

# Call for protest through Instagram: a socio-cognitive analysis of discursive strategies in the context of the social movement in Chile (2019-2020)

Convocatoria de protesta a través de Instagram: análisis socio-cognitivo de estrategias discursivas en el contexto del movimiento social en Chile (2019-2020)

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## RESUMEN

**Introducción:** El artículo presenta resultados preliminares de un estudio piloto enmarcado en una investigación sobre estrategias discursivas empleadas en la construcción de textos de convocatoria a jornadas de protesta, propagadas por redes sociales, en el transcurso de la movilización social en Chile (2019-2020). Desde una dimensión socio-cognitiva, se abordan los recursos ideológicos y metafóricos desplegados discursivamente a través de Instagram, una plataforma emergente en el campo de la comunicación política. **Metodología:** Con un diseño cualitativo de alcance exploratorio-descriptivo, y a partir de las contribuciones de los Estudios Críticos del Discurso, se analiza un corpus de textos multimodales seleccionados desde una cuenta de base ciudadana con carácter contra-informativo, que durante el estallido social (entre el 18 de octubre de 2019 y 18 de marzo de 2020) contaba con mayor número de seguidores. **Resultados:** Se identifican categorías que definen el discurso ideológico del movimiento, así como las formas de entender los procesos y actores políticos partícipes del movimiento a partir del uso de ciertas metáforas conceptuales. **Discusión y conclusiones:** Los resultados, junto con caracterizar una dimensión socio-cognitiva del género convocatoria de protesta, permiten aproximarse a la configuración de unos discursos resistentes que trascienden la mera convocatoria, para articular otros marcos de interpretación colectiva vinculados a

los procesos de cambio social. Las categorías discursivas analizadas relevan la persistencia de una lucha callejera y solidaria, que posiciona al movimiento como un actor clave en el escenario político.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** estrategia discursiva; comunicación política; ideología; metáfora; movimientos sociales; Instagram; protesta.

## ABSTRACT

**Introduction:** The article presents preliminary results of a pilot study framed in an investigation on the discursive strategies employed in the construction of texts calling for protest sessions, propagated through social media, during the social mobilization in Chile (2019-2020). From a socio-cognitive dimension, the ideological and metaphorical resources discursively deployed through Instagram, an emerging platform in the field of political communication, are addressed. **Methodology:** With a qualitative design of exploratory-descriptive scope, and from the contributions of Critical Discourse Studies, a corpus of multimodal texts is analyzed, selected from a citizen-based account, of counter-informative character, which during the social outbreak (between October 18, 2019, and March 18, 2020), had a greater number of followers. **Results:** The categories that define the ideological discourse of the movement are identified, as well as the ways of understanding the political processes and actors participating in the movement based on the use of certain conceptual metaphors. **Discussion and conclusions:** The results, together with characterizing a socio-cognitive dimension of the protest call genre, allow an approach to the configuration of resistant discourses that transcend the mere call, to articulate other frameworks of collective interpretation linked to the processes of social change. The discursive categories analyzed reveal the persistence of a solidarity and street struggle, which positions the movement as a key actor in the political scenario.

**KEYWORDS:** discursive strategy; political communication; ideology; metaphor; social movements; Instagram; protest.

## CONTENIDOS

1. Introducción 1.1. Movimientos sociales y protesta 1.2. Comunicación y movimientos sociales 1.3. Instagram y comunicación política 1.4. Textos y estrategias discursivas 1.5. Enfoque socio-cognitivo 1.5.1. Discurso e ideología 1.5.2. Discurso y metáforas 2. Objetivos y supuestos 3. Metodología 4. Resultados 4.1. Esquema Ideológico 4.2. Metáforas conceptuales 5. Discusión y conclusiones. 6. Referencias.

## CONTENTS

1. Introduction 1.1. Social movements and protest 1.2. Communication and social movements 1.3. Instagram and political communication 1.4. Texts and discursive strategies 1.5. Socio-cognitive approach 1.5.1. Discourse and ideology 1.5.2. Discourse and metaphors 2. Objectives and assumptions 3. Methodology 4. Results 4.1. Ideological Scheme 4.2. Conceptual metaphors 5. Discussion and conclusions. 6. References.

Translation by **Paula González** (Universidad Católica Andrés Bello, Venezuela)

## 1. Introduction

The citizen movement that is articulated after the so-called social outbreak in Chile (2019-2020) has become the most relevant political actor in recent years. Although its causes and demands are heterogeneous, there is a common factor that determines its emergence, such as neoliberal policies founded since the military dictatorship (1973-1990), and their impacts on the reproduction of social

inequality (Aste, 2020; Güell, 2019; Somma, et al., 2020a). The demonstrations that were triggered on October 18<sup>th</sup>, 2019 also represent a culmination regarding other previous social mobilizations, such as those led by students in 2011 (Cuadra, 2020), which are operating a socio-cognitive change concerning the logics of commodification and privatization of goods and fundamental rights that become intolerable for the population (Cárdenas-Neira and Pérez-Arredondo, 2021).

