Government of the City of Buenos Aires and while he was President of Argentina.

He aims at provoking emotions from Internet users, such as becoming emotional with his wife's pregnancy in 2011, or tenderness by posting in Facebook in 2015 the voice messages his daughter Antonia sent him through WhatsApp, telling him how much she loved him, days before the election were he was elected President. He also shared a picture in the kindergarten with his daughter in 2017, clarifying that it was Antonia who asked him to be there. He also aims at showing compassion for those citizens who went through hard times in their lives and shared them with the President inside their homes, by showing a fragment of a door-to-door survey in a video (Slimovich, 2017b: 5).

This type of publications where Macri tells his family story, or where he shares citizens' life stories through fragments of the door-to-door surveys and visits on Instagram, Facebook and Twitter, summons a specific Internet user called "unstructured follower Internet user" (Slimovich, 2017a:35).

Macri also staged correlation media strategies on social media in 2011, which he then intensified on his 2015 campaign and as President between 2015 and 2019. They were publications on a social network that emulated media logics and which appropriated television, printed press or radio content. He also concentrated discourses linked to the private world and to the public/institutional, which involved passionate and rational arguments, in a brief way (Slimovich, 2012, 2016).

The process of presenting a candidate as a common man is a feature of contemporary politics; it is not just Macri or the mediatization of poli-

tics on social media. However, Argentine former president found specific ways of opening digital spaces, whereas the rest of the Argentine politicians only made discourses related to the public sphere.

### **Kirchneristas<sup>4</sup> Social Network**

In the case of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, political discourses on Facebook and Twitter (as well as in traditional media), were characterized from the start by a “strong-although diverse- addition to Peronism, and a reevaluation of political discussion” (Gindin, 2018:7). At this point, private and personal logics coexisted with the interpellations to political opponents, and consequently, there is a “party proximity” logic (idem).

On kirchneristas leaders’ social media, in general and particularly Cristina Fernández de Kirchner’s, it is shown the existence of “logic micro-arguments” and also “passionate micro-arguments” (Slimovich. 2012: 152), which are discourses typical of social media, full of meaning, which go through different media and networks. As in the case of macristas politicians, they are registered since the digital space opened, until today.

One of the emergency modes of “micro-enthymemes” and “micro-examples” on Fernández de Kirchner’s networks is linked to operations that suppose political-informative interfaces. In societies where only existed mass media, the media and mediatized society, there were “political-informative interface” processes (Verón, 2001 [1984]): Argentinian political discourses were immersed in an informative macro-enunciation of the television-news programs or political opinion programs, among others- and printed press and radio-with a voice over, its music, its summary, the hosts’ opinions, etc. In current societies, there are new spaces of correlation between politicians and citizens, without journalists acting as intermediaries. Nonetheless, for the first time in the mediatization of politics, there are “political-informative interfaces” on social media (Slimovich, 2016). That is, political discourses on social media relate to the logics and contents of informative mass media.

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4. *Kirchnerista*: supporters and members of the political movement led by Nestor Kirchner and his wife Cristina Fernández de Kirchner.

As in the case of Fernández de Kirchner, on Facebook, Twitter and Instagram, there are interfaces in the publications and stories with “appropriation, intervention and staging” (Carlón, 2014), which reinstate operations from traditional media and art. These operations, in the case of Fernández de Kirchner, are concentrated in the reinstatement of the “motives linked to the public”, the institutional role -when she is President- and also as her position as opponent to the macrista administration between 2015 and 2019. On the 2017 campaign, the staging of politics is mixed with the intimate and private.

At the beginning of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner’s digital discourse, there is an operation of “emulation of the informative-journalistic discourse” (Slimovich, 2012). That is to say, the publications on Facebook and Twitter imitate a press release. In those publications, there are quotes of the participants of the news, numbers that support the statement, and finally, an essential feature of the journalistic style of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: the conformation of the enunciator as an *agent of information* (Steimberg, 1993a [1982]). There are also fragments that place the former President as a subject of the enunciation, without using the first person. This type of interface was typical of when political discourses started to appear on social media. This operation changes by the end of 2015, when she is no longer President and became part of the opposition. This operation is not shown in Macri’s social media in any time of his digital history.

