

THE DISCOURSE OF CRISIS

*The Narratives of Chile's 'Estallido Social'
Shared by Traditional Media Outlets on Twitter*

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the narratives of Chile's *estallido social* [social outburst] (2019–2020) as constructed and circulated through headlines shared by influential traditional media nodes on Twitter (now X). It situates these narratives within Chile's broader socio-political context of neoliberalism, democratic history, and new social movements and contributes a novel methodology, proposing 'tweet frames' as a mode for analysis. Drawing on multimodal critical discourse analysis (CDA) approaches, the thesis analyses how mainstream news outlets framed the unrest when their headlines were disseminated on Twitter, considering tweets as they appear in-platform, as opposed to conducting deep analysis of the journalistic content itself. This accounts for the fact that these items are highly tailored and have specific affordances which create unique engagement strategies and inform opinions in a similar fashion to traditional news media. The findings reveal a consistent discursive pattern: protestors were delegitimised through portrayals of violence and disruption, whilst state authorities were framed as rational, calm, and legitimate actors. Protestors' own positions were systematically absent, and government perspectives were amplified, producing a discourse of 'civilisation versus disorder' that narrowed space for dissent. The research highlights how tweets, headlines and carefully selected images on Twitter functioned as powerful gatekeepers of meaning, shaping public perceptions during a moment of national crisis. By combining theories of new social movements, media framing, and Polanyi's notion of the 'double movement,' this thesis demonstrates how digital headline circulation reinforced elite-driven discourses, even amid widespread contestation of Chile's neoliberal order. In doing so, it contributes to understanding the intersection between social media, media discourse, and democratic struggle in contemporary Latin America.

DECLARATIONS AND STATEMENTS

DECLARATION

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed: Robert John Yarr

Date: 28th November 2025

STATEMENT

This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Where correction services have been used, the extent and nature of the correction is clearly marked in a footnote(s). Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references. A bibliography is appended.

Signed: Robert John Yarr

Date: 28th November 2025

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DEFINITIONS & ABBREVIATIONS

Twitter /X	‘Twitter’ refers to the social media network up until its name change in 2022. ‘X’ references anything after that date.
Tweet frames	Tweet frames are the way that verified news accounts present news on X, be it with just twitter text, with an image and a tweet visible, or the combination of a tweet, an image, headline and lede.
Metadata	Information that is pulled through from a hyperlink on Twitter/X, such as an image, headline and lede.
SMNs	Social Media Networks.
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis.

INTRODUCTION

On the 8th of October 2019, just weeks before the start of the *estallido social* [social outburst] in Chile in 2019, President Sebastian Piñera described the country as *un verdadero oasis* [a real oasis], whilst *The Economist Intelligence Unit* (2019) reported that it did not expect demonstrations to reach the same intensity as in Mr Piñera's previous term in office. By the 18th of October, the country was in crisis, sparking a first return to the streets for the military since the dictatorship, as Sebastián Piñera announced a state of emergency and curfews throughout the country. Clearly, October 2019's *estallido* caught Chile's political class off guard, provoking a violent reaction from the government and the state security forces, headed up by the police force, *los carabineros*. Though the protests initially unfolded in response to a 30 peso (\$0.04) rise in metro fees (*Economist*, 2020, pp. 4–5), the scope of the movement quickly expanded farther afield. Thirty-years of anguish and unaddressed issues resurfaced as Chileans complained *no son 30 pesos, son 30 años* [it's not about 30 pesos it's about 30 years] (Quiroga, 2019). Chile, often considered a success story of Latin America both economically and in terms of its supposedly peaceful transition to democracy, revealed its discontent with the neoliberal system as over a million took to the streets in protest (Laura Millan, 2019). Discontent with the system would be highlighted by the overwhelming support for the *apruebo* [approval] vote (78%) of October 2020, which saw Chile's highest turnout since voting was made no longer mandatory in 2012, (Sehnbruch, 2020), as the country decided to rewrite the Constitution which was originally ratified by the Pinochet government in 1980, only for this attempt to ultimately fall short.

This thesis understands the *estallido* as a third-generation anti-neoliberal protest movement, characterised by 'more offensive claims for public services and social citizenship rights' (Silva, 2017). It argues that the events were also intrinsically Polanyian in logic (the protests were a double movement, where society pulls back against an over encroaching system (Polanyi, 2001). It also build on findings from Seguel and Farías' research into three leading Chilean *ciberprensa* [online press] outlet's representation of the *estallido* (Seguel & Farías, 2022) which found that the media often presented the movement as violent and disruptive, whilst legitimising the government and its response by focussing on the social and political implications of the unrest.

This study takes a multimodal approach to critical discourse analysis (CDA) and looks at the visual and textual representations of the *estallido* on X. The research questions guiding the study are:

1. How did the media visually represent the *estallido* through tweet images and article images during the first day of the 2019 protests?
2. How did the media textually represent the *estallido* through linguistic tweet content and headlines during the first day of the 2019 protests?

Referred to as ‘tweet frames’, the novel approach proposed in this thesis incorporates multimodal methodologies of critical discourse analysis (CDA), analysing the tweet contents but not any externally hyperlinked content, understanding that users cannot engage with all content that appears on their feed, but that these units can still inform and impact opinions in a similar fashion to traditional news media. The thesis contributes a novel methodology, proposing ‘tweet frames’ as a unit for analysis.

The findings of this study suggest that use of common delegitimising frames of protests are employed across the sample analysed, with a focus on disruption, an absence of protestors’ voices, a legitimisation of the government position, which is consistent with similar critical discourse analyses of the *estallido* (Quiroga, 2020; Seguel & Farías, 2022). This thesis expands the understanding of the narratives employed by traditional news outlets regarding the *estallido*, whilst using an alternative approach to CDA to account for the fast-moving nature of Twitter (now X) as a platform. Results indicate that, amid a historic social uprising posing a challenge to the neoliberal status quo, traditional media outlets attempted to stabilise the status quo by presenting protestors as violent and/or illegitimate, foregrounded institutional voices, acted to legitimise government action and left protestor’s voices largely absent from the discourse.

It is worth noting that this thesis was written overseas, with the author a white male from England, affording a specific interpretation of events. Being based in Swansea, Wales, and having lived in a majority Catalan speaking town near Barcelona for 10 months, however, did add a level of awareness and sensitivity to the authors’ positionality in relation to experiences of language and minority cultures, as well as race and gender by extension. The thesis was not written without an understanding of the situation in Chile, with the author working for 12 months in a university in the capital of the Maule region, Talca, with extensive travel from North (Antofagasta) to South (Punta Arenas) of the country between August 2018 and August 2019 preceding the period of study. Conscious of the geographical and temporal distance after the suspension of studies in 2021, the author returned to Chile in December 2022, travelling from Santiago to the South of Chile (as far as Puerto Montt), taking a notebook and engaging with locals as far as possible to gain their understanding and perspectives, not only on the *estallido social*, but also the first years of Gabriel Boric’s government, and the first draft of the proposed new constitution which had been recently rejected in September 2022. This enhanced the author’s understanding of the events, affording access to a broad scope of opinions relating to the three events listed above, and informing methodological decisions as is discussed in the following paragraph.

Perspectives were constantly challenged by the supervision team on the project, both originally from Latin American countries themselves, ensuring the thesis transcends a strictly Eurocentric lens to

include more diverse viewpoints. Even though both supervisors are originally from Latin American countries themselves, it is worth noting their own backgrounds as relatively privileged white individuals from Argentina and Uruguay, two nations with strong European cultural influences and historically complex relationships with indigenous and marginalised communities. At the same time, their professional experience in Europe was productive, as it allowed them to both understand and challenge European academic frameworks, helping to mediate between different intellectual and cultural perspectives. Their comments prompted reflections this author would not have otherwise considered, such as the impact of colonial centrality in the urban development in Latin America, which subsequently led to methodological decisions such as focussing the analysis on the capital, Santiago de Chile. This decision was supported by observations on the research trip, with many of the perspectives gained being organised around narratives seen in the press, showing that despite individuals being based across a broad geography, the impact of centralised media was pervasive across the regions and the nation.

Chapter one starts by providing a background look at Chilean democracy, social movements and their history, and the intersection between the two, arguing that the *estallido* was a counter-hegemonic third-generation social movement (Roberts, 2017) which was Polanyian (2001) in logic. Social media and news headlines are then considered in the literature review, building the case for the unit of analysis proposed and utilised in this thesis: tweet frames.

In chapter two, the platform logic of Twitter is described (including its features), noting the fast-natured delivery of the platform, the impact of emotionally driven content such as headlines and images. This chapter concludes with an explanation of the research questions and data sourcing methods, the associated challenges at the time of the research, and the issues with the data collection methods for future studies, provoked by imposed limitations to freedom of access to data when Twitter was sold. The chapter also provides detail on the methodological approach employed.

Chapter three details the analysis conducted. This begins with a statistical overview of the overall dataset, before specific examples of tweet frames from each news outlet are closely analysed with a multimodal approach to CDA. The final chapter offers a discussion on the representation of the *estallido* in the dataset and further avenues for research.

Before discussing the *estallido*, historic events must be placed in the context of the dictatorship and the social movements that preceded it, to understand key elements of how Chile arrived at the 2019 crisis.

1.1 CHILEAN POLITICAL HISTORY

When the socialist Government of Salvador Allende came to office in 1970, Chile was politically divided, with what Manuel Antonio Garretón labels ‘extreme’ and ‘polarized’ ideological positions in the left, right and centre of politics at the time (Garretón Merino, 2003, pp. 105-106). However, until then, most conflicts could be resolved internally due to the strength and stability of the democratic system (Garretón Merino, 2003, p. 104). Problems began as democratic norms were broken down by all parties during Salvador Allende’s administration, with the US and the UK also interfering (McEvoy, 2020) assisting in creating the conditions for the removal of the world’s first democratically elected socialist leader. Divided, Chileans had taken to the streets already, but events culminated during the political and economic crisis of 1973 and the subsequent military coup by General Augusto Pinochet Ugarte. Garretón notes that whilst options existed for a peaceful resolution to the crisis, the military decided to intervene and violently remove the government, justifying itself as the moral guarantors of the nation against communism (Garretón Merino, 2003, pp. 108-112). This perceived role as moral protector of the nation was already deeply entrenched but was further influenced by US and the cold war, with military life very much disconnected from political and social spheres (Weeks, 2003, pp. 24-41), ultimately creating the conditions for the 1973 coup d’état. With the coup came violence and repression, removing protestors from the streets, thus quelling social movements until the crisis of the early 1980s.

In 1980, Pinochet held a plebiscite to approve a new Constitution and to keep him in power for a further eight years. The period following this initial plebiscite marked a shift as opposition to the dictatorship burst back into the public sphere once more, with mass movements taking place throughout the 1980s as an economic crisis gripped the country. This period (referred to as *apertura* [opening]; when the regime liberalised, and the public mobilised) should not be overstated. In the year and a half following the *apertura*, hundreds were killed or injured as the *carabineros* [Chilean state police] acted as a force for state repression. By November 1984, the Pinochet administration had repealed the policy (Huneus M., 1985, pp. 25-27). There was also a violent element of public resistance at the time, which it has been argued influenced US foreign policy to Chile in the 1980s, pushing the US in favour of a transition to democracy (Figueroa Clark, 2015). In this case, protest movements and more violent sectors had a profound influence on the ending of the regime. Indeed, each significant political change in recent

Chilean history has been marked with violence to some degree; the coup, the return to democracy, and now the *estallido*, as is later discussed.

According to Garretón, transitions are completed once a legitimately, democratically elected government is in place, as Chile achieved in 1990. Democratization, however, is only achieved when the elected government has its own democratic constitution, as opposed to one inherited from a dictatorship (Garretón, 2014). Following the *estallido*, this was one of the central tenets of the campaign that brought Gabriel Boric (2022-2026) to power, and something which his government aimed, but ultimately failed to achieve. The present Chilean constitution was created and ratified under the rule of Pinochet in 1980 and approved by plebiscite, ensuring Pinochet would remain in power for at least another 8 years, at which point another vote would be held. Despite the 1988 plebiscite being ‘carefully planned to perpetuate [Pinochet’s] rule until his death’ (Valenzuela, 1991, p. 22), he lost. Gregory Weeks notes how Pinochet did not interfere with the plebiscite ‘probably believing he had majority support’ (Weeks, 2003, p. 50). Losing provoked the initiation of the transition, and once the government of Patricio Aylwin was in place, the process of democratization. Chilean Democracy therefore inherited the 1980 constitution from the military dictatorship, and as a result, cannot be considered as totally democratized according to Garretón’s definitions (Garretón, 2014). It is later demonstrated that incomplete democratization was one of many aspects contributing to the *estallido*.

Following the transition, the official opposition and the representatives of democracy the *Concertación* (centre-left coalition of democratic parties), continued upon the same trajectory of division that existed before the military coup, whereby ‘the relation between politics and society under the previous democratic regime were reproduced’ (Garretón Merino, 2003, p. 119). As a result, there existed a rift between political and civil society. Additionally, the politics inherited from the age of autocracy was, in the eyes of Garretón, ‘a political class whose formation, practice, and historical memory qualified it to rule or to oppose democratic governments successfully, but not to confront dictatorships.’ Indeed, the 1980 plebiscite was designed for ‘an authoritarian regime, civilian in nature’ with additional powers for the military from 1989 onwards (Garretón Merino, 2003, pp. 120-124). The *Concertación* therefore inherited features from both prior democracy and autocracy. Despite initial high turn outs upon the return to democracy, voter turnout soon dwindled incrementally, particularly after Chile shifted to a voluntary voting system in 2012 (Fábrega, 2018). The inheritance from previous regimes led to an almost insurmountable challenge for reforms that would both meet the requirements of a peaceful and complete democratization, and that would change the relations between politics and civil society. The inability of early democratic governments to make any

significant changes due to the stranglehold of Pinochet's constitution, has contributed to the current situation and deepened the divide between civil society and politics, and has driven polarization.

As touched upon previously, this condition of polarization within Chilean democracy already existed before the military dictatorship. Consensus was reached under the *Concertación* as a dialectical challenge to the authoritarianism of Pinochet. That is, the consensus of politics under successive *Concertación* governments was delineated by position regarding Pinochet. However, Chileans began to disengage with politics after the turn of the millennium. This disengagement was partly due to the diminishing of fear of dictatorship, as well as the binomial voting system introduced under Pinochet, whereby each electoral district has two seats, and a party must win double the number of votes as the opposition party to obtain both seats. This increased the likelihood of coalitions and consensus to keep the dictatorial framework in place and made change hard to come by (as invariably this system resulted in one representative from each side), weakening the strength of representative democracy and the sense that change was possible through institutional politics. It also overrepresented conservatives (Albertus, 2018, pp. 236-237). The binomial system was only replaced in 2015 (Montes, 2015), after consensus in Chilean politics ended (Fábrega, 2018). The drop in voter turn-out was exacerbated when voting became voluntary in 2012, seeing just 49% turnout to vote in the 2013 election, compared with 84% in the first post-Pinochet elections (Fábrega, 2018). As a result, polarization grew to try attract a wider electorate and led to the re-inclusion of the Communist party in Bachelet's *Nueva Mayoría* [New Majority] coalition (which replaced the *Concertación*) in 2013. As voluntary voting was introduced and polarization increased, Chileans began turning away from politics en-masse, in what appears to have been a crisis of representation. Though large-scale social movements have been growing since 2000, it has been since 2003-2004 that social movements in Chile have really started to develop (Somma, 2017, pp. 35-36) (alongside the drop in political engagement), expressing discontent within the country.

The above demonstrates that the period of popular democracy (where the masses are faithfully represented (Albertus, 2018, pp. 25-62) in Chile (1963-1973) (Albertus, 2018, p. 214) had a pre-existing condition of polarization before the 1973 coup, that extends throughout the majority of the population's living memory of democracy. The only recent periods where polarization is absent in the public and political sphere are periods under dictatorial influence, be it the dictatorship itself or the early democratization period where the dictatorship still held significant influence and Chile was an elite biased democracy (following Michael Albertus and Victor Menaldo's definition, whereby a small group of political and economic elites control the democratic institutions as a result of authoritarianism) (Albertus, 2018, pp. 36-41).

As authoritarian influence has diminished, polarization has returned, no doubt influenced by new factors such as social media, which is discussed later. It is also apparent that Chilean democracy has been

hindered by ties to an autocratic regime, both institutionally and within civil society, creating the conditions for this eruption of social movements over the last decade and a half and leading ultimately to the decision to try and replace Pinochet's constitution and move Chile from an elite-based democracy to a popular one.

1.2 NEOLIBERAL RESISTANCE IN LATIN AMERICA

Having considered the recent political history leading up to the *estallido*, new social movements on the continent will be discussed with a view to contextualising the movement. Since the wave of democratizations in the 1980s, neoliberal ideology has spread across Latin America, a process which began in the Southern Cone in the 1970s (Roberts, 2017, p. 226). Latin America has been an ideological battleground between neoliberalism and resistance to it. The spread of neoliberalism has had a multitude of impacts that go beyond the scope of this MA thesis. However, in brief it is understood to create a reduced role for the state, give increased market freedom and allow for the commodification of almost every aspect of life. With Chile being an early adopter and thus one of the most established neoliberal regimes in the region, it also enjoyed strong economic growth and lowering levels of poverty since the 1990s, causing many to look to the country as exemplary. However, this view ignores many of the issues raised by subsequent waves of resistance encountered in the form of protest movements, as well as through the political counter-projects of the Pink Tide, the wave of left-leaning political projects that swept the continent in first decade of the present century (Artz, 2017). Despite many of the issues having roots in neoliberal policy, new social movements go beyond politics and can be understood as counter-hegemonic battles for meaning.

In Latin America, issues affecting many groups, from indigenous people, to women, to environmentalists, have come to the fore through social movements, symptomatic of neoliberal policies. Previously fringe or ignored Latin American subject positions in politics such as race, gender, sexuality and the environment have exploded onto the political scene since the 1980s, with new social movements politicising these subject positions. New social movements were often characterised by their openness, contradictions and non-fixed nature (Evers, 1985, pp. 44–45), appealing to many different subject groups across society. New social movement theory in Latin America understands social movements as heterogeneous in class, race, religion or nation and appealing to a number of social actors, unifying them in a singular movement (Foweraker, 1995, pp. 36–60). Evers emphasises that in the Latin American context these counterhegemonic positions are multiple and go beyond Eurocentric conceptions of social movements, bringing in a variety of additional subject positions, such as the indigenous one (Evers, 1985). These aspects of novelty are one element that allows events with seemingly separate historical and cultural backgrounds across the globe to be connected; events such as Occupy, the '*Indignados*' [The Indignant], the Arab Spring (Luigi Farro, 2016, pp. 15–34), as well

as more recent movements such as Chile's *estallido*, amongst a wave of protests across the region. All such movements have their specificities but are unified in their critique of socially fragmented, neoliberal societies.

According to Laclau, new social movements have 'been characterised by an increasing politicisation of social life', which has in turn 'shattered the vision of politics as a closed, homogenous space' (Laclau, 1985, pp. 29–30). Discourse theory posits that identities are created between the individual and the universal spheres (Errejón, 2011, p. 124). With highly fractured social lives in a neoliberal society, the social reality becomes individualized, reinforcing hegemony and fragmenting civil society, whilst quelling conditions traditionally conducive to the creation of successful social movements, such as the existence of strong tie networks like trade unions. What makes these social movements 'new' is their politicisation of social identity, and in recent times their use of online networks to overcome the challenges neoliberal societies pose to collective action.

These wide-reaching new social movements are made up by groupings of individual identities under a collective movement as an 'existential form of resistance' and an attempt at self-liberation from hegemonic society (Luigi Farro, 2016, p. 23). Laclau and Mouffe's *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (Laclau, 2001) leads to an understanding of how such transversal and seemingly open and unfixed the social is. Through the process of 'articulation' ('any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice') a discourse ('the structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice') is constructed (Laclau, 2001, p. 105). In this sense, the networks that create new social movements are understood to be a locus for articulation, the protests, and movements themselves, the counterhegemonic discourse.

Evers has focussed in particular on the role of the identity- alienation dichotomy in Latin America:

The rebellion against existing society hidden within the new social movements is not against any specific aspect of capitalist society, even though the different movements tend to specialize around the issues that gave birth to each of them. The thrust seems to be against alienation as such, in all aspects: alienation of man from himself, from the product of his work, from other human beings from nature (Evers, 1985, pp. 55–56).

It is by this dichotomy that the individuals become delegitimised within a hegemonic society. Hegemony permits the delegitimization of movements, through the non-recognition of subject positions, whilst using institutions such as the police, the church and the press to represent legitimacy, thus creating the accepted identity (in neoliberal society these are subjects of market forces) and the alienated identity (individuals challenging or rejecting market society).

The strength of new social movements such as Occupy (a global movement that followed the 2008 financial crash and responded to its social and economic fall-out) and 15-M (a Spanish social movement that demanded political transparency, social justice, and an end to austerity measures amid economic crisis and high unemployment), is how they incorporate many individual subject positions, with the collective subject position created through the process of articulation. The collective identity is thus ‘constructed through relationships based on dialogue around individual conceptualizations’ of resistance, alternative pathways and direction (Luigi Farro, 2016, p. 23). In other words, political battles such as those brought forward by new social movements can be understood as battles for meaning (Errejón, 2011, pp. 123–124). Despite the creation of a collective identity, the individual identities are not lost (Luigi Farro, 2016, p. 24), but reified as legitimate component parts of the social movement. It is thus that these movements can be understood as counter-hegemonic movements.

1.3 ONLINE SOCIAL NETWORKS IN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The last two decades has seen the exponential growth of social media, or Social Media Networks (SMNs). When referring to SMNs, this thesis refers to ‘websites and computer programs that allow people to communicate and share information on the internet using a computer or mobile phone’ (Cambridge-Dictionary, 2020b), such as Facebook, Instagram, X and WhatsApp. From the launch of Facebook in 2004 and Twitter in 2006, SMNs now play a key role in our societies as tools for communication. Unsurprisingly, the societal effects have been wide-ranging and often disputed. Of particular interest to this study, it has been found that those who engage with politics through digital media are more likely to associate with and join protests from various groups (Bennett, 2011). Naturally, when discussing new social movements, much focus has been given to events such as the Arab Spring, Occupy, and the Spanish ‘*Indignados*’ movement, as scholars consider the impact social media played in these new social movements.

These recent, prominent protest movements are interconnected by their non-hierarchical, horizontal structure and the transversal manner in which they bring people together (Hill, 2013, pp. 38–43) as well as by their incorporation of a variety of subject positions such as indigenous people, as mentioned. Additionally, in advanced capitalist societies, new social movements traditionally refer to movements such as feminist, ecological, peace and human rights movements amongst others (Slater, 1985, pp. 1–21).

Modern examples of new social movements can be partially explained by ‘the logic of connective and collective action (Bennett, 2012)’. Bennett and Segerberg propose a three-part model for describing protests movements, from the more organisation based, traditional, collective action networks, to the non-hierarchical, decentralized connective action networks, and a hybrid in-between. This spectrum considers the differences between how all protest movements are arranged. It is important as it bridges

the gap between traditional theories of social organization to modern ones, allowing the possibility that often, movements are in fact a hybrid of old and new methods, and do not align to an individual model to explain their conception. Thus, protest movements can be understood by considering the multifaceted approach that they may have (Bennett, 2012), particularly considering the new dimensions that SMNs can add. Though this variation exists, many modern protests movements are indeed non-hierarchical in structure, and organised through SMNs, which facilitate the sharing of ideas (Hill, 2013, pp. 38–43), making them closer to the ‘connective action’ model than to traditional ‘collective action’ model; with little to no organizational coordination, large scale access to ‘social technologies’, inclusive personal action frames, personal expression through social networks and crowd networking which keeps itself removed from formal organisations (Bennett, 2012 Figure 1). Connective action therefore has additional points of articulation to that of traditional collective action, as it incorporates online networks as a locus for articulation.

When considering SMNs, a wide range of other roles (beyond articulation) have been identified for them in protest movements. For example, Facebook was used in Tunisia to share images of the events in Sidi Bouzid, which are widely considered to be the trigger for the uprising in Tunisia, provoking broad reaching civil unrest. It was only later that Al Jazeera and other traditional forms of media began to take notice, but the events had been widely documented on SMNs already (Castells, 2015, pp. 22–30). Similarly, Hill notes that ‘if you had asked an international commentator about Tunisia prior to 2010, he or she would probably have told you that it was more prosperous and more stable than other countries in North Africa and less likely than its neighbours to experience social unrest’ (Hill, 2013, p. 60). If you switch Tunisia and North Africa for Chile and Latin America, the statement stands true.

In the Tunisian case, SMNs were both a quasi-news provider and a point for organisation and discussion. Equally, YouTube was one of the principal mediums used to share footage of the uprisings in Egypt’s Tahrir Square, and Facebook was used to organise protestors and disorientate the police (Hill, 2013, pp. 65–67). In Europe, the ‘*Indignados*’ [Indignant] movement (a Spanish anti-austerity movement) used Twitter not only to discuss the topics surrounding the protests, but again to help organise them, leading to the affirmation that ‘the revolution was tweeted’ (Vallina-Rodriguez, 2012). On a smaller scale, Twitter was also attributed to the organisation of social protests as a precursor to the mass Chilean protests of 2011, as it was used to organise protests against the *Barrancones* coal power plant project in 2010 (Schaeffer, 2017, pp. 138–139).

Of course, SMNs extend beyond Facebook and X/Twitter where much research focuses. Instant messaging services, SMS and blogs also played a key role in the Arab Spring, and previous Arab movements (Moussa, 2013). This extends to Chile, where WhatsApp has been found to have a significant impact on the sharing of political ideas (Valenzuela, 2019), as explored further later on.

Although SMNs are part of a wider media eco-system, they still contribute a significant amount to these movements in the form of enabling and facilitating the processes that led to the realization of these protest movements, such as discussion and organisation.

Traditional media plays a key role in democracy, enabling citizens (to varying degrees) to engage politically (Mathias Kepplinger, 2008). Kepplinger discusses a variety of definitions of both ‘public’ and ‘opinion’, as well as the overall effects of the media on public opinion. However, for the purpose of this paper, the understanding is that traditional media still plays a role in the formation of political opinions, (Mathias Kepplinger, 2008) but is now no longer on its own in having a platform to do so. As mentioned, the Arab Spring and ‘*Indignados*’ were not initially covered by traditional media until days after the events unravelled. In the meantime, SMNs were awash with videos and stories of the uprising as SMNs became an alternative platform for the acquisition of information. As the role of SMNs escalates, traditional media has fought to integrate itself into these new platforms and retain its role as a key, trusted source of news. By 2019, SMNs accounted for over half of the world’s access to news (Nel, 2019, p. 12), with these sites found to be the second most common gateway to access online news (Newman, 2020, p. 24) globally. With such a key function in social movements and their coverage, it is unavoidable to consider the role of traditional media on SMNs in protest movements and their representations.

1.4 CHILEAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Having considered the historical context of Chile, the continent-wide context of new social movements and the effects of SMNs, this thesis now considers in more detail, the Chilean context of new social movements. In many Latin American countries, there have been issues in concluding what form democracy should take after their transitions. Across the continent, debates are often based around and divided over neoliberalism as the magna carta (Munck, 2015, p. 369) as well as tensions between a more liberal or popular democratic model. The overall trend in Latin America has been for politicians to reject and alter the type of democracy in a top-down formation (Munck, 2015, p. 383). In Chile conversely, the combination of consensus and authoritarian legacy denied and delayed these debates within the political sphere. As governments became more polarized, the social contract began to be partially addressed through progressive, though relatively minor reforms. Constitutional changes began to enter the fray with the ‘third-generation’ of neoliberal protest, characterised by ‘more offensive claims for public services and social citizenship rights’ but this was not until 2011-13 (Silva, 2017, pp. 232–266)

When discussing Chile, it has been argued by critics such as Albertus and Menaldo, that Pinochet’s regime was not entirely neoliberal, giving examples such as the bailing out the banks in the crisis of 1981 as contrary to neoliberal dogma. They argue instead that policies were a mismatch that served to

ensure the regime's stability by supporting *grupos económicos* [economic groups] that would serve the dictatorships interests (Albertus, 2018, pp. 209–246). Whilst there may be inconsistencies in policies, the general reduction in size and role of the state, majority market freedom and low state expenditure leads to the understanding transition Chile as a neoliberal (Cambridge-Dictionary, 2020a) state overall, if inconsistent in its implementation. In fact, most of the Western world bailed out banks after the 2008 crisis, but that does not lead to the conclusion that they are not in the majority neoliberal societies. A further stabilising factor in Chile was the binomial system, which afforded the political elite relative stability and consensus, or at least a lack of real challenge to the type of democracy that would be employed; neoliberalism went unchallenged. It has taken the reaction of civil society to challenge the system through mass movements, starting with the 'March of the Penguins' in 2006 through to the 2019 '*estallido*.'

Since the widespread shift to a neoliberal society in the 1980s, often dubbed the 'neoliberal counterrevolution' (Rice, 2012, p. 35), neoliberal ideology has had a profound effect on civil society and its capability for collective action. The counterrevolution had a particularly strong influence on traditional forms of collective action as society became atomized, disorganised, and fragmented. In the Chilean case, Roberta Rice uses the example of the parcellation of land under the Pinochet regime. By dividing larger plots of land into smaller parcels and creating a highly competitive market environment, farmers were in direct competition with one another for credit and services, destroying any sense of unity, as is reflected in the decline of trade unions in this period. The traditional organisers of collective action were thus weakened by the neoliberal logic of a market-based economy (Rice, 2012, p. 41). Comparatively, in an urban setting, the competition for credit has also been responsible for the fragmentation of urban populations such as those in Santiago's *Peñalolén comuna* [Peñalolén community], in which the awarding of legal land titles and access to credit has pushed the population away from social mobilisation and action groups and incorporated them into market society (Greaves, 2012, pp. 102–107). With civil society fragmented and individualised, traditional forms of collective action do not have the tools historically required to create a counter-hegemonic movement and new methods are now required. This rolling back of the state and expansion of the free market has had serious consequences for social life in Latin America, reducing the role of unions and leading to the emergence of new social movements (Bizberg, 2014). This combination of weak trade unions and a developed market society alongside the hangover of fear from the Pinochet regime meant that unlike other Latin American nations, Chile did not experience the first two generations of anti-neoliberal protests which were characterised as defensive in nature, as there was no real civil society to defend. This explains the emergence of the first combative protests being described by Kenneth M. Roberts as of the 'third-generation' (Roberts, 2017).

The re-emergence of social mobilisation from below in Chile is unique in that, whilst it can be linked to other social movements on the continent, the country has largely followed a different trajectory, moving directly into these third-generation protests. Third generation of anti-neoliberal protests are characterised by ‘more offensive claims for public services and social citizenship rights, (public education, health care, labour rights, environmental protection etc’) (Roberts, 1997, p. 233) whereas the first two waves are more defensive. Where politics has failed, civil society pulls back.

Academics such as Eduardo Silva (Silva, 2017) and Kenneth M. Roberts (Roberts, 2017) have discussed Latin American social movements through the lens of Karl Polanyi’s theory of double movements. Put simply, Polanyi states that markets trade in commodities but that labour, land and money are in fact fictitious commodities; they are foundations of society and not products. When these are commodified as in a market society, Polanyi argues that without regulation, they would lead to the perishing of society itself. The ‘double movement’ sees the pulling back of society through regulations against so-called self-regulating markets (Polanyi, 2001, pp. 71–80).

In Andean countries many examples of first- and second-generation anti-neoliberal protests in defence of the rights of civil society and as a response to the lack of alternative, have taken place. These protests have often led to a lurch to the left in government, installing anti-neoliberal leaders such as Evo Morales in Bolivia, Rafael Correa in Ecuador and Hugo Chávez further afield in Venezuela, completely redressing the system (Roberts, 2017, p. 229). A European example of a double movement was the creation of the welfare state in the post-war period (Levitt, 2018, p. 11), addressing the social needs of the post-war generation. More specifically, Eduardo Silva describes these double movements in a modern context as ‘loose coalitions of heterogeneous social groups complete with an agenda for a post-neoliberal era and new political movements that mobilized strong, and ultimately winning, electoral force (Silva, 2017, p. 271). This was argued by Silva as different to the Chilean case, highlighting the emergence of a ‘politically decisive countermovement’, which was absent in Chile at the time.