Thus, the deployment of the collective action of this movement shows not only the ability to install frameworks associated with a widely shared diagnosis, but also to legitimize the repertoire of action required to generate the political-cultural conditions necessary when promoting a process of structural social transformation. This repertoire stands out for converging in and appropriating urban and digital spaces to coordinate, execute, and propagate containment and response tactics of various kinds, among which are concentrations, marches, occupations, performances, artistic interventions, *cacerolazos*, barricades, looting, and fires.

In this context, the call for protest sessions assumes a specific role in the communication network of the social movement. Its potential, as a genre displayed by the movement through social networks, accounts for the production of meanings shared by a rhetorical community of discourse, which is both dynamic and in permanent construction. This discursive genre implies a highly complex communicative exercise that links, on the one hand, to the enunciating group, that is, organizations or base groups or groups with political trajectory without party representation or formal leaders (Somma et al., 2020a), on whom the subjective force that drives the protest action falls (Alarcón and Godoy, 2020), and, on the other hand, the enunciating group, namely, ordinary people who were passive and compliant, but who after the social outbreak adhere to transversal demands that motivate them to participate *en masse*, in whom the mobilizing agency resides.

In this sense, the genre of convocation, in coherence with the socio-cognitive approach developed by van Dijk (2016a), stands as a mediating instance between the cognitive dimension of individuals and the social dimension of discourse. From this perspective, the present study proposes to characterize the discursive strategies used to call for protests, as well as to establish an ideological position of the social movement in front of the questioned addressee: citizens as a whole, on the one hand, and the political and economic power, on the other. In particular, by adopting this socio-cognitive approach, an approach is made to the texts calling for protest sessions, with which emphasis is placed on the construction of cognitive frameworks based on the use of conceptual metaphors.

The corpus is made up of texts selected from an Instagram account, whose use, unlike other social networks such as Twitter and Facebook, is emerging in the field of political communication, to the point that there is a qualitative and quantitative waste of the possibilities offered by this platform (Selva-Ruiz and Caro-Castaño, 2017). According to the consulted literature, most of the research related to the political use of Instagram is oriented both to the humanization strategies of public figures (Lalancette & Raynauld, 2017; Quevedo-Redondo and Portalés-Oliva, 2017; Sampietro and Sánchez-Castillo, 2020), as well as the strategies for positioning campaigning leaders, parties, and candidates (Aladro-Vico and Requeijo-Rey, 2020; Muñoz & Towner, 2017; Slimovich, 2019), but there are still few dedicated to the analysis of activists whose accounts promote social causes (Acosta, 2020; Fernández, 2019; Gómez, Simioni, and Traktman, 2021) and, especially, of self-managed groups whose accounts combine mobilization and counter-information purposes (Alarcón and Godoy, 2020). The proposed study seeks to contribute to narrowing this knowledge gap.

Based on the critical analysis of the discourse applied to a sample of 33 convocation posters, the ideological and metaphorical resources identified in the publications of the Instagram account @capucha\_informa, between October 18<sup>th</sup>, 2019 and March 18<sup>th</sup>, 2020, are addressed. To give

theoretical support to this analysis, five thematic axes related to the conceptual delimitation of social movements and their protest actions, their communicative practices mediated by social networks, the political communication strategies developed on platforms such as Instagram, the discursive strategies used in the production of convocation texts, and the socio-cognitive dimension of these strategies at their ideological and metaphorical levels are set out below. Later, the research objectives and assumptions are reviewed and the methodology used is described. Finally, the results that emerge from both levels of analysis are reported, with their respective discussion and conclusions.

### **1.1. Social movements and protest**

Charles Tilly (1979) circumscribes social movements as specific forms of political struggle, which put the interests of various groups at stake, defining them as:

a prolonged series of interactions between those in power and people who successfully claim to speak on behalf of sectors that lack formal representation, in the course of which those people make publicly visible demands for changes in the distribution or exercise of power, and they justify these demands with public demonstrations of support (p. 12).

This author emphasizes the role of communicative interaction, underlining the mediation of pressure mechanisms -which he will later call a repertoire of action (Tilly, 1979)- to activate processes of social change in favor of a group that justifies its demand through public support. The essence of his proposal is not the isolated elements that make up the definition, but their integration and articulation:

(1) collective vindication campaigns against the affected authorities; (2) a range of actions to carry out those demands that include associations with a specific purpose, public rallies, statements in the media, and demonstrations; (3) public manifestations of the value of unity, number and commitment to the cause (Tilly and Wood, 2009, p. 28).