Since we have analyzed the historical ways of mediatization of political discourses on Facebook and Twitter, in the next section we will describe the way of emergence of the political discourses on Instagram.

### **Politics on Instagram**

Macri and Fernández de Kirchner’s Instagram accounts were opened in 2011 and 2013 respectively. However, the first political campaign where most of Argentinian candidates had an account on this social network was just in 2017, and it is since then that the platform holds an important position regarding the spreading of the discourses of leaders and

candidates. Both accounts have over a million followers; even though Macri used it a lot more often during his presidency than Fernández de Kirchner, she increased the number of Internet users that follow her since she became Vice President in December 2019. In the case of Alberto Fernández's Instagram account, it was opened in 2015, and has been used frequently since he became president of the nation in December 2019. Myriam Bregman opened her account in 2017 and has 112,000 followers, much less than the other three politicians.

In October 2010, a final version of Instagram is launched (a merge between Instant and Telegram), and soon after it "reached 10.000 users, more than 100.000 on the first week" (Gallardo and Enguix, 2016: 61). Facebook bought it in 2012. It is a social network where photographs predominate, and therefore, many of the studies about this platform have to do with how the pictures are related to the text, and the type of image that predominate.

On the one hand, one of the modes of mediatization of politics generated on the Instagram media platform is the combination of text-image with a predominance of text. These are images that contain only linguistic text within them.

On the other hand, photographs and videos are also predominant. As regards contemporary photograph, one of the most used is the *selfie*, either group or individual. As Carlón (2016) states, *selfies* have a modern feature, since they are the "register of a moment", and they are closer to "be there now", which is pierced by the doubt about the actual character of the picture, as stated before. As in the case of politicians, they can show a public event or something private and intimate that gives the politics a mundane feature.

Nonetheless, in this investigation, the hypothesis is that a *selfie* posted on a politician's Instagram account *stresses the distance between the enunciation of the political consultant and the politician*, which has characterized political discourses on social media since the beginning of the second decade of this century (Slimovich, 2016).

Manovich (2017) was one of the first ones who started studying photographs on Instagram, and he analyses current pictures of different Internet users all over the world, and he differentiates between amateur or casual: photograph on Instagram that “puts content over form” and “professional or competitive” photograph, which looks for quality and is aimed at gaining likes and followers. The author coins the term “Instagrammism” to refer to a contemporary cultural identity that favors the form and explains that unique profiles can be created on Instagram through photographs.

The specific studies about our subject of study, the use of politicians on Instagram, are incipient and they can be classified into four types.

On the first place, the ones who analyze the content of the publications the politicians post on Instagram during a specific period (electoral or not), and thus determine the way of communication of that leader on this social network. This is the case of the investigation made by Jung et al (2017) regarding the Instagram accounts of Singapore’s politicians. In some cases, they use monitoring and metrics tools, such as Social Elephant, and they study the “personal brand of a candidate”, such as the study of Verón and Pallarés (2017) about the Instagram profile of the leader of the Spanish political party Ciudadanos: Albert Rivera. At the same time, Lopez-Rabadán and Domenech-Frabregat (2018) analyzed the use of Spanish politicians on Instagram with ten indicators of spectacularization on their official accounts, at the most intense moment of the Cataluña independence process (2017-2018).

Second, those who try to capture the style of the politician on Instagram, but they analyze the content and add a qualitative analysis. That is the case of Selva-Ruiz and Caro-Castaño (2017), who study the use of Instagram by Spanish congressmen, after the election in 2016. Thus, the theorists among this group tend to look into the level of humanization of the politician or the interaction of the accounts with the citizens through mentions, hashtags, among others. Within this kind of studies, we can find those who investigate the reception (Verón, 1987a) of the Instagram accounts of the politicians, and they focus on the repercussions on Internet users, and they tend to investigate the personalization and hu-

manization of the leader in this social network. That is the case of Olof Larsson (2019), who investigates if the content published by Norwegian politicians-and the parties- on Instagram, related to the personalization, is “successful in terms of reception, amount of ‘likes’ and ‘comments’ on the platform” (p. 1097).