However, with the emergence of the *estallido* and the electoral success of Gabriel Boric (President of Chile 2022 -2026), a prominent leader of the student movement that first participated in Chile’s protest wave from 2011, this development had potential to change that outlook. Richard Sandbrook noted that the uprising in Santiago was part of an international wave of protest that could have (if effective) led to an effective double movement, though Sandbrook argued the global outlook was unclear at the time of writing (Sandbrook, 2022). In the case of Chile, despite electoral success which included a promise of constitutional change, Gabriel Boric saw attempts to re-write the constitution ultimately rejected, reinforcing the idea that though the countermovements are gaining force, they have not yet provided an answer. As a result, the Chilean protests of the last decade can be understood to be third generation and Polanyian in logic, regardless of whether they are considered successful or not.

With the polarization of Chilean politics and the *Nueva Mayoría* shifting to the left in 2013 (Fábrega, 2018), some issues such as the abolition of the binomial voting system and labour reforms have already attempted to respond to the demands of civil society. In 2017, Silva demonstrated that, though Polanyian in logic, Chilean protest movements since 2011 are not a destabilizing threat to Chilean democracy, as they are not ‘politically decisive countermovements’ (Silva, 2017, pp. 270–273). This is an interesting theory to apply to the *estallido* and Boric’s subsequent election. Indeed, a Polanyian countermovement takes time (Levitt, 2018, p. 18) so the protest movements of the last decade could come to be viewed as a part of this process, as could the election of Gabriel Boric. However, until a new constitution is written, accepted and implemented, the double movement is incomplete. These are all stages in a process, which has not delivered and, of course, may never deliver. Certainly, given the explanations above, the *estallido* can be considered Polanyian in its anti-neoliberal logic, as it demanded de-commodification in multiple areas, as representation from all members of society rallying for issues such as *No + AFP* (against private pensions), protests about the cost of transportation, education and healthcare amongst others, came to the fore. With the *estallido* directly provoking electoral desire for a change in constitution, as well as a leader borne out of a protest movement, the latest movements in Chilean politics certainly appear to be somewhat a departure from a more ‘elite-democracy’ based on Pinochet’s constitution, to a more ‘popular democracy’ as defined by Albertus and Menaldo (Albertus, 2018, pp. 25–62)

In the literature on the *estallido*, the protests have been understood to criticise the market system by focusing on issues such as economic inequality (Garcés, 2019; Manríquez, 2020), class struggle (Márquez, 2020) and social inequality (Ranjan, 2020), but it also criticises other areas such as the position of indigenous people in the country and the lack of political representation by traditional parties (Garcés, 2019; Quiroga, 2020), health care issues (Lancet, 2019), and dictatorial shadows (Garcés, 2019). Another central issue was the role that institutions played (particularly the *carabineros*) as critics have noted the crisis of trust in institutions (Quiroga, 2020) and the continuing and highly visible abuses of the Police (Manríquez, 2020), with Camila Vergara highlighting the incorporation of laws taken from the ‘fascist playbook’, designed to criminalise peaceful protestors (Vergara, 2020). To accompany that, an ethnographic study into the expression of bodily abuse shows it to be a prominent theme (Márquez, 2020). A final significant aspect which gained much international media attention was *Las Tesis- Un Violador en tu Camino* which addressed gender violence in society, a song and dance largely spread online and since adopted by feminist movements across the globe (Serafini, 2020). This element built upon the momentum generated during previous feminist movements such as the *mayo feminista* social movement, which exploded onto the scene in 2018 after accusations of sexual assault against an academic at *Universidad Austral de Chile* provoked campus takeovers and marches, as students demanded an end to gender violence and structural discrimination (Alfaro Monsalve, 2021).

These areas are all notable for their characteristic of pulling back against a system characterised by dictatorship and neoliberal policy, be it through direct criticism, or by the expression of highly individualized identities, unifying as sub-movements within the *estallido*. These issues confirm the Polanyian logic of the *estallido* and certainly given the range of identities expressed, lead to agreement with Ranjan and Bruna in saying that it was a transversal movement (Ranjan, 2020). This transversality and the multiple subject positions also conform to Evers's idea of movements having a strong basis in the 'alienation-identity dichotomy' (Evers, 1985), as part of an emancipatory process for these groups. Despite neoliberalism's destruction of traditional collective action, this new social movement grew from below as an amalgamation of various protests and social issues, building over many years.

1.5 CHILEAN SOCIAL MEDIA NETWORKS

With an understanding of some of the issues raised by the *estallido*, the context and the history of Chilean social movements, as well as the relevance of SMNs in new social movements, SMNs in Chile will now be considered.

For the first time in history, the 2020 Digital News Report showed that 'online' (including social media) became the most important source of news in Chile, whilst the public lacked trust in their media sources, particularly television and the press. Furthermore, internet penetration in 2019 was 77% (Newman, 2020, p. 92), making it an eminently accessible resource. This shift in the news market makes the contemporary field of social media research even more pertinent. Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram and YouTube are the four dominant SMNs in Chile, but each have limitations as sources for study. With YouTube the exception, these are all largely private sources of media, allowing researchers a very limited view of the content being shared between nodes (users) and the relationships and networks this content exists in. This means that researchers may rely on a users' personal evaluations and data generated from surveys, as opposed to from directly observable content. Referred to as 'measurement error due to respondents', where subjects' answers may not reflect the full picture, this is just one of the potential problems of conducting research using surveys (Weisberg, 2008, pp. 223–231).

Focusing on Chile specifically, a connection has been established between youth participation in social movements and SMNs in the country (Scherman, 2012). Furthermore, a 2018 study found WhatsApp to be an influential tool for news and political information in the country and can lead to both online and offline participation in protest (Valenzuela, 2019). Whilst the study made a clear argument for the consideration of WhatsApp, it has limitations as it relies on participation and surveys to gather data, which require self-reporting and can be inaccurate. Additionally, WhatsApp and other messaging platforms were considered to be the most misleading source of information in Chile around the time being researched (Newman, 2020, p. 20). Whilst WhatsApp reached a high proportion of the population (40-49%) (Newman, 2019, p. 18/19), it was also less trusted. The combination of low trust, high privacy

and a reliance on personal evaluations through surveys, makes WhatsApp less than ideal for the present study. The element of privacy also weakens the case for Facebook and Instagram.

The Chilean WhatsApp study is not the only study to suggest that complementary a connection exists between online actions and offline protests in the country, as studies have shown that the 2011 student and environmental protests were strongly influenced by social media, particularly Facebook, and to a lesser extent Twitter (Scherman, 2015), with the *Barrancones* protests of 2010 for example using Twitter as a tool to arrange protest activities (Schaeffer, 2017, pp. 138–139). Indeed, in retrospective studies of social movements, Twitter has been argued to be a preferable source due to the nature of it being more open (Bastos, 2015), allowing researchers to form conclusions based on the evidence of content, as opposed to the personal evaluations made by the users themselves. It is not just the open source of Twitter that appeals. It has been suggested that in mass movements in Chile, young people (a highly mobilised group) from higher socio-economic backgrounds and from the left are more likely to protest (Somma, 2020, p. 695), despite these actions benefitting lower socio-economic groups in principle (Scherman, 2015, pp. 164–165). Additionally, whilst Twitter had lower uptake than other social media sites, it is used more by higher socio-economic groups (Scherman, 2015, p. 155) which establishes a unique connection between Twitter and this socio-economic group with a high propensity for protest. Furthermore, whilst the use of Twitter surged during the initial months of protests (October to December 2019), usage of Facebook and YouTube fell (StatCounter, 2020). Twitter has also been found to be Chileans preferred SMN for following politicians and discussing politics (CADEM-JELLY, 2019). All of this suggests that whilst Twitter may not be the most used SMN, it is intrinsically linked to social movements in Chile.

Considering the *estallido*, a study by Juan Eduardo Bonnin elected Twitter as the platform of choice for the analysis of hashtags during the first week of the protest, justified by Twitter being the chosen platform for politicians and the discussion of politics online in Chile (Bonnin, 2020). In the paper, Bonnin lists the most influential hashtags used for and against the protests in the first week, also noting any spelling changes used to keep topics trending and discussing the impact of Twitterstorms too. His article gives an insight into what he calls the ‘handcrafted algorithmic activism’ that took place in Chile during 2019’s *estallido*, demonstrating a clear link between the movement and the platform. This gives insight into the specific tactics used by supporters of the protests in Chile in 2019 and highlights a degree of significance at the time of the *estallido*. It is linked to politics, it is used by a politically active group, it enjoyed increased usage during this period, and examples of activism on the platform at this time can be seen too.

Despite this, a 2021 article by Andrés Scherman found that Twitter is not directly linked to youth participation in the *estallido*, with only Facebook showing a strong link as a platform mediating protest

action. Facebook was the only platform to be statistically associated, though all showed a positive coefficient in favour of protesting. Looking at specific online actions, sharing news and opinions was linked to action, though ‘the consumption of newspapers, radio, and alternative online media outlets is not associated with protest involvement’. The study suggests that amongst the youth, Twitter had a falling potential mobilising effect. Moving forwards, this poses challenges for the justification of Twitter as a platform for analysis. However, in the study, higher levels of engagement in protest from young individuals from middle to high socioeconomic status groups, as well as those from the left are seen (Scherman & Rivera, 2021 Table 2).

Of traditional news, radio consumption was top, followed by newspapers, with TV lagging behind (Scherman & Rivera, 2021) (hardly surprising following the calls of ‘*Apaga la tele*’ [switch the TV off] during the *estallido*, as many distrusted the television news representation of the protests). Scherman’s study certainly posed challenges to the selection of Twitter and its relevance. However, though Twitter may not have had a direct link to protest action during the *estallido*, it was still a source of information which would have had a bearing on moulding opinions of Chileans with relation to the period of analysis, with newspapers also maintaining a relevance, and therefore there is still a strong case for analysing newspaper headlines from Twitter within this period, building on previous analyses of the platform.

In a CDA of newspaper articles relating to the *estallido*, the three most prominent aspects discussed were highlighted as physical and economic impacts in strikes, violence and power relations at the protests, and a distortion of the voice of protestors, where ‘mediatic speeches towards the 2019-2020 Chilean Uprising were frequently distorted, representing a cut of reality, and favouring private interests’ with motivations constantly being questioned by the papers (Freitas de Souza, 2020). When looking at the *estallido* through the media, a study on *Radio Bío Bío*’s coverage of the *estallido* by Valentina Proust and Magdalena Saldaña found that violence and protest frames were a key feature of *Radio Bío Bío*’s news coverage (Proust & Saldaña, 2022). When looking at *ciberprensa* [online press] (Seguel & Farías, 2022) an analysis of texts from three leading Chilean news outlets was conducting using critical discourse analysis to locate texts within the social practice of *cibernoticias* [online news], where three different ideological positions were found by looking at the contents of news articles. The results showed the outlet ‘*Emol*’ emphasise condemnation of violence in the metro, focusing on the social and political implications of the unrest by highlighting the impact of violence. ‘*La Tercera*’ legitimised the government by framing the events as chaos caused by fare evasions and underscoring the state’s duty to act. Its coverage reinforced the necessity and justification of governmental intervention. ‘*El Mostrador*’ conversely, adopted a stance delegitimising the government, portraying it as weakened,

ethically discredited, and comparable to a dictatorship. This framing sought to undermine the government's moral and political authority.

In summary, the development of SMNs as a significant tool in social movements across the globe over the last two decades has been demonstrated and the case for using Twitter is furthered as it is the most open SMN, despite the questions raised for future researchers surrounding its ongoing power for mobilisation. In January 2019, Twitter was used by 16% of the Chilean online population for news and by about 25% of users overall, ranking it as the 5th most popular SMN news source (Newman, 2019, p. 127). It was also found to be habitually used for following politicians and sharing and discussing politics (CADEM-JELLY, 2019, p. 11). By the following survey in January 2020, Twitter had grown to 31% using the platform and 22% using it for news, remaining 5th choice as SMN for news (Newman, 2020, p. 91). It had a strong link to social movements in Chile, higher usage during the period of intense protest, and was predominantly used by a socio-economic group with the strong ties to protest movements in Chile. A significant barrier to social movements is the cost of organisation, something which Twitter alleviates as it enables people from across the globe to freely interact, breaking down barriers of communication and organisation (Scherman, 2015). This can be seen by some of the methods explained by Bonnin when looking at the *estallido*, such as tweetstorms. In addition to the organisational aspect of Twitter's use in protests, it has been demonstrated that SMNs may be used for the facilitation of discourse on topics, as feedback loops propagate the expansion of both online and offline protest (Bastos, 2015). Given the work already carried out on SMNs and social movements in the country, Twitter presents itself as a logical SMN to analyse when considering the *estallido*.

1.6 HEADLINES

Having considered the role of SMNs and explained the value in analysing Twitter, headlines in the context of Twitter will now be considered. With so many sources all competing for readers' attention, it is impossible to read everything, and therefore can be difficult for individuals to judge the value of individual articles (Chen, 2015, pp. 1–4). Whilst previously headlines were designed to indicate what articles were about within the context of being read within a newspaper, articles are now removed from this context and compete with other news sources and providers for attention. Thus, the role of the headline is now to catch attention and spike a reader's interest above any other news article, as opposed to merely signalling the content of an article (Kuiken, 2017; Moncomble, 2017). Such headlines that are designed to grab one's attention are often dubbed 'clickbait'. In the literature, there are various definitions of clickbait, but for the purpose of this study it is understood in the same way as Kevin Munger in his study of *The Economics of Clickbait* (Munger, 2019); by the Merriam-Webster

definition: ‘something (such as a headline) designed to make readers want to click on a hyperlink especially when the link leads to content of dubious value or interest’ (Merriam-Webster, 2020). It has been documented how sites such as ‘Upworthy’ showed the early potential for clickbait headlines, as their clickbait model provided efficient monetisation of news, and enjoyed heavy traffic in its early years (Munger, 2019, pp. 377–380). This highlights a turning point in the understanding of a headline’s value: its role is no longer just informative, but also a tool for engagement and thus monetarization. Since this initial model, headlines have developed further and Munger describes a new style of clickbait headline that he calls ‘partisan emotional clickbait; a headline that appeals directly and explicitly to the emotions of the reader’ (Munger, 2020, p. 51). Whilst competing for clicks, the use of emotion has been selected as a more influential way to engage readers, and the headline has become central to those efforts.

Van Dijk notes that ‘headlines and titles also function as the conventional text category for the expression of semantic macrostructures, or topics, which organise local semantic structures; for this reason, such topics are better represented and recalled’ (van Dijk, 2006, p. 365), highlighting the power which these elements of media discourse carry. Where headlines emphasise irrelevant details, as opposed to the most important topics, it may indicate a direct attempt at manipulation (van Dijk, 2006, p. 366) (understood as illegitimate domination by powerful groups over the rest, against their best interests. It is illegitimate ‘because it (re)produces, or may reproduce, inequality’ (van Dijk, 2006). Despite the character limit on Twitter giving users a limited number of words to use, the same logic carries: due to the character limitations, the words that are ultimately selected have been carefully considered to convey a specific message (Moncomble, 2017).

When considering the role of headlines on SMNs it is worth also addressing the topic of echo chambers (whereby only homophilic views are gathered). Research suggests that both similar opinions and contrasting ones play a role in confirmation bias. Online, readers experience not only similar opinions but opposing ones too (Karlsen, 2017), moving away from the notion of echo chambers. These oppositions allow individuals to confirm their existing opinion and demonstrates that it is not necessarily the content alone, but the context of media on SMNs that influences people. Individuals often do not look for the detailed counter argument but use the existence of a counter argument to confirm their own opinion as correct. This further suggests that something as small and emotionally loaded as a headline could carry this high level of influence. Furthermore, headlines have been found to play a significant role in readers’ news selection, leading to confirmation, source (choosing from only specific sources) and negativity bias (an unconscious preference for negatively framed news) (Van der Meer, 2020). The use of emotions makes headlines far more influential than they traditionally were, especially when experienced on SMNs as they can easily play a role in confirming pre-existing biases.

This highlights the significant power yielded by modern headlines experienced on SMNs in engagement and the formation of opinions.

This considered, the trend in Chile is that trust in the news media is falling (Newman, 2020), and it is becoming increasingly difficult for readers to discern what is legitimate news and what is not. This could be exacerbated by credibility cascades. Credibility cascades propose that ‘social recommendation provides credibility to news stories as they spread along online networks, cascading through layers of increasingly sophisticated digital news consumers (Munger, 2019). Therefore, if a source (organisation, website etc) cannot be used to verify the validity of the article, the social environment in which the article is found, carries that function instead. This adds an interesting dimension for consideration. If individuals are drawn in by emotional partisan headlines shared by connections on SMNs, then they have the ability to be influenced by non-credible sources that may not have otherwise influenced them. Even if the article is not read, if the logic of a credibility cascade is applied to the encountering of a headline on Twitter, it has the potential to influence a reader without them ever having to click on the article and read it. Therefore, there is potentially a significant impact from the environment in which individuals read headlines and their news, even if from an implausible source. When the emotional loading of these headlines is combined with the potential effects of credibility cascades, it shows the importance and the influence that traditional media headlines can carry on SMNs, even in a context of falling trust.

‘Reuters Institute found that while about 2/3 of respondents could remember the path through which they found the news story (Facebook, X, etc) only 47% could remember publishing the publishing news brand when the path was through social media’ (Campbell, 2017). This is important, as it has also been found that Chilean trust in ‘traditional news’ fell after the *estallido* with some arguing that Chile’s democratic crisis was not only institutional but discursive as trust in traditional media collapsed (Juan Pablo Luna 2021). With a loss of trust in the mainstream news, paired with readers readily forgetting the source of their news, the potential for headlines to have an impact is significant. Interestingly, it is not known whether this lack of trust in traditional media led to readers having positive associations with blue-tick news outlets or not. This is an important point, as this thesis used ‘blue-tick’ sources; these sources previously signalled a verified and legitimate source on Twitter. Since Elon Musk’s takeover, this element was commodified and lost this meaning, but in the context of the time analysed, it signalled an ‘official’ and verified source. Whilst it is not certain how readers reacted to these signals in this context, it can be assumed that these ticks had an effect, either in confirming an opinion shared with the press, or by confirming the perceived press’ bias. Other papers have justified using headlines as a focal point too such as (Culver & McLeod, 2023), as readers tend to scan read more often, making headlines a key element for scanners (Bleich et al., 2015). Furthermore, studies have shown how stories shared

earlier on Twitter can set the narrative for understanding protest movements (Brannon & Roy, 2024; Kalyanam et al., 2016).

In sum, despite the ever-evolving nature of online news, the contemporary relevance of headlines on SMNs can be seen through their powerful influence on bias and the potential influence of credibility cascades compromising legitimacy. When considering the news items shared by influential nodes on Twitter, it is therefore logical to look at the headlines that are shared, and how widely those are then circulated, as these are the gateways that users select in order to discover more information on the topics which interest them most. With Twitter showing links to social movements in Chile, this study looks at the headlines found on Twitter and considers the effects these headlines may have had during the *estallido*.

1.7 CONCLUSION

Two broad themes of particular interest emerge through the recent history of Chile: the polarization of civil society and the predominance of neoliberal ideology. Given the context of dictatorship and its influence on Chile's democracy (making it closer to the model of an 'elite based democracy') it can be understood how so many fundamental societal issues went untouched for so many years. Despite increasing polarization of politics in Chile since 2013 to try politically reengage people, a market system implemented by an autocratic constitution that dominated the country's political capabilities has resulted in Chile's crisis of democracy. As new social movements emerged over the last decade and a half, there has been articulation within civil society, as an alternative discourse has been constructed from below, leading to the *estallido*. This alternative discourse is transversal and counter-hegemonic; it is part of an emancipatory process for a variety group previously subjugated by the alienation-identity dichotomy and can be understood as a Polanyian double movement in its logic, if not its outcome. Electorally speaking, this has been seen in the rise of new political actors looking to deepen democracy and replace the Pinochet era constitution, though despite early momentum, various challenges thwarted change.

Recent studies of Chilean social movements have exposed this Polanyian logic and the *estallido* is a continuation of that process to pull back against market logic. The literature suggests diverse points of unification that help to create the collective identity for the movement, confirming the transversal nature of the protests and their anti-neoliberal logic. To date, the role of the media has been thoroughly explored in new social movements across the globe. However, when looking at these movements, little attention appears to have been paid to headlines on SMNs alone and the unique role they can play in informing an individual's understanding of the movements. Knowing the craftwork that goes into creating headlines and how influential headlines can be online, this thesis considers the potential effects of headlines as part of the analysis, and how they might inform or manipulate a population's

understanding of new social movements, using Chile's *estallido* as the example. Furthermore, it incorporates additional elements such as images, statistical analysis of language in the corpus, as well as protests frames, as explained in the methodology.

2 METHODOLOGY

This chapter begins by considering approaches to Twitter/X analysis, approaches to CDA, and the representation of protest both globally and in the Chilean context. Next, it proposes a grammar of Twitter, showing the different elements to the platform, how they interact, and which elements will be used in the analysis. Following this, an approach is proposed with some research questions and hypotheses, before the data collection and issues are explained and the final methodology is presented.

When analysing Twitter data and traditional press media, researchers have taken different approaches to critical discourse analysis, with methods developing from linguistic analysis to a more multimodal approach. For example, in an article looking at the media's framing of Boko Haram in newspapers through Twitter, (Joe, 2020) a multimodal approach to CDA was combined with a hierarchical cluster analysis, separating the newspaper content from the Twitter conversations surrounding the same topic and treating them as separate units for analysis. Equally, when looking at discourse surrounding Genetically Modified Organisms during the Brexit debate, Roberta Fabrizi looked at news coverage and Twitter conversation separately, before considering the effects of one on the other (Fabrizi, 2021). A similar intertextual approach was also taken when comparing the news coverage of a murder suicide case in Ireland, looking at the press output and the Twitter discussions on the topic (Quinn et al., 2019). This use of hashtag to track topics of conversation is a well-documented technique (Kreis, 2019; Prendergast & Quinn, 2021). Prendergast & Quinn compare hashtagged conversations with the discourse of the press media, for example. A more traditional approach to CDA is a linguistic focus on the output of individuals, such as Donald Trump's tweets (Goldfarb, 2017). In this particular example though, a corpus-based approach is used to back up the findings of the individual close analysis to show a tangible and scalable impact, and a multi-modal analysis of sorts. A connecting theme across these studies is the incorporation of a multimodal style of analysis. Though all take differing approaches, there is a consensus that looking at the content alone is insufficient (this is explored below); other elements such as images, hashtags and a wider context for the tweets should be considered.

The above studies look to create a link between the discourse of the press and the discourse of users or look at how users are connected through the discourse they share. These approaches are valid but show a disconnect from the way in which users experience their Twitter feed. Whilst a connection may exist between the language used in news articles and the language reproduced by users, these methodologies assume that users read every article in detail and therefore place heightened significance on the content itself. In reality, there is more content on a Twitter feed than any individual can realistically consume, leading users to select only certain pieces of content that have caught their attention to actively engage with.

Critical discourse analysts such as Fairclough, and van Dijk have sought to develop on early critical linguistic approaches, with Fairclough arguing that there is a ‘lack of development between language, power and ideology’ (Machin, 2012, pp. 4–5). Fairclough considers the wider social embedding of news discourse in society, and van Dijk conceptualises context on three pillars: the text itself, cognitive linguistic elements, and social context, (for example, ‘News Schemata’ i.e., how individual items of news fit into a newspaper, website or programme) (van Dijk, 1988, pp. 49–59; 2008). Given Twitter’s recent connection to social movements (‘*Indignados*’, Arab Spring, Occupy, *Barrancones*, etc.), this social embedding forms the basis of this study’s approach to CDA, which is adapted specifically to Twitter news content, and developed later in this chapter.

When considering how the *estallido* itself was covered, it was important to first consider how protests in general are represented, as well as specifically within Chile. In a 2012 study on the representation of the student protests in Chile, Pérez Arredondo found by looking at a left-wing and a right-wing papers in Chile, both used the same techniques (the creation of in-groups and out-groups) for opposing ends; namely to delegitimise the government and police and to delegitimise the movement itself (Pérez-Arredondo, 2012). Equally in later studies, this split between alternative press and conservative press was seen to be present, with one looking to criticise the government and police and the other criticising the role of students and their disruption and violence (Pérez-Arredondo, 2017). Additionally, more localised press in Valdivia was found to follow similar trends that mirrored the trends of the more conservative national press, which went beyond informing and was found to create discourse that delegitimised the movement (Sartori et al., 2015). As discussed in the literature review, Proust and Saldaña (2022) found that violence and protest frames were key in *Radio Bío Bío*’s coverage of the *estallido*. Seguel and Farías (2022) analysed three leading Chilean news outlets, revealing distinct ideological positions: *Emol* condemned violence, *La Tercera* framed unrest as chaos justifying government intervention, while *El Mostrador* delegitimized the government, portraying it as weakened and ethically discredited. This suggests that in the present study, there will be variations in the results based on each different outlet to negatively present protestors, but the themes uncovered in the above article can be summarised into three meta-categories:

- Potential legitimisation/ delegitimization (through violence or otherwise) of all actors.
- Focus on the impacts of violence and protest.
- Absence of protestors’ voices/ discussions on the root cause of the protest.

Outside of the context of Chile, similar trends can be found. For example, the 2020 Black Lives Matter movement was framed in the news as a violent crime event and helped to push through tough anti-protest legislation (Culver & McLeod, 2023) befitting of a general trend in news outlets of focussing

on violence, crime and disorder during protests, as opposed to the social issues that caused them (Leopold & Bell, 2017; Mourão et al., 2018) resulting in coverage critical of the protestors, also referred to as the ‘protest paradigm.’ With this understanding of approaches to CDA, Twitter and the context of protest discourse in Chile, this thesis will now consider the elements that constitute Twitter and how appropriate they are for analysis.

2.1 THE GRAMMAR OF TWITTER

Twitter was a social media network (SMN) that enabled users to share comments, pictures, videos and links to a wider audience, often referred to as a micro-blog (Barash & Golder, 2010). Following Elon Musk’s acquisition of the platform in 2022, the name was changed to ‘X’. On the platform, users select to ‘follow’ other users whose content they wish to see, creating what Valenzuela (2018) calls ‘unidirectional/asymmetrical’ relationships (Valenzuela, 2018), whereby one user receives the other’s content as they post it, on their ‘timeline’ or ‘feed’. This relationship can be altered if the other user decides to follow back creating a bilateral relationship in which they both see one other’s tweets, or if they engage via liking, responding or tweeting one another, which creates a temporary bilateral relationship in the network. As a result of the open-source nature, many of the users that individuals will follow and engage with are not a result of close, personal relationships. Because of these affordances and limitations, Twitter relationships can be referred to as ‘loose-tie’, as many of the relationships are with acquaintances from diverse and often distant, distinct backgrounds (Valenzuela, 2018). Other platforms create different styles of relationship, with Facebook often used to retain existing social connections, and distinctions between profile types for friends (real and in-platform) and ‘likes’ (celebrities, politicians etc.)

As a result of these different styles of connections, each platform also gives algorithmic dominance to different content types. Facebook for example, prioritises content from strong-tie relationships, whereas Twitter rewards immediacy above all else (Valenzuela, 2018). Once users have followed a selection of accounts, they can navigate to their ‘homepage’ (timeline or feed) which shows a live chronology of tweets from the users they have followed. Since this study began, this homepage has been altered to add new features and there are two homepages, including one with content that Twitter’s algorithm believes may be of interest to individual users.

On Twitter, each user is denoted by their username, which takes the form of the ‘@’ symbol, followed by their chosen username. This is often their actual name or an organisation name, though this does not have to be the case as any combination of numbers and letters could make up the username. Despite this, names with long combinations of words and numbers may appear suspicious or illegitimate, and for this reason many accounts use a full name for legitimacy, such as @CNNChile for CNN Chile, or something with a clear link to the name such as @T13 for Tele 13. During the period analysed, users

may also have had a blue tick which follows their username, denoting that they are a legitimate or official source. Twitter previously awarded blue ticks only to official accounts such as governments, prominent figures and organisations such as news outlets. Since Elon Musk acquired the platform in 2022 (BBC, 2022), the blue tick became a purchasable commodity and has therefore lost much of the significance it once carried as anyone is able to pay for this feature.

Users must also select a profile picture or 'avatar'. Avatars in virtual settings can create a social cue, priming the user and affecting their cognition (Peña et al., 2009) as users act and think consistently from the cues their avatar gives, meaning that avatars play an important role in the creation of the online self. Yee & Bailenson argue that they can be considered the main identity cue in online environments (Yee & Bailenson, 2007), affecting user's perception of others and of sources. 'The proteus effect' claims that users will adapt their behaviour to match their chosen online self-representation (Yee & Bailenson, 2007), which in part explains the activities of anonymised accounts, who may be far more antagonistic than in real-life interactions, given their masked identity. The implications of avatars can be wide ranging and are too multitudinous to consider here; the relevant consideration is that the selection of an avatar is a conscious decision by users. Whether it is an accurate self-representation, a generic image, a designed avatar or a logo, all of these create different social cues and mean that those accounts themselves, as well as other users, will act in different ways depending on the context and the cues. At the time of the study, all Twitter users being analysed used a simple logo of their brand as their avatar, creating a sense of legitimacy and recognition for their audience who may be familiar with their brand already.

In the same way that avatars may prompt users to adopt an online persona, the affordances of different platforms can contribute to how stories may be delivered or interpreted. For example, *tuiteatro* [twitter-theatre] sees users engage in creative storytelling, utilising Twitter's immediacy, interactive and multimodal features to creatively deliver a story or anecdote via theatrical means (López-Terra, 2021). The affordances of the platform enable users to engage in this type of storytelling, that would not be possible in the same way on other platforms, that algorithmically prioritise different items and do not contain the same level of immediacy as Twitter [X]. Equally, the nature of privacy on these platforms has an impact on the content shared, with many users regularly altering their privacy settings to create different privacy contexts for their tweets (Keküllüoğlu et al., 2022). For example, whilst an account that is set to 'public' might tag other users and engage openly with hashtags (in the knowledge this is publicly available), users on private might be more inclined to discuss controversial or personal topics.

At the time of this study, users were limited to writing 240 characters maximum in a single tweet, and could also add hyperlinks, images or videos. This constraint limits authors and puts pressure on them to carefully select their language to ensure efficiency of message delivery, tone and clarity. Though

individuals are always forced to make lexical choices when communicating, this is augmented by X. Within the tweet, users could denote engagement with a theme by placing a ‘#’ before the theme, to signify the topic (referred to as hash tagging). This feature could be used to add to discussions, as well as for reporting and commenting on news, amongst many other functions (Bruns & Burgess, 2012). An example in this case might be *#EstallidoSocial* to signify to other users that a tweet relates to that topic or is a comment or news update related to the event.

If the account tweeting wished to engage other users they could use @, followed by the user’s username. This would notify that user of the tweet and mean that this user would be included in any replies to the tweet. Crucially, any public account can be tagged by any other user, with Twitter giving direct access to individuals such as popstars and politicians, particularly in its first few years. That can still happen, though many accounts are now managed by PR teams as opposed to individuals, whilst others have opted to make their accounts private, limiting the scope for engagement.

Other interactions available are to ‘like’ a tweet, which sends a like notification to the tweet publisher and is also noted at the foot of the tweet (x number of likes). Users can also ‘retweet’ a tweet, whereby the tweet is shared to their own set of followers. They may also quote retweet, whereby the tweet is shared, alongside the retweeting user’s thoughts. Again, the number of retweets and quote retweets is recorded below the tweet itself, and a list of ‘likes’, ‘retweets’ and ‘quote retweets’ is available by clicking on the note of the number of likes, retweets, or quote retweets. At the time studied, this would have revealed a list of all the accounts that have liked, retweeted or quote retweeted a tweet, though this is now no longer publicly available and is private information to the user who sent the original tweet only.