For their part, Della Porta and Diani (2011) define social movements as “social processes consistently differentiated in mechanisms through which actors involved in collective action engage in conflictive relationships with clearly identified opponents, are linked in dense networks informal; and share a differentiated collective identity” (p. 43). From a descriptive point of view, the focus is on the configuration of a collective actor that positions itself in the political debate based on adherence to certain principles or values in dispute, which incite support or disagreement with the possibility of social change. The coordinated collective action of the social movement is distinguished from other similar formations by the commitment when seeking strategies to fulfill a common goal, without affecting the autonomy and independence of those involved, but at the same time generating a sense of identity that transcends the development of specific protest actions.

Regarding protest, although it is not exclusive to social movements, it has been considered a typical form of them (Della Porta and Diani, 2011). According to these authors, it consists of an “expansion of the repertoires of political participation” (p. 216) that has indirect channels of persuasion to influence decision-makers. The forms adopted by collective action or action repertoires correspond to the “set of means that [a group] has to raise different demands to different individuals” (p. 218), such as boycotts, occupations, concentrations, barricades, among others. Various factors affect the choice of the action repertoire, which are connected with cultural and value aspects of the activists, therefore, not only is the effectiveness of the action at stake as a decisive factor, but also emotional aspects linked to its significance and symbolic value.

## 1.2. Communication and social movements

Regarding the communicative power relations involved in the emergence of social movements, Castells (2009, 2012) postulates that these arise in moments of political, economic, and social crisis, triggered by a specific political situation or its deterioration. This happens in a context of loss of control of the messages of traditional political groups, moving to a network of autonomous messages with the capacity to mobilize political action, that is, “mass self-communication” (Castells, 2009, p. 25) generated by the use of the internet and social networks, understood as tools that facilitate participation, on the one hand, and as essential scenarios for social change (Castells, 2012), on the other.

In this regard, various positions coexist regarding the impact of social networks on the political communication practices of social movements: from those that emphasize the role of hypermediation (Scolari, 2008) as a space for the socialization of messages, content, and distribution of cognitive resources for social mobilization, to those that emphasize a process of individualization that distorts the essence of political action (Córdoba-Hernández, 2020). However, the different positions seem to coincide in that although the exchange of content through digital media creates an opportunity to personalize collective action, it favors, through social networks, the self-organization of the movement or “connective action” (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012, p. 743).

## 1.3. Instagram and political communication

There is abundant bibliography regarding the use of social networks in the field of political communication (Bennett & Segerberg, 2016; Della Porta & Pavan, 2018; Gerbaudo & Treré, 2015). However, as Selva-Ruiz and Caro-Castaño (2017) state, a large part of these works is concentrated on platforms such as Twitter and Facebook, relegating other platforms of recent popularity. Despite the growth of Instagram, which in 2020 reaches a total of one billion users worldwide, the academic production of studies on the performance and scope of this social network as part of a political communication strategy continues to be scarce (Marcos-García et al., 2020).

Indeed, in the last five years, Instagram has become an object of study in the field of social sciences, concerning a series of thematic areas that include, among others, educational uses by adolescents and young people, psychological and emotional effects on mental health, the social impact on the formation of audiences and user profiles, the commercial positioning of companies and brands, the emergence of influencers and bloggers as content and advertising generators, and the proliferation of propaganda strategies and political communication (Figuero-Benítez et al., 2021). Concerning this last area, the uses that leaders, parties, and candidates give to this social network to promote themselves and improve their professional and human image have been mostly studied, but less has been researched about how ordinary citizens criticize these actors and show their dissatisfaction with traditional politics (Marcos-García, 2018).

Additionally, research works that delve into the communication strategies deployed by social movements and citizen-based collectives to react either to historical conflicts or to specific socio-political situations are incipient. Some examples are linked to feminist campaigns for gender equality (Fernández, 2019) or the right to free abortion (Acosta, 2020), the struggles of indigenous peoples for the recognition of their forms of territorial resistance and their cosmologies (Cardoso Franco and Da Silva, 2020), or environmental activism that advocates the harmonization of human actions with a cosmic, social, and personal order (Ardèvol et al., 2021).

Following Pont Sorribes (2020), the effectiveness of Instagram in the field of political communication resides in the power of images to position stories with which to consolidate already established leaders and parties, but also to give a platform to new agents of change in the digital public sphere. Following this, Herrera and Codina (2015) classify Instagram as a visual social network, pointing out that “visual social networks are those that serve as a platform and generate community, based on sharing images. These images can be static, such as photographs or graphics, or moving, such as videos or animations” (p. 4). As Quevedo-Redondo and Portalés-Oliva (2017) indicate, “within the online universe, the social network Instagram constitutes one of the main bets for a communicative model based on the denotation power of photographs and the emergence of a type of conversation based on portraits, selfies, and videos” (p. 917).