In the third place, there are those who study the type of photographs used by the politician on the social network, and some also add the relation between the picture and the accompanying text, and they conclude there are “types of political pictures” on Instagram. That is the case of Quevedo-Redondo and Portales-Oliva (2017), who analyze -through content analysis and qualitative methods- the photographs and videos posted on Instagram by the candidates to the Spanish presidency in 2015 and their relation with the linguistic text. They confirm the humanization of the figure of the politicians on Instagram during the political campaign, and they identify “distinctive elements of the culture of the fame, which form the dichotomy between the extraordinary (the political activity) and the ordinary (private life)” (p. 917). Thus, there is a “process of *celebrificación* [related to celebrities] that intends to boost the empathy of a young target, with a lighter and more informal style, compared to that used on traditional media” (p. 918). This is also the case of Mohamed (2019), who concentrates in determining the political narrative construction in the photographs used by the Malaysia’s Prime Minister candidates in May 2018. He concluded that candidates alternated personal with “political” pictures. In this sense, he classifies six types of political stories narrated through pictures. On the one hand, campaign activities, the material produced for the election, and pictures of the politician working. These first three are the type of story “political-public”, and as regards Malaysia, candidates use more this type of photographs on Instagram. On the other hand, the author refers to private and personal stories: family pictures, personal activities and pictures “from the past, which represent certain memory or experience, relevant for the candidate’s current life” (p. 364).

Finally, there are those who compare the content of the politicians’ Instagram accounts, with the content produced for other social media or

traditional media, in the same campaign. They aim at determining the difference between the use of social media, such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Snapchat, WhatsApp -and also the political communication on traditional media. That is the case of Bosetta (2018), who makes a comparative analysis between the publications made during the 2016 American election campaign in 4 platforms: Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and Snapchat. He aims at demonstrating that the contemporary political strategy is influenced by algorithms and the own rules of each digital space.

On the contrary, in this investigation we will analyze politicians Instagram discourses during 2018, 2019 y 2020. We will analyze the enunciation and mediatization of these political discourses. Thus, as opposed to previous works, we will relate the discourse on Instagram with its conditions of production (Verón, 1987a), which also includes other social media and mass media, and the following communicational movements. We will consider the perspective of contemporary hypermedia circulation (Carlón, 2015).

### **Institutional/extra-institutional enunciation**

Selva-Ruiz and Caro-Castaño (2017) analyze Mariano Rajoy's Instagram account by the time he was the president of the Spanish government (2017), and they conclude that in the publications, it is usual to see him visiting public facilities, giving interviews to the media, or in the Congress, and that there are no pictures that support the humanization of the politician. However, there are pictures of the president that show private moments, such a video of him walking along Miño river. They conclude that "the point of view chosen by the camera, as well as the use of a static shot and the distance of the politician in the picture, are decisions that emphasize the professional character of the video" (p. 908). At this point, there is a "professional" point of view on Instagram.

On the other hand, in a study about the Instagram account of the president of the Spanish political party Ciudadanos, Albert Rivera, Verón and Pallarés (2017) determine that he aims at showing a more personal

image and closer to the citizens, through photographs that belong to a private space. As Rajoy, Rivera's pictures stage a *political consultant enunciator*, since one of the ways the pictures are presented is with a low-angle shot, which "is mainly used to exalt Rivera's image and strengthen the perception of the politician as party leader" (Verón and Pallares, 2017: 10).

In conclusion, it is possible to determine, after the analysis made, that this type of edition and resources applied to Rajoy and Rivera's pictures, even in those cases where the pictures refer to intimate and private moments of the politicians, put at the forefront the *political consultant enunciation*. In the analysis made on the publications of the Argentinian politicians in this work, we will aim at determining which enunciation predominates.

## Results

The profile picture in Fernández de Kirchner's Instagram account is one of her smiling and behind her, former president Néstor Kirchner. She has the same picture on Facebook and Twitter since 2010 that is when he passed away. She has over a million followers; however, she only follows 85 users. Macri also has the same picture in other media, where he only shows his face. He has over a million followers too, and only follows 131 users<sup>5</sup>.