The act of retweeting is a particularly complex communicative event in that it has a variety of potential meanings. However, one of the most common reasons for sharing content, particularly news or other knowledge-based content, is to signal identity and to curate one’s personal image (Geva et al., 2019). This means that, depending on who has retweeted content, it can act either to influence others as a legitimate source (due to who retweeted the content, not the original source) or can act to delegitimise the content and confirm a bias. This adds a particular complexity as this meaning is individualised to each user and their relationship to their network, their prior opinions and their beliefs. It may also depend on context: too many retweets, for example, can be seen as a factor that may lower trust from followers, whilst the highest level of trust comes if the account is of an individual, retweeting a moderate number of tweets, according to a study looking into risk communications (Lin & Spence, 2019). It is therefore understood that each context can carry a different meaning, depending on an individual’s experience of the content and their world view.

Once a user has selected who to follow, they create a network of online relationships of different kinds, with many unilateral, bilateral and temporary bilateral relationships, in a loose-tie network. In the case of news outlets, the relationships users have with them can largely be described as unilateral, as news organisations tend to share content and stories, but not follow their users back or engage in dialogue in -platform. This unilaterality creates a dominant position for news outlets, situating them in a position of power that enables them to perpetuate hegemony. Within the SMN, it is possible to visualise smaller networks (sub-groups) of select users (nodes) within the network. This can be done through specifically selecting nodes based on a common relationship, or by studying a cluster (in which sub-groups are visualised through their higher levels of engagement on specific topics, identified through the selection of key words) (Himmelboim et al., 2013).

On Twitter, at the time of interest there were two primary ways in which news was experienced; on a user's individual timeline which is personalised to them on account of whom they had chosen to follow, or by clicking on another user's profile and reading that user's tweets. The 'for you' page which combines tweets from accounts users follow and tweets the algorithm thinks users might like, had not yet been released during the period in question. Naturally, both modes of experience could have produced different effects in users, but this analysis is interested in how news is encountered organically when scrolling the main page with transient attention, as this is the most likely way in which news could be discovered on Twitter at the time of interest.

One limitation with studying Twitter is that by not knowing each user's individual experience. It is fair to assume that different individuals will experience and understand tweets differently, depending on how they arrive there. When considering CDA and context, Fairclough highlights the effect of the media on public, private and mediated sphere and how it bridges them, (Fairclough, 1995pp 35-42) as individuals may encounter media discourse in very different scenarios. It has been argued by Gruzd that Twitter creates an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 1983), as users select their news sources and network, whilst Twitter mediates between public and private spheres (Gruzd, 2011). They argue that as well as this, a more 'real' community is created as individuals interact with one another. Ultimately, these online communities (both real and imagined) differ for every individual user, therefore displacing the usual schema of news found in a newspaper or even on a news website, distorting traditional notions of choice. Crucially, it means that users may experience tweets within a perceived 'community' which could cause them to assign more (or less value) to tweets they read as a result (this applies to headlines too, as a process of confirmation bias either confirms an opinion for or against a topic). In addition, the presence of 'emotional partisan clickbait' (headlines that are emotionally charged to draw in readers (Munger, 2020) and how Twitter removes the hierarchy of voices that traditional media could

control, demonstrates how the landscape in which news is encountered has totally changed from traditional conceptualisations.

Due to this contextual embedding of tweets on an individual's timeline, this study proposes that tweets from verified news outlets played a heightened role either by what Van der Meer calls confirmation bias (confirming an opinion by presenting that same opinion), negativity bias (preference for a negative opinion) or source bias (rejecting/accepting an argument due to preconceptions around its source) (Van der Meer, 2020). There is of course potential for the effects of retweets to influence users more than the source might have if encountered organically (i.e. not via a retweet), but in the context of sources having blue tick verification, the tick adds another visual reminder that the source is verified and therefore an 'official source.'

As demonstrated, when considering the representation of news, the traditional approach has been to conduct critical discourse analysis of news items, be it an in-depth lexical dive into the contents or a wider corpus-based analysis. Equally, when looking at social media networks (SMNs), analysis is often conducted into tweets themselves, the wider trends and data. This study uses a Corpus Assisted Discourse Study (CADS), a methodology which goes beyond traditional approaches and proposes an amalgam of methodologies by using data to support analysis (such as most frequent collocations, word pairings, and word saliency) and has been successfully used to look at influential citizen talk on Twitter (Lorenzo-Dus & Di Cristofaro, 2016)

This thesis proposes the idea of 'tweet frames.' Tweet frames are the way that verified news accounts tend to present news on X: with an image and a tweet visible, or a tweet, an image, headline and lede, as below in Figure 2-1 and Figure 2-2. It is worth noting that Figure 2-2 is relevant to the time of interest: Twitter has since altered how tweets appear on the platform, showing any images from the metadata as a full image, with headlines and ledes appearing as small font text across the bottom of the image.

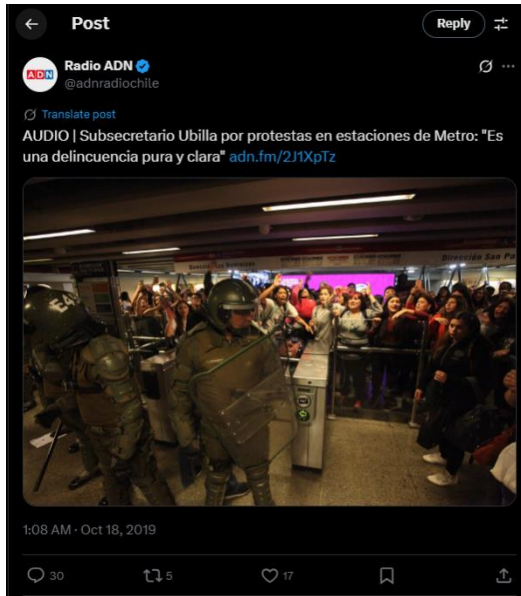


Figure 2-1: An example of a tweet frame in the format they appeared in 2019, without a headline and lede



Figure 2-2: An example of a tweet frame in the format they would have appeared in 2019, with a headline and lede

A tweet frame must be a tweet from a verified news source. The analytical approach adopted is multimodal and considers the lexical content of the tweet, lede & headline, and the visual content of any thumbnails where articles are attached to the tweet or attached images. It does not look at the content of the linked articles themselves. This is because the elements of a ‘tweet frame’ are designed to engage and signal what the content will be about and are therefore influential in confirming bias and helping people to formulate opinions, just as any other tweet. The difference with these tweets is that they have been designed to catch attention and to generate a response, be that through clicking on the link, liking, retweeting or commenting. The close analysis unveils key words which can then be analysed across the corpus using tools in NodeXL to uncover the most salient content as well as word pairings which will indicate whether what is being seen in the close analysis is reflected across the corpus. The analysis does not analyse video or live content, as content may be encountered in many ways, i.e., at the video or live content may begin at different points, and therefore it is a challenge to analyse and draw conclusions on this content type and its impact.

This approach also accounts for the attention span and likelihood of users engaging with content on their feed. As previously discussed, there is more content than is possible to engage with on SMNs, so users will only engage with content that captures their attention. Galloway breaks down attention into categories; the relevant examples discussed are focussed and transient attention: ‘transient (attention) is short-lived, reactive, and triggered by sudden and environmental changes while focused attention operates over significant periods of time and requires a degree of motivation and conscious effort’ (Galloway, 2017). By this definition, the experience of scrolling through Twitter can be

considered as requiring transient attention; once on the platform, little motivation or effort is required to consume content, only minor triggers will lead to reactions and consumption of content, with most of that consumption relatively passive.

With attention spans fractured (Galloway, 2017) in an environment rich in competition for attention, users will encounter and chose to engage with different content to one another, making each user's experience, and the content consumed, individualized. Given this backdrop, it is logical to consider the content on Twitter from the way in which the user experiences it: a continuous thread with multiple elements (visual, linguistic and contextual) that are competing for the user's attention. By extension, this means that copywriters have limited characters and semiotic options available to capture users' attention. They therefore must carefully select their language and content to both receive attention and communicate their message effectively. Research also suggests that early tweets can have a lasting impact on narratives surrounding protest movements (Brannon & Roy, 2024; Kalyanam et al., 2016), creating a strong justification for focussing on these elements, during the first day as protest erupted across the country. For this reason, this study takes a user centred approach, considering that attention spans are short, and that the user will organically encounter information from across their network on their main feed.

2.2 TWITTER CONTENT

One limitation of this approach is the formatting of the tweet frame itself. Different devices may format tweets differently, showing varying amounts of the headline text, but this can be accounted for by giving the tweets themselves prominence over the phrasing of the headlines, as they will always display fully. Both may be analysed, but the written tweet content must be the focus. For example, below the tweet is visible, but not the full headline nor lede.



Figure 2-3: A tweet frame with the full headline and lede not fully visible, due to their length

Another factor to consider is that, as in the case above, the tweet often (but not always) matches the headline, negating the effect of any formatting. It is worth noting that X no longer pulls through the headline as seen in the image above, but the study will still consider the content of the headlines themselves as this would have been prominent and visible at the time. In instances where an image has not been attached and a hyperlink used; ‘metadata’ plays a role. ‘Metadata’ is data that is pulled from the hyperlink itself and can include images, headlines and ledes, as shown in Figure 2-3.

2.2.1 Threads

On X, news on the main timeline can come in many ways. Firstly, if a tweet forms part of a Thread, then this will be indicated on a timeline, as seen below.



Figure 2-4: An example of a thread of tweets

Whilst this does not show viewers the context, it denotes that it is part of a thread of tweets by a singular user, providing the option to view it in its intended context and order, though users have to click on to this, as opposed to encountering the whole thread organically. This means users are less likely to encounter content embedded within the thread, where they would have encountered it on their timeline had it not been threaded. For this reason, it is discounted from analysis.

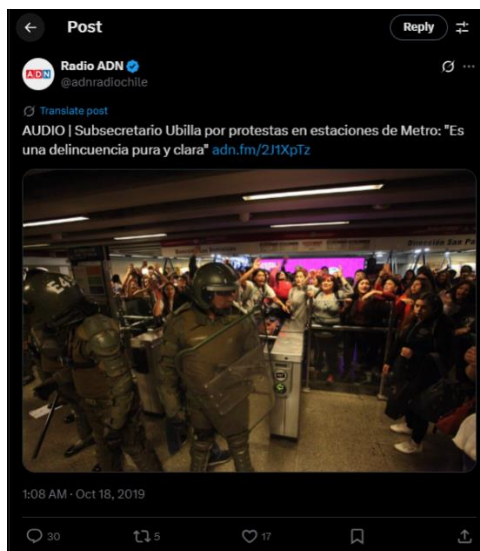
2.2.2 Periscope/ Twitter Live Videos

Periscope was Twitter’s ‘live stream’ feature. Videos could be live streamed, and once the stream finished, they could also be watched back as a video. It also had a chat function embedded for users to interact.

When browsing on mobile devices, sound is often automatically muted and readers may also be affected by geo-blocking, depending on where they are accessing from. Furthermore, some devices offer a data saving mode where videos do not automatically load. In any case, periscope was replaced by 'Twitter live' in the middle of this study on 31st March 2021 (Twitter, 2023) and is therefore no longer relevant. Overall, this means that the tweet itself must be assumed to be the most pertinent aspect of the content as it is the element of the tweet frame that can be expected to be most likely consumed by the reader. These will not be considered on the same grounds that videos have been discounted from analysis (explained below).

2.2.3 Photos

Before analysis, it was assumed that photos as separate attachments would appear infrequently, as media outlets use social media as a tool to drive traffic to their sites more than as platforms to deliver news itself (though journalists often engage in this activity individually). As a result, it was assumed that carefully selected thumbnails as part of the metadata would be considered better tools for generating clickthrough traffic, as the whole image is essentially hyperlinked. In fact, the opposite was true and images as attachments were frequent throughout the dataset and are analysed in this thesis. The literature suggests that images are a key engagement tool on Twitter (Filadelfo, 2014; Li & Xie, 2020), incentivising authors to attach content to their tweet, within the platform. The formatting for this has not changed since the Twitter/X change over. Here's an example from the study (Figure 3-1):



2.2.4 Video

As previously, full videos are not analysed, as there are many unknown variables such as volume, geo-blocking and the lack of data surrounding which parts of individual videos are watched and for how long.

2.3 HYPERLINKS

When a hyperlink is included in the tweet, it pulls through metadata which can contain an image, a headline and a lede, as demonstrated in Figure 2-5 below. The headline is just the title of the article, which pulls through as text onto Twitter. Ledes show below headlines (i.e., attached to the images or included in tweet content) and are not always the first lines of the article and therefore could be specifically written for the purpose of sharing. Finally, an image may also pull through as part of a hyperlink's metadata, creating a clickable image to be displayed on Twitter.

2.4 INTERACTION OF ELEMENTS

Having considered the individual elements of Twitter, how they appear and interact with one another is important to understand how they create meaning. Figure 2-5 shows an example of a tweet frame and the order of dominance at the time of study, with Figure 2-6 showing how this subsequently changed on X.

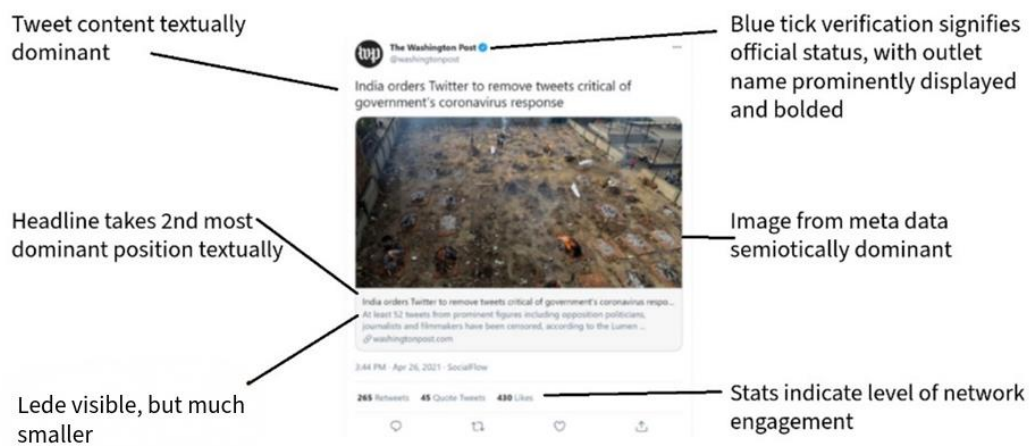


Figure 2-5 Tweet frame without an image attachment



Figure 2-6: The new layout of X that prioritises imagery over text

The image takes the strongest position, followed by the tweet content, the headline and then the lede. As discussed in section 1.6, blue tick verification, the source image and the engagement stats at the bottom act as supplementary items. Characters in tweets were limited to 280, meaning that lexical and semiotic choices were significant, due to the limitations in tweet length and the fact only one content type could be attached at a time. If a hyperlink was attached for example, any additional content such as an image would overwrite it: authors could not use multiple content types simultaneously.

Often authors use elements in tweets such as personal pronouns to hook readers (Moncomble, 2017) playing a significant role in readers' news selection, which can lead to confirmation, source (choosing from only specific sources) and negativity bias (an unconscious preference for negatively framed news) (Van der Meer, 2020). The combination of this significance then can be functionally extended to selected images: we know they are key to engagement on Twitter (Filadelfo, 2014; Li & Xie, 2020), semiotically prominent in tweet frames, and limited in their scope, as authors tend only to select single images.

At the beginning of the study, it was expected that the majority of news would appear as in Figure 2-5, and this could have presented methodological challenges as by the time analysis commenced, X had since changed how these tweet frames appeared, giving far more semiotic dominance to hyperlinked images and reducing the headline to a thin line of text at the bottom of the image, whilst removing the lede entirely (Figure 2-6). However, in the sample, most news outlets opted to attach images directly to their content in-platform (as in Figure 2-7 below), as opposed to relying on hyperlinked images from the metadata. Research suggests that images perform well on Twitter (Filadelfo, 2014; Li & Xie, 2020),

and are therefore likely attached as an engagement tool. Twitter has carried an upper limit of 4 images, though it was not expected that outlets would make use of this feature, and indeed this expectation was confirmed upon analysis.

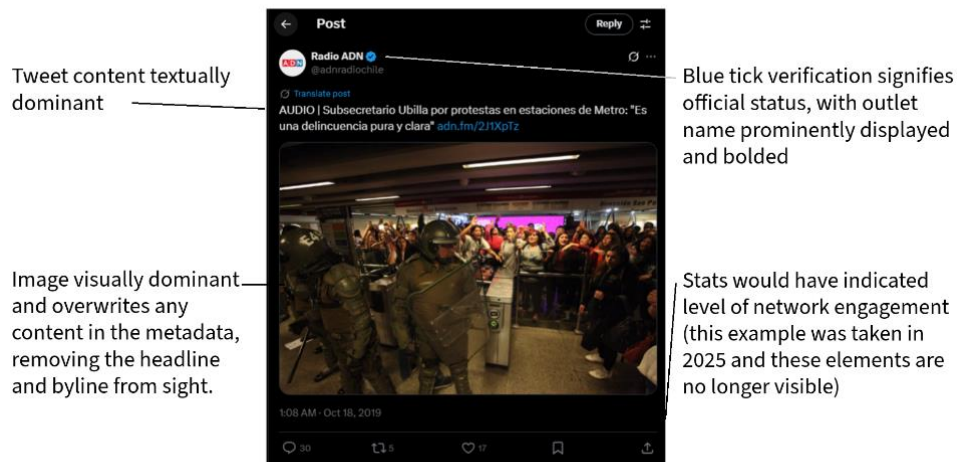


Figure 2-7: Tweet frame with an image attachment

As explored in section 1.6, the public nature of the platform enables real-time interaction with content, with the potential to create credibility-cascades and influence the audience based on the contextual embedding. It may arrive on user’s timeline organically, because of a reshare, or a quote tweet whereby further information is added at a layer above the tweet frame itself. With a significant number of variables, the consistent features in tweet frames are the dominance of visuals, as well as tweet content above other textual items, affording the author some specific levers to deliver messages through Twitter. It is also worth noting the unilateral nature of the relationship traditional media outlets have on Twitter. Though the platform enables users to reply to one another, this is not a function that outlets tend to use. As a result, though users can share and add comments, and reply, the engagement stops there, in turn helping the media outlets to retain symbolic and hegemonic power over the audience.

This study will take a multi-modal approach to analyse the content of tweets, headlines and any attached photos and thumbnails, referred to as ‘tweet frames.’ With this understanding of both the Chilean context and the wider context of media discourse surrounding protest movements leads to the following research questions:

2.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- How did the media visually represent the *estallido* through tweet images and article images during the first day of the 2019 protests?
- How did the media textually represent the *estallido* through linguistic tweet content and headlines during the first day of the 2019 protests?
- What were the dominant topics of focus in the first day of media coverage, and how did these topics frame or position the protests and the associated social issues?

2.6 HYPOTHESES

Following on from the reading detailed at the beginning of this chapter, there are certain elements prevalent in protest communications and specifically in the Chilean context, that allow the drawing of the following hypotheses:

- The protestors were predominantly portrayed as violent and illegitimate, serving to undermine the progressive demands of the protestors.
- The authorities are agents of dialogue, calm and control.
- Coverage will focus on the disruption of everyday life.
- Protestors' will likely be absent, and the media will minimise their demands.
- Media coverage will seek to legitimise the government.

Once individual analysis had been completed, the overall presentations will be considered across the corpus, with a statistical analysis being conducted to isolate whether outlets changed the propensity of their coverage during the first week of protest.

2.7 DATA SOURCING

This study uses influential sources in its sample, so before explaining the sample selected, influence must be defined. There are a variety of definitions available; the most read, most liked, most retweeted, most impressions, for example. In the case of this study, influence is understood to be a combination of officiality (blue tick), and a high follower count. Data from rompecabezadigital.cl, a digital marketing agency who identified Twitter influencers during the first week of the *estallido* via the salesforce platform, is also considered.

First, a list was created to identify news platforms in Chile. Though not suitable for a final and exhaustive list, Wikipedia was first consulted for a general list, requiring further verification. Next, a BBC report on Chilean Media (BBC, 2018) was consulted, as well as a report by *Rompecabezas Digital* (rompecabeza.cl, 2020) who had compiled a list of the most influential media accounts on Twitter during the *estallido*. Finally, to ensure a thorough search was conducted, various reports from organisations such as the *Consejo Nacional de Televisión* (CNTV), *el Centro de Investigación Periodística* (CIPER), *Asociación Nacional de la Prensa Chile* (ANP), *Asociación de Radiodifusores de Chile* (ARCHI) and *Asociación Nacional de Televisión* (ANATEL) were consulted, before compiling a list of all the official media outlets listed by these agencies. Finally, organisations were individually searched for to find their Twitter accounts, generating the list below.

Source	Details
<i>CNTV (Consejo Nacional de Televisión, 2020)</i>	<i>Report of Free TV consumption in Chile. Most popular channels are listed as La Red, TV+, TVN, Mega, CHV, Canal 13.</i>
<i>CIPER (Juan Pablo Luna 2021)</i>	<i>Report on the Traditional Media's silence during the estallido. Traditional sources listed: 24 Horas.cl, ADN, CHV Noticias, CNN Chile, Cooperativa, La Cuarta, El Mostrador, Emol, Diario La Hora, La Tercera, Meganoticias, Publimetro Chile, Radio Agricultura, Radio Bío Bío, The Clinic.</i>
<i>ANP (ANP, 2023)</i>	<i>Listing of all newspapers, magazines, and digital media organisations in Chile. Each listed organisation was accessed via this portal and categorised as either regional or national. It is worth noting that the websites of some outlets as Diario Labrador & Diario el Observador did not work and were therefore excluded. The national outlets were: El Diario Financiero, El Día, El Libero, El Mercurio, HoyxHoy, La Segunda, La Tercera, Publimetro, Ex-Ante, The Clinic.</i>
<i>ARCHI (ARCHI, 2021)</i>	<i>Associated radio stations: Cooperativa, Radio Pudahuel, Bío Bío Chile, El Conquistador.</i>
<i>ANATEL (ANATEL, 2023)</i>	<i>Partners of ANATEL: La Red, TV+, TVN, Meganoticias, Chilevisión, Tele Trece.</i>
<i>(BBC, 2018)</i>	<i>El Mercurio, La Tercera, La Nación, La Segunda, Diario Financiero, TVN, Canal 13, Chilevisión, Mega, UCV, La Red, Radio Cooperativa, Pudahuel FM, Bío Bío, El Conquistador.</i>
<i>(Wikipedia, 2023a, 2023b)</i>	<i>List of National Newspapers Chile: El Mercurio, La Tercera, Diario Financiero, La Segunda, Las Últimas Noticias, La Cuarta, Publimetro, The Clinic. Television in Chile (Most viewed channels): Chilevisión, Mega, TVN, Canal 13, La Red, TV+, CNN Chile. No report on Chilean radio available.</i>

Table 2.1: List of Chilean media outlets

It is worth mentioning the list is not exhaustive: ANATEL for example is an organisation of channels and does not include some large outlets such as *CNN*. In other cases, such as with ANP, every single media source was listed including regional ones, but for this sample only those that have a national outlook are relevant. The data selected for this study also excludes news outlets deemed ‘alternative’ by CIPER: *Chileokult*, *El Ciudadano*, *El Desconcierto*, *El Dínamo*, *El Líbero*, *El Observatodo*, *El Periscopio Chile*, *Gamba.cl*, *Interferncia*, *La Izquierda Diario Chile*, *Mapuexpress*, *OPAL Prensa*, *Puranoticia.cl*, *VerdadAhora.cl* (Juan Pablo Luna 2021).

This focus could be considered a limiting factor as it only reflects larger, central outlets. However, in the case of Latin America and indeed Chile, this has merit. Colonial design means that across the region, towns and cities were designed working outward from a central plaza (Low, 1995). This is true of Chile too, where early Spanish settlers founded the first colonial city (Santiago) with the city expanding outwards from the *Plaza de Armas*, making the city symbolic of centrality and crucial to the notion of Chile as a nation. As a result, 40.47%¹ of the population live in Santiago, creating a strong argument for focussing on National outlets, as the majority of outlets are based in the capital where the largest density of the Chilean population lives. Furthermore, *Poderopedia* found that media groups Santiago based *Copesa* and *El Mercurio* account for more than 90% of newspapers and readership in 2015 (Mioli, 2016), though the resource appears to have since disappeared online. Nevertheless, this supports a centralised approach.

Of the above list, the sample must then be reduced further, due to the nature of the close analysis. In some cases, such as with TVN, there are more than one account for the outlet, one being more general (@TVN), the other being news focussed (@24HorasTVN). The same is true of *Canal Trece* (@Canal13) and *Tele Trece* (@T13), with the latter being chosen as it is the news focussed outlet out of the two. In these cases, the news focussed accounts are the ones used, as they carry the strongest connections to news (more so compared to the general account of a TV channel which broadcasts many things besides news). The next to be excluded are non-verified accounts, as they did not have the ‘blue tick’ which at the time provided quick, visual status of legitimacy. This means it could take more time for individuals to cognitively process their content and recognise the output’s source. This led to notable omissions such as *CHV Noticias* and *El Informador*, both recognised as influential by *Rompecabezas* and in the case of *CHV*, an account with over 1 million followers.

¹ Calculations from [Censo 2017](#). Chile population listed as 17,574,003 with 7,112,808 living in the *Región Metropolitana*.

Further refining the sample, all outlets under 1 million followers at the point of counting were removed, leaving nine remaining outlets who were verified, had over 1 million followers and were deemed to be ‘influential’ in the *estallido* by Rompecabezas (*Meganoticias*, *Tele13*, *24 Horas*, *ADN Chile*, *CNN Chile*, *la Cooperativa*, *Radio Bío Bío*, *El Mostrador*, and *Publimetro*). The only exclusion that should have been in the below list is *Emol*. The list was initially compiled for a pilot to test whether the Twitter scraper (explained in the following paragraphs) being used was fit for purpose and at the time was not being considered as a final and exhaustive list. However, due to external circumstances outside of control, the research had to be paused and by the time the study continued the Twitter scraper no longer functioned, as Musk’s acquisition of the platform rendered data no longer accessible on the same scale as before. As a result, this study is missing two sources against the above criteria in *Emol* and *24 Horas*. Despite this, it otherwise covers a large corpus with over 32,275 tweets available to study over 7 of the most influential and verified news outlets in Chile at the time.

Outlet	Handle	# Followers (June 2021)	Publication Type	Notes
<i>Meganoticias</i>	@Meganoticiascl	1.6m	TV News	Verified & Influential according to <i>Rompecabezas</i>
<i>Cooperativa</i>	@Cooperativa	3m	Radio	Verified & Influential according to <i>Rompecabezas</i>
<i>Bio Bio Chile</i>	@Bio Bio	3.3m	Radio	Verified & Influential according to <i>Rompecabezas</i>
<i>El Mostrador</i>	@elmostrador	1.8m	Digital Newspaper	Verified & Influential according to <i>Rompecabezas</i>
<i>Publimetro</i>	@PublimetroChile	1.1m	Newspaper	Verified & Influential according to <i>Rompecabezas</i>
<i>CNN Chile</i>	@CNNChile	3.4m	News Channel	Verified & Influential according to <i>Rompecabezas</i>
<i>ADN</i>	@ADNradiochile	n/a	News Channel	Verified & Influential according to <i>Rompecabezas</i>

Table 2:2 Table of verified and relevant new sources

Once the outlets had been selected, sourcing the data was a considerable challenge, so a third-party created a tool to scrape the desired data from Twitter. To retrieve the data, the Twitter API was used (using an academic Twitter development account to obtain the required API key), which provided a programmable interface to easily query tweets from users on the platform (Twitter, 2022a). This was much faster than manually scrolling through a user's tweets and copying the tweet contents

one at a time. The Python code sent HTTP GET requests to Twitter's 'Search Tweets' endpoint, which returned tweet information for a given user, within a given time span (Twitter, 2022b). The results from the search were parsed and converted into a CSV with four columns: User, TweetCreated, TweetID and Tweet content (written). This method enabled the data to be gathered, and the code could be used by anyone provided they had completed the Twitter API prerequisites and had a valid bearer token (Twitter, 2022a). However, Twitter's API access was changed in 2023, rendering the code invalid. Despite this, it was still possible to analyse this data sourced for this pilot in 2021.

The above sources list of seven sources was then used in the process above, producing a list of all the relevant tweets in the specified time period of 18th October 2019 to 18th November 2019 adjusted for the UTC-3 time zone, covering the initial month of the *estallido*. From here, the data could be inserted into the NodeXL PRO programme, where the TweetID enables NodeXL to import further information to visualise the network and isolate salient keywords from the data. Finally, the first day could be isolated from here for analysis.

2.8 LESSONS WITH THE METHODOLOGY & DATA

Throughout the data sourcing process, there were multiple challenges not only sourcing the data, but also working with it. In the initial stages when attempting to gather data, access was a significant challenge with most online tools only able to deliver a limited number of requests per search item, that were far more limited and would have generated a random selection of tweets from the period of interest, as opposed to the entire data set for the period of interest. In this sense, the support of colleagues more familiar with Twitter and Data Scraping was essential. In addition to this, the purchase of Twitter by Musk led to significant changes and restrictions to data access, even with an academic researcher's licence. The API was vastly limited, and the methods of data collection employed for this study rendered irreproducible, as they cannot now be repeated to produce the same outcomes.

Due to various external circumstances, during the period in which Twitter was sold, this project was suspended. As a result, upon return to the project the data set available was one from a trial as the methodology to access the data was tested. However, this data was incomplete and had some errors and imperfections, which could no longer be rectified by simply re-running the programme to access the data, as the API access was now limited. As a result, the data required a level of manipulation to make sure it could function in NodeXL and to ensure it was simple to analyse. Corrections included:

- Foreign symbols. When the data set was pulled, it could not recognise Spanish lettering and accents, so replaced some letters with symbols. Manually, each replaced character had to be isolated, its correct Spanish equivalent identified, before searching and replacing the entire

data set to display the items correctly. Without doing so, certain words would not appear in a search of the dataset, as the incorrectly inserted characters would block the search.

- De-duplication. It became clear that the initial data set had over 60,000 items, but many of these appeared to be repeats. The data needed to be sorted by Tweet ID (a unique identifier code assigned by Twitter to individual Tweets) to identify any duplicates. The Tweet ID was not presented in the data, but was accessible via the URL, so each tweet needed the Tweet ID extracted from the URL. Duplicate IDs were then removed to contain only one version of every Tweet, taking the sample down to 32,275.
- Time stamps. Another issue was the corruption of the time stamp series in the data. This meant that the time and date were inseparable, making it initially difficult to isolate data from specific times and dates. Some editing to the formatting resolved this.
- URL separation. It quickly became apparent that in the 'tweet content column' (which shows all text included in each tweet), every tweet had two URLs contained in the Tweet content. On closer analysis, it became clear that the first URL was always a URL contained in the original Tweet, such as a hyperlink to an external website: the second URL was always a link to the Tweet itself, which though useful, for analysis was irrelevant. As a result, the data set was manipulated on Excel to separate the tweet content from the URLs and only the relevant URLs (i.e., the ones that were included in the original tweets themselves) were retained. The intention was that this would enable content to be selected for analysis based on the Top URLs. The logic was that if the most shared URLs in the data set could be isolated, the messages publishers wanted to push most would appear attached to these links, giving a strong methodological basis for selecting these for analysis.
- Emojis. It became apparent that emojis would not carry through to NodeXL/Excel. This initially appeared to be a problem, until it was decided to carry out analysis from Twitter itself once the individual tweets for analysis had been selected, by following the URL.
- Scope of data. The data set included a month of all content: from the weather to the news, to sports and more. This made the data set full of noise. Initially it was thought that through NodeXL a word list to pull out topic specific content could be created, however this included multiple irrelevant units still, such as football. It was also expected that through this grouping, NodeXL could provide a list of the Top URLs shared in the grouping, allowing analysis of the tweets that contained the most shared news links, thus making them highly salient, but the tool was only capable of pulling the top 10 URLs from the entire data set and did not enable a more granular view. As a result, it was decided to isolate a much smaller

section (one specific date) and to use key words based on saliency and topic specificity to search for units for analysis. Even then, each tweet had to be manually checked, and units removed from the sample that were not relevant.