Now, without neglecting this visual imprint, the truth is that Instagram is dedicated to the elaboration and dissemination of multimodal designs or artifacts that combine two or more semiotic modes (Kress, 2010), as is the case of memes that combine photographs, written sentences, and emoticons, or reels that add moving images and music. These expressive resources, despite being widely available and naturally manipulated by users, do not receive the same treatment when they are used for contentious purposes in scenarios of social protest. In these cases, such resources are assembled into designs or artifacts to fulfill another range of functions, such as mobilizing, denouncing, commemorating, and arguing (Cárdenas-Neira, 2018). In this direction, the analysis of the multimodal discourse allows us to find out how ideologies are shown in the texts (Cárcamo, 2018) and, specifically, how ideological polarization strategies are configured between the mobilized actors and their political adversaries.

#### **1.4. Texts and discursive strategies**

Addressing social movements from their contextualized discursive production in the extensive field of political communication, supposes an approach to interaction processes that include “the continuous interpretation of intentions expressed verbally and non-verbally, directly, indirectly, or veiled” (Calsamiglia and Tusón, 2019, p. 2). Likewise, complex relations of power, solidarity, domination, or resistance intersect in the formation of the discourses of the movement itself.

As a political actor, the movement assumes the role of enunciator, which in the enunciation process allows the materiality of a concrete product, the statement, a basic unit that can take multiple forms within the framework of a communicative exchange with an enunciating recipient. Combining these statements gives rise to the formation of texts, as intentional and complete communicative units, whose meaning and denotation can be approached from the discursive analysis (Calsamiglia and Tusón, 2012, pp. 3-4), in general, and multimodal analysis, in particular (Martín Menéndez, 2012). At this point, the multimodal potential of the textual unit lies in the possibility of presenting itself in various semiotic modes, such as written language, image, gestures, sound, music, among others.

In light of this analytical approach, the texts calling for protest sessions constitute communicative events that involve both a communicative purpose on the part of an enunciator, as well as the procedure used to achieve it. This procedure corresponds to the discursive strategy, that is, a plan carried out by the speaker according to the specific interaction situation in which they find themselves, which would be made up of the conjugation of grammatical and pragmatic resources (Martín Menéndez, 2000). Sal Paz Maldonado (2009) underlines the intention of the enunciator to increase communicative effectiveness through the systematic use of linguistic and extralinguistic procedures, thus including other multimodal resources.

The identification of regular elements in terms of content and form points to the notion of the discursive genre (Bajtín, 2005), defined “from the intersection of a set of recurring discursive strategies and a set of dominant cultural traits. This means that certain sets of strategies are expected in certain genres” (Martín Menéndez, 2009, p. 3). Delving into the characteristics of the convocation texts, as a discursive genre selected by the social movement to fulfill its communicative purposes, provides relevant information about the protest culture that is distinctive to it (Cárdenas-Neira, 2018), as it allows to reveal the socio-cognitive processes involved in the creation and distribution of their messages, as well as in the role they play in projecting their effectiveness to a given audience.

## **1.5. Socio-cognitive approach**

Following van Dijk (2006), the socio-cognitive approach integrates representations and mental processes related to the construction and negotiation of socially shared belief systems. Such beliefs can be understood from the social functions assigned by a group and its members, and are classified into two types: factual, agreed upon as validated knowledge within epistemic communities (van Dijk, 2016b), and evaluative, assumed as personal opinions, attitudes, and ideologies that collectives of diverse character have in common (van Dijk, 1999). The texts created and disseminated by social movements, communicated from the discursive genres that they select to promote their causes and demands, synthesize and amplify these beliefs to comply with various contentious objectives. And, in this direction, it is the evaluative beliefs that have the greatest impact on the political communication of these movements.

### **1.5.1. Discourse and ideology**

Discourse supposes a socio-cognitive component that, as has been said, is at the base of its own structure and the forms of interaction that it fosters in society. From the foregoing, it follows that the specificity of political discourse would be given by the mediation between social practices and ideology “that defines the identity of a group and, consequently, the subjective feelings of social identity” (van Dijk, 2003, p. 28). As van Dijk (2003, 2005) points out, ideology does not address every type of belief, but rather those more basic or axiomatic from which coherence is given to the actions of people, through opinions or attitudes, for example, regarding the origin of life, the role of men or women, or, as is the case in this study, the most appropriate economic or socio-political model from the point of view of the social movement.