While analyzing Fernández de Kirchner's Instagram publications and stories on 2018, we can see "multimedia logic micro-arguments" (Slimovich, 2012: 152). Through photographs, videos and linguistic text, the current Vice President argue in a brief and concealed way, giving "logic evidence" (Barthes, 1985), about why Macri was governing in a way that jeopardized the citizens, increasing taxes unnecessarily, impoverishing the population, enriching certain allied businesses, and judicially harassing her, among others. The way she deploys the argumentation is through

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5. The information collected from Alberto Fernández, Mauricio Macri, Myriam Bregman and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner's Instagram accounts were gathered in May 2021.



linguistic text, an invariant in the stories of the senator during 2018, and it is, as we will describe next, one of the main differences with the presidential stories, which are mainly audiovisual stories.

One of the publications that we considered in this analysis, is the case of the eight stories published on July 3, 2018, where-in the series- a “micro-enthymeme” is built (Slimovich, 2012)- a comparison between current taxes, their price when Fernández de Kirchner was president-a lot less-, and the macrista story about the increase and the existence of subsidies (Fernández de Kirchner, 2018a).

Moreover, and according to the communication strategy deployed in other social media, there is a link to another social network-Facebook, in this case- where is all the argumentative evidence. In addition, they call upon a specific Internet user, which is called “supporter fan Internet user” (Slimovich, 2012); who is asked to join the campaign against tax increase with the hashtag #BastaDeTarifazos [#NoMoreTaxIncrease]. In other words, they want him to produce the political arguments in social media.

Other publications that were analyzed were those related to the motives (Segre, 1994) that led to Fernández de Kirchner’s summons. In the publications, there were comments in favor and against, forming a collective of “supporters Internet users” and “opponents Internet users” to kirchnerismo. In a story, the former president asked the “supporters Internet users” not to mobilize when she is summoned for questioning. She asked the supporters to stay at home and not mobilize as a sign of support. They are stories with no sound, and sometimes with no pictures, but predominates the emergency of linguistic text. There are micro-arguments aimed at linking the moments where the former president is summoned to Macri’s economic crisis and government adjustment. This way, the Internet user is expected to complete the argument by deducting that she is being summoned as a way of “distraction” from the economic crisis during Macri’s government.

Going back to the question of which are the theme motives that emerge -whether they are related to the private or public- in the publications made on Instagram in Fernández de Kirchner’s account in 2018, predo-

minate publications related to the public. None of the analyzed publications or stories shows “family”, “personal stuff” or “remembrance of personal experience”, as was the case of the Spanish politicians.

On the other hand, taking into consideration the point of view of the publications, we can conclude that there is an *institutional first-person enunciation*, as opposed to that first moment we described earlier in Facebook and Twitter. The point of view on which Instagram users are interpellated is her a senator: there are pictures and pieces of her participation in Congress, descriptions of her past as President, arguments that take macristas messages that circulate on mass media and social media, in order to refute them and make counter-arguments. The aim is call upon the “citizen Internet user, with no electoral choice”, someone who is neither macrista nor kirchnerista, who is given evidence on the failure that was Macri’s presidency, and the need for the kirchnerismo to return to the national government. There are also several pictures among the publications that show her with different Latin American presidents and former presidents.

Even when some fragments of her personal life are shown, they have a “political” point of view, instead of “human” or “woman”. That is the case of the series of stories published on September 15, where Fernández de Kirchner-using first-person- tells through linguistic text that she received a message from her cousin that moved her. She then shows her cousin’s message. In this sense, we can see how the arguments on Fernández de Kirchner’s Instagram stories are constructed on a digital convergence of meaning condensation and operations of media correlation (Fernández de Kirchner, 2018b). The message she shared tells the story of employees who work for a clothing brand and lose their jobs because the factory closes-under Macri’s government- and give her, as a present, a shirt of the brand with their last salary. Fernández de Kirchner shares a picture of the present, thank them, and promise them that “they will have a job, hopes and dreams again”.