- Politics. There were significant developments in the period absent from study. Chile swung from the leadership of Sebastián Piñera who was leader during the *estallido*, to the leadership of Gabriel Boric, a former student-protestor from the *Pinguinos* movement [the penguin's movement, a student protest movement named after the sight of masses of uniformed children, likened to penguins], who was elected on a platform of Constitutional change. However, a referendum on the proposed new constitution was rejected in 2022 61.87% voting against the new document (voter turnout of 85.84%). A new version was then drafted in 2023 with 55.76% voting against the new document (voter turnout of 84.48%). Following this, Boric decided not to seek a third draft and referendum, essentially closing political avenues for a re-writing of the constitution under his presidency. Whilst none of this altered the data in this thesis, it required monitoring, and re-writes to certain sections as different conclusions could be drawn depending on the political movements at that time. In March 2026, Boric was replaced by the far-right leader, José Antonio Kast.
- Tele13. The data did not pull through fully, so the sample is exceptionally limited. Of the tweets that pulled through in the relevant time period, all had to be discarded due to their use of irrelevant content types such as video.

2.9 FINAL METHODOLOGY

Building on Seguel & Farías' (2022) Proust & Saldaña's (2022) and Freitas de Souza's (2020) research into representations of the *estallido*, this study looks for consistent framing features identified in their papers; namely, the protestors as agents of violence and disruption, the authorities and agents of dialogue and calm and control, a focus on the disruption of everyday life, an absence of the demands of the protestors and a legitimization of the government/authority's position. Data was collected through Twitter scraping and subsequently aggregated using the NodeXL platform. The final analysis focuses on identifying the most salient language, ensuring the units for analysis are highly relevant and strongly connected to the topic in question.

The overall data set encompasses the period from 30 September to 30 October 2019. This timeframe allows for a comparative analysis of tweet frequency in the weeks leading up to the *estallido* and the initial day of mass protest, the 18th of October, with the close analysis focussing on the first day, due to its ability to activate existing frames of protest (those included in the hypotheses.) The analysis examines various features, such as the topics discussed, the language used, and overall tweet

propensity, both collectively and at the level of individual accounts. Drawing from the study by Seguel & Fariás, the research will also seek to identify consistent thematic features within the tweets. These themes include the portrayal of protestors as agents of violence and disruption, the authorities as agents of dialogue and control, a focus on the disruption of everyday life, an absence of the protestors' demands, and a legitimisation of the government and authority's position. Following Machin & Mayr (2012), the study will adopt a multimodal approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), involving a close examination of various analytical points. Both the textual and visual elements of the tweets will be analysed to provide a comprehensive understanding of the discourse surrounding the event, focussing on the first day of protest as outlets established the frames for understanding the events.

2.9.1 Features for Analysis

The principal features in the analysis, definitions and justification for inclusion are listed by to which research questions they help respond. They are as follows:

2.9.1.1 Responding to RQ1

How did the media visually represent the *estallido* through tweet images and article images during the first day of the 2019 protests?

Visual Elements

Photo angle: The angle from which a photo is taken can position events/individuals as on the side of the reader or against, in a position of power or weakness, amongst others (Machin, 2012, pp. 98–100). This is important to consider when looking at a power struggle such as a protest, as it can reveal the perspective of the author.

Photo distance: In images, distance is shown in framing (close, medium or wide) and reflects social relations, as in who we see as close to us and distance, ally or enemy (Machin, 2012, pp. 97–98). The way in which police and protestors are represented can illuminate the ideological positioning of the outlet posting the tweets.

Setting: The setting of a photo sets the scene and adds location to a tweet and takes the reader to a specific place, creating meaning. Whether an individual is in the metro, on the streets, in government or a press conference for example, could send different messages when discussing a protest (Machin, 2012, pp. 52–54).

2.9.1.2 Responding to RQ2

How did the media textually represent the *estallido* through linguistic tweet content and headlines during the first day of the 2019 protests?

Abstraction: Making actions generalised and non-specific can be used to manipulate the understanding of events (Machin, 2012, p. 115). By abstracting protestor and police actions, narratives can be manipulated to suit an agenda.

Grammatical positioning: This may be used to foreground or background individuals or groups. In a protest setting, what is being foregrounded and backgrounded, alongside the actions being carried out can signal to readers who is deemed as legitimate and who is seen as opposition (Machin, 2012, pp. 114–115).

Honorifics: Titles, such as President, Judge or other positions of power can be used to give superiority and status to individuals. In the context of protests, whether individuals of status are involved in coverage and their titles used or not, can reveal whether authors wish to support an actor's message, or seek to remove weight from their statements (Machin, 2012, p. 82).

Nominalisation: Converting verbs or adjectives into nouns to background the agents of specific actions (Machin, 2012, pp. 137–146). This can be used to obscure the actions of specific individuals or groups.

Overlexicalisation: Attempting to over-explain is often evidence for covering a point of contention (Machin, 2012, pp. 37–38). In instances where tautology or an over explanation of an event is present, it is worth considering the reasons.

Structural discourse markers: These markers help to structure discourse, for example to introduce new topics, or indicate a shift in focus (Sutherland, 2016). In the context of Twitter, these elements are often textual clues as to the content of a tweet and its hyperlinks and as attention capturing tools.

Word connotation: The choice of words can have various implications. With such limited characters to work with, lexical choices in short form content such as Twitter can reveal ideologies as language is carefully selected (Machin, 2012, pp. 32–37).

Existential processes: The linguistic representation of existence: (to be and synonyms such as exist, arise, occur for example) how language represents existence or occurrence. Typically, they only have one participant, allowing for things 'to be' without naming an agent. This can reveal underlying ideologies and power dynamics within discourse (Machin, 2012, pp. 110–113).

Mental processes: These are how individuals are presented as sensing things (cognition, affection and perception) and can be used to encourage empathy with an individual or group (Machin, 2012, pp. 107–109).

Verbal processes: Ways of ‘saying’ and its synonyms. This can reveal dominance if the agents are considered, showing who recipients of the process are and their relational power (Machin, 2012, pp. 109–110).

Material processes: These usually describe the process of ‘doing’, though may also represent more abstract or metaphorical processes such as ‘costs have risen’ or ‘they fanned the flames’ (Machin, 2012, pp. 106–107). Once again, the agents as either recipients or actors and their goals can reveal ideologies, as they are used to present groups in specific ways.

Behavioural processes, however, are not considered as a main feature. They present psychological or physical behaviour such as ‘*watch, stare, dream, breathe, cough, smile, and laugh.*’ However, they do not strongly represent agency or a goal or beneficiary of an action (Machin, 2012, p. 109) and are less prevalent in the sample. They are therefore not included as a main consideration.

2.9.1.3 Responds to both of the research questions.

Absence/ suppression: focussing on what has been chosen to be excluded can highlight elements authors wish to either hide or make presumptions about (Machin, 2012, pp. 85, pp38 –39). In the case of protests, what is absent can make affordances to different frames. This can be applied to both text and images.

Anonymisation: By anonymising the agents of certain actions, it is possible to obscure or leave content open to misinterpretation for ideological means. In a protest, which is often presented in binary, this leaves potential to place blame on individuals/groups via ambiguity, or to obscure abuses of power (Machin, 2012, p. 83).

Context: In such a shorthand format as tweets, it is important to consider context, such as where quotations have been sourced and what is being said in their full forms. It is also important to place tweets in context such as their function, the events they refer to and the dataset from which they are found (van Dijk, 2008). This can therefore apply to both images and tweet content.

Individuals/groups: Presenting either groups or individuals in text or images, can be used to ideological ends to either emphasise or anonymise, to add weight to an argument or to weaken it. When protests involve such an amalgamation of individuals into a collective, this choice when presenting protest movements has potentially significant impacts for meaning. This can be applied to both text and images (Machin, 2012, pp. 80, 100–101).

2.9.2 Tweet Selection

To select tweets for analysis, NodeXL’s word saliency tool was used. This tool employed TF-IDF saliency to benchmark the most salient words in the sample, i.e., the most common and relevant to a given dataset, with higher values denoting a higher saliency. When considering saliency, the tool refers to the whole data set which covers the month of October, including dates before the *estallido*.

When looking at the most salient terms, the top results were selected for their relevance to the features identified in Proust & Saldaña (2022) and Seguel & Farías (2022) studies of the *estallido*. These are aggregated below in Table 2:3. Firstly ‘*protestas*’ [‘protests’] (701 instances with a saliency of 0.003) and ‘*manifestaciones*’ [‘demonstrations’, also a synonym for ‘protests’] (625, 0.003) appeared as the most common terms used to refer to the protests, allowing focus on how the protests were being represented. Reviewing the top 25 most salient words, other terms appear such as ‘*metro*’ (both referring to the evasion of the metro tariffs and the closure or disruption to services; 1610 instances, 0.006 saliency), ‘*piñera*’ (1443, 0.006), ‘*presidente*’ [‘president’] (1396, 0.006), ‘*gobierno*’ [‘government’] (1362, 0.006) and ‘*carabineros*’ [Chilean state police force] (943, 0.004).

In terms of collocations, there were some strong associations in the top 10 most salient terms, such as ‘*toque*’ and ‘*queda*’ [together *toque de queda* means ‘curfew’] appearing 883 times together with a saliency of 0.004. ‘*Presidente Piñera*’ also appears here with 450 mentions and a saliency of 0.002, whilst ‘*señal vivo*’ [live feed] also appeared 755 times, suggesting a strong proportion of live coverage. Other collocations in data set were related to football and the type of coverage such as ‘*radio vivo*’ [live radio] and ‘*en vivo*’ [live]. Considering the features being analysed for above, these key, salient terms are used to identify tweets that touch upon these themes for analysis.

Feature	Keywords
Violent and/or illegitimate protestors	<i>Protestas, Manifestaciones</i>
Calm & controlled authorities	<i>Carabineros</i>
Disruption of daily life	<i>Metro</i>
Absence of protestors’ position	No specific key words, a feature to look for
Legitimisation of the government	<i>Presidente Piñera, Gobierno</i>

Table 2:3: Elements for analysis

With such a large data set, a specific sample needed to be selected for close analysis. By using the salient terms above to look for the features listed, it was possible to identify and analyse the point of departure for narrative framing by each news outlet, as well as the sample as a whole. To do this, the first day of protests was chosen as the day for analysis to see how the protests were initially presented, and by extension opening the potential for research into whether the coverage changed from initial representations as the protests changed. Table 2-4 shows the number of keyword matches found on each outlet.

	Number of tweets – 18th October 2019					
Outlet	<i>Protestas</i>	<i>Manifestaciones</i>	<i>Carabineros</i>	<i>Metro</i>	<i>Piñera</i>	<i>Gobierno</i>
<i>ADN</i>	8	1	5	23	1	8
<i>Radio Bío Bío</i>	1	1	8	25	0	1
<i>CNN Chile</i>	2	2	0	24	1	5
<i>La Cooperativa</i>	3	2	26	88	6	25
<i>El Mostrador</i>	1	0	2	21	5	4
<i>Meganoticias</i>	1	3	8	45	1	6
<i>Publmetro</i>	2	0	2	52	7	11
<i>Tele13</i>	0	4	1	3	0	0

Table 2:4: Number of relevant keyword matches in the sample

The proposed framework carries a strong link between word saliency and features consistent across recent studies into the *estallido* itself (Seguel & Farías, 2022), as well as the previous literature on media representations of protests in Chile, (showing delegitimization of protestors and police, the creation of in and out groups and a focus on violence and disruption (Pérez-Arredondo, 2012, 2017; Sartori et al., 2015). Additionally, the methodology proposed looks at very specific elements (tweet frames), selected due to their date being the first large scale-day of protest and the fact they were the first examples, setting the tone and point of departure for the narratives carried by each platform. Tweet frames have high potential for impact in opinion formation and previous studies have found that the early stories shared on Twitter can often set the narrative for understanding of these events (Brannon & Roy, 2024;

Kalyanam et al., 2016). As a result, the sample selected for analysis aims for quality over quantity. In order to achieve this, the first two tweets from each user using each of the key terms were analysed to understand the narrative point of departure set by each organisation, and by the Chilean media as a collective. This leaves a final sample of up to 2 tweets per high saliency keywords, and an overall sample of 58 tweets for analysis, once irrelevant instances such as threads and repeated samples are filtered out. This shown in Table 2-5, and accounts for the fact that Tele13 will not be analysed due to insufficient sample size.

Outlet	Relevant examples by keyword	Number of Tweets for Analysis
<i>ADN</i>	<i>Protestas (2), Manifestaciones (1), Carabineros (2), Metro (2), Piñera (1), Gobierno (2)</i>	10
<i>Radio Bío Bío</i>	<i>Protestas (1), Manifestaciones (0), Carabineros (1), Metro (2), Piñera (0), Gobierno (1)</i>	5
<i>CNN Chile</i>	<i>Protestas (2), Manifestaciones (0), Carabineros (0), Metro (2), Piñera (1), Gobierno (2)</i>	7
<i>La Cooperativa</i>	<i>Protestas (1), Manifestaciones (2), Carabineros (2), Metro (2), Piñera (2), Gobierno (2)</i>	11
<i>El Mostrador</i>	<i>Protestas (1), Manifestaciones (0), Carabineros (2), Metro (2), Piñera (2), Gobierno (2)</i>	9
<i>Meganoticias</i>	<i>Protestas (0), Manifestaciones (2), Carabineros (1), Metro (2), Piñera (1), Gobierno (2)</i>	8
<i>Publmetro</i>	<i>Protestas (1), Manifestaciones (0), Carabineros (2), Metro (2), Piñera (2), Gobierno (1)</i>	8

Table 2:5: Number of tweets for analysis per outlet

The features selected for analysis build on the recent literature on the topic, setting out a novel approach in the analysis of ‘tweet frames’, whilst analysing for consistent features from similar studies. Following details on how the sample was selected, the thesis will now analyse the examples. The next chapter begins with a statistical analysis of the entire dataset, before conducting a close,

multimodal analysis of the tweet frames posted by each outlet. A short summary is given of each of the outlets in this chapter, before wider discussion and conclusions are presented in the final chapter.

In this chapter the corpus is first looked at overall for tweet propensity during the first week of protests, before being compared with the period leading up to it. Each account is then individually analysed with a close critical discourse analysis of the tweet frames on the first day of mass protest, as set out in the previous chapter. The close analysis considers five key elements; whether protestors are presented as violent and/or illegitimate, whether the authorities are presented as calm and controlled, if there's a focus on the disruption of daily life, if the protestors' voices are absent and if the content of the tweets legitimises the government.

3.1 PROPENSITY ANALYSIS

The corpus was a result of Twitter scraping from the 30/09/2019 to 31/10/2019, covering the lead up to the *estallido* and its first few weeks and contains 32,275 tweets. For analysis, the first day of mass protest has been chosen (18/10/2019), analysing the 7 accounts detailed in Table 2:2. This accounts for the largest and most influential official national news outlets Twitter accounts, as defined in the methodology. In the period in question, the corpus does not discriminate by topic and is therefore a bank of tweets covering any topic that the news outlets chose to discuss in the period. Inevitably, this covers events other than the protests in question. Given the data range available, this enables a comparison of elements such as tweet propensity and thematic selections.

Breaking down into specific accounts, trends can be noted for individual outlets. For example, some accounts tweeted much more than others. In the first week (18th-24th), the following number of Tweets were posted by each account:

CNN Chile: 510

El Mostrador: 547

ADN Radio Chile: 727

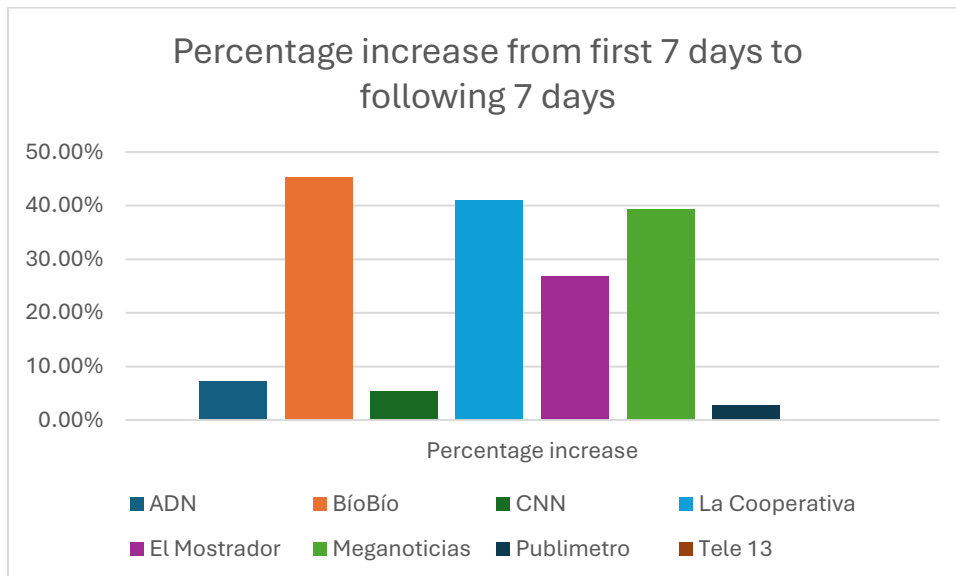
Publometro: 1,019

Radio Bío Bío: 1,177

Meganoticias: 1,349

La Cooperativa: 3,455

La Cooperativa is the outlier, tweeting 2,106 (156.3%) times more than the next most prolific account in the period, *Meganoticias*. If the number of tweets from the 11/10/2019 - 17/10/2019 period (encapsulating regular or control days) is compared, changes in tweet propensity are seen, with almost all outlets increasing tweet propensity.



ADN Radio Chile exhibited an increase from 678 tweets to 727, representing a rise of approximately 7.2%. The average daily tweet count also saw a modest increase from 97 to 104.

Radio Bio Bio demonstrated a notable escalation in activity, with tweets increasing from 810 to 1,177, which constitutes a substantial growth of approximately 45.3%. The average daily tweet output surged from 116 to 168 tweets.

CNN Chile reported a slight increase in tweet volume, from 484 to 510, translating to a growth of about 5%. The daily average rose marginally from 69 to 73 tweets.

La Cooperativa experienced the most pronounced increase, with tweets jumping from 2,451 to 3,455, reflecting a rise of approximately 41%. The average daily tweets escalated significantly from 350 to 494.

El Mostrador also showed an increase, with the total number of tweets rising from 431 to 547, marking a growth of approximately 26.9%. The daily average increased from 62 to 78 tweets.

Meganoticias saw a significant increase in tweet activity, with totals moving from 969 to 1,349, indicating a growth of approximately 39.2%. The average daily tweet count rose from 138 to 192.

Publimetro displayed a minor increase, with tweets rising from 992 to 1,019, growing approximately 2.7%. The daily average tweets increased slightly from 142 to 146.

In summary, the corpus indicates that most media outlets experienced an increase in tweet propensity during the first seven days of protest, with *Radio Bío Bío* and *La Cooperativa* showing the most significant increases in both total tweets and average daily output. Twitter users tend to be more interested in news and politics, and use of Twitter for news at the time of interest, was highest in Asia and Latin America (Reuters, 2023). Seguel and Fariás (2022) state that '*the Internet- through cyberpress- has the capacity to accelerate the processes of circulation of discourses and thereby promote movements of meanings and, consequently, modifications in the linguistic resources used to configure them.*' [Translated]. By setting the agenda of which topics might trend, outlets can attempt to influence the topics of discussion, and the framings used to discuss news items, incentivising higher tweet propensities for significant events.

Following this overall look at tweet propensity across the corpus, the study now analyses individual tweets more closely from each user on the first day of protest, using salient keywords sourced from NodeXL to analyse the five points of interest, sourced from previous studies into the *estallido*: absence or presence of violent & illegitimate protestors, absence or presence of calm & controlled authorities, absence or presence of a disruption to daily life narrative, the absence of protestors' position and the legitimisation of the government.

3.2 ADN RADIO CHILE

3.2.1 Protestas (two samples)

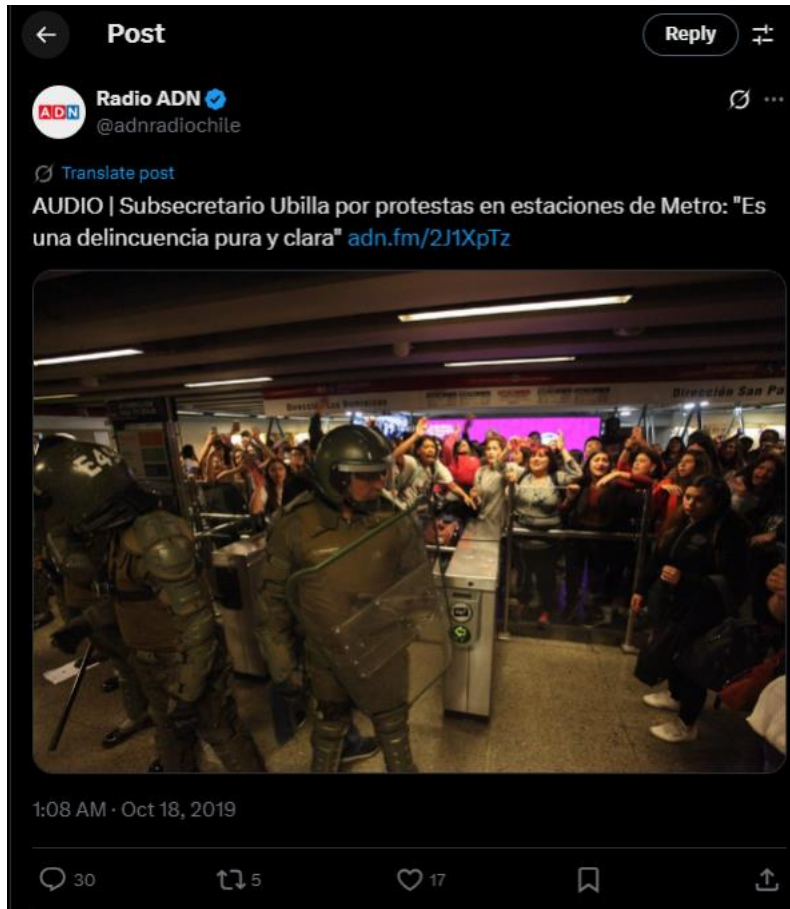


Figure 3-1: ADN, protestas²

AUDIO | Subsecretario Ubilla por protestas en estaciones de Metro: "Es una delincuencia pura y clara"

AUDIO | Undersecretary Ubilla on Metro station protests: "It is pure and clear delinquency"

<https://x.com/ADNradiochile/status/1184984610444328960>

The text begins with a structural discourse marker (Sutherland 2016) indicating that the content is audio, allowing users to decide whether this is content they wish to engage with or scroll past: it carries a denotive function. In this case, the audio is content which is externally hyperlinked. The tweet then immediately uses honorifics (formal titles and positions that denote power or authority) to introduce the Undersecretary and to assert his status as a government official.

Next, the topic of *protestas en estaciones de Metro* [protests in metro stations] is introduced; an over-generalization considering that whilst some protests involved fare evasions, others burned metro

² The background of this tweet is black, but other sample appear on a white background. The colour change is dependent on the device from which the image is accessed.

stations to the ground. When considering the image in the paragraphs that follow, the ambiguity of the photo is shown to support this vague representation of the protests. By discussing a generalized version of protest, in an online environment where violence was spotlighted, the text delegitimises the protests and puts all protestors together as the same illegitimate group. It works in structural opposition to the legitimate government minister who is the main agent of the tweet and an official source.

The quote itself says *es una delincuencia pura y clara* [it's pure and clear delinquency]. Here *delincuencia* is an abstraction ('when actions become generalised and non-specific') (Machin, 2012) of what the Subsecretary is discussing. As mentioned, the metro protests carried a variety of different actions, and here by abstracting specific unjustifiable actions, the tweet seeks to delegitimise all the protestors as delinquents, without naming any specific delinquent actions. This judgement is made using existential processes (the linguistic representation of existence through the verb to be, and synonyms) to strengthen the subsecretary's judgement, describing it saying *es delincuencia pura y clara*. This removes participants and allows the nominalisation (converting verbs or adjectives into nouns to background the agents of specific actions) of *delincuencia pura y clara*. As will later be discussed in Figure 3-16, this quotation was reported differently by another outlet, with the language saying *pura y dura* [pure and simple] in their quotation.

In the attached image, the perspective of the carabineros is given from a distance. The carabineros in this case represent the side of authority. On the other side, protestors are shown pushing against the barriers, with their arms raised. They are also on the outside of the barriers, with the carabineros inside. Collectively, this positions the authorities against the protestors, with the authorities presented as being the inside group, whilst the protestors are seen as outsiders trying to break in. The perspective also takes a wide angle, using collectivisation to show the audience a homogenous group and not leading readers to think about any individuals. On the contrary, the side of the face of a carabinero is visible, and both appear to be retreating, insinuating that they are in retreat and threatened.

Although violent illegitimate protestors are not clearly referred to in the text, the use of abstraction and generalisations leaves enough ambiguity to suggest it. The image does not show violence specifically, but it does show a homogenous large group with their arms raised, forcing into the barriers. The carabineros, though absent from the text of the tweet, represent authority in the image and appear to be in retreat, confirming what the subsecretary is saying in the quote: that this is *delincuencia pura y clara*. As a result, the protestors are delegitimised, the authorities appear calm and controlled and justify the response, whilst disruption of the metro is visible. Simultaneously, there is no mention of the protestors' position.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	Yes
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:1: ADN, protestas results



Figure 3-2: ADN, protestas

AHORA | Paula Rivas, presidenta de la Federación de Sindicatos de Metro, habla en #ADNHoy sobre la postura de los trabajadores respecto de las protestas por el alza de la tarifa

NOW | Paula Rivas, president of the Metro Workers Federation, speaks on #ADNHoy about the workers' stance regarding the protests over the fare increase.

<https://x.com/ADNradiochile/status/1185160460183769088>

This tweet begins with a discourse marker, this time used to signal immediacy as the news is happening *ahora* [now]. Honorifics are used to denote the speaker, this time the president of the metro Union. Unlike in the previous example where the tweet led with the title before the name of the speaker, in this case the speaker's name has been used, followed by their title, suggesting less importance on this, slightly weakening the position of Paula Rivas as a person of authority when compared with the subsecretary in Figure 3-1. After leading with formal titles, the position of the workers is introduced, notably regarding *protestas* [protests] as opposed to the *evasión* [fare evasion] framing seen in other tweets. This gives a more legitimate position for protest, though this is somewhat diminished with the addition of *por el alza de la tarifa* [the rise in tariff], which reduces the issue to metro prices. Rivas is presented through a verbal process (ways of 'saying' and its synonyms) saying *habla* [she speaks], a neutral representation of her speech.

The tweet carries less of an informative function with regards to news itself and instead promotes a show on *ADN*, denoted using the hashtag *#ADNHoy* and the redirecting of users to listen to the show. Users are informed that by listening, they will hear the stance of the metro workers on the

protests. In this example, a hyperlinked image is not present, but a separate image that has been attached in platform. Visually, this gives the image more dominance, as in the old Twitter format, hyperlinks gave a substantial proportion of the frame over to headlines and ledes than images. Throughout the sample, the selection of in platform images can be seen as an editorial decision to highlight specific images. In the attached image, nothing related to the metro or the news content itself is included. Instead, a promotion for the radio show is used, depicting all the key details of how to listen to the show, against the backdrop of a radio deck to contextualise the content as radio content. This tweet’s function is less pervasive than in Figure 3-1 and instead shows the mixed function of Twitter for *ADN* as they use the platform to promote their radio content. This could appear neutral, but the effect of this is backgrounding the protestors themselves, as visually the tweet frame is promotional and it foregrounds an official source in the text, leaving protestors absent.

Regarding the protests, this is an example of placing the protests within a frame showing disruption to daily life, using speakers of authority from the metro workers union, and abstracting the demands of the protestors. Although the main function of this tweet is to promote a radio show, it leaves significant space for interpretation, as it provides little detail. In Figure 3-1 a quote from a person in authority directly criticising the protestors is used. In this case, the position of Paula Rivas is suppressed. Rivas, though critical of aggression against metro workers, was also critical of the fare increases at the time (Nuevo-Mundo, 2019) at the time, but this position is absent from the tweet.

As a result, through absence and context, readers who have previously been exposed to narratives of protestor violence, a legitimised government and the authorities, are likely to read this tweet and understand it within that context. Meanwhile the protestors’ voice is absent as an official source reduces the issues to a rise in tariffs.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes (Implicit)
Calm & controlled authorities	n/a
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors’ position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	Yes (Implicit)

Table 3:2: ADN, protestas results

3.2.2 Manifestaciones (one sample)

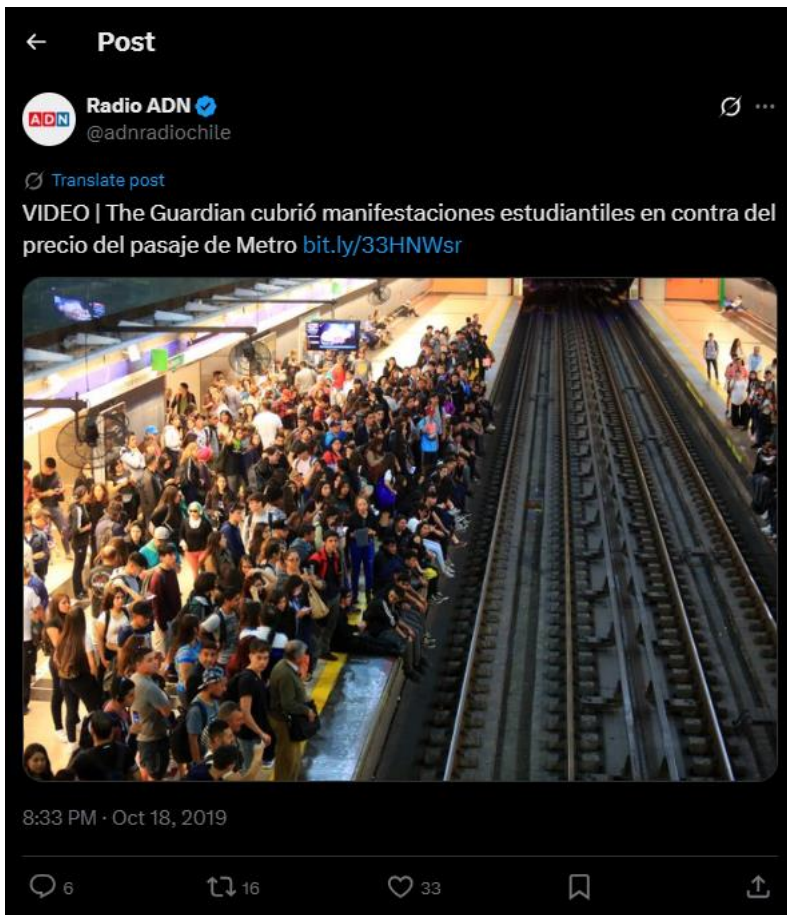


Figure 3-3: ADN, manifestaciones

VIDEO | *The Guardian* cubrió manifestaciones estudiantiles en contra del precio del pasaje de Metro

VIDEO | *The Guardian* covers the student protests over the price of Metro fares

<https://x.com/ADNradiochile/status/1185277634533642240>

As with the previous examples, this tweet starts with a discourse marker to highlight the fact this tweet links out to a video. This time, a foreign news outlet (*The Guardian*) is being reported on for its coverage of the protests. Once again, there is an absence of any specific content or position on the protests, such as whether the *Guardian* agreed or disagreed with the content, there is merely the statement that the protests were reported on. Unlike in previous examples, the protests are here referred to as *manifestaciones estudiantiles* [student protests], associating the protests with a group known for organising and protesting injustices in Chile. The attached image is also one of the softer images used to cover the protests; although the perspective is wide and the protestors homogenised as a group, here they are depicted in a much more peaceful manner. Whilst they are disrupting the metro, they are not arms raised and seen to be in opposition to the authorities as in Figure 3-1, they are instead congregating and sitting on the platform. The photo is taken from an angle above, adding a sense of vulnerability to their position (Machin, 2012, p. 100). Equally, the wide, homogenising shot makes it hard to see that

these are students and weakens the sense of relatability to the group. Although this tweet appears to display a softening and a contextualisation of the protests, there are still some elements that leave the intentions ambiguous, such as a lack of clear position regarding the protests, an absence of the demands of the protestors.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	No
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	No

Table 3:3: ADN, manifestaciones results

3.2.3 Carabineros (two samples)

In this sample, the first two tweets had to be discarded, as one was about the carabineros and confrontations with Colo Colo football supporters, and the next contained a video, which as discussed, was discounted from analysis.