To deduce the structure of the ideological discourse, van Dijk (2003) proposes a scheme associated with the identity of the group, which includes the “criteria of relevance, activities, objectives, norms, relationships with others, and resources” (p. 57). As an organizational structure of ideological beliefs, the components of this scheme have a cognitive function anchored in the social structure: “they seem to be the fundamental coordinates of social groups and the conditions of their existence and reproduction” (van Dijk, 2006, p 96). Likewise, these components articulate the opposition between groups and sustain their material and symbolic struggles. These ideological beliefs are expressed through different discursive strategies, among which the formulation of metaphors stands out.

### **1.5.2. Discourse and metaphors**

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1986), metaphors are not only rhetorical resources of language but, above all, they are figures of thought that permeate the various fields of action and cognition of daily life. Consequently, the metaphor is understood as a cognitive phenomenon, in which one object

of knowledge is conceptually represented in terms of another. As Lizcano (2002) explains, “a field that was unknown or poorly known can thus begin to become known -to 'get an idea'- through the light that knowledge already elaborated for a different field shed on it, be this implicit or explicit knowledge” (p. 35).

Therefore, it is possible to understand and experience an abstract phenomenon (destination domain: A) thanks to a more concrete domain (source domain: B) that constitutes the origin of the imported concept. This translates into the classic formula A ES B, which is supported by a set of correspondences that exists between both terms. In this way, understanding a conceptual metaphor implies knowing that set of correspondences. In the words of Kövecses (2010), “there is a set of systematic correspondences between [the domain] source and the [domain of] destination in the sense that the conceptual elements constituting B correspond to constituting elements of A. Technically, these conceptual correspondences are often referred to as mappings [own translation]” (p. 7).

For Lakoff and Johnson (1986), everyday experience provides useful cognitive elements to interpret more complex phenomena, however, the transfer of these cognitive elements does not have absolute precision, since there is no control over the totality of the interpretive possibilities that it offers the source domain, because these possibilities are reconstructed from the culturally, historically, and socially shared contextual knowledge. In the words of these authors, “when we say that a concept is structured by a metaphor, we mean that it is partially structured and that it can be extended in certain ways, but not in others” (p. 45). Consequently, the metaphor has implications in the selection of the emphases or attributes given to the target domain, while at the same time, through a process of metaphorical framing, other emphases or attributes are left out.

Along the same lines, Lizcano (2002) explains the asymmetric nature present in the relationship between source and destination domains. This is exemplified by the metaphor the "sunset of life", an astronomical phenomenon, but of daily understanding as to the cycle of the day, in particular its sunset, which allows us to understand a stage of the life cycle as it is old age. With this metaphor, the life cycle is astronomized. However, the operation is difficult if a reverse exercise is carried out, attributing the meaning of the life cycle to explain something of the day-to-day such as day and night: "the old age of the day." It is the so-called principle of unidirectionality described by Kövecses (2010), which goes from concrete experience to the most abstract understanding.

## 2. Objectives and assumptions

The present work corresponds to a pilot study framed in the development of the doctoral thesis, which proposes, as a general objective, to analyze the discursive strategies used by the social movement in Chile (2019-2020) to construct texts calling for protests spread on social networks. As specific objectives, this study seeks to:

- Characterize, from a socio-cognitive approach, the use of the ideological scheme as a discussion strategy present in the texts calling for protests of the social movement in Chile (2019-2020).
- Characterize, from a socio-cognitive approach, the use of the conceptual metaphor as a discussion strategy present in the texts calling for protests of the social movement in Chile (2019-2020).

Based on the formulated objectives, the following research assumptions are assumed:



- The texts calling for protests produced by the social movement (2019-2020) and published on social networks such as Instagram, have characteristics that allow them to be identified as a specific discursive genre, differentiated from other genres of the social movement, such as statements, manifestos, press releases, etc.
- The discursive strategies used by the social movement to construct texts calling for protests have an impact not only on the making of identity and distinctive ideological beliefs of the movement but also on the configuration of resistant discourses or counter-discourses that transcend the mere call, to articulate other actions and frameworks of collective interpretation linked to the processes of social change.

### 3. Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative approach with an exploratory-descriptive scope. From Critical Discourse Studies, it is assumed that the relationships between textual production, discursive practices, and social practices involve various forms of domination or resistance that can be revealed through analysis (van Dijk, 2016a), in such a way that this premise guides the examination of the obtained corpus. In this direction, the selection of textual units of meaning, whose communicative purpose is to convene protests, seeks to “explore certain characteristics or categories for a later, broader, and more robust collection [of the corpus]” (Parodi, 2010, p. 27).