As regards Macri’s Instagram account, it is worth mentioning that in that same time, the stories and publications have different enunciations. First, during 2018, there are publications that refer to theme motives related

to the public, as well as private, since Macri is shown in his role as President and in his normal life. Regarding the latter, there are “fragments of the private and intimate”, such as pictures of his wife Juliana Awada, or with his daughter Antonia. Indeed, this public-private scheme is shown in his official accounts on Facebook and Twitter from the beginning. On Instagram, there are also pictures from his “family album”, and other “official pictures”, some with other presidents, in national celebrations, in press conferences on television, etc. Therefore, in this social network, Macri is shown as a President and as a “common man”.

Thus, just like we mentioned about Macri’s Facebook in previous times -electoral or not- during 2018, there are also fragments that relate to the citizen’s intimate and private aspects, through fragments of door-to-door surveys and visit to people who sent a letter to the President.

As regards the stories and publications analyzed, we can find that those stories that show official events, as well as those that show the visit of the President to a citizen who sent him a letter, have “appropriation” and “intervention” operations. They are operations-allowed by the options that offers the social network- that highlight which day of the week was and the place where the activity took place. However, the way the presidential stories are published involves an operation of “imitating an amateur video”, a type of operation shown on Facebook with the telephone conversations between the President and the neighbors (Slimovich, 2016). Even though they are videos registered by the presidential staff, shots are made with a cellphone, and they do not seem to be edited.

After the uploading of the story on Instagram and, given its brief duration -it is online only 24 hours- the video was shared on the President’s Facebook, first as a story, and then on his Facebook wall. Unlike Instagram stories, the operation of appropriation of content on Instagram and its passage to Facebook implies a reduction, since videos uploaded on Facebook tend to be shorter, and moreover, they do not have redundant space-time texts. Therefore, they are less intervened videos compared to those on Instagram (Macri, 2018a, Macri, 2018b). In addition, there is an operation of media correlation and divergence of digital political dis-

courses, which flow within the different social media and media. Whereas Fernández de Kirchner emulated journalistic discourses on digital platforms and shared content from mass media, there are no content from mass media on Macri's Instagram account in 2018, but he does emulate traditional media logics.

It is worth mentioning the type of photograph that predominates in Macri's account. In the stories that show Macri's visits to the citizens' home -or businesses- predominate the photos showing the President with neighbors taking a *selfie* with their phones. In other words, there are "photos of *selfies* with the President", they are "photos of the *selfie*". There are no pictures where the President is the one who takes the photo. There are no *selfies* on Macri's account -nor on Fernández de Kirchner's. The absence of *selfies*, the existence of videos where Macri is not facing the camera -showing that there is another person filming- generates the effect of a professional point of view above the political point of view. That is, despite the existence of operations that emulate the common Internet user -such as the imitation of amateur videos- it predominates the *political consultant enunciation* over the *individual*.

In addition, unlike Fernández de Kirchner, Macri used the tool Instagram Live. He used it to talk over the phone with some neighbors, and to answer the enquiries the citizen Internet users left him on his Instagram account. One of the cases is the simultaneous transmission of a live event July 18. The day before, Macri held a press conference on television, where he answered questions from journalists, clearly showing a diversification strategy -journalists on television and citizens on social media. During the transmission of the Instagram Live on July 18, Macri answered some of the questions the citizens had previously made on this account -which he had on written paper. That transmission was characterized by the personal questions he answered, such as How did you meet Juliana? Which was your first car? What do you do on your spare time?, among other questions. The day before, he had answered questions more related to the public administration. While the Instagram Live was being transmitted, citizen Internet users, who used the social network, talked about political issues through comments, in the middle of emojis in the

cellphone screen (Slimovich, 2018b). It is worth mentioning that, due to the own configuration of the social network, users who watch the Instagram Live, can choose to see the comments other users make, where it can be found “supporters”, “opponents” and “undecided” (Slimovich, 2012), and private/intimate topics prevail over public/political issues.