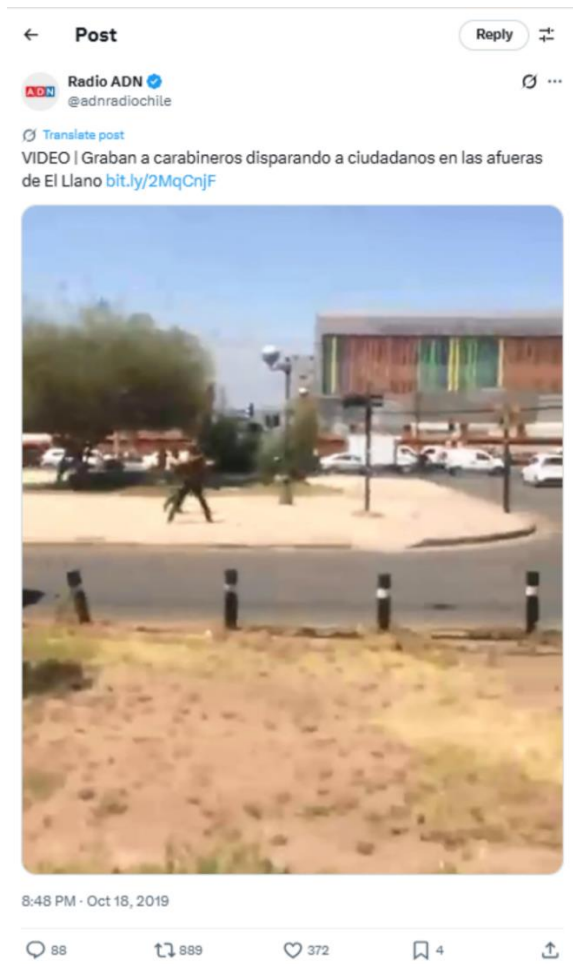


Figure 3-4: ADN, carabineros
VIDEO | Graban a carabineros disparando a ciudadanos en las afueras de El Llano
VIDEO | Carabineros filmed firing on citizens on the outskirts of El Llano (Metro station)
<https://x.com/ADNradiochile/status/1185281409231081473>

Once again, this tweet starts with a discourse marker, relaying to the reader that the linked-out content is a video. In this tweet unnamed individuals are reported as filming the police shooting at civilians in the outskirts of El Llano. Unlike in previous tweets where honorifics and people of status are attributed to content, in this case there is no attribution of the content. Notably, it is also the first time that the carabineros are painted in a negative light. Comparatively, the tweet is short and provides little context. Readers do not find out why the carabineros were shooting, they do not know if the carabineros injured anyone, nor any other context, leading to a much shorter tweet than in previous examples as

information is suppressed. The use of the impersonal third-person plural in the material process, *graban* [filmed], anonymises the agent of the verb, creating ambiguity over who is filming and why. The result is that it foregrounds the carabineros actions as they are firing and backgrounds the individuals recording.

Interestingly for video content, *ADN* also chose not to attach the video on Twitter, instead preferring to attach a screenshot of the video, which depicts two figures in the distinct green uniform of the carabineros, on a street outside a building and a car park. The angle is very wide and the carabineros barely visible, giving little indication of violence, individualising the two people as sole actors and not showing the civilians who were being shot.

In other tweets from the outlet, videos of protestors forcing their way into the metro against the carabineros were used, but in the case where the perpetrators are the carabineros, their actions are abstracted, and the context is absent. As a result, although the first negative framing of the authorities is being shown, there is still an absence of the protestors and their position, a focus on disruption as this takes place outside a metro station, and a lack of context that could lead readers to question the causes of the confrontation. Understood in the context of other *ADN* tweets, readers could interpret the confrontation as the result of protestor action, given their confrontational representation in *ADN*'s other coverage.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	No
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	No

Table 3:4: *ADN, carabineros results*



Figure 3-5: ADN, carabineros
VIDEO | *Los gritos de los ciudadanos en contra de Carabineros*
VIDEO | *The citizens' chants against the Carabineros*
<https://x.com/ADNradiochile/status/1185281409231081473>

This tweet starts with a discourse marker to highlight that the linked content is a video. Here, the tweet focuses on the chants of protestors *en contra de Carabineros* [against the police]. This framing uses verbal process (*los gritos*) [the chants] to reduce the protestors objectives and aims to shouting or antagonising the police. Instead of a discussion of the goals and the aims of the movement, the reasons for the demands and the protests, they are reduced to shouting at the carabineros, who are a position of authority. ‘*Gritos*’ suggests an active agent aggressively positioning itself against a helpless and inactive agent: the carabineros. In the text these elements are structurally opposed, with the ‘*gritos de los ciudadanos*’ [the citizen’s chants] being met with just ‘carabineros’ as passive agents.

The protests no doubt included ‘*gritos*,’ but they also involved song, poetry, art, music, and dance. By focussing on the shouts, the author reduces the protestors to an aggressively positioned group, attacking passive members of authority. Any sense of the movement’s demands is suppressed.

In the image, a wide angle is once again used. Instead of bringing viewers close to the protestors and their demands, they are presented as a large homogenous group. Their faces are also blurred, preventing any visible emotion or cues that might indicate how they are feeling, preventing viewers from relating to them as a group. Overall, this leaves the protestors position absent despite them being the presented as an aggressive, active agent in the tweet. It also shows disruption in the streets and leaves the carabinieri as passive agents in the context. All of this can be seen to justify the carabinieri presence and thus legitimise the government.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	Yes
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	Yes

Table 3:5: ADN, carabinieri results

3.2.4 Metro (two samples)

When looking for instances of the word ‘Metro,’ some repeats in the data set were discovered, with the first instance of metro being the same example shown in Figure 3-1. The first unique instance was the following:



Figure 3-6: ADN, metro

Federación de Sindicatos de Metro y protestas por alza de tarifas: "Estamos pagando las consecuencias de las malas decisiones del gobierno" #ADNHoy

Federation of Metro Unions and protests over fare increases: 'We are paying the consequences of the government's poor decisions' #ADNHoy

<https://x.com/ADNradiochile/status/1185160686084743168>

This is the first example where a textual discourse marker is not used. However, in its place a radio microphone emoji is used, which carries the same denotive function. In this tweet readers are once again presented with a quote, but this time there is an absence of a named individual source, other than the *Federación de Sindicatos de Metro*. By obscuring the source of the quote, it can instead be attributed to the metro system and its workers as a whole, potentially adding more weight to the quote. It is significant if this quote came from an office worker, or someone in a position of power for example. By obscuring this, a level of authority is immediately presupposed. The introduction to the quote once again refers to the protests as being *por alza de tarifas* [over fare increases], excluding any further analysis into the causes of protest and reducing them to this solitary, small and isolated issue, suppressing any further demands.

The quote itself attributes blame to *las malas decisiones del gobierno* [the government's poor decisions]. Although attributing blame to the government, once again the details of what the *malas decisiones* [poor decisions] are, is suppressed. Instead of seeing context regarding the protestors, their demands and the 'poor decisions' that led to the crisis, the readers see an intermediary blame the protests on the government, as opposed to an explanation as to the roots of the crisis from a protestor's voice.

One reason for this justification could be that this tweet once again carries its main function as a piece of promotion: the attached image is in 'gif' format and gives details of how to listen to the coverage, using *ADN*'s colour scheme and details of their social media. The absence of further details could be an active decision to create engagement with the content and drive traffic to the live radio coverage which is linked to. However, when experienced on a Twitter feed as one of many tweets, it suppresses the position of protestors and focusses on disruption. The quote selected also makes use of the material process (the process of 'doing', or more abstract or metaphorical processes) *estamos pagando* [we are paying], making a connection between government inaction and the costs incurred from the disruption, though again reducing the diverse demands of the movement ultimately down to costs.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	No
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	No

Table 3:6: *ADN metro results*



Figure 3-7: ADN, metro

Federación de Sindicatos de Metro y protestas por alza de tarifas: "El gobierno tiene que darse cuenta que cuando toma medidas debe evaluar el impacto social" #ADNHoy

Metro Union Federation and protests over fare increases: "The government must realize that when it takes measures, it needs to assess the social impact." #ADNHoy

<https://x.com/ADNradiochile/status/1185161135491895296>

In this example, an emoji is again used as a denotive discourse marker, where the microphone indicates a link out to radio show content. As with the previous tweet, the quote is attributed to an organisation, but not to any individual, obscuring the source of the quote and potentially giving the quote more weight, presupposing that the quote came from an individual in a position of influence.

The quote itself is directed towards the government, once more a criticism of their actions. The quote invokes mental processes (how individuals are presented as sensing things through cognition, affection and perception), suggesting the government does not *darse cuenta* [realise] or *evaluar* [evaluate], presenting it as a thoughtless institution. The quote, however, is not directed at any individual and does not inform readers of what the government have ‘not thought’ about, of what they have ‘failed to evaluate.’ Again, there is an abstraction of protestors demands, using an official source, allowing any details of the exact issues of the protestors to be omitted and their message delivered via a third party.

In this case, a promotional image is used, like in Figure 3-6, but not in gif format so the image is still. Although this promotional function can be used to justify the image, the positioning of the tweet would change if a relevant image was selected. If here the fires on the metro, or the faces of people angry at the cost of the metro were visible, it could have the impact of attributing blame for the disorder in the streets to government policy. Instead, the quote, which is negative towards the government, visually exists in a vacuum. As discussed, where there are so many pieces of information on Twitter competing for user's attention, these more promotional tweets appear strategically to position themselves weakly compared to other *ADN* tweets, whilst still positioning this critical quote in within the frame of disruption to the metro and daily life.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	No
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	No

Table 3:7: *ADN metro results*

3.2.5 Piñera (one sample)



Figure 3-8: ADN, piñera

Piñera y protestas por alza de tarifa del Metro: Estamos estudiando aplicar la ley de seguridad del Estado
Piñera on protests over the Metro fare increase: We are considering applying the State Security Law.
<https://x.com/ADNradiochile/status/1185162638369742848>

This tweet does not begin with a discourse marker: it goes directly into a headline. Piñera is first introduced, but unlike in previous examples, honorifics are absent. The absence of honorifics obscures the source of a quote or statement and can be used to either add weight to a less senior individual's comments, or to nullify the power behind a senior individual's statement. In this case, the absence brings a diminished sense of status and increases familiarity: this is common amongst senior politicians, though it decreases the distance between senior politicians and their audience as they are presented in a more informal way. Once again, the tweet attributes the protests to *alza de tarifa del Metro* [Metro fare increases], a clear suppression of protestors' complaints and demands.

In the quote selected, the president is represented through a mental process with the verb *estudiar*, that suggests a level of calm, consideration and an objective studying of fact, whilst he considers applying

the oppressive *ley de seguridad del Estado*; the state security law in Chile which gives government powers to act on perceived threats such as terrorism, sedition and violence, which was first invoked by Augusto Pinochet in the 1980s.

In the attached image, the president is in a press conference, with a bright yellow backdrop and a microphone in front of him, contextualising the shot as a press conference. The president’s face is clearly visible as the image is closely cropped. In the image his eyebrows are raised, and he is making a point, using his hands to signal this. Contrasted with *ADN*’s other photographs, this is the first time the outlet has used a close-up image of a face. As opposed to the faceless masses when discussing disruption, here a calm, considered president is presented, one who is textually described as ‘studying’ and considering his options. This begins a theme that appears through the sample: the state / president as a thoughtful actor. Ironically, the law the president is considering would signal severe disruption to daily life at the hands of government forces, but this disruption is not presented here.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes (Implicit)
Calm & controlled authorities	Yes
Disruption of daily life	Yes (Implicit)
Absence of protestors’ position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:8: ADN piñera results

3.2.6 Gobierno (two samples)

When looking through the sample here, Figure 3-5 and Figure 3-6 appear for a second time each, so have not been included here. The next two results were content in a thread, so were therefore discarded. As a result, the next eligible item for analysis is the following:



Figure 3-9:ADN, gobierno

De la evasión a la interpretación. En la #PautaB hablamos del derecho a manifestarse, de la violencia y de la forma en que el Gobierno decidió enfrentar el fenómeno ¿Tú, qué opinas? ¡corre video! <https://bit.ly/31sqPRc> @gersondelrio @mirnaschindler @mauriciohofmann @anmoletto

From evasion to interpretation. In the #PautaB we talk about the right to protest, violence, and how the Government decided to address the phenomenon. What do you think? Watch the video! <https://bit.ly/31sqPRc> @gersondelrio @mirnaschindler @mauriciohofmann @anmoletto.

<https://x.com/ADNradiochile/status/1185201770210975746>

The first notable element compared to previous tweets is the lack of image or thumbnail. The bit.ly link attached links out to YouTube content. Bit.ly links usually carry over metadata and would include the desired thumbnail from YouTube. As this data was collected in 2021 and the analysis conducted in 2025, it could be that the data no longer carries or that something has broken along the way: regardless, it makes it difficult to replicate the way the tweet would have appeared at the time.

In this tweet there is also no discourse marker. Instead, it goes directly to an introductory headline, *De la evasión a la interpretación* [from evasion to interpretation]. This indicates that the content will look to interpret events, giving the show which is being introduced a level of authority as they interpret the news. Next, Chilean current events show #PautaB is introduced as well as the topics *el derecho de manifestarse, de la violencia y de la forma en que el Gobierno decidió enfrentar el fenómeno* [the right to protest, violence, and how the Government decided to address the phenomenon]. Although the verbal process *hablamos* [we talk] is used, contextually it appears to mean discuss or debate. PautaB is a known debating show and whilst the quote starts by saying *hablamos del derecho a manifestarse* [we talk about the right to protest], the next two topics are more likely to cause debate, *la violencia* [violence] and *la forma en que el gobierno decidió enfrentar el fenómeno* [how the Government

decided to address the phenomenon]. This structural opposition between protest and violence against the government’s response couples protest and violence together, legitimising the government’s right to respond. This right to respond is further strengthened by the description of the protests as a *fenómeno* [phenomenon], a word which connotes exceptionality, something which would justify a response. The *forma* [way] in which the government decided to respond is also presupposed knowledge and does not include any details or potential connections to violence, despite both protestors and police being documented as involved in violent actions.

The debate context is continued by the next phrase, an invitation to give an opinion, before an instruction to watch the video and a link, followed by the tags of various presenters and speakers. All of this ‘debate’ around rights, violence and responses, ignores protestors’ voices and central demands, focusses on violence and disruption, and uses the opposition of violence and government responses to justify their actions.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	Yes
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors’ position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:9: ADN gobierno results



Post

Reply



Radio ADN
@adnradiochile



[Translate post](#)

Beatriz Sánchez pidió al Gobierno "echar pie atrás con el alza al transporte" bit.ly/2IZ8nJl



3:37 PM · Oct 18, 2019

Figure 3-10: *ADN gobierno*

Beatriz Sánchez pidió al Gobierno "echar pie atrás con el alza al transporte"

Beatriz Sánchez asked the Government to "backtrack on the fare increase for transportation."

<https://x.com/ADNradiochile/status/1185203367833952257>

Beatriz Sánchez is a journalist and former political candidate for *Frente Amplio* [Broad Front], considered an advocate for social issues and was also a founder of Radio *ADN*. The quote selected from Sánchez makes one demand: *echar pie atrás con el alza al transporte* [backtrack on the fare increase for transportation]. The verb *pedir* [to ask/request] carries a strong connotation as a demand. The demand itself is simple, but there is little context around it. Why is the cost of transport an issue? Will this fix the problem? Is this the sole demand of the protestors? Focussing on the demand of backtracking also appears to paint a politician challenging the government in a light where they wish the government to go backwards.

In the image, Sánchez is depicted closely framed, the first individual to be portrayed this way other than the president. The background is entirely black, making the image contextually difficult to place, though Sánchez is holding a microphone with a hand making a forward motion in front of her. The image of

this forward signalling supports her suggestion that the way forwards is to step back with regards to the tariff hike on the Metro.

Once more, an external actor is speaking on behalf of protestors, with the selection of quote reducing their core demands to relate to the *alza* [increase] in metro fares. They are suggesting a way forwards but are denied any level of authority by the tweet author, with a quotation presented in an unclear context.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	No
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	No

Table 3:10: *ADN gobierno results*

Across Radio *ADN*'s coverage, there was no single representation of protestors' views by protestors themselves. Instead, the coverage focusses on disruption (10/10), using the *evasiones masivas* [mass evasion] framing. Over half of the tweets appear to legitimise the government (6/10), whilst violent or illegitimate protestors were present in half the sample (5/10), and the authorities were presented as calm and controlled less frequently (4/10). In the sample, individuals were largely framed as 'protestors,' with absence and abstraction key features used to shape the narrative, with coverage focussing much more on the disruption than on protestors voices. *ADN*'s coverage prefers the use of attached images in platform, to hyperlinked thumbnails, suggesting the images were curated and selected to depict specific messages more prominently.

3.3 RADIO Bío Bío

3.3.1 Protestas (one sample)



Figure 3-11: Bío Bío protestas

"Las protestas reflejan divisiones agudas en Chile, una de las naciones más ricas de América Latina pero también una de las más desiguales", destaca una agencia de noticias.

"The protests reflect sharp divisions in Chile, one of the richest nations in Latin America but also one of the most unequal," highlights a news agency.

https://x.com/Bio_Bio/status/1185287897693470721

The first tweet in the sample of *Radio Bío Bío* starts with a quotation, which attributes the protests to inequality within Chile. The quote itself is attributed only to *una agencia de noticias* [a news agency]. This anonymisation suppresses the source of the quotation, making it impossible upon seeing the tweet to attribute it to any individual. The quote itself came from Reuters (Laing 2019), a well-known, international source of news. The reasons for the suppression are unclear; the article itself considers how multiple international news agencies were reporting on the case, and it is possible that the tweet's author, although wanting to spotlight this particular viewpoint, did not want to share the source as a promotional tool to prompt the reader to click the article and find the source for themselves. It could also be an attempt to avoid confirmation/source bias, by denying the scrolling reader that chance to immediately agree/disagree with the quote, based only upon its source. Additionally,

although this is a rare insight into opinions shared by protestors, they themselves are not cited. This will not be counted in the sample as ‘absence of the protestors’ position’, but it is worth noting the subtle choice to deliver the opinion via an official source as opposed to via protestors themselves. The verbal process *destaca* [highlights] is used in the tweet, suggesting that not only is the international press discussing this element, but bringing it to the forefront of their coverage.

The image is part of the metadata from the link and is therefore a clickable hyperlink to facilitate website access. The angle depicts protestors from above, seemingly trying to break into the Metro. They are a small group, and the downwards angle can give the sense of their vulnerability. Their mannerisms could be interpreted in two ways with their hands in the air: either in desperation or in a frenzy, depending on the perspective of the viewer.

In this example, the headline now appears less prominently across the bottom of the image than in the old Twitter format from the time the tweets were created. For this reason, this element will be analysed, despite not appearing prominently in the screenshots provided. *Se han apoderado de las estaciones: la reacción de la prensa internacional a protestas en el Metro* [They have taken over the stations: the international press reaction to protests in the Metro], the headline reads. This opening quote contrasts quite strongly to the quote used in the tweet copy. Whereas the tweet appears to provoke sympathy with inequality and the causes of the protest, the headline focused on the disruption, the ‘take over’ of the metro stations, which connotes images of occupation and violence. The combination of quotes, the openly interpreted image and the headline here give a very multifaceted representation of events, in which readers may interpret the content in the way they see most fit. This is one of the only examples where issues raised by protestors’ is mentioned, although the protestors’ themselves are absent and the line is instead delivered via the international media.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors’ position	No
Legitimation of the government	No

Table 3:11: Bio Bio protestas results

3.3.2 Manifestaciones

In this sample there was only one tweet available, but it was discarded as it was part of a thread and therefore less likely to be encountered organically on an individual's feed.

3.3.3 Carabineros (one sample)

This sample had 8 relevant instances of *carabineros*, however, seven of the results were in a thread and therefore excluded, leaving one relevant tweet:



Figure 3-12: *Bío Bío carabineros*

IMÁGENES EXPLÍCITAS | Usuarios y testigos aseguran que en el lugar efectivos de Carabineros habrían disparado contra los manifestantes.

EXPLICIT IMAGES | Users and witnesses claim that police officers fired at the protesters at the scene.

[https://twitter.com/Bio Bio/status/1185329631496429568](https://twitter.com/BioBio/status/1185329631496429568)

For the first time in *Radio Bío Bío's* sample, a discourse marker is used. It carries a denotive function but also acts as a warning that the images in the attached video are explicit. The tweet begins with overlexicalisation as *usuarios y testigos* [users and witnesses] claim that carabineros had fired upon civilians. Naming two groups gives further weight to the claims being legitimate, despite 'metro users' and 'witnesses' being the same people (as they all claim to have seen the shootings). The actual

perpetrators have been positioned at the end of the sentence as opposed to being presented as protagonists, as the tweet’s author hedges their actions with the verbal process stating *usuarios y testigos aseguran* [users and witnesses claim]. The use of *asegurar* [claim] as a verbal process introduces an element of doubt: it is presented as their word, not an absolute fact.

The image is a thumbnail of a video (though not a video itself) pulled through in metadata and it is therefore unclear as the size is reduced to fit the portrait mobile orientation into the image box size. However, the face of one individual crouched on the floor is visible, appearing to be in a state of shock or fear. When combined with the tweet content claiming the police fired upon people in the station, this adds a witness visually to support the claim, despite the image not showing the police or images of them firing at people. The headline reads: *Videos muestran a manifestante herida y ensangrentada durante enfrentamiento con carabineros* [Videos show an injured and bloodied protester during clashes with carabineros]. Once again, the actions of the carabineros are abstracted and the clash nominalised as an *enfrentamiento* [confrontation] which weakens the representation of their actions.

Overall, the tweet and its content break from the trends of the sample, in that they do not violently represent protestors, they do not present the carabineros as a calm voice of authority, and the protestors are directly speaking on their own behalf (although they are referred to as *usuarios* and *testigos*). However, there are elements present that weaken the claims against the carabineros, such as using the quoting verb *aseguran* as well as grammatical positioning to minimize their actions and the distancing of carabineros from the violence.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	No
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors’ position	No
Legitimation of the government	No

Table 3:12: *Bio Bio carabineros results*

3.3.4 Metro (two samples)

Due to the first relevant sample being part of a thread, it was removed, leaving the following ‘Metro’ examples in *Radio Bio Bio*’s coverage:



Figure 3-13: *Bio Bio metro*

La reunión se da en la quinta jornada de evasiones masivas en el Metro de Santiago. The meeting takes place on the fifth day of mass fare evasion in the Santiago Metro.
https://x.com/Bio_Bio/status/1185203204830748673

This tweet begins with a statement that adds context to the headline itself, which will be discussed next. At the time the tweet was created, the headline would have taken a far more prominent position, and so the connection between the elements would have been stronger than appears here.

The headline reads: *Sin mea culpa: ministra Hutt condena protestas en Metro y descarta rebaja de tarifas* [No mea culpa: Minister Hutt condemns protests in the metro and rules out fare reductions.] *Sin mea culpa* borrows from Latin and is a formal rejection of blame. The use of a formal phrase to reject an accusation from protestors demonstrates a power relationship, with the politicians associated with a level of formality and status given by a phrase that borrows from Latin. Honorifics are used to further give status to minister Hutt. The phrase *condena* [condemn] is another phrase of rejection with a strong connotation. This strong position is reinforced using the verb *descartar* [dismiss, reject or discard], which makes the idea of lowering the metro fare into a throwaway, disposable idea, one of little consequence.

In the image the perspective is close, the shot taken from a behind some politicians passing through a gate, where they are being assisted by brightly clothed members of security staff. On the other side of the gate are protestors, their faces obscured. This gives readers the politicians perspective, demonstrating a level of status and power as they are guarded by security and a gate from the outside protestors. The angle in this instance appears neutral, whilst the perspective depicts which side each group falls on.

There is a strong rejection of popular demands from politicians in this tweet, reinforced with strong language and visual messaging. This delegitimises the protestors as having throwaway ideas (although only dealing with one of protestors demands), whilst presenting the politicians as being calm and in control of the narrative. The protestors’ demands are dealt with here, though they are reduced to one single unit: *[la]rebaja de tarifas* [fare reductions]. It also continues the focus on the disruption caused by *evasiones* [fare evasion.]

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	Yes
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors’ position	No
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:13: Bio Bio metro results

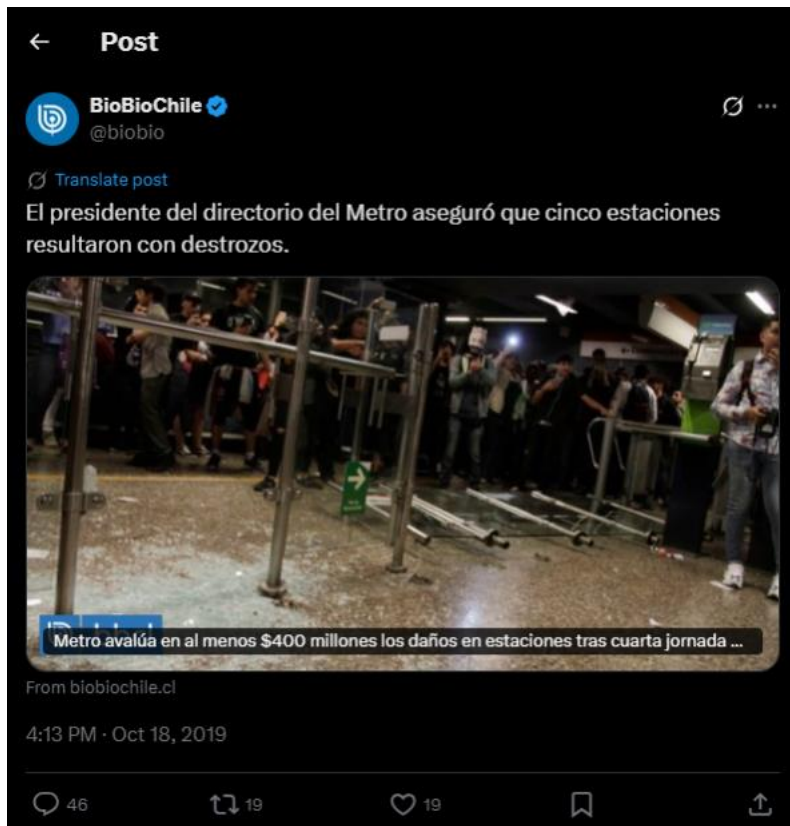


Figure 3-14: *Bio Bio metro*

El presidente del directorio del Metro aseguró que cinco estaciones resultaron con destrozos.

The president of the Metro board stated that five stations were damaged.

<https://x.com/Bio Bio/status/1185212415635529728>

This example starts with honorifics, but no name, associating a summarised quote to the president of the organisation, in which they state *aseguró que cinco estaciones resultaron con destrozos* [stated that five stations were damaged.] Here the absence of the name could be down to a lack of familiarity with the individual in charge. However, by making it a faceless name in charge of the organisation, it enables the tweet and the associated image to focus instead on the disruption in the Metro. As opposed to naming the perpetrators, this information is anonymised through nominalisation as *resultaron con destrozos* [stations were damaged] enables to author to remove the agent and the actions they took. The use of *aseguró* [stated] as a verbal process represents the president of the metro board as facts and leaves no ambiguity, giving readers confidence in the claim.

The image attached shows damage, with protestors seen behind the barriers, though none of them appear to directly be causing any destruction at the time the image was taken. Though the image does not directly implicate the protestors, there is a notable absence of carabineros, leading the destruction in the image to be associated with the protestors. The image is taken at a wide angle that does not closely show any face, creating a collective group identity and meaning the audience seeing the photo are less

likely to relate on any individual level with the subjects in the photograph. It is also taken from below, putting the protestors in a position of power and creating a more menacing, disruptive view of this homogenised group.

The headline reads: *Metro avalúa en al menos \$400 millones los daños en estaciones tras cuarta jornada de evasions* [Metro estimates the damage to stations at least \$400 million after the fourth day of fare evasion.] Here the quote is anonymised even further, with the president no longer cited, just the ‘metro’ as an entire entity being attributed with the statement. The headline discusses the cost of the damage, attributing *al menos 400 millones* [at least \$400 million]. The use of *al menos* suggests to the reader that this is the minimum value, with no upper limit on that amount, creating space for outrage in the response of readers. Interestingly, the damage is not accredited directly to protestors, but to *evasiones* instead. On the one hand, linguistically this takes the damage to the metro one step away from the protests, which are only in part to do with the metro fees. On the other, this potentially implicates thousands of peaceful fare evaders directly into violence, with the protestors and fare evaders indistinguishable as groups.

The result is that across the three sections of the tweet, protestors are closely linked to the destruction caused across the Metro, with a focus on disruption, destruction, and a distinct absence of any authorities or carabineros. In the wider context of the event framing across all outlets, this can be used to justify the actions of carabineros and is a further example where readers do not see the protestors’ position.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors’ position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:14: Bio Bio metro results

3.3.5 Piñera

No samples.

3.3.6 Gobierno (one sample)



Figure 3-15: *Bío Bío gobierno*

La Ley de Seguridad Interior del Estado tiene la particularidad que sólo puede ser invocada con el Gobierno y además establece como delito acciones que no están consideradas en el Código Penal.

The State Internal Security Law is unique in that it can only be invoked by the government and also establishes as crimes actions that are not considered crimes in the Penal Code.

https://x.com/Bío_Bío/status/1185328968364363782

The tweet begins by naming a specific law which the government was considering invoking. Immediately this signals to the reader that they are dealing with the application of a law and focuses on the legalities of the protests as opposed to the reasons for the protests themselves. The law itself criminalises actions that would normally be considered legal and therefore restricts liberties. However, this process is abstracted and overlexicalised as *establece como delito* [establishes as crimes], instead of directly using a verb to express criminalisation.

The headline reads: *¿A qué se arriesgan quienes sean condenados por la Ley de Seguridad del Estado?* [What are the risks for those who are convicted under the Law on State Security?] By using a question for this headline, it introduces doubt: are there risks under this new law? The use of the subjunctive further supports the introduction of doubt as it refers to those that *sean condenados* [are convicted], suggesting people may or may not be condemned for their actions.

In the attached image however, there is a clear demonstration of protestors that would be apprehended regardless of the application of the *Ley de Seguridad Interior del Estado* [State Security Law], as two individuals launch a bike towards a carabinero van outside of La Moneda. The choice of image being outside the La Moneda palace is particularly symbolic as the seat of the president. Historically this is also the location of one of the most shocking images of the dictatorship, as the military bombed the palace in its assault on popular democracy on 11 September 1973. The result is a violent and illegitimising representation of protestors, against a textual backdrop of legality and formality, where the restrictions the state is imposing are backgrounded, and the disruption foregrounded in order to justify the government’s application of a repressive anti-protest law.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	Yes
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors’ position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	Yes

Table 3:15: *Bío Bío gobierno results*

In *Radio Bío Bío*’s coverage, there is a focus on disruption, with 5/5 examples including daily disruption and 4/5 including violent or illegitimate protestors, reproducing the results found in Proust & Saldaña’s 2022 study. However, there is more balance than in other outlets with examples referring to *protestas* and *manifestantes*, [protestors] as opposed to an entire focus on the *evasión / evasores* [fare evasion/evader] frames. Protestors’ positions were absent from just 2/5 of the examples, and they were presented all but twice as protestors as opposed to *evasores*. There was also less legitimisation of the government and (3/5) and calm authorities were only present in 2/5 in the sample. Unlike other samples, *Radio Bío Bío* preferred the use of hyperlinks to their content, making the long form content more easily accessible.