To compile the analyzed publications, an emerging social network in the field of political communication was chosen, such as the Instagram platform, which stands out for its immediacy and the simultaneous presence of the visual and written modes. Instagram shows the highest growth in Chile in recent years, according to the We Are Social & Hootsuite report (2021), reaching 9.8 million users. Specifically, a set of accounts created at the beginning of the social outbreak was observed that, on the one hand, took advantage of the possibilities of design and dissemination of digital content, and on the other, stood out for having a citizen base and dedicating themselves to counter-information. Of the considered accounts, @capucha\_informa was prioritized for this study since it concentrated the largest number of followers as of March 2020 (over 154 thousand), thus configuring a single case study (Yin, 2014).

The corpus emanated from @capucha\_informa amounts to 371 publications collected manually, which were initially classified and organized to distinguish the collective actions of the social movement's repertoire of protest, as well as the main thematic axes of the calls. The criteria that guided the selection of these publications were the following:

- Multimodal texts: the combination of an image - written text.
- Call for protest: publications referring to the social outbreak.
- Conveners: citizen-based groups.
- Temporality: between October 18<sup>th</sup>, 2019, and March 18<sup>th</sup>, 2020.

To carry out this pilot study, a subcorpus representing around 10% of the largest corpus (33 publications) was created, to test a critical discourse analysis matrix prepared in an ad hoc manner for the doctoral research. Some guidelines contemplated for the elaboration of this matrix are derived from the work of Cárdenas-Neira (2018), who carries out a multimodal critical analysis of protest texts published on Facebook during student mobilizations in Chile (2011-2013).

This article reports results of the pilot study, which are derived from the analysis of only one of the three dimensions covered by this matrix (see Table 1), leaving out the enunciative and socio-semiotic dimensions. From a socio-cognitive approach, the 33 publications of the subcorpus were approached

from categories and subcategories that comprise two levels of critical discourse analysis: ideological scheme and conceptual metaphor. In turn, this manual analysis was supported by the ATLAS.ti 9.0 software, with which figures were generated in which the main findings were synthesized. In the exposition of such findings, 12 of the most significant publications of the group are used to exemplify their scope and protect the extent of this work.

**Table 1.** *Socio-cognitive dimension analysis matrix*

Analysis categories	Definition	Subcategories
Ideological scheme (van Dijk, 2003).	Basic categories of organization of life and identity of a group, which allow social actors to quickly understand, build, reject, or modify an ideology.	<p><b>Polarization:</b> in-group (us) / out-group (them).</p> <p><b>Description:</b> positive self-representation (us) / negative hetero-representation (others).</p> <p><b>Identification:</b> membership criteria.</p> <p><b>Interests:</b> justification of purposes.</p> <p><b>Activity:</b> what its members do.</p> <p><b>Rules and values:</b> ought to be; moral evaluation.</p>
Conceptual metaphor (Kövecses, 2010; Lakoff and Johnson, 1986).	A cognitive phenomenon in which one object of knowledge is conceptually represented in terms of another.	<p><b>Source domains and destination domains:</b> according to formula A ES B.</p> <p><b>Oriental metaphors:</b> they organize a global system of concepts regarding another system, based on the physical experience of our spatial location (eg: MORE IS UP, "sales went up"; LESS IS DOWN; "spirits declined").</p> <p><b>Ontological metaphors:</b> they assume that our experience of physical objects and substances provides an additional basis for understanding experiences, activities, motivations, etc. (eg: THE MIND IS A MACHINE, "he has lost his marbles").</p> <p><b>Structural metaphors:</b> they involve cases in which a concept is metaphorically structured in terms of another concept (eg: TIME IS MONEY).</p>