It is also worth mentioning the construction of the presidential body on the Instagram Live. It is noticeable that Macri has bags under his eyes, and, at times, a tiresome way of speaking. Verón (1987c) conceptualize the presidential body as socialized and mediatized: it is constructed over annulments and prohibitions, and it implies a sufficiently distinguished exhibition in order to not see it. Indeed, what is exposed on the Instagram Live is a metabody. Building a presidential body on Instagram is not about being honest, but to demonstrate honesty, in another level. Citizens see the transmission, and maybe, for the first time in the history of mediatization, make political discourses that reach public space, in accordance with the transmission and at the same time it happens, through comments on the social network. Even though this kind of enunciation shows corporal aspects -such as the bags under his eyes or the weary aspect of the President when he talks- it refers to the political consultant enunciation, since it is someone else who is sharing and recording with the cellphone that presidential body, and not the President himself.

Moreover, there are also “logic micro-arguments” among Instagram publications. They are “micro-enthymemes” and “micro-examples”, which aim at showing that the government is going “on the right track”. The kirchnerismo appears as “counter-recipient”. Although the former president holds press conferences, and he is quoted and his speech reproduced on mass media; on Instagram, there are not content appropriation operations from the traditional media content. At this point, there is a difference with Fernández de Kirchner’s corpus, who does share content from the traditional media-many times to make “counter-arguments”.

## **Argentine left-wing on Instagram**

Other candidate on the 2019 elections is Myriam Bregman, from the Frente de Izquierda y de los Trabajadores (FIT) [Workers' Left Front Unity]. This coalition, formed by the Partido de los Trabajadores Socialistas (PTS) [Socialist Workers' Party], el Partido Obrero (PO) [Workers' Party] and the Izquierda Socialista [Socialist Left], among others, was originated in 2011, and that same year gathered all the votes needed-and more, 1.5%- to reach, after the primary elections, the general elections thanks to a campaign that included a predominant and original way-especially since it is a Trotskyist group- of using social media, and which was called: "A miracle for Altamira" (Slimovich, 2016). By the end of 2018 and January 2019, according to the investigation made, the candidate showed a daily activity on Instagram, through stories and publications.

She is a human rights activist and supporter of gender movements, and for many years she has actively participated in the petition demanding the legalization of abortion in Argentina. A few years ago, "Argentine Trotskyism started to adapt to the media logic, from young people to classic leaders", like the campaign we mentioned before, which articulated mass media and social media asking for "help" and retweets, in order to gather the amount of votes needed to reach the general election, among other media actions that cross languages and media.

This redemption of the Argentine left-wing and Myriam Bregman, are replicated on her Instagram official account. In effect, her stories and publications always show her, through pictures or videos, in mobilizations, surrounded by women, asking for more women's right, and in mobilizations against public services' tax increase, a measure taken by the national government. One feature of the expository strategy on her Instagram, unlike others Argentine politicians, is that there are selfies. In other words, there is a political enunciation above other points of view.

On the other hand, in her account, we can constantly see the emergency of political-journalistic interfaces in her stories, which have appropriation operations of interviews she had on traditional mass media-which

are close to the government- mixed with appropriation operations of interviews on “La Izquierda diario”, a party press.

If we take into account the hypermedia circulation of the discourses, unlike Macri or Fernández de Kirchner, whose discourses originate on their Instagram accounts and “ascend the mass media”, who replicate their content; with Myriam Bregman’s Instagram is the other way around. It is a communication with descending circulation, because it is the traditional media -with its logic and discourses- who make the interview, and she then replicates the content on her Instagram account, through stories and publications. It is not the common Internet user who helps ascend the content and replicate it, but is the mass media who manages to impose the content, always considering that on Instagram, political enunciation predominates over informative/journalistic enunciation.

### **The mediatization of Alberto Fernández**

During the first quarter of his administration-from December 2019 to February 2020- the presidential Instagram account showed “political-media events”, such as the meeting between Alberto Fernández and Pope Francis, and with Emmanuel Macron, among others. In March, with the establishment of the preventive and mandatory isolation in Argentina due to COVID-19 pandemic, it is shown a continuation of the dissemination of political-media events in his account; however, during the second quarter of 2020, he posted messages referring to his own television press conferences, where the main subject is the pandemic.

As regards his Twitter account, we notice the existence of different types of political/journalistic interfaces (Verón, 2001 [1984]; Slimovich, 2016) in the moment before the pandemic, which continued during the pandemic. We refer to operations where he replicates contents shown in journalistic media -whether they are opposing or allies- as well as the “imitation of their logics and genres” (Slimovich, 2016). These operations are replicated on his Instagram account in 2020 and 2021.