3.4 CNN CHILE

3.4.1 Protestas (two samples)



Figure 3-16: CNN protestas

El subsecretario Rodrigo Ubilla señaló que la evasión masiva y las protestas de esta semana en el Metro son "delincuencia pura y dura". ¿Estás de acuerdo? Vota, comenta y RT utilizando #NuevoDíaCNN
Undersecretary Rodrigo Ubilla stated that the mass fare evasion and protests this week in the Metro are "pure and outright crime." Do you agree? Vote, comment, and RT using #NuevoDíaCNN.
<https://x.com/CNNChile/status/1185146420669702149>

This first tweet in the *CNN Chile* sample uses Twitter's poll function. The tweet begins with honorifics, both using the title and name of the subsecretary of the interior, Roger Ubilla. When introducing the quote from the subsecretary, the verb *señaló* [stated] carries strong connotations as a verbal process, leaving little room for challenge and presenting the following quotation as fact as opposed to an opinion. *Evasiones masivas* proceeds *protestas* as the event is primarily framed as a delinquent act. In this case, it is interesting that both are mentioned, as they are not part of the quotation. The reader cannot be sure that the subsecretary was asked about both acts together, or if he was referring to just the evasions, just the protests, or both. This information is suppressed, and the representation chosen by the author is to represent them both as the same thing.

Within the quote itself, the subsecretary refers to *delincuencia pura y dura* [pure and simple delinquency.] In Figure 3-1 Ubilla was quoted as saying *es una delincuencia pura y clara*, [It is pure and clear delinquency] demonstrating either that he made two similar claims, or an inconsistency in how the quotation was reported by two different outlets. Readers are invited for their opinion, before

the hashtag *#NuevoDíaCNN* is tagged on to contextualise the tweet as part of the daily *CNN* morning news programme, *Nuevo Día*.

Finally, without any further content to read, readers are presented with binary voting options, *Sí* or *No*. It is notable that an undecided option is not presented, forcing users to vote one way or another. It is particularly relevant that Twitter itself does not allow users to view the results until they themselves have voted. This means that results are not only polarising, but potentially misleading and create a significant opportunity for confirmation or negativity bias.

The result is an attribution of illegality from a politician, with a potentially incorrect quote, attached to a flawed poll that invites division. However, with only the subsecretary’s opinion given and the absence of any counterargument, legitimises the government, as the events being discussed are only referred to here as *delincuencia*.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors’ position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:16: CNN protestas results



Figure 3-17: CNN protestas

“Las protestas reflejan divisiones agudas en Chile”: Prensa internacional reacciona a las evasiones masivas del Metro
“The protests reflect sharp divisions in Chile”: International press reacts to the mass fare evasion in the Metro.
<https://x.com/CNNChile/status/1185306045964541952>

This tweet begins with a direct quote, stating that the protests are about deep divisions in Chile. Though more detailed than most accounts on the protestors’ behalf, it still hides what exactly those divisions are, the causes and the demands of the protestors, using *divisiones agudas* [sharp divisions] in place of *la desigualdad* [inequality], for example. The quote itself is also disassociated from a specific source, the author instead choosing to attribute the quote to the *prensa internacional* [international press], aggregating a variety of sources into one, foreign voice. Though subtle, using a quote sympathetic to protestors and associating it to international sources could be seen to generate a bias against outsiders who lack the local understanding of issues. Furthermore, the President later made claims that the violence had been instigated with support of international group (Diario-Las-Américas, 2019), and this could be considered part of the narrative to delegitimise the movement and claim it had foreign, disruptive roots.

Events are referred to as *evasiones masivas*, as opposed to *protestas*, focussing more on their disruptive elements than their aims or democratic character. In the image a selection of international news

headlines are presented in a variety of languages. This image has been selected as opposed to pulling through as a thumbnail. Due to there being four headlines and newspapers contained the image is visually noisy, but all the selected articles appear to have images on the metro and all focus on the metro fare hikes, again pulling focus on to the disruption caused and not the protestor demands. Some of the images selected also appear to show smoke, again bringing in elements of violence and illegitimacy, bringing a subtle justification of response. As a result, readers are presented a level of illegitimacy associated to the protestors, a real focus on disruption, and therefore a justification for government response, legitimising them by extension. Whilst protestors' views (such as the opinion that the protests reflect divisions in the country), this is done via a third party, namely the international press.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	No
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:17: CNN protestas results

3.4.2 Manifestaciones

No samples as the relevant keyword matches both made use of video content.

3.4.3 Carabineros

No samples.

3.4.4 Metro (two samples)



Figure 3-18: CNN metro

Sindicato de trabajadores de Metro y evasiones: "Compartimos absolutamente la legitimidad de la demanda"
Metro workers' union and fare evasion: "We absolutely share the legitimacy of the demand."
<https://x.com/CNNChile/status/1185133594110414849>

In this tweet, no honorifics are used, but an attribution to an organisation is given, before delivering a quote. This anonymisation could be seen to deliver power as it associates the quote to the whole organisation. However, it also depowers the source of the quote, the President of the Federation and makes it more generic. This in turn decontextualises the photo which has been selected and shows three people (including the president), sat in front of a line of anonymised people. The interplay of the anonymised quote and the photo weaken the power behind the quotation. Another factor that weakens the claim of legitimacy is the chosen word order, which foregrounds *evasiones* and leaves the quote that attributes legitimacy to follow.

Furthermore, the quote selection cuts off at *la demanda*, suppressing what the demands of the protestors are. The reader is offered the concession that the protestors have demands, something which has been anonymous in much of the sample so far but are again denied the chance to understand what these might be. The overall effect in this tweet is to weaken a quotation in support of protestors.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	No

Table 3:18: CNN metro results



Figure 3-19: CNN metro

Quinta jornada de evasiones masivas: Confirman que Línea 6 de Metro también está totalmente cerrada

Fifth day of massive fare evasion: It is confirmed that Line 6 of the Metro is also completely closed

<https://x.com/CNNChile/status/1185287062481563648>

The tweet begins with a statement to contextualise, stating that it is day five of the *evasiones masivas*. As seen consistently throughout the sample, this foregrounds disruption by framing events as mass evasion, as opposed to as protests. In the tweet, it is confirmed that line six is closed as a result.

The text uses the agentless *confirman* [confirm] to state that the metro line has closed, without confirming the reasons for the closure or who has given the confirmation. The use of *también* [also] implies to readers that this is not the only line closed, further emphasising the disruption. Due to the opening framing in the context of *evasiones*, this leads readers to connect the two. There is also overlexicalisation as the metro line is confirmed as *totalmente cerrada* [completely closed], although if the author has chosen to write *cerrada* this would communicate the same message, but with less strength and emphasis.

An image has been selected to be attached, showing a busy bus with queues outside. In this case the framing is (unusually in the context of the sample) not surrounding the Metro, protestors, or the police, but entirely centred on the disruption caused as readers see people patiently queuing for the bus, including someone pushing a pram. The result is a real focus on disruption, something which subtly justifies a response and an issue to be resolved.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:19 CNN metro results

3.4.5 Piñera (one sample)



Figure 3-20: CNN piñera

Piñera evalúa aplicar Ley de Seguridad del Estado por evasiones masivas en el Metro: "Este afán de todo esto no es protesta, es delincuencia"

Piñera evaluates applying the State Security Law due to mass fare evasion in the Metro: "This eagerness for all this is not protest; it is crime."

<https://x.com/CNNChile/status/1185185481165824003>

This tweet begins with a common reporting style of naming a politician by their last name, without honorifics. In the text, the president is represented with a mental process as the verb *evaluar* is used to introduce the notion of the president applying the state security law, suggesting a level of thoughtfulness and analysis, suggesting that the decision has been made with full consideration. The material process *aplicar* [apply] further suppresses what the law involves, which is a curbing of freedoms. The author could have used a verb such as *ejecutar* [implement] or *imponer* [impose] to communicate the same message but opted for a softer verb that obscures what the law invokes.

In the selected quote, the President uses a reductive term in referring to the *evasiones masivas* (using this again as the main frame instead of *protestas*) as an *afán* [no direct translation, but roughly equates to fad, in this context] which connotes a sort of desperation, of support based more in emotion than

rationality. Structurally, the quote also places *no es protesta* [this is not protest] and *delincuencia* [delinquency] close together, creating an association between the two. The word ordering also creates a structural opposition, with the thoughtful President who is seen to *evaluar* and *aplicar*, whilst the protestors are associated with *delincuencia*.

The image used is again an attachment, framed closely around the president in which he is giving a speech, appearing official and calm, his arms gesturing as though he is explaining his words in detail, his hands facing outwards and with a welcoming posture. The image allows viewers to see his emotion, and the fact that he is wearing some kind of workers uniform in red as opposed to his usual suits creates a sense of relatability. All of this evokes a sense of calm, control, and thoughtfulness, in contrast the *delincuencia* of which he speaks against. In addition, the backdrop shows a bus (one of the solutions to metro closures) and the Chilean flag, giving a sense of control and an official context.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	Yes
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:20: CNN piñera results

3.4.6 Gobierno (two samples)



Figure 3-21: *CNN gobierno*
Gobierno invoca Ley de Seguridad del Estado y Metro cierra todas las estaciones
Government invokes State Security Law and Metro closes all stations
<https://x.com/CNNChile/status/1185321950303752192>

This tweet begins as a statement, as the government invokes the State Security Law, and is thus presented as a matter of fact. In this instance the application of the law is not associated with the president himself, but simply with the *gobierno* [government], suggesting to readers that this is not the decision of one man, but has the full support of the state and its institutions, heightening the sense of support and strength of the measure. The use of the verb *invoca* [invokes] indicates a level of formality, but also a sense of last resort: laws, measures are only invoked once they must be. If this were not the case, a verb such as *aplicar* [apply] (which was used when proposing the measures) would have had the same message, without giving the sense of doing it as a final measure.

In terms of topic, the tweet once again refers to disruption, focussing on the closure of metro stations. Unlike many of the examples, here neither *evasiones masivas* nor *protestas* are cited as the cause. In the image, which is once more added on Twitter as opposed to a thumbnail, readers see crowds of

people in the streets, most likely protesting. The selected frame is very wide, giving a view of the whole crowd, but no closeups on specific faces, with the angle looking down on the crowd. The effect is to create a group dynamic that is less personally relatable and emotionally triggering, though they are peaceful in the image. Though the depiction of protestors seems peaceful and the angle could be considered depowering, in this instance the image is directly attached to a tweet explaining how a law which limits freedoms has been invoked and that the metro has been shut down. Subtly it suggests the protestors are the cause of this.

Whilst there is no explanation of the implications of the law (which limits freedoms), readers are presented with the metro closing all stations, causing disruption. The limits to people’s movement are more clearly obvious to the reader through the metro being closed, even though the *Ley de Seguridad* [security law] involves militarily enforced curfews. By using structural opposition, the application of the law is justified by the second clause in which disorder that has been caused by the protests is used to justify it, with no explanation of the significance or impact. There are no details of limits to freedom except because of closure of the metro, associating it closely with protestors’ actions, as opposed to government and police actions (who are enforcing this law). All of this abstracts the significance of the application of *la ley de seguridad* and highlights the disruption of protests, the effects on day-to-day life and justifies the government therefore responding.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	Yes
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors’ position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	Yes

Table 3:21: *CNN gobierno results*



Figure 3-22: *CNN gobierno*

Gobierno invoca Ley de Seguridad del Estado y hace llamado a los chilenos a “unirnos contra la violencia”

Government invokes State Security Law and calls on Chileans to “unite against violence.”

<https://x.com/CNNChile/status/1185323702277292032>

This tweet opens, repeating the structure used in the previous tweet in which the government is described with the material process as they *invoca* [invoke] *La Ley de Seguridad del Estado* [state security law,] with all the previously explained connotations that come with that. The verb *invocar* gives a sense of formality, in keeping with the use of titles and legal language used in this first sentence. This gives an overall sense of power and legitimacy to the government. In this image, readers see the face of a senior politician, Minister of the Interior, Andrés Chadwick, but this time he is not named. In the tweet, the minister is presented though a verbal process as making a call (*hace llamado*) for Chileans to *unirnos contra la violencia* [unite against violence]. The phrase *hace llamado* creates a sense of shouting over a crowd as he is reported as calling, as opposed to using a verb such as *solicitor* [request]. His call is aimed at *los chilenos*, again suggesting that the causes of the crisis are in fact external to Chile. In the selected quote, the minister asks the audience to *unirnos contra la violencia*, suggesting that the violence is again not from within, but also that Chileans are divided, despite the visible unity of disparate groups in the protests. The plea from government to unify

is also structurally opposed to *violencia*, suggesting that the state is separate from violence, and a source of unity.

In the image, there is a close crop of the minister, looking serious, calm and presenting a speech. The setting is formal as cast iron gates and formal stately looking stonework behind suggests a formal setting such as La Moneda and the angle is neutral, taken at eye level. The result is to present the government as thoughtful, peaceful, and unified in the face of violence.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	Yes
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:22: *CNN gobierno results*

In *CNN*'s coverage, there is a frequent use of the *evasores/evasiones masivas* framing. Of the 7 tweets, there is also consistency in referring to disruption (which is present in every example), with violent or illegitimate protestors, and an absence of protestors' positions present in 7/7 examples. In nearly half of the sample there is also reference to calm authorities (3/7), whilst legitimisation of the government (6/7) was also a common feature. Word connotations and structural grammatical work associate protestors with illegitimate actions, and the authorities and government with rationality, creating a strong delegitimising narrative throughout the coverage. *CNN* also prefers to use attached images as opposed to thumbnails, suggesting images were curated and selected to depict specific messages more prominently.

3.5 LA COOPERATIVA

3.5.1 Protestas (two samples)

In this sample the first two tweets were about other topics, with one about fishermen's protests and another related to Haiti. This is the only relevant example in the selected timeframe:



Figure 3-23: *Cooperativa, protestas*

Boicot al Metro: Estaciones Santa Ana, Cementerios, Los Héroes, Cerro Blanco, Ciudad del Niño y Patronato de la Línea 2 están cerradas por las protestas #LaCooperativa

Metro Boycott: Santa Ana, Cementerios, Los Héroes, Cerro Blanco, Ciudad del Niño, and Patronato stations on Line 2 are closed due to protests #LaCooperativa

<https://x.com/Cooperativa/status/1185252264912605184>

In this first tweet, a new variant of *evasiones masivas* is presented with the phrase *boicot al Metro*. The difference is subtle but an important one: whilst *evasiones* suggests a level of criminality, a *boicot* [boycott] is a recognised tool of protest, far more legitimised. This places the evasions in context, understood to be part of a protest, as opposed to mere petty criminality. Beyond this there is a list of metro stations and a real focus on disruption, with *protestas* cited as the cause, with no discussion of the protests themselves. After a more neutral introduction (by foregrounding the idea of boycott), the tweet follows similar patterns to all the other outlets discussed with this focus.

In testing to see if there was an image in the meta data or if X was producing errors, the link contained in the tweet was shared again to see how it would appear. Instead of pulling through the top image from the article, it pulled through an image from the metadata, which indicates that the link goes out to *La Cooperativa's minuto a minuto* [minute by minute] page which covers the latest news. The ultimate focus on the disruption once again implicitly legitimises the government and response to the disorder.



Figure 3-24: Cooperativa protestas image

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	Yes

Table 3:23: Cooperativa, protestas results

3.5.2 Manifestaciones (two samples)



Figure 3-25: Cooperativa, manifestaciones

La Línea 1 del Metro no está disponible entre las estaciones República y La Moneda "por manifestaciones con el fin de retrasar el servicio"

Line 1 of the Metro is not available between the República and La Moneda stations "due to demonstrations aimed at delaying the service."

<https://x.com/Cooperativa/status/1185250107408732161>

As with the previous tweet, this one also focusses on the disruption to metro services, giving specific updates on a route. Here an anonymised quote is used to attribute blame to protests. However, the quote selected goes further than this, citing the protests as *con el fin de retrasar el servicio* [aimed at delaying the service.] Not only does this anonymous quote report the disruption, but it abstracts the aims of the protests and instead attributes their only aim as to delay the service. Whilst people may be sympathetic to protestors and delays caused by legitimate protest, the suggestion that the only goal is to delay people would likely generate outrage and debase support from the wider public. There was also an image found when resharing the content, which is also identical to Figure 3-25, carrying out a denotive role. The impact of this is a delegitimization of the protestors and their aims, a focus on disruption and a legitimisation of government, all whilst the protestors' claims are not represented.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:24: Cooperativa manifestaciones results



Figure 3-26: *Cooperativa, manifestaciones*

¿Cómo has vivido las manifestaciones por el transporte público? Participa con nosotros con el #AlertaCooperativa y sigue los detalles de una nueva jornada de evasiones masivas en nuestro minuto a minuto
How have you experienced the protests for public transportation? Join us with #AlertaCooperativa and follow the details of a new day of mass evasion in our minute-by-minute updates."
<https://x.com/Cooperativa/status/1185270766666964993>

The second tweet in this sample makes use of a question to attract the reader's attention. The function of the tweet is to generate discussion, with readers invited to use the hashtag #AlertaCooperativa [#CooperativaAlarm], framing the situation as an emergency. Combined with discussions of metro disruption and the *evasión masiva* framing, this presents an emergency, one in which the authorities would be expected to respond.

Visually, this sense of disruption is supported with an image, which closely depicts a man blocking the doors of the metro. He is gesturing towards a worker, with a frustrated facial expression. The close framing means we can see his anger, whilst the angle is taken from behind the metro support worker, positioning the audience on his side, against the individual blocking the door. For this reason, the audience can sympathise with the worker and see the protestor as an opponent. Taken alone the tweet content would appear to be provoking discussion about Metro disruption: taken with the image too, it is subtly informing the audience that the protestors are disruptive and blocking day to day operations, presented as opponents to calm and order.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:25: Cooperativa manifestaciones results

3.5.3 Carabineros (two samples)

In this search, the first example was removed as it was irrelevant and related to clashes between football fans. This left the following samples:



Figure 3-27: Cooperativa, carabineros

[Fotos] Evasión masiva provocó enfrentamientos con Carabineros en Metro Los Héroes #CooperativaOpina
[Photos] Mass fare evasion caused confrontations with Carabineros at Metro Los Héroes #CooperativaOpina.
<https://x.com/Cooperativa/status/1185009650023981056>

This tweet begins with a discourse marker, signalling that the external link is to an album of photos. The tweet this time leads with *evasión masiva* as opposed to *boicot al Metro*, signalling the author wants to present the protestors in an illegitimate light, unlike in Figure 3-27. The tweet reports on *enfrentamientos* [confrontations], with the carabineros. The use of *enfrentamientos* creates a direct conflict between two parties. Protestors are not named as against the police and are instead referred to with the familiar phrase *evasiones masivas*. This framing enables the author to say that the evasions *provocó* [provoked] the confrontations, thus without ever naming them, situating the blame with them. Grammatical positioning also places the carabineros in the second part of the clause, suggesting they were passive agents in the confrontations, which were provoked by another group.

This perspective is supported by the framing of the attached image. In the image readers see a group of carabineros detaining an individual, with a metro train behind full of civilians looking on, giving the perspective of the carabineros. However, in the image the carabineros look calm, presenting them as

active in the conflict, but in a calm and controlled fashion. Other than the detainee, there is an absence of any clear protestors, leaving textual work to create the image of violent protest. The angle from above means we are also looking down on the carabinieri, giving them a softer framing. With a strong use of absence throughout, the author manages to attribute blame and violence to the protestors without ever naming them, thus justifying the intervention of the carabinieri who are shown to be calm and controlled in their actions.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	Yes
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:26: Cooperativa, carabinieri results

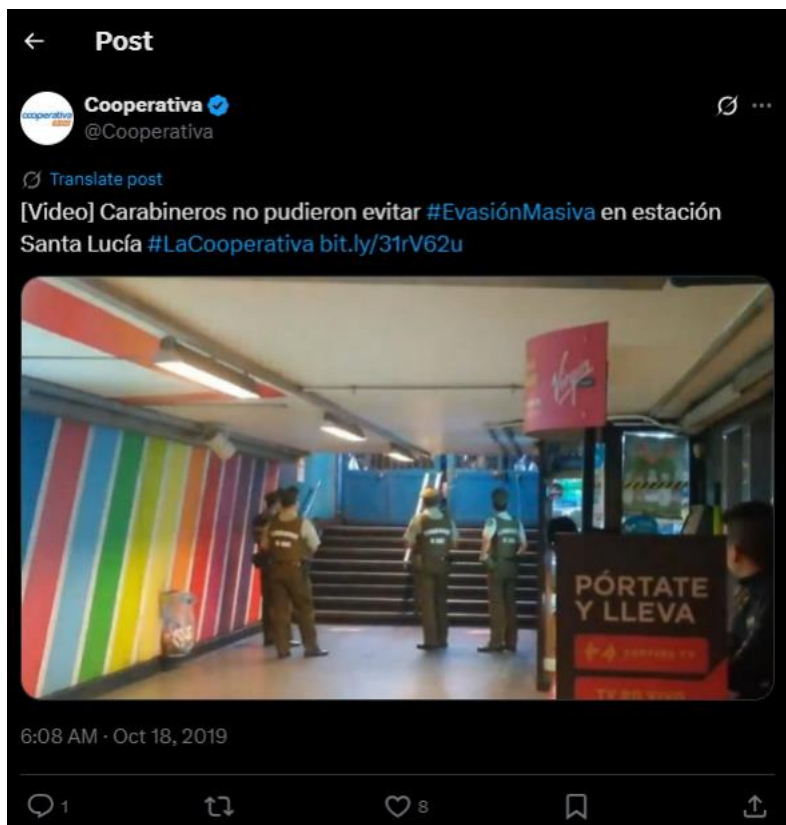


Figure 3-28: *Cooperativa, carabineros*
[Video] Carabineros no pudieron evitar #EvasiónMasiva en estación Santa Lucía #LaCooperativa
[Video] Carabineros could not prevent #MassFareEvasion at Santa Lucia station #LaCooperativa.
<https://x.com/Cooperativa/status/1185059987250450433>

The tweet begins with a discourse marker, denoting that the linked content is a video. The tweet states that carbineros *no pudieron evitar #EvasiónMasiva* [Carabineros could not prevent #MassFareEvasion] at one of the stations. By focussing on the *evasiones* as opposed to referring to them as protests, the author can talk about something the carabineros are expected to prevent. As seen throughout the sample, *evasión masiva* and *protesta* are often used interchangeably, but that is not the case here. A police force may not be expected to prevent a protest, but to facilitate it and make it safe. By changing the phrasing for *evasión*, the author can present the protests as something that the audience expect the police to prevent / resist. This creates a structural opposition with the carabineros on the side of good, and the *evasores* on the other end of that binary. The carabineros are also presented as passive in this case as readers are told *no pudieron evitar*, instead of presenting them as active agents trying to prevent the protests from taking place.

In the image which has been attached on Twitter, readers see the scene from the side of the carabineros. The shot is angled up towards protestors behind the bars of the metro gates, although the protestors are largely hidden by the roof of the Metro. This perspective makes carabineros look

vulnerable and as though they may be outnumbered. They themselves are brightly lit and in colourful surroundings, adding to a sense of calm. The result is that this tweet frame delegitimises the protestors by framing them as fare evaders, thus justifying the carabineros presence, whilst presenting them as peaceful agents.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	Yes
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	Yes

Table 3:27: Cooperativa carabineros results

3.5.4 Metro (two samples)



Figure 3-29: Cooperativa, metro

Metro en Twitter: "Estamos tristes, algunas de nuestras estaciones fueron dañadas y nuestros trabajadores lo han pasado mal"

Metro on Twitter: "We are sad, some of our stations were damaged and our workers have had a hard time."

<https://x.com/Cooperativa/status/1185005042228707333>

The tweet begins by attributing a quote to the metro organisation, without any specific individual cited as the source. Despite the attribution to an organisation, the quote selected contains emotion (*triste* [sad]), appealing to the sympathy of readers. The absence of an individual for the quote enables personification of the metro itself, as the author uses a quote in the first-person plural (*nosotros*) form to discuss how *nuestras estaciones fueron dañadas y nuestros trabajadores lo han pasado mal* [our stations were damaged, and our workers have had a hard time]. The first clause uses the passive, and no active agents are named as perpetrators of the damages. However, the use of the first person-plural in the second clause personifies the recipients of the damages, whilst creating in-groups and out-groups, with a violent and damaging out-group implied by the quote.

In isolation, there is a level of ambiguity, however the attached image adds context, with crowds of people inside the Metro. The angle of the shot appears to be neutral, shot at eye level. However, in the foreground of the image the metro barriers have clearly been damaged, with people in the medium

distance behind. The framing focuses on the damage to the metro infrastructure and whilst some faces are visible, these are at a distance, reducing the potential for emotional activation. The image is also shot from inside the metro to outside, where the people are stood. This makes a clear association that the people photographed are the out group, the *evasores* and *manifestantes*.

The result is a clear creation of a calm and controlled authority, regretful at the damages and emotional toll, structurally opposed with the violent out group who have caused the stated issues.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	Yes
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:28: *Cooperativa metro results*



Figure 3-30: Cooperativa metro

Metro en Twitter tras nueva jornada de evasión masiva: "Seguiremos trabajando con la misma motivación para mantener el servicio a nuestros pasajeros, con quienes hemos construido una cultura cívica y de respeto por tanto años"

Metro on Twitter after a new day of mass fare evasion: "We will continue working with the same motivation to maintain service for our passengers, with whom we have built a civic culture and respect for so many years."

<https://x.com/Cooperativa/status/1185005845135941632>

This tweet, as the previous one starts by introducing a quote attributed solely to the metro as an organisation and no specific individual, and reverts to the framing as *evasiones masivas*, focussing on delegitimised behaviour. The quote selected focuses on a *cultura cívica y de respeto* [a civic culture and respect], which structurally opposes *evasión masiva*, a term across this data set which is synonymous with violence and protest. As with the previous tweet, there is also a clear creation of in and out-groups, with the in-group being *nuestros pasajeros, con quienes hemos construido una cultura cívica y de respeto por tanto años* [our passengers, with whom we have built a civic culture and respect for so many years], and the outgroup being anyone who does not meet the *cívica* and *respeto* descriptions. Once more, an out group is implied and portrayed as disrespectful and troublesome, the direct cause of the disruption. This creation of an out group who are not *nuestros pasajeros* [our passengers], also builds into this narrative that is building across the dataset of external intervention being one of the causes of the disruption. It also makes use of a material process *hemos construido* [we have built], giving a sense of time and effort going into the relationship, thus strengthening the contrast of those in the outgroup who are presented as destroying this in an instance.

As for the image, this did not load here as an error but is the same as in Figure 3-25, which has a denotive function that creates a sense of urgency. Without naming, the tweet associates blame to protestors and justifies intervention.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:29: Cooperativa metro results

3.5.5 Piñera (two samples)



Figure 3-31: *Cooperativa, piñera*

El presidente del directorio de Metro, Louis de Grange; y el gerente general de la empresa, Rubén Alvarado; están reunidos con Sebastián Piñera, el ministro del Interior, Andrés Chadwick; y el subsecretario Rodrigo Ubilla en La Moneda #AlertaCooperativa

The president of the Metro board, Louis de Grange; and the general manager of the company, Rubén Alvarado; are meeting with Sebastián Piñera, the Minister of the Interior, Andrés Chadwick; and the Undersecretary Rodrigo Ubilla at La Moneda #AlertaCooperativa."

<https://x.com/Cooperativa/status/1185276072927084546>

This tweet has no image attachments and no discourse marker. It begins with honorifics as the reader is introduced to officials from both government and the metro. The reader is told that they are currently meeting and lists their titles but offers little else in way of context. It is written in the present continuous, giving a sense of immediacy to the news. The hashtag *#AlertaCooperativa* is used to place the news contextually within an emergency. Together, this gives a sense of disruption, legitimises the need for government reaction, leaving protestors absent once more.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	No
Calm & controlled authorities	Yes
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	Yes

Table 3:30 *Cooperativa piñera results*

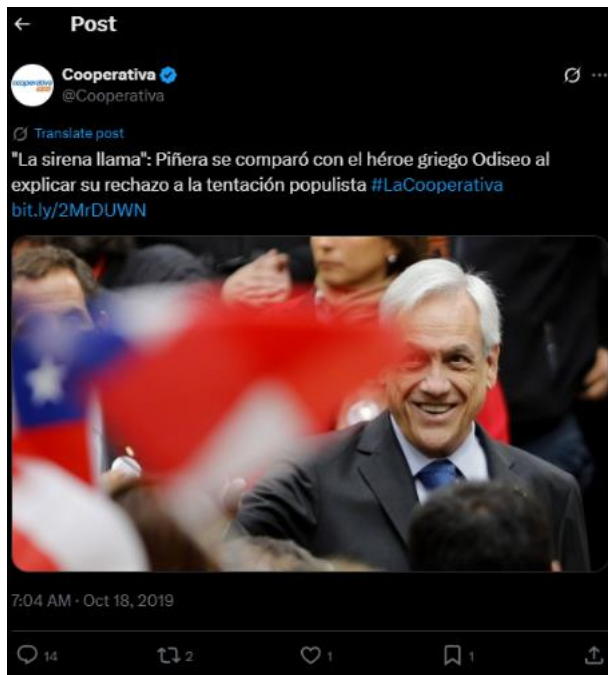


Figure 3-32 *Cooperativa piñera*

"La sirena llama": Piñera se comparó con el héroe griego Odiseo al explicar su rechazo a la tentación populista #LaCooperativa

"The siren sounds": Piñera compared himself to the Greek hero Odysseus while explaining his rejection of populist temptation #LaCooperativa.

<https://x.com/Cooperativa/status/1185074066639724544>

This tweet takes the opposite grammatical structure to the majority of the sample. Instead of leading with the source, it leads with the quote. The quote is immediately attention grabbing, with an alarmist tone as it states *la sirena llama* [the siren sounds.] Sirens have a strong association to emergency, with responses expected to emergencies. The author proceeds to paraphrase the rest of the quotation from the president, putting his comparison with a *héroe griego* [Greek hero] at the start of the sentence, before highlighting his *rechazo a la tentación populista* [rejection of populist temptation]. This structural opposition places the president on the side of Greek gods, against the opposing *tentación* [temptation] (a biblical sin) of populism.

The attached image is a close crop, portraying a smiling president, with flags and people everywhere. Despite the quotation rejecting populism, the image portrays a nationalistic, positive, and popular president surrounded by people, with the close crop allowing the audience to see his emotion and relate to him more. The effect of signalling alarm to start the tweet lays a justification for government response. Although the audience do not see any direct response, they are presented with a president who likens himself to a good and rejects populism (he is not there to be popular, but to be successful). As a result, the government is legitimised through the president's response to protests, although this tweet does not directly refer to their unfolding.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	No
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	No
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:31: Cooperativa piñera results

3.5.6 Gobierno (two samples)

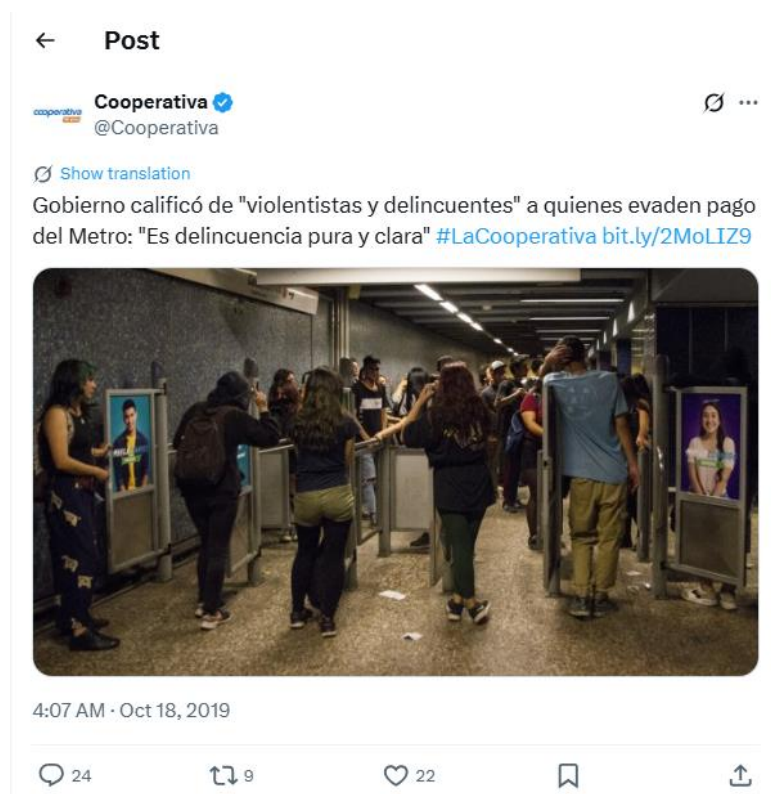


Figure 3-33: *Cooperativa, gobierno*

Gobierno calificó de "violentistas y delincuentes" a quienes evaden pago del Metro: "Es delincuencia pura y clara" #LaCooperativa

The government described those who evade payment for the Metro as 'violent and criminal': 'It is pure and clear delinquency' #LaCooperativa

<https://x.com/Cooperativa/status/1185029545344327682>

This tweet begins without a discourse marker. Instead, the reader is presented immediately with the government referring to *evasores*, calling them *violentistas y delincuentes* [violent and criminal]. This is followed by a quote used elsewhere from the Undersecretary of the interior, Rodrigo Ubilla, where he refers to evading the Metro as *delincuencia pura y clara* [pure and clear delinquency]. In this case, the lack of honorifics or even quote attribution is replaced simply with the term '*gobierno*', giving the quote weight. Furthermore, the verb *calificar* [to describe as, or to mark/grade] denotes a verbal process. Due to the dual meaning of the verb, the process informs readers that a judgement has been passed: doubt is being removed as to how to describe the metro evaders, with their violent description being foregrounded as the official judgement. Linguistically, the author is relying on the *evasores* frame, as well as those of violence and disorder throughout.