Source: Self-made

## 4. Results

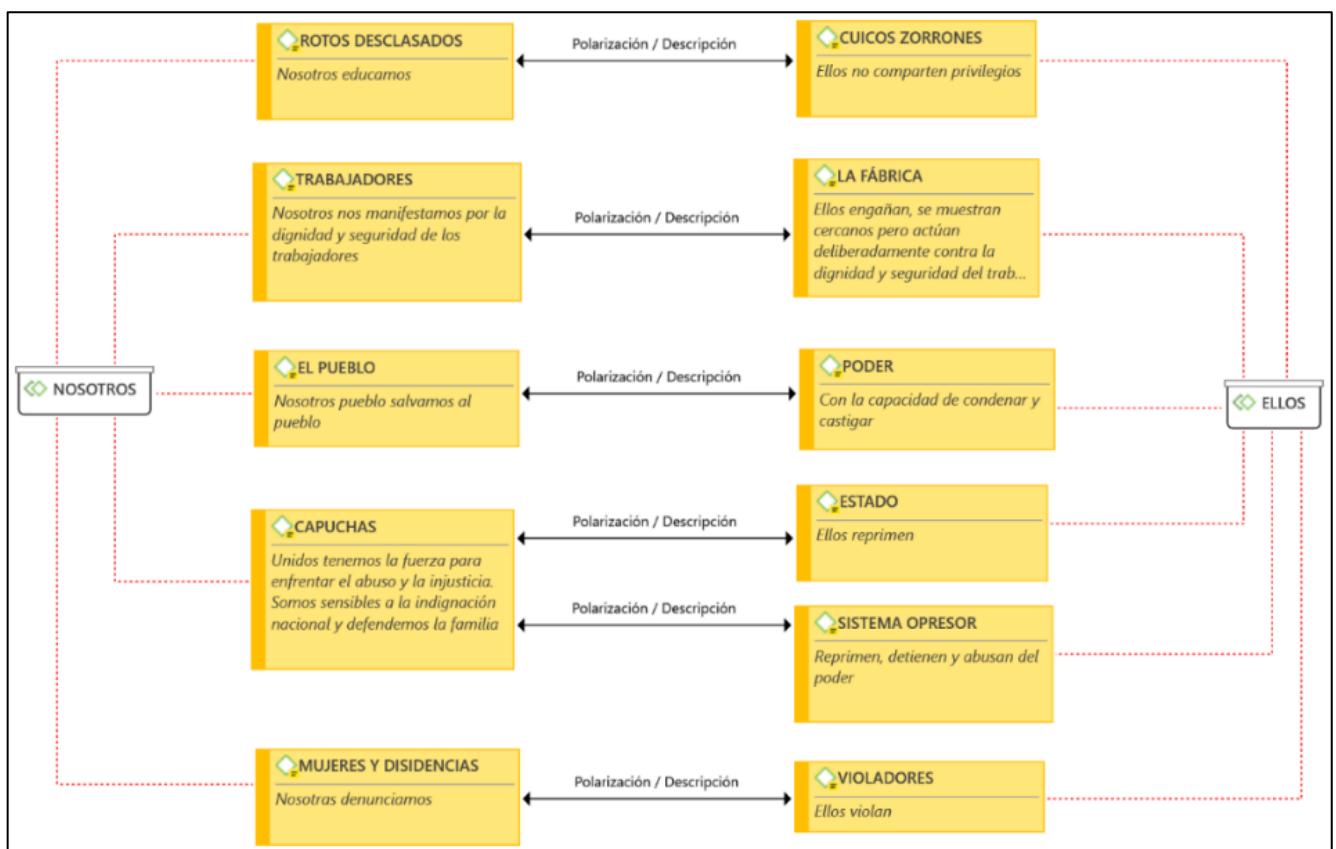
### 4.1. Ideological scheme

This section reports the critical analysis of the discourse carried out at the ideological level, the results of which reveal a clear definition of groups with opposing interests, with attributes that vary according to the thematic axes that the calls address: employment, health, education, gender and feminism, human rights, political prisoners and criminalization of protest, the new constitution, etc. The features of the most frequent calls, which respond to typical activities such as marches and rallies, share patterns of polarization, description, and identification.

Broadly speaking, the social movement and the segments of the population that comprise it are positively self-represented (impoverished or precarious layers by the prevailing neoliberal model,

outraged citizens who claim their rights that have been denied, protesters who take to the streets to express their discontent, women and other minorities who rebel against exclusion and discrimination, etc.), who are characterized by performing heroic and altruistic actions (fight, save, denounce, support, educate, etc.), guided by norms and analogous values (sacrifice, courage, empathy, solidarity, sensitivity, respect, etc.). As a counterpart, those groups that retain political, police, and economic power are negatively hetero-represented (the State, rulers, police and military forces, businessmen, wealthy layers, etc.), who are characterized by executing unjust and reprehensible actions (abuse, disrupt, damage, repress, violate, etc.), also guided by equivalent norms and values (indifference, greed, segregation, cruelty, dehumanization, etc.).

Figure 1 shows a summary of the we/them opposition observed in a limited set of examples. The left column shows who belongs to the in-group and in the right column, who belongs to the outgroup, along with a statement that reveals the main attribute with which their positive self-representation and negative hetero-representation are framed, respectively.