Thus, during the presidential press conferences broadcasted since March, with the establishment of the preventive and mandatory isolation in Argentina, the presidential Twitter account shows political-journalistic interfaces, which replicate media and journalistic content related to the conference. In a case we analyze in another paper (Slimovich, 2021), we can see that in the discourses broadcasted during the presidential press conference on May 8 and the days before, there are some retweets of the *TV Pública*, which are included to the president's political enunciation. They are tweets from the state television, which quoted the president's words, informing that the isolation would continue for 15 days, and that schools and shows involving large group of people would remain closed.

There are also presidential messages that retweet public figures, physicians, economists and even the opposition. In conclusion, Alberto Fernández's political communication about the pandemic in Twitter and Instagram "is made up of different voices from leaders, public servants, politicians, journalists, public figures, and therefore it creates a *choral political-media enunciation*" (Slimovich, 2021:9).

## Discussion

The study about the Spanish congressmen on Instagram showed, like our investigation about the Argentine leaders, that politicians tend to include pictures taken by a third party instead of *selfies*. "Even in those publications where the politician is alone, only the 14.58% are *selfies*" (Selva-Ruiz and Caro-Castaño, 2017: 911).

In this sense, we can conclude that politicians tend to use much less *selfies* on Instagram, as compared to Instagrammers, influencers or common users of the social network. Nevertheless, whereas the Spanish theorists think the absence of *selfies* as a waste of the potentialities the social media offer, and link the *selfie* with the spontaneous rhetoric; we, on the contrary, conclude that a *selfie* implies the annulment of the political consultant enunciation and the staging of an individual enunciation, which is difficult to articulate with the "presidential enunciation".



The *selfie* implies a *politician's direct enunciation and its effect is powerful*. In the case of Macri, there are only two videos taken by the President himself in selfie mode, and therefore, one of his arms remains hidden the whole time. One of them was recorded on November 28, days before the G20 summit, which took place in the City of Buenos Aires, and where he acts as president of the World's Leaders Summit. The other one was recorded on August 3, 2018. This video shows him entering the Pink House, greeting the police officers and the visitors-children- that were there. That is to say, the *selfie* is taken in a political institution: the Government House and it resume political-themed motives. There are no *selfies* nor videos recorded by the president himself that replicate intimate or private content.

Taking into consideration the veronian theory about the mediatization of the presidential body, we can conclude that the presidential body is a metabody that does not work with beliefs but with the distance to the citizens. When the *selfie* is taken, the body of the politician and the citizen come close. In this case, although they are videos taken by the President, the enunciation, by definition, is institutional, and it produces distance.

The study about the Spanish congressmen showed a predominance in "showing the politician in the exercise of his political duties on Instagram" (Selva-Ruiz and Caro-Castaño, 2017: 913), in accordance with studies of other western democracies.

On the one hand, as in the case of the former president Fernández de Kirchner, there is clearly a construction of the exercise of his political duties as a senator through the stories. She can be seen in the Senate bench, on many publications of important debates that happened over the year. There are also publications on Instagram that are fragments of videos, which show her intervention in the Senate. Moreover, in accordance with the predominance of the digital political discourses and the way of communicating on social media, proper to Fernández de Kirchner, there are logic micro-arguments that aim at demonstrating the failure of Macri's administration, making a balance between present and past, when she and her husband, Néstor Kirchner, governed. In this sense, a macrista counter-recipient is shaped (typical of the political discourse),

and it calls upon the undecided Internet user through brief argumentations, emerging the descriptive and prescriptive component of the political discourse (Verón, 1987b). This type of enunciative positioning is replicated in the modes of mediatization of politics on Alberto Fernández's Instagram, although they are combined with polyphony of voices on social media, and different modes of political-journalistic-informative interfaces.