The image is taken from behind the protestors. On the one hand, this gives the viewer their perspective as they look onto the Metro gates. However, simultaneously it obscures all faces, making the individuals less relatable to the audience. In the image we can see a crowd of people and some

Metro gates, but very few details. As a result, though the image does not depict violence, it gives a very impersonal view of a homogenous group, with elements of disruption visible, such as the crowds of people. The result is that when combined with the linguistic content of the tweet, it foregrounds narratives of disruption, whilst leaving the protestors as relatable individuals, absent.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:32: Cooperativa, gobierno results



Figure 3-34: *Cooperativa, gobierno*

[Audio] Jadue: "El Gobierno está lleno de evasores, partiendo por el Presidente" #LaCooperativa

[Audio] Jadue: 'The government is full of evaders, starting with the President' #LaCooperativa.

<https://x.com/Cooperativa/status/1185032960329834496>

This tweet begins with a discourse marker, signalling that the tweet links out to an audio file of Daniel Jadue. The tweet is minimalistic in that there is no description or context given, nor reporting speech such as '*Jadue dijo.*' [Jadue said] Instead, there is a quote attributed to him and a discourse marker to signal the content type, a hash tag, and nothing more. The author has opted to add an image as opposed to a thumbnail pulling through from the hyperlink. The quote refers to the government as *evasores*, specifically naming *el presidente* [the president]. This has the effect of positioning Jadue with the protestors in his critique of the government. However, the quote does not add any further context as to his reasons for criticising the government or his position on the protests. This appears to delegitimise Jadue as an opposing politician, responding instantaneously to what is happening, as opposed to having a clear and thought-out position.

In the attached image itself, Jadue is closely cropped, seen outside of a formal looking building that could well be La Moneda. In it, his face looks serious, and he is presented very formally. In the background, there appear to be some red lights, though it is indistinguishable whether these are traffic lights or emergency services. This could be seen to associate him very subtly with disorder.

The result is that readers see another discussion of *evasores* and disruption, but there is an absence of protestor representation and no legitimisation of the government, although the association of Jadue and *evasores* as against the government implies their role as being one of law and order.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	No

Table 3:33: Cooperativa, gobierno results



Figure 3-35: *Cooperativa. gobierno*

[Audio] Daniel Jadue: "El Gobierno está lleno de evasores, partiendo por el Presidente" #LaCooperativa

[Audio] Daniel Jadue: "The government is full of evaders, starting with the President" #LaCooperativa.

<https://x.com/Cooperativa/status/1185134691336282113>

When looking for the next tweet in the sample, it was interesting to see that an identical tweet was sent 6 hours later, signalling this was an important story for *la Cooperativa*, one which they wanted to be seen. In fact, under the search criteria, in the first day Daniel Jadue appears three times, with one tweet about Minister for the Interior Andrés Chadwick, and the president, Sebastián Piñera does not appear at all. It should be noted that though this tweet appears twice, it is counted as one sample in the below conclusion of *La Cooperativa's* coverage, due to its identical nature to Figure 3-35.

In *La Cooperativa's* coverage, protestors' positions are entirely absent. Instead, there is a focus on disruption and a legitimisation of the government (10/11). Violent or delegitimised protestors appear in 9/11 examples in the coverage, with the authorities present as calm and controlled in less than half of the examples (4/11). The authors focus on metro disruption and the opinions of politicians in their coverage, often relying on the creation of in-groups and out-groups to form their narratives. Images are far less frequently used here, but when they are they appear as attachments rather than hyperlinks suggesting the images were curated and selected to depict specific messages more prominently. In the examples where images were absent, this could either be a result of an issue with X pulling through hyperlinked images, or an editorial decision to focus more closely on the textual content of tweets.

3.6 EL MOSTRADOR

3.6.1 Protestas (one sample)



Figure 3-36: *El Mostrador, protestas*
VIDEO| *Protestas en el Metro: Manifestantes arrojan una pantalla a las vías en estación Moneda*
VIDEO| *Subway protests: Demonstrators throw a screen onto the tracks at Moneda station*
<https://x.com/elmostrador/status/1185265670067490818>

The first tweet in the *El Mostrador* sample starts with a discourse marker, followed by a short title to set the scene at protests. Notably, the author has decided to use the term *protesta* as opposed to the common *evasiones masivas* framing which has been observed across the sample. In the first reference to the individuals involved the phrase *manifestantes*, as opposed to *evasores*, gives the protests and the individuals involved a more legitimate position for the readers.

However, the coverage itself relates to a violent and disruptive act as a screen is thrown into the tracks in a metro station. The verb *arrojar* translates as to throw or to hurl: a careless act, a material process presented in a way which may signal a lack of control. Due to the acts carried out by protesters here, the author does not use any frames to delegitimise the actors, as the actions themselves carry this function.

In the attached image, there is a faceless mob on a bridge. Although the act of throwing the screen is not visible, it is implied by the location. By using a wide frame and obscuring any faces, the author removes any sense of relation or personality from the individuals, leading readers to see them as more of a violent mob than relating to them in anyway.

Due to the selection of topic for the tweet, the author does not need to lean on any strong framing techniques in the text. The combination of reporting the actions, alongside a distanced image that appears to present the actions being reported, a delegitimised position is presented. The inherent violence in the actions depicted work to justify a response by government and the authorities.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	Yes

Table 3:34: El Mostrador, protestas results

3.6.2 Manifestaciones

No samples.

3.6.3 Carabineros (two samples)



Figure 3-37: *El Mostrador, carabineros*

VIDEOS| Carabineros, el otro protagonista del viernes de furia: disparan afuera del hospital Barros Luco y hieren a estudiante en Estación Central

VIDEOS| Carabineros, the other protagonist of the Friday of fury: shots outside the Barros Luco hospital and injure a student in Estación Central.

<https://x.com/elmostrador/status/1185318759105466374>

This tweet begins with a discourse marker to introduce the attached content as a video. The tweet then introduces carabineros as *el otro protagonista* [the other protagonist.] By othering, the carabineros, this implies a secondary role to the main protagonist. Anonymisation is present alongside a material process, as (un-named actors) *disparan* [shots]. However, by introducing the carabineros as the ‘other’ protagonist, this combination of passivity and the anonymisation of the agent, make it unclear whether the carabineros were the agents or whether it was protestors. The agent is further abstracted by referring to the injured person as *estudiante* [student] as opposed to presenting them as a protestor, creating a heightened sense of immorality surrounding the shooting. The only thing clear is that a student has been shot, but with anonymisation present, an element of doubt is introduced as to who the active agent is in this case.

The image selected is like the one in Figure 3-4, which shows the same scene, but is cropped slightly wider and shows more of the foreground (road and dirt). Interestingly for video content, as with *ADN* in the first example, they chose not to attach the video on Twitter, instead preferring to attach a screenshot of the video, which depicts two figures in the distinct green uniform of the carabineros, on a street

outside a building and a car park. The angle is very wide and the carabinieri barely visible, giving little indication of violence, individualising the two people as sole actors and not showing the civilians who were being shot.

As a result, although the first negative framing of the authorities is being shown, there is still an absence of the protestors and their position, a focus on disruption as this takes place outside a metro station, and a lack of context that could lead readers to question the causes of the confrontation. Combined with the already abstracted agents in the tweet, this further obscures who the perpetrators are. This in turn could be used to justify police actions, despite them in this case shooting unarmed civilians, as there is such a lack of clarity.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:35: El Mostrador, carabinieri results

The next item says the tweet took place the following day. This is due to the time difference in where the tweet is being accessed (UK) and where it was tweeted from (Chile), but the metadata confirms the tweet took place on 18th October.



Figure 3-38: El Mostrador, carabineros

Revolución de la Chaucha 2019: Gobierno evade el fondo del conflicto, refuerza acción de Carabineros y aplica Ley de Seguridad del Estado

Chaucha Revolution 2019: Government evades the root of the conflict, reinforces Carabineros' actions, and applies the State Security Law.

<https://x.com/elmostrador/status/1185330574401196032>

This tweet begins with a presumption: knowledge of the 1949 *Revolución de la Chaucha* [Chaucha Revolution], when protests broke out over the increase in the price of the Metro. By adding 2019, they clearly link the two events. The 1949 Chaucha Revolution was, however, solely a protest about metro prices: the *estallido* on the other hand, carried far broader and diverse demands. By referring to the 2019 protests by the same name, the author can use the *Chaucha* connotations to omit the demands of the 2019 protestors and reduce the demands to a single unit. The verb *evadir* [to evade] is a material process that mirrors language usually assigned to the protestors across the dataset, but in this context is used to suggest an equivalence: that the government is no different. There is presupposition of what the *ley de seguridad del estado* [state security law] is, but details are never given of what this entails and how it might affect people. This absence of the protestors' demands, is continued with the absence of cause, as the tweet states [*el*] *Gobierno evade el fondo del conflicto* [Government evades the root of the conflict], but never states what the *fondo* [the root] is. This is also present in the tweet as it discusses *acción de carabineros* [carabinero's actions], without ever specifying what these actions were.

In the image, the perspective looks towards a carabinero, who is aiming directly at the camera, looking stressed, tense and closely framed. Behind the weapon yielding carabinero, his colleagues appear to be crouched and hiding behind their shields, suggesting they are under attack. This gives a sense of justification as to their actions, as their firing is justified by their defensive stature. There is also structural opposition present as readers are introduced to *revolución* before being presented with a police response and a legal response which appear to be used to legitimise actions.

The combination of the text and the photo is that the carabineros and government appear to be under scrutiny, but the tweet delivers few details of any controversial police actions, has an absence of the protestors' position (arguably it intentionally misrepresents them) and represents the carabineros as working in defence.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	Yes

Table 3:36: *El Mostrador, carabineros results*

3.6.4 Metro (two samples)



Figure 3-39: *El Mostrador, metro*

Cerramos la semana con una nueva edición de El Mostrador en #CombinaciónClave por @radiolaclave. Comenta junto a Federico Joannon, @LaMakaSegovia y @fernandopaulsen, sobre la agitación respecto a las masivas evasiones del metro. Sigue el stream aquí

We close the week with a new edition of El Mostrador in #CombinaciónClave on @radiolaclave. Join Federico Joannon, @LaMakaSegovia, and @fernandopaulsen as they discuss the unrest regarding the massive fare evasion on the subway. Follow the stream here

<https://x.com/elmostrador/status/1185161724334366720>

This tweet is marked by its different, more narrative style. It starts with a narrator stating *cerramos la semana con* [we close the week with], as it promotes the show *Combinación Clave*, a Chilean discussion programme on Radio Clave. The tweet incorporates the tags of hosts, guests, and use of hashtags to signal part of a topic of conversation, encouraging engagement with and from those on the show and any audiences online. The purpose of the tweet is promotional and to generate debate. It refers to events through the *evasiones masivas* [mass evasions] frame, and describes them as *agitaciones* [unrest], a phrase which immediately delegitimises it as a protest movement and equates it to irritation and inconvenience, giving the debate in the programme and any tweets a discursive point of departure, grounded within frames of disruption and illegitimacy. As discussed, the representation of illegitimacy and disruption can be seen in-turn to legitimise the government.

In the attached image is a picture of a tv screen, not a video itself. The image shows a studio, TV style banners and information, alongside guests who can be presumed to be experts, with coffee, notes and analysis. This gives them semiotic authority as knowledgeable individuals, well placed to analyse the events neutrally, even if all the references in the tweet suggest the author has a specific understanding of events which they wish to portray. As a result, the tweet delegitimises protestors as *evasores* and focusses on disruption. This in-turn legitimises the government in response, whilst the protestors' position is once again entirely absent.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	Yes

Table 3:37: *El Mostrador, metro results*



Figure 3-40: *El Mostrador, metro*

Acusan a Piñera de “apagar el fuego con bencina” tras amenaza de aplicar la Ley de Seguridad por evasiones masivas del Metro

Piñera is accused of 'putting out the fire with gasoline' after the threat to apply the Security Law due to mass fare evasion on the Metro.

<https://x.com/elmostrador/status/1185185296083836928>

This tweet begins using an accusatory verbal process, *acusan a Piñera* [Piñera is accused], in a sentence which obscures the agent of the accusation. This disempowers the statement, which was made by the former public prosecutor of Chile. The quote selected makes use of a material process: the metaphor of fire. This is often used with delegitimising effects when talking about protests (Hart, 2017) as fire equates to an emergency which requires an immediate response. Piñera himself is presented as an agent of threat, as he threatens to apply the state security law, however his threat is then justified as the author refers to *evasiones* (not protests). The President *amenaza de aplicar la ley de seguridad del estado* [the threat to apply the Security Law]. The use of *amenaza* [threat] suggests an unwillingness to follow through with the action, implying a considered rationality and a level of understanding from the president. As in previous examples, the verb *aplicar* [apply] is used to obscure what it means to apply the law: to limit freedom of movement and impose a curfew enforced by the security forces.

In the image, Piñera is closely framed, with a slight smile. Despite the quotation used, he does not appear to be a man who tries to *apagar el fuego con bencina* [putting out the fire with gasoline]. The opposition between the anonymized quote and the happy, calm representation of the president has the effect of delegitimising the quotation used. Combined with the metaphor of fire, this has the effect of undermining the ‘threat’ from Piñera, transferring it into a reasonable action to take in the face of violence.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes (Implied)
Calm & controlled authorities	Yes
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors’ position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	Yes

Table 3:38: *El Mostrador, metro results*

3.6.5 Piñera (two samples)



Figure 3-41: *El Mostrador, piñera*

Gael Yeomans a Piñera: "No tiene moral para apuntar con el dedo" a los evasores del Metro
Gael Yeomans to Piñera: 'You have no moral right to point fingers' at the Metro fare evaders.
<https://x.com/elmostrador/status/1185279379766681600>

Throughout the data set, most politicians, are represented by their last names only, such as Piñera and Jadue. In this case, Gael Yeomans, an opposition politician is referred to by her first name, whilst the president is referred to by his last name only, as is consistent across the sample. At the time, Gael Yeomans was a representative in the Chamber of Deputies in Valparaíso, but the author chose not to use honorifics, weakening her stance in the tweet and anonymizing her to those who do not already know her status.

The selected quote is a challenge to the president's response to the protests, questioning his morality. The quote has been cut, with the tweet's author adding in that Yeomans was discussing *los evasores del Metro*, once again bringing the delegitimised framing of delinquency into the tweet. However, by using the full quote, readers would have seen Yeomans refer to these same people as *quienes de ejecutan esta medida de forma desesperada* [those who carry out this measure in a desperate manner], which gives a much more sympathetic view of the protestors. The decision to cut this quote, enables the author to add the framing which delegitimises the protestors.

In the attached photo, Yeomans is presented in a relatively close frame, showing her face looking stern. She is clearly in the streets, with lots of people around. The setting appears informal, unlike other politicians who are represented at press conferences or in government/formal looking buildings. This

further distances her from politics and positions her as a person on the street, perhaps of less authority and visually sided with the protestors, who in the tweet are positioned as illegitimate. The effect is that Yeomans appears less politically relevant, and appears to be siding with illegitimate protestors, with the author choosing to weaken her political representation and position her on the side of protestors, who are presented as delinquents. This delinquency and *evasión* framing legitimises a government response.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:39: *El Mostrador*, piñera results



Figure 3-42: *El Mostrador, piñera*

AHORA| Reunión de emergencia en La Moneda por evasiones masivas, suspensión de líneas del Metro y colapso en el transporte. La encabeza Sebastián Piñera, junto al ministro del Interior, Andrés Chadwick, de Transportes Gloria Hutt y el presidente de Metro Louis de Grange.

NOW| Emergency meeting at La Moneda due to mass fare evasion, suspension of Metro lines, and collapse in transportation. It is led by Sebastián Piñera, along with the Minister of the Interior, Andrés Chadwick, the Minister of Transport, Gloria Hutt, and the president of Metro, Louis de Grange.

<https://x.com/elmostrador/status/1185280668412063744>

This tweet makes use of a temporal discourse marker, to add urgency and locate the tweet as based in the present. There is no external link to any news in this case, and an animated gif that flashes up adds to the sense of immediacy and urgency. The tweet has a focus on disruption to public transport, leading with a discussion on the *reunión de emergencia en La Moneda* [Emergency meeting at La Moneda], and using the *evasiones masivas* framing to give the reason for the emergency meeting. In this tweet, all politicians are given their full names, which is uncommon and adds a sense of formality and seriousness to the tweet. Honorifics are used to heighten this, with ministers' positions in government also included, other than the president.

The tweet discusses the *suspension* of metro lines and the *colapso de transporte* [collapse in transport.] No reason is given for the suspension of metro lines and the nominalisation of *colapso* does not explain exactly what that means or what has happened. However, the connotation is overwhelmingly negative, and 'collapse' is something that should be met with an immediate and effective response. The

combination of the attached GIF, the formal style, the word choices suggesting emergency and collapse all go towards justifying a government response, with the use of titles and honorifics portraying a calm and in control image of the government and by extension, security forces.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	Yes
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	Yes

Table 3:40: El Mostrador, piñera results

3.6.6 Gobierno (two samples)



Figure 3-43: *El Mostrador, gobierno*

Jadue por evasiones masivas: "El Gobierno está lleno de evasores, partiendo por el Presidente de la República"

Jadue on mass fare evasion: 'The Government is full of evaders, starting with the President of the Republic.'

<https://x.com/elmostrador/status/1185161100502781952>

This tweet is very similar to Figures 3-35 and Figure 3-37, with slight variations such as a lack of discourse marker, in this instance using only his last name. In this image Jadue is looking less directly at the camera and his face suggests slight amusement, as opposed to the sterner look in the previous examples. This portrays Jadue in as less serious manner, perhaps even mocking of the Government. The effect of the story is the same as in these examples: the protestors appear illegitimate as they are framed as *evasores*, there is a focus on disruption and an absence of the protestors' voice. However, this does not portray the authorities as calm and in control: the focus is on delegitimising protestors' position and presenting Jadue's opinion.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	No

Table 3:41: El Mostrador, gobierno results



Figure 3-44: El Mostrador, gobierno
 Evasiones masivas: los llamados de Chile Vamos al Gobierno para no eludir el reclamo de fondo de la protesta
 Mass evasion: the calls from Chile Vamos to the government not to evade the underlying demands of the protest."
<https://x.com/elmostrador/status/1185261507958988802>

This tweet begins with the *evasiones masivas* framing as a structural discourse marker, introducing the tweet contextually within the news item, immediately reducing the protests to fare evasion. In the tweet, the topic of protestor demands is raised, however the demand themselves are suppressed. As consistent with the sample, these demands are also not being delivered by protestors' voices, but

instead by officials, as the opposition to the government are reported as asking the *government para no eludir el reclamo de la protesta* [not to evade the underlying demands of the protest]. The author has chosen the verb *eludir* as opposed to *evadir*, though in English both translate as ‘to evade’. By not mirroring the evasion language used for protestors, it distances the government from behaviour deemed as illegitimate.

The image attached also distances itself from politics. Despite the report being based around a quote from political opponents to the government, the image focusses on a mirror in the metro, which has been graffitied with the word ‘evade’. In the background, a metro train and some passengers are visible. Though neither the linguistic content nor the image depicts violence, the focus is put clearly on disruption, fare evasion, and vandalism. As a result, this legitimises the government in their response.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors’ position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	Yes

Throughout *El Mostrador’s* content, the main themes are violent or illegitimate protestors, disruption to daily life, and an absence of protestors’ position, with these features present in 100% (9/9) of the sample. The outlet also posts content that legitimises the government in 8/9 examples in the sample. Los carabineros are present in the sample, with both positive and negative stories relating to them present. The authorities largely remained absent throughout, with them presented as calm and controlled in just 2 of the 9 examples. *El Mostrador* preferred the ‘*evasión/evasores*’ framing for protestors and used image attachments as opposed to hyperlinks to increase the prominence of their attached images.

3.7 MEGANOTICIAS

3.7.1 Protestas

The only keyword match was a video and was therefore discarded.

3.7.2 Manifestaciones (two samples)

The first result returned was removed as it was related to protests surrounding the son of El Chapo Gúzman, and not the Chilean *estallido*. This left the following two results:



Figure 3-45: Meganoticias, manifestaciones

Evasión en el Metro: Autoridades se reúnen en La Moneda tras manifestaciones
Fare evasion in the Metro: Authorities meet at La Moneda following protests.
<https://x.com/Meganoticiascl/status/1185201967389462528>

The first notable thing about this tweet is the lack of image or thumbnail. To check whether this was a case of an error, the link was tweeted again, but no thumbnail loaded, and there is no clear thumbnail image once the hyperlink in the tweet is followed. For this reason, it is assumed this tweet was intentionally sent as text and hyperlink only.

The tweet begins by identifying the topic: *evasión*. Though using the delinquency framing of *evasión*, the author opted not to refer to it as *evasión masiva*, which softens the framing slightly. Structural opposition is used to create a contrast here, with the protestors in the metro presented as delinquents, directly opposed to the second clause in the sentence in which readers see the authorities at La Moneda, the presidential palace. The framing of both contrasts strongly. For the *evasión*, there are very few details or adjectives. Whilst protestors are described as simply being *en el Metro*, the authorities are presented through the verb *reunir* [meet], the *unir* [unite] evoking connotations of cordiality and formality, and carrying much stronger connotations than ‘*en. [in]*’ Readers are also given no reason for the *evasión*, whilst being told that the authorities are meeting *tras manifestaciones* [following protests], presenting their meeting as a necessary response. This tweet has an absence of protestor position and includes a justification of government action, with protestors framed as delinquents and disrupting daily life.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	Yes
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:42: Meganoticias, manifestaciones results



Figure 3-46: Meganoticias, manifestaciones

Las manifestaciones se han registrado a lo largo de toda la red de Metro. Los servicios de transporte en superficie han reforzado sus recorridos tras el cierre de las Línea 1 y 2

Protests have taken place throughout the entire Metro network. Surface transportation services have reinforced their routes following the closure of Lines 1 and 2

<https://x.com/Meganoticiascl/status/1185279113495547904>

The tweet begins with a more legitimising discussion of *manifestaciones*, instead of the common *evasiones* framing. Overlexicalisation is present as disruption is discussed: *se han registrado a lo largo de toda la red* [have taken place throughout the entire Metro network] sees the disruption located first as *a lo largo* [throughout], before emphasis is added using *toda la red* [the entire network], suggesting the author was keen to highlight the disruption and its scale.

The content itself focuses on disruption, with further details of specific line closures and disruptions. The image attached shows pacific protestors disrupting the metro, taken from above looking down. Though this can often help to portray vulnerability, in this case it is also shot at a distance at which individuals are not visible, the reader is presented with a faceless mass, making them less relatable and emphasising the scale of the group. The image is framed to theme with the *Meganoticias* brand, with yellow to draw attention to the text. Despite the tweet leading with *manifestaciones*, the image uses the *evasiones* frame. Given the bright black and yellow text and background (a colour scheme globally

used to capture attention), the image has semiotic superiority which exposes the main messages: delinquency and disruption, both of which justify a response from the authorities.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	No
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	Yes

Table 3:43: El Mostrador, manifestaciones results

3.7.3 Carabineros (one sample)

This example shows as being sent on October 19th due to the location the tweet was being accessed from, but the raw data file shows that this was sent late on October 18 in local time:



Figure 3-47: Meganoticias, carabineros

Cierre de líneas de Metro: Enfrentamientos entre manifestantes y Carabineros en Plaza de Maipú
Closure of Metro lines: Clashes between protesters and Carabineros in Plaza de Maipú
<https://x.com/Meganoticiascl/status/1185333864421580800>

The tweet begins by introducing disruption: the closure of metro lines. The tweet refers to *enfrentamientos* [confrontations], a word with negative connotation and a polarising presentation of one side vs the other. In this opposition, the protestors are presented before the carabineros, making the protestors the active agents, and the authorities the passive responders. Despite this opposition, the tweet refers to them as *manifestantes* as opposed to *evasores*, which gives them a more legitimate standing. The result is that the government response is legitimised through the activation of protestors in the *enfrentamientos*, which presents them as less legitimate protestors. When tested, this image does not appear to carry a thumbnail in the metadata, and the author chose not to attach an image on Twitter.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	Yes

Table 3:44 Meganoticias, carabineros results

3.7.4 Metro (two samples)

The first result had to be removed as it was a video. As a result, this is the first relevant tweet:



Figure 3-48: Meganoticias, metro

En medio de los incidentes que se registraron el jueves en distintas estaciones de Metro, uno de los episodios más graves se vivió en Estación San Joaquín.

Amid the incidents that occurred on Thursday at different Metro stations, one of the most serious episodes took place at San Joaquín Station.

<https://x.com/Meganoticiascl/status/1185061695372353542>

The first thing of note about this tweet is the lack of image. In much of the sample, the authors have not used a thumbnail from the attached link, but chosen to either attach a relevant image, or a gif to signal the content type. In this tweet, not only is an image not attached, but the hyperlinked tweet has no image to pull through in the metadata. The result is an imageless tweet, with the news article frame attached. This increases the salience of the words, as there are no other visual markers.

The tweet itself locates the reader *en medio de los incidentes* [Amid the incidents], suggesting an overwhelming, unquantifiable number of incidents occurring simultaneously. This immediately suggest to the reader that the authorities should be present and responding, as they are expected to when incidents occur. The use of *incidentes* creates a vagueness and removes any sense of agency which allows the author to obscure what the incidents are, who are the perpetrators and what the causes are. The addition of *en distintas estaciones de Metro* [at different metro stations] continues with this them of unquantified vagueness that creates a sense of large scale, legitimising the response.

The tweet then focuses on *uno de los episodios más graves* [one of the most serious episodes], which suggests there were multiple serious episodes. No further details are given on what *grave* refers to: whether that's interpersonal violence, destruction, or something else. The passivization of *se vivió*

[literally translated as ‘was lived’, contextually presented as ‘took place’ for translation fluency] further obscures this from the reader who is left unsure whether this violence affected people, infrastructure, and has no other details (although the verb *vivir* [to live] implies that it affected a person.) In fact, the article attached discusses the destruction of metro gates, but this is not obvious in the tweet frame.

In place of the image, some text pulls through. What is visible is the following (in order of visual dominance): *Videos muestran cómo destrozan torniquetes* [Videos show how turnstiles are being destroyed] followed by the lede: *En medio de los incidentes que se han registrado este jueves en distintas estaciones de Metro, uno de los...* [Amid the incidents that have occurred this Thursday at various Metro stations, one of the...’]

The rest of this line adds context to the content excluded from the tweet: what the serious incidents were. By excluding them from the main tweet however, this makes them less visible and less likely to be read. The final line of text is even smaller again and backs up what has already been said in the line directly above it and in the tweet itself. Once more, the tweet entirely focusses on the destruction of the Metro. A further interesting element here is that where the image would have been, the text tells readers that there is a video in the attachment. Again, in previous examples an image has been taken from the video or the video directly attached (unfortunately the video is no longer available to review and consider the reasons it may have been purposely excluded.)

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors’ position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:45: Meganoticias, metro results



Figure 3-49: Meganoticias, metro
 Revisa las declaraciones del subsecretario del Interior, Rodrigo Ubilla, sobre las evasiones masivas que se han registrado en el Metro durante esta semana.
 Read the statements of the undersecretary of the Interior, Rodrigo Ubilla, regarding the mass fare evasion that has occurred in the Metro this week.
<https://x.com/Meganoticiascl/status/1185110768859041792>

As with the previous example, there is no image attached to this tweet. This time as opposed to a link to an article with a video, there is a link out to a live blog, with no image. This generates immediacy and a sense of closeness to the news. As a result, the page does also not configure like the article above and does not pull through any content from the article. The result is a standalone tweet to analyse.

The text starts with an imperative, telling the reader to *revisa las declaraciones* [read the statements], giving clear instruction to read and engage with the content, something that has not been seen often in the sample, demonstrating that on this particular piece of content, the focus is to drive web traffic to their live page. Readers are then introduced to politicians using their full names and honorifics, giving a strong sense of formality, before the framing of *evasiones masivas* is used, discussing disruption on the Metro. This keeps consistent framing, and the structural opposition of the formal, title holding opposition and the illegitimate *evasiones* legitimises government action.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	Yes

Table 3:46: Meganoticias, metro results

3.7.5 Piñera (one sample)



Figure 3-50: Meganoticias, piñera

Piñera por evasiones en el Metro: "Estudiamos aplicar la Ley de Seguridad del Estado"

Piñera on fare evasion in the Metro: 'We are considering applying the State Security Law

<https://x.com/Meganoticiascl/status/1185169743784923138>

Meganoticias have posted a tweet without an attached image. The tweet does not make use of honorifics, as it refers to the president and knowledge of who he is, is presumed. Readers are then introduced to *evasiones en el Metro*, using a delegitimising framing to refer to protestors. The language is similar to that used in Figure 3-8. In the quote selected, the president is represented with a mental process in the verb *estudiar*, suggesting a level of calm consideration and an objective studying of fact, whilst he considers applying the *ley de seguridad del Estado*, the state security law in Chile which gives government powers to act on perceived threats such as terrorism, sedition and violence, and which was first invoked by Augusto Pinochet in the 1980s. This has the effect of legitimising the government, presenting the authorities as calm as they ‘apply’ the law, whilst delegitimising the protestors as *evasores*, maintaining the absence of their voices and focussing on the disruption caused.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	Yes
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors’ position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:47: Meganoticias, piñera results

3.7.6 Gobierno (two samples)

The first three tweets in this sample included videos and periscopes, so were therefore excluded from the sample for analysis. The first eligible tweet was the following:



Figure 3-51: *Meganoticias, gobierno*
Gobierno a emplazamiento de Sánchez: "Cuando se respalda la violencia, pierde valor el llamado"
Government responds to Sánchez's challenge: "When violence is supported, the call loses its value."
<https://x.com/Meganoticiascl/status/1185218702918213632>

As with previous *Meganoticias* examples, this example is a link out to a webpage. There is no thumbnail, no image and thus no further textual content to analyse, leaving only the tweet content. The tweet presents the reader with a response to a statement from Beatriz Sánchez, who is introduced as Sánchez. The tweet begins with *Gobierno a emplazamiento de* [Government responds to], positioning the response that is being made not from one individual (who was Gloria Hutt, Minister of Transport), but from the government as a whole, lending more weight to the quote used. The use of the word *emplazamiento* [challenge] positions the comments of Hutt as a challenge to government. The selection of *emplazamiento* is also significant in its containing of plaza [town square], with Plaza Italia/Baquedano (*Plaza Dignidad* [Dignity Square] in the words of protestors) a key battleground associated with disruption in the *estallido*, and other Chilean protest movements.