As regards Macri, there are pictures that show the President in his private and intimate life, with his daughter, pictures of her daughter alone, of him resting with his wife and family, etc., in tune with the public-private scheme that appears on the macristas social media since he opened the account. In this sense, he shows on Instagram, Facebook and Twitter, aspects of the common man who inhabit the presidential body (Slimovich, 2017b). On the other hand, it is called upon a kirchnerista counter-recipient through brief argumentations in form of text shared in the publications. On Macri's Instagram account, in a non-electoral year, it can be seen a public-private mixture, which has characterized his social media - Facebook and Twitter- from the beginning.

## **Conclusions**

After the analysis, we conclude there are different ways of constructing the political enunciation on the publications and stories on Instagram's political institution.

On the one hand, as in the case of Fernández de Kirchner, it is used the first-person in the stories and the publications; however, it is a "political/institutional enunciation". The subjects are related to the public, to her role as opponent and as senator, and to her past as former president. There are no *selfies* or features that recall an extra-institutional point of view in the videos. There is no staging of mundane aspects. The references that appear regarding her family, the private, the intimate, her condition as a "woman" are linked to the senator's public life, and her position as opponent to the national government. Besides, the pictures

she posts on her Instagram account are always taken by others, staging the *political consultant/professional enunciation*.

On the other hand, the analysis made on the type of discourse on the Instagram official account of the then Argentine President, showed a “political/institutional enunciation”, as happened with Fernández de Kirchner. Nevertheless, there are discourses that show the mundane part of the President, such as his role as husband, father, man, househusband, doer of morning exercises, someone tired of the long working hours, etc., all of which makes a difference. On Macri’s Instagram account there are traces of “individual/extra-institutional enunciation” -something that remains invariant, as opposed to Fernández de Kirchner’s account. However, these individual/extra-institutional marks are blurred by the appearance of another point of view, that of the political consultant/professional. Since it is a point of view from a third party (the one who holds the cellphone and takes the picture), even though he shows family pictures and tries to emulate a spontaneous and amateur picture, the enunciation conjugate the *political/institutional*, with the *individual*, and the *political consultant/government advisor* point of view.

Moreover, in Macri’s stories and publications on Instagram, as in other social media, he calls upon an Internet user “voyeur” of the intimate, of Macri’s personal life as well as the common citizen he visits. Since they are stories that are published in a daily basis and have a brief life on the web, he calls upon an Internet user who regularly visits the President’s social media.

Finally, it is worth pointing out the differences between the communicational movements. As regards Macri’s discourses on Instagram, the publications that generate ascending communicational movements (Carlón, 2015), that is, those that reach the mass media and continue with hypermedia leaps with the reactions of the citizen Internet users, are those that are related to important political-media events, or live transmissions on the social network. As it was mentioned before, these discourses involve an interaction of the institutional discourse on Instagram through the picture, discourses that are captured by the cellphones through the

function that allows to visualize comments on Instagram, and the operation of sharing, appropriating, intervening, etc. the viewer does.

On the contrary, the changes of the mediatization scale of Fernández de Kirchner's discourse tend to appear when, apart from the stories and publications on Instagram, there are articulations in the urban space in political events, and therefore, they are broadcasted on television and live on social media (Slimovich, 2020a).

In relation to the current president's account, we note that his Instagram account is also dominated by political-media events, initially through meetings with external leaders. Then, with the establishment of the pandemic and the health regulations and limitations on movement, what is evident is the political-media event linked to the presidential press conference or recorded announcement with communications on state regulations on the coronavirus. Likewise, it is also evident that his own discourse is combined with others: those of journalists, those of other politicians based on informative political-journalistic interfaces.

As regards Myriam Bregman's account, it is worth mentioning that, even though the three politicians receive several comments on their posts-following the veronian model, we refer as "recognition discourses"- Mauricio Macri, Alberto Fernández and Cristina Fernández de Kirchner have a lot more comments on Instagram than the left-wing representative.

Finally, as regards Bregman's official account on Instagram, we have mentioned that she follows a practice carried out by the Argentine left parties over the last years, which has to do with the production of messages that aim at calling upon the Marxist-Trotskyist Internet user, who shares the candidate's ideals and who also buys party press. She also aims at calling upon a "collective of citizen Internet users with no electoral choice", through the dissemination of contents on traditional media, addressing as well the "citizen supporter Internet user" who navigates the web ■

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