Although the story is about a challenge to the government, the challenge is suppressed and absent from the sample. Instead, an official statement which delegitimises the challenge as falling on the side of violence is presented, without ever addressing what the challenge was, thus aligning Sánchez with violence. Despite not directly discussing protestors here, it creates an assertion that violence does not fall on the side of the government, but upon the opposition.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	Yes
Disruption of daily life	No
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	Yes

Table 3:48 Meganoticias, gobierno results



Figure 3-52: Meganoticias, gobierno

Frente Amplio al Gobierno por evasiones en Metro: "En esta pelea estamos con la gente"

Frente Amplio to the government regarding evasion on the Metro: 'In this fight, we stand with the people
<https://x.com/Meganoticiascl/status/1185246624899055616>

In this tweet the main frame is once again *evasiones*, with the outlet introducing the opposition's position with respect to fare evasion. The quote selected builds on the *evasiones* framing, referring to *esta pelea* [this fight], invoking thoughts of conflict. This seems in keeping with the representation of the protests so far. In particular, the quote appears to have been taken out of context, with Gabriel Boric (then in the opposition), going on to discuss violence at the protests, saying: '*centrar el debate en torno a eso, me parece que no representa el sentir de la mayoría de los chilenos*' [Focusing the debate around

that, I think, doesn't represent the feelings of the majority of Chileans]. Despite discussing the demands of the movement, *Meganoticias*' quote selection brings the focus back to violence and disruption.

The hyperlink shared with this tweet has no image in the metadata. As a result, all that is visible is further linguistic tweet content in the form of the headline and lede. The headline reads: '*Frente Amplio al gobierno por Evasiones en Metro: 'En est...'* [Broad Front criticizes government over fare evasion on the Metro: 'In this...'] The lede reads: '*Durante esta jornada, y tras la reunión del Gobierno con autoridades del Metro de Santiago, la bancada de...'* [During this day, and following the meeting between the Government and authorities of the Santiago Metro, the parliamentary group of...']. The result is a continuation of the tweet content, with the headline matching the linguistic tweet content. The lede again reinforces official sources, presenting them as a considered group, having formal meetings to discuss issues. Once again, the protestors are absent, whilst official sources and disruption are foregrounded.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	Yes

Table 3:49: Meganoticias, gobierno results

Across the *Meganoticias* sample, the protestors' voice is entirely absent, whilst every tweet appears to legitimise the government. In 7/8 examples, disruption is a focus, with violent and/or illegitimate protestors presented in 7/8 examples. The authorities on the other hand are presented as calm and controlled in just 3 of the examples, with them absent in other examples. Though violence and illegitimacy are present, *Meganoticias* appear to use slightly softer language to discuss protestors, with a stronger focus on *evasión* and disruption than anything else. The outlet also relies less on visual cues to engage supporters, instead using its coverage to drive website traffic in the majority of cases.

3.8 PUBLIMETRO

3.8.1 Protestas (one samples)



Figure 3-53: Publimetro, protestas

El mundo pone sus ojos en las evasiones masivas: así informa la prensa internacional las protestas en el Metro de Santiago
The world is watching the mass fare evasion: this is how the international press reports on the protests in the Santiago Metro
<https://x.com/PublimetroChile/status/1185269565418291201>

The tweet begins with a vague reference to *el mundo* [the world], a vague term used to imply that what is happening is being viewed and judged by the world, using *los ojos* [eyes] to personalise *el mundo* and make the reader feel more seen, and perhaps more of a sense of vulnerability. It is worth noting that whilst *ojos* were a key talking point of the protests, it is hard to verify whether this was yet a significant feature at the time of the tweet publication, and therefore it is not deemed a relevant reference for the author of the tweet at this point in time. The main framing of events is *evasiones masivas*, before the tweet states that the attached article will look at the international press' interpretation of events, which are referred to as *protestas* in the second instance which is softer, though the framing is still based around the Metro, which is synonymous with disruption across this dataset.

The image selected is taken from the perspective of protestors and appears to show school children vs carabineros, with items such as backpacks clearly on display. In a Chilean context, students are well known for their protesting, so this could be seen as legitimising the police presence. However, the

contrast of police uniform against students with backpacks and the perspective being taken from the student's side has the effect of challenging the very presence of the police. The angle is also taken from above, further emphasising the vulnerability of the students. This image is perhaps being used to prepare the reader for the perspectives of the international press, or at very least to balance out the representation, after the tweet itself focusses on disruption to the metro and the *evasión* framing. Despite the softening effect of the image, the focus on disruption and the absence of the protestors' position still has the effect of delegitimising the protestors and legitimising the government in response, as *evasión* is foregrounded.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	Yes

Table 3:50: Publimetro, protestas results

An identical tweet was sent one hour and 15 minutes later, with the same content, showing that *Publimetro* was particularly keen for this message to be seen at that time.

3.8.2 Manifestaciones

No samples.

3.8.3 Carabineros (two samples)



Figure 3-54: Publimetro, carabineros
Denuncian a carabineros disparando a plena luz del día afuera de Metro El Llano
Reports of Carabineros shooting in broad daylight outside Metro El Llano
<https://x.com/PublimetroChile/status/1185306263598632960>

This tweet starts using *denuncian* [reports], with an anonymous, implied agent. This anonymises the source of the reports, which are mentioned in the tweet. Instead of reporting on the police shooting, the framing focusses on the reports of shooting, introducing an element of doubt. Who is making these claims? Are they verified? The tweet does not say. There is also a use of absence after *disparando* [firing]: who or what are they firing at? Do they hit anything, damage anything? All these details are omitted. In addition, the statement *en plena luz* [in broad daylight] suggests the presence of hidden or invisible violence, not seen so publicly.

The selected photo attached is taken from a carabinero perspective, as readers see other carabineros dragging away a protestor. Despite the reports being of police shootings, the image portrays police officers dragging away a protestor, calmly. This image shows the carabineros as peaceful and as they are carrying someone away, by extension suggests there were provocations to justify their response. Visually, the image distracts from the focus of the tweet: police shootings.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3-51: Publimetro, carabineros results



Figure 3-55: Publimetro, carabineros

Evasión masiva: Kast pidió que los militares salgan a la calle para apoyar a Carabineros
Mass fare evasion: Kast called for the military to take to the streets to support Carabineros
<https://x.com/PublimetroChile/status/1185313341629186048>

This tweet begins with the framing of *evasión masiva*, immediately using a delegitimising framing of the protests. Current President of Chile (2026), José Antonio Kast is next introduced to the reader without honorifics as *Kast*. The use of the verb *pedir* [to request/order/demand] portrays a strong demand of Police presence by the politician. The specific actions requested of the *militares* [the military] by Kast are also abstracted, the author stating only that he wants them to *apoyar*

[support] the police as *salgan a la calle* [take to the streets.] The material process presented here [taking to the streets] suggests an equivalence to what the protestors are doing, though the implications and the power structures involved are different. In part, this looks to legitimise the deployment of troops onto the streets in the face of the *estallido*. Contextually there is also absence, as Kast is a prominent and historic Pinochet regime supporter. Associations of the military on the street and their actions within this context are unpopular in Chile, but this connection is entirely absent from the tweet, legitimising the calls of the politician.

The image shows carabineros boarding a train from their perspective. They appear to be carrying out an operation and look organised and separate from the passengers. The implication is a controlled and coordinated response, perhaps to keep the trains running. There are few examples of metro carriages photographed or referred to across the sample, and this shot connects the police operation with the running of metro services, which have been widely discussed as disrupted by protestors in the dataset.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	Yes
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:52: *Publmetro, carabineros results*

3.8.4 Metro (two samples)



Figure 3-56: Publimetro, metro

La rebuscada explicación de Metro por "evasión" de licencias de Windows: "Cada pantalla es un PC 'all in one"
The convoluted explanation from the Metro for "evading" Windows licenses: "Each screen is an 'all in one" PC.
<https://x.com/PublimetroChile/status/1184991749950836736>

This tweet is loosely connected to the topic as it discusses the metro and mimics the language used to discuss protests so far. The article attached discusses some problems with metro screens showing an error message, to which users suggested it was due to *evasión* of the Windows subscription. As it is not directly linked, a full analysis has not been conducted nor included in results, however it suggests a coordinated approach to the language as this story was selected and the relevant language used in the tweet, despite not being a linked story. Ultimately, it acts as a supporting article, using mimicry of the language.



Figure 3-57: Publimetro, metro
Sindicato unificado del Metro emplaza al Gobierno por falta de responsabilidad política
Unified Metro Union challenges the Government for lack of political responsibility
<https://x.com/PublimetroChile/status/1185001297415737345>

This tweet begins by reporting on a statement by a Union. The report is associated to the whole organisation, as the report is not based on a quote, but an official communication by the union. The scope of the tweet is limited in that whilst it states *emplaza al Gobierno falta de responsabilidad política* [challenges the Government for lack of political responsibility], it does not report on what provoked this comment, nor the reasons behind it, giving a limited insight into the statement and the reasons it was made. Linguistically, it uses *emplaza*, a formal term that contextually can be translated as ‘challenges’ but literally means ‘summons’ or ‘calls out.’ By reducing the content to a generalised statement, without using any quotation or any other context, this appears to be less attention grabbing than some of the other tweets and the language used in them, which is often far more immediate and expressive.

In the attached image a man is being taken away, photographed from the police perspective. Whilst the individual is struggling to get free from their grip, the police appear stood upright, calm and in control. Whilst the tweet reports on the Union’s view that there is *una falta de responsabilidad política* [lack of political responsibility], in the image there are police officers calmly taking responsibility for an

individual. What is more, the onlookers appear calm, whilst the man being taken looks to the floor, suggesting that there is little outrage, that the police are carrying out their duties as expected. The image therefore contradicts what the tweet itself says. Although this tweet is critical of the government to some extent, the readers are still being presented with official views from organisations whilst the protestors' views and aims are absent once more.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	Yes
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

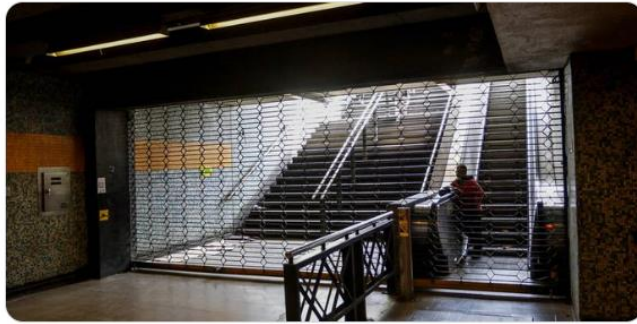
Table 3:53: Publimetro, metro results

← Post



Show translation

Las multas irían entre los \$240 mil y los \$480 mil: diputados presentan proyecto para sancionar la evasión en el Metro de Santiago publimetro.cl/cl/noticias/20...



3:15 AM · Oct 18, 2019

20

10

12



Figure 3-58: Publimetro, metro

Las multas irían entre los \$240 mil y los \$480 mil: diputados presentan proyecto para sancionar la evasión en el Metro de Santiago

Fines would range between \$240,000 and \$480,000: deputies present a project to sanction evasion on the Santiago Metro
<https://x.com/PublimetroChile/status/1185016396914102272>

This tweet focusses on the fines to be issued for fare evasion, making use once more of the delegitimizing *evasión* frame. The tweet relies on official sources, referring to the *diputados* [deputies] who *presentan proyecto para sancionar* [present a project to sanction] fare evasion. *La evasión* is nominalised, allowing it to be agentless. As a result, the tweet talks of fare evasion and fines, without ever naming who is being fined. This allows the fines to appear as a proportionate response to a crime. It could be argued that by talking of *manifestantes* or even *evasores*, the reader might consider why these people are evading fares, but by nominalising it to be agentless crime, it reinforces the *evasión* as a crime and removes the recipient of the sanctions.

This is consistent in the image, with no active agents in the photo. Instead, a photo is taken from a low angle, up to the ground level above the metro. Nothing/ nobody is visible above ground, but their presence is implied in the linguistic content as *evasión* is discussed. By taking this angle, the metro can be considered as in a weaker position, under threat from above. Across the visual and linguistic content of this tweet, *evasión* and discussion of fines is used to foreground disruption and illegitimacy, whilst protestors are entirely absent, their presence only implied.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	No
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimisation of the government	Yes

Table 3:54: Publimetro, metro results

3.8.5 Piñera (two samples)



Figure 3-59: Publimetro, piñera

Piñera estudia aplicar la Ley de Seguridad del Estado por evasiones en el Metro: "Nadie tiene derecho a afectar la vida de los demás"

Piñera is considering applying the State Security Law due to fare evasion in the Metro: "No one has the right to affect the lives of others."

<https://x.com/PublimetroChile/status/1185178719952015366>

When looking through the data set, this tweet is repeated on the same day (posted identically, 1.5 hours later), suggesting the author deemed the contents important to the news coverage of the day. The president is presented here with the verb *estudiar* when considering applying the state security law, in response to the *evasiones*, preferring the delegitimising term over the more neutral protestor framing. Using the word *aplicar* [to apply] to discuss implementing the law allows abstraction from the impacts of enforcing the law, such as limiting freedoms like movement. The selected quote is framed in such a way that it suggests the existence of an ‘other’: those who believe they have the right to affect the lives of others. In this case, by implication this refers to the protestors, delegitimising their position further. This in turn legitimises a response and therefore the government.

The image is shot from the top of a stairwell in the Metro, with onlookers photographing a uniformed man and two individuals on the stairway. As a result, we see the vulnerable police officer, in the face of protestors above who are looking down on him from a position of power. Above them the graffiti *Justo* acts as a banner. The scene appears calm, and the officer is gently ushering the individuals up the stairwell. Combined with the text, this suggests that the authorities are calm, controlled, and *justo* [just], meanwhile the protestors see themselves as above the law, with the right to affect the lives of others. The result is that protestors are presented as people who believe they are above the law, whilst

law enforcement and the government are presented as responding rationally to this threat. The protestors' voices are absent, and the focus is on disruption.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	Yes
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors' position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	Yes

Table 3:55: Publimetro, piñera results



Figure 3-60: Publimetro, piñera
 #metrosantiago #EvasionMasivaTodoElDia Jorge Alís vuelve a la carga: el comediante se va con todo contra el presidente Piñera en nuevo video
 #metrosantiago #MassFareEvasionAllDay Jorge Alís strikes again: the comedian goes all out against President Piñera in a new video.
<https://x.com/PublimetroChile/status/1185221979139432449>

This tweet begins with two hashtags. This is uncommon and on Twitter generally the hashtags appear at the end of tweets, and it is unclear why the author has chosen to instead begin with the hashtags. The hashtags used however, do introduce the metro (focussing on disruption) and the evasions (a delegitimising position), so carry a similar denotive function to discourse markers used on other samples. Readers are introduced to the individual Jorge Alís, a prominent comedian in Chile. Alís is reported to *[volver] a la carga* [strikes again], suggesting a confrontational position. His profession is then introduced as he is perhaps not well known by all readers: he is a comedian. A comedian might be expected to challenge a politician, but by leading with his name alone without profession in the first clause, plus the fact he is challenging the president, this information is given less prominence, and the focus is put on him more as a critic than as a comedian. The president on the other hand is given honorifics associated to his name immediately as Presidente Piñera, which is unusual for the President, who is often only referred to by his last name.

In the image, the text on the left reads *¡pa ta tan!* This is an onomatopoeic expression often used in a humorous or dramatic context, like mimicking the sound of something falling, hitting, or happening suddenly similar to ‘boom!’ or ‘bam!’ in English. In this context, it is being used to emphasise a

punchline or comedic impact, likely related to Jorge Alís’s satire of Presidente Piñera. In the centre, Alís is pulling a humorous face, smiling, and delivering a joke. On the far-right of the image, the president mid-speech and pulling a humorous face, all of which tells the story of Alís mocking the president.

The combination positions Jorge Alís as making a light criticism of the president, whilst still making use of delegitimising framings for protestors and raising the topic of disruption. Whilst it is a criticism of the government, it excludes the position of the protestors themselves, as consistent with most of the dataset.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	n/a
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors’ position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	n/a

Table 3:56: Publimetro, piñera results

3.8.6 Gobierno



Figure 3-61: *Publimetro, gobierno*
Sindicato unificado del Metro emplaza al Gobierno por falta de responsabilidad política
Unified Metro Union challenges the Government for lack of political responsibility
<https://x.com/PublimetroChile/status/1185001297415737345>

This is the first relevant tweet under the *Gobierno* search, but as with other *Publimetro* tweets, it is repeated twice more (3 times in total in the sample). This suggests the message was one which that authors want readers to see. It has already appeared and been analysed as Figure 3-59, showing the perceived importance of this particular item on *Publimetro*'s Twitter coverage. For the purpose of the final analysis, this tweet is only considered numerically as one sample. After the repeated content, this is the next tweet with the keyword *gobierno* that was relevant from *Publimetro*:



Figure 3-62: *Publimetro, gobierno*
"Se le fue de las manos al Gobierno de Chile": video muestra a manifestantes lanzando objetos a las vías en Metro La Moneda
"It got out of hand for the Government of Chile": video shows protesters throwing objects onto the tracks at Metro La Moneda
<https://x.com/PublimetroChile/status/1185269565560934400>

This tweet takes a different structure to other quoting tweets so far: it leads with the quotation, without association to its source. *Se le fue de las manos* is a euphemistic phrase to say that government lost control, personifying it by describing control as 'slipping through the hands.' This personification transforms the government into something readers can feel sympathy towards. This government, personified through a disassociated quote, is structurally opposed to the violent protestor that follows in the second clause. The protestors are seen on video causing damage. The use of *muestra* as the verb to describe what is in the video has a dual meaning, with *una muestra* also meaning 'proof' or

‘evidence.’ The protestors are once again associated to the metro and presented as agents of disruption without cause. A material process is used to portray the protestors as *lanzan* [they throw] objects. Their reasons are absent and their violent and disruptive actions are foregrounded.

In the image, there is a repeat of the fire imagery seen earlier in the analysis, which a common trope used in the media to delegitimise protest moments (as also discussed in Figure 3-42), as well as invoke support for police reactions to it. There is little else visible, with the image only associated to protestors by the affirmations of the tweet above. The combination of the violence presented in the image and the text creates a delegitimization of protestors and attributes the blame to them, against a government portrayed as helpless in the face of them. This tweet is also identically repeated 30 minutes later by *Publmetro*.

Feature	Present?
Violent or illegitimate protestors	Yes
Calm & controlled authorities	n/a
Disruption of daily life	Yes
Absence of protestors’ position	Yes
Legitimation of the government	Yes

Table 3:57: *Publmetro, gobierno results*

Throughout the *Publmetro* footage, the *evasiones/ evasión masiva* frame is frequently used, favouring attaching additional images to the content. Once again, focus of the content is surrounding violent or illegitimate protestors, disruption to daily life and an absence of protestors’ voices (8/8). There government is legitimised in (7/8) of the sample. There appears to be more coverage of the carabineros in this sample, though calm and controlled authorities are only present in 3 of the tweets.

3.9 RESULTS

This study has examined how Chile's leading media outlets framed the *estallido* of October 2019 on the first day of mass protest, through their Twitter coverage. By applying elements of Machin and Mayr's multimodal framework for Critical Discourse Analysis, the research considered a variety of elements in the analysis, such as: absence & suppression, abstraction, anonymisation, context, grammatical positioning, honorifics, individuals/groups, nominalisation, overlexicalisation, photo angle, photo distance, setting, structural discourse markers, word connotation, and finally existential, mental, material & verbal processes. These tools enabled a close reading of how language and imagery were mobilised to structure meaning in 'tweet frames' (a unit for analysis proposed in this thesis), and how different outlets shaped public perceptions of protest, authority, and legitimacy. With a sample scaling a larger timescale than the period analysed, it is also possible to consider how coverage of the protests changed in terms of quantities of data published.

The close analysis of the 58 tweets sampled across *ADN*, *Radio Bío Bío*, *CNN Chile*, *La Cooperativa*, *El Mostrador*, *Meganoticias*, and *Publimetro*, demonstrate how Chile's mainstream media reproduced common tropes of violence, crime and disorder and an absence of protestor voices to frame protest events in the media (Leopold & Bell, 2017), (Mourão et al., 2018), setting up protest frames that are consistent with media representations of protest in general, or the 'protest paradigm.'. It demonstrates how Chile's *estallido* was discursively framed by mainstream news outlets on Twitter, revealing a striking uniformity across the country's dominant media. Through multimodal critical discourse analysis, this thesis demonstrates how the headlines and tweet compositions shared by *ADN*, *Radio Chile*, *Radio Bío Bío*, *CNN Chile*, *La Cooperativa*, *El Mostrador*, *Meganoticias*, and *Publimetro* collectively reinforced a narrative of disorder, while legitimising state authority. Despite variations in style, reach, and platform behaviour, these outlets converged in reproducing these common framing techniques.

ADN Radio Chile's coverage was focussed on official voices, such as unions and politicians, as well as disruption to metro services. The outlet exhibited an increase from 678 tweets in the 7 days prior to the protests (11/10/2019–17/10/2019), to 727 in the 7 days after (18/10/2019), representing a rise of approximately 7.2%, taking the average daily tweet count from 97 to 104.

Radio Bío Bío amplified frames of disruption, though relied less frequently on the *evasión / evasores* frame and demonstrated a notable escalation in activity, with tweets increasing from 810 in the 7 days prior to 1,177 in the following 7, constituting a substantial growth of approximately 45.3% as the average daily tweet output surged from 116 to 168 tweets.

CNN Chile had more of a focus on disruption and politician positions, as opposed to focussing on the protests themselves and displayed a slight increase in tweet volume, from 484 in the 7 days prior, to 510 in the following 7, translating to a growth of about 5.4% and taking the daily average from 69 to 73 tweets.

La Cooperativa, by far the most prolific in tweet volume, provided real-time updates on the transport network, yet its feed was devoid of protestor perspectives. Instead, it chronicled transit interruptions, responses from official sources and clashes with carabineros, creating a sense of cumulative disorder. *La Cooperativa* experienced the most pronounced increase, with tweets jumping from 2,451 in the 7 days prior, to 3,455 in the following 7, reflecting a rise of approximately 41%. This took average daily tweets from 350 to 494.

El Mostrador also showed a strong increase, with the total number of tweets rising from 431 to 547, marking a growth of approximately 27% and taking the daily average from 62 in the 7 days prior, to 78 tweets in the following 7. The coverage aligned closely with frames used by the other outlets in its Twitter output, privileging institutional voices and relying on *evasiones / evasores* to frame events.

Meganoticias foregrounded metro damage and service disruption and relied less on visual cues to engage supporters, instead using its coverage to drive website traffic. It saw a significant increase in tweet activity, with totals moving from 969 in the 7 days prior, to 1,349 in the following 7, indicating a growth of about 39.2% and taking the average daily tweet count from 138 to 192.

Finally, *Publmetro* recycled imagery of destruction and violence in their coverage, relying on outrage to engage their audience. The outlet a minor increase in tweet propensity, with tweets rising from 992 in the 7 days prior, to 1,019 in the following 7, growing approximately 2.7% and raising the daily average tweets increased from 142 to 146.

Across the sample, increases in tweet propensity were seen once the protests gained momentum, with *La Cooperativa* and *Meganoticias* posting the largest increases.

3.9.1 Research Questions

1. How did the media visually represent the *estallido* through tweet images and article images during the first day of the 2019 protests?

Visual representations reinforced the binary of disorder versus control. *Meganoticias*, *Publmetro*, and *CNN Chile* circulated images of vandalism and fires, while *ADN* and *Radio Bio Bio* emphasised confrontations between protestors and carabineros. Politicians, when depicted, were shown in orderly settings delivering press conferences. Absent were images of protestors' banners, assemblies, or demands, leaving viewers with a visual landscape dominated by violence and

control. This selective visibility echoes Hart's (2017) findings that visual metaphors of disorder produce legitimating effects for state power.

2. How did the media textually represent the *estallido* through linguistic tweet content and headlines during the first day of the 2019 protests?

Textual coverage mirrored the visuals. Tweets employed terms such as *enfrentamientos* (clashes), and *violencia* (violence), casting protestors as aggressors. Headlines highlighted service disruptions, particularly metro closures, and foregrounded government statements. Protestors' voices were almost entirely absent, replaced by state and institutional actors whose discourse set the terms of interpretation. This aligns with Seguel & Fariás' (2019) linguistic analysis of Chilean online press, which similarly found the minimization of protestor voices and the privileging of state legitimacy in the coverage of *Emol* and *La Tercera*, as well as Proust & Saldaña's 2022 study that found *Radio Bío Bío* relied on delegitimising protests frames of violence. This confirms that tweet frames reproduce similar effects to more traditional units of analysis, using the affordances of Twitter to convey messages to users.

3.9.2 Evaluation of Hypotheses

The protestors were predominantly portrayed as violent or illegitimate.

Across all outlets, protestors were delegitimised through both imagery and language, undermining the legitimacy of their demands. This appeared in 84.5% (49 of the 58) samples.

The authorities are agents of dialogue, calm and control.

Media depictions consistently framed carabineros and officials as rational and disciplined, despite reports of abuses. However, this was less prevalent than other elements of analysis with just 36.2% (21 of 58) presenting carabineros in this way.

Coverage will focus on the disruption of everyday life.

Disruption, particularly of metro services, dominated textual and visual narratives throughout the sample with 96.6% (56 of 58) relating to disruption.

Media coverage will likely minimise the protestors' demands.

Protestor grievances were systematically absent across outlets, a clear case of discursive suppression. This was the case in 94.8% of the tweets (55 of 58), with *Radio Bío Bío* the outlier as protestors' voices were present in 80% of their sample (4/5).

Media coverage will legitimise the government

Government voices were amplified and presented as authoritative throughout the sample, with press conferences and officials cited. In 82.8% of the coverage (48 of 58) the government was legitimised, either through the framing of protestors, or through official statements.

Of the hypotheses, we can see a high presence of the features expected, except for the coverage of the carabineros as calm agents of control.

4 CONCLUSION

Across the sample, four of the five expected features structured the discourse. First, protestors were depicted as violent and / or illegitimate, criminalised through the recurrent use of terms such as *enfrentamientos* and *evasores*, and through imagery of damage and conflict. Secondly, the disruption of daily life, particularly metro closures, was a dominant frame, converting a response to structural inequality into a problem of inconvenience. In these tweets there was an absence of explanation, as services updates and cancellations were foregrounded. Thirdly, the absence of protestors' voices was near total: demands, slogans, and grassroots articulations of grievance were absent from the news coverage, leaving only institutional actors to define meaning. Finally, the government was systemically legitimised, as presidential statements and official briefings were reproduced uncritically, serving as the primary interpretive frame through which events were presented. In instances across the sample, mental processes were presented to show the government or the president as thoughtful as he 'evaluated' or 'studied' the possibility of invoking a *Ley de Seguridad del Estado* [state security law] which undermines multiple freedoms for citizens. The authorities were portrayed as calm and controlled, with carabineros and government actors appearing as rational guardians of stability.

Taken together, these patterns reproduce what Van Dijk (van Dijk, 2006) terms 'discursive manipulation': the exercise of symbolic power that sustains inequality by controlling interpretation. Tweet frames functioned not simply as reflections of events, but as agents of meaning-making, shaping public perception through selective emphasis and omission. The platform logic of news coverage on Twitter intensified this effect. In a high-velocity, image-saturated environment where users often encounter headlines divorced from their full articles, these fragments (tweet frames) acted as an interface through which collective understanding was formed. The findings therefore extend existing literature on Chilean media and democracy. They confirm that even amid a historic social rupture and a counter hegemonic uprising that challenged neoliberalism and elite dominance, mainstream media discourse largely functioned to stabilise the status quo. In Polanyian terms, the threat of a double movement (social protection against market excess) was countered by a discursive countermovement of containment, in which media outlets used tweet frames to reassert the legitimacy of neoliberal order.

By erasing protestor subjectivity and identities and prioritising state rationality, the traditional media sphere on Twitter reproduced the government's attempts to quell and delegitimise a largely peaceful protest movement and maintain hegemonic dominance, by creating a narrative in which protestors are presented as a homogenous mass, characterised by violence and illegitimacy. This reinforces the argument that Chile's democratic crisis is not only institutional but discursive: it resides in who is able to capture the public's attention and impact the public sphere (Juan Pablo Luna 2021).

At the same time, this study's focus on tweet frame circulation reveals an important methodological contribution. Whereas previous analyses of the *estallido* have emphasised street mobilization or full-text media framing, this thesis isolates discursive mechanisms, such as emotionally charged, platform-specific headlines, that play a role in how the public perceives a crisis. In doing so, it demonstrates that even in a context of declining media trust, traditional outlets may retain an agenda-setting power through the utilisation of their large platform size and official status displayed on X, increasing their outputs across the board during this event. These findings also demonstrate how digital media, rather than simply amplifying grassroots voices, can also act as conduits for elite narrative reinforcement.

This thesis builds on the findings of similar studies by Seguel & Fariás and Proust & Saldaña. In Seguel & Fariás analysis of online press articles, *Emol* was found to focus on fare evasion in the metro and violence demonstrating not only negative repercussions on the Metro's infrastructure but also for citizens. *La Tercera*, was found to portray government legitimacy justifying the imposition of public order. In other words, the portrayal of violence was used to legitimise the government's response. Though analysing different outlets, Seguel & Fariás' findings appear to extend from the articles to the tweet frames studied in this thesis, with headlines, tweets and images used to reinforce the messaging. In their study, *El Mostrador* was found to present the government to dismiss citizen demands and focus its actions on public order (by criminalizing protest and a government challenged in its political and ethical authority). In this thesis, though *El Mostrador* portrayed *los carabineros* frequently, there were both positive and negative framings of them, whilst their coverage seemed to reproduce similar tropes to other outlets by focussing on disorder and disruption. Taken in the context of the other tweets analysed, this thesis therefore cannot effectively confirm these findings.

A study by Valentina Proust & Magdalena Saldaña showed that violence and protest frames were a key feature of the *Radio Bío Bío*'s coverage, when looking at news stories published by the outlet in 2019. In the sample analysed here, violence is still presented by the outlet, though it appears less frequently than in other samples in the dataset, demonstrating that violence was a key framing throughout all outlet's coverage.

In sum, the Chilean *estallido* was a battle for meaning and represented not only a confrontation with third-generation neoliberal protest underpinned by Polanyian logics of double-movement, but also a crisis of the discursive structures that sustain that very system. Tweet frames on Twitter were a relevant element in this battle for meaning, building on existing findings on the online narratives shared around Chile's *estallido*, with *evasion/evasores* in particular, emerging as a key theme.

4.1 FURTHER STUDIES

Future studies could also consider the themes of the analysis over time. For example, over the course of the *estallido*, the targeting of eyes by carabineros and human rights violations were reported in the

international press, and it would be interesting to see if this broke through on a national level. To that end, it would also be interesting to see if the framing of protestors as *evasores* changed, or whether their voices began to get represented in the discourse as time wore on. Did the initial sensational reporting continue, or did reporters begin to delve into the underlying social issues that protestors were discussing? The thesis also shows that the carabineros are not referred to in an overwhelmingly peaceful way: they were often absent from the coverage entirely or not presented with strong narratives. This could be due to the nature of the human rights violations that were uncovered in their response, with the press not wishing to draw attention to it, but it warrants further investigation.

Despite a number of potential avenues for further study, the biggest issue remains access to data. It is currently not possible to replicate the data acquisition process. Put simply, it is not currently possible to build on the research using the same methodology. However, not all avenues are null and void. For example, using the existing data, analysis could be split further to be even more granular, looking at whether the protestors were predominantly represented as violent or illegitimate, allowing the opportunity to build further on the work of Proust & Saldaña. Additionally, looking at other salient terms such as the collocation *toque de queda* [curfew] could be used to understand the most salient collocations and how they were used by the traditional media. Furthermore, the analysis could be extended across different dates and clustered around specific events across the month that data is available for. Additional research could look at ownership groups of the media outlets to consider the impact of media ownership in shaping the country's digital media narratives.

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