**Figure 1.** Polarization/Description  
 Source. Self-made

The publications selected to illustrate this analysis are shown below:



**Example 1: Rotos desclasados**  
 Source: @capucha\_informa



**Example 2: La Fábrica**  
 Source: @capucha\_informa



**Example 3: El pueblo**  
 Source: @capucha\_informa



Viernes 29 de NOVIEMBRE  
 Quillota  
**MARCHA DE LOS CAPUCHAS**  
 Marcha familiar por la indignación nacional  
 17:00 HRS EN TODO CHILE  
 PLAZA SIN ARMAS DE QUILLOTA  
 PLAZA DE LA DIGNIDAD

**Example 4: Capuchas 1**  
 Source: @capucha\_informa



**Example 5: Capuchas 2**  
 Source: @capucha\_informa



**Example 6: Un violador en tu camino**  
 Source: @capucha\_informa

In Example 1 a POLARIZATION is established between the broken declassified (belonging to the lower and middle class) and the *cuicos zorrones* (belonging to the upper class), who are intended to be educated so that they learn to share their privileges. In this case, the ideological scheme is complemented by the IDENTIFICATION that accounts, on the one hand, of a class-conscious collective (in-group) that struggles to end the abuses of power by the wealthy class and, on the other, of an elite (out-group) that is indifferent to social inequality and enjoys its privileges while the rest of the country is mobilized. The INTERESTS consist both in demonstrating the maintenance of these privileges and in making visible the need to end them, which is achieved through the ACTIVITY that corresponds to marching towards the Portal La Dehesa -the main mall of one of the richest communes in the Metropolitan Region-, thereby disrupting the normality to which their neighbors are accustomed. Undertaking this type of protest implies RULES AND VALUES that inspire the action of educating, associated with responsibility (of those who educate) and empathy and solidarity (of those who seek to be educated).

In a similar direction, in Example 2 a POLARIZATION is established between the workers committed to the dignity and safety of their peers in front of La Fábrica, which, for its part, represents the owners and administrators of this shopping center. While in the previous example the enunciator of the summons text is the in-group that calls to protest, in this case, there is a discursive unfolding (Bajtín, 2005) with which the out-group is assigned the role of the speaker: “soy La Fábrica Patio Outlet y te invito a funarme [sic]”. In this context, *funar* is equivalent to publicly

denouncing a person or group of people who have committed a reprehensible action, such as employers who have violated the rights of their employees. With these rhetorical movements, a partially inverted ideological scheme is proposed, in which positive self-representation falls ironically on the members of the out-group, although before the audience they are negatively hetero-represented. In this way, IDENTIFICATION concerns, on the one hand, a "defenseless little factory" that is at the mercy of the fury of its workers and, on the other, the workers themselves who demand better labor treatment. As for INTERESTS, the incongruity that derives from the use of irony is clear, since the pursued goals are counterproductive for the enunciator: being *funado* through a specific ACTIVITY such as a peaceful demonstration. Finally, RULES AND VALUES related to respect for labor rights and the dignity of the worker are deduced.

In Example 3, a POLARIZATION is established between the people, as a symbolic reference that receives the help/salvation of its own members (we: comrades), and the power that encompasses those who can condemn or punish it (they: the political and police authority). In this case, the call text complies with the typical enunciation features of the genre: positive self-representation is obtained by the people as a spokesperson for the injustices that mobilized people have suffered throughout the national territory (in-group), while negative hetero-representation is implicitly adjudicated to those who have ordered and perpetrated such humiliations (out-group). This ideological scheme is complemented by the IDENTIFICATION that includes victims and perpetrators; the first group is made up of the protesters who have been killed or wounded in combat, while the second group is made up of the police and/or the military responsible for such crimes. INTERESTS are based on promoting mutual support and collective resistance that is expressed in street activism and in the more general social struggle, which is crystallized in the ACTIVITY consisting of a massive march that includes the deployment of various resources of peaceful protest (saucepan, banner, poster). In turn, this action is guided by RULES AND VALUES that concern the solidarity of the oppressed people and the commemoration of their martyrs.

Along the same lines, in Examples 4 and 5 a POLARIZATION is established between the hoods (hooded protesters), self-represented with attributes of strength, courage, and sensitivity to the injustices described (in-group), and the State and oppressive system, hetero-represented as agents who repress and abuse their power (out-group). In these cases, the summons texts explicitly circumscribe their advertiser, since, unlike the previous examples, an identity associated not only with the action of being hooded, but with recognizing oneself as a social fighter who is obliged to hide one's face to avoid being individualized, persecuted, and attacked. This seeks, to some extent, to vindicate this figure in front of citizens and give it legitimacy. Therefore, the IDENTIFICATION is built from a slightly different axis, closer to that of allies-enemies, according to which the first group is made up of anyone, without distinction of gender or age, who empathizes with their fallen comrades, while the second group includes those who violate the integrity of the protesters. Along with putting this defense to the test, other INTERESTS aim to protect the dignity of Chilean families and to rebel against the system through street activism as a source of rebellion and popular resistance. Specifically, the ACTIVITIES convened correspond to a family hood march and a night hood march, which are based on RULES AND VALUES referring to respect for human rights, solidarity, and unity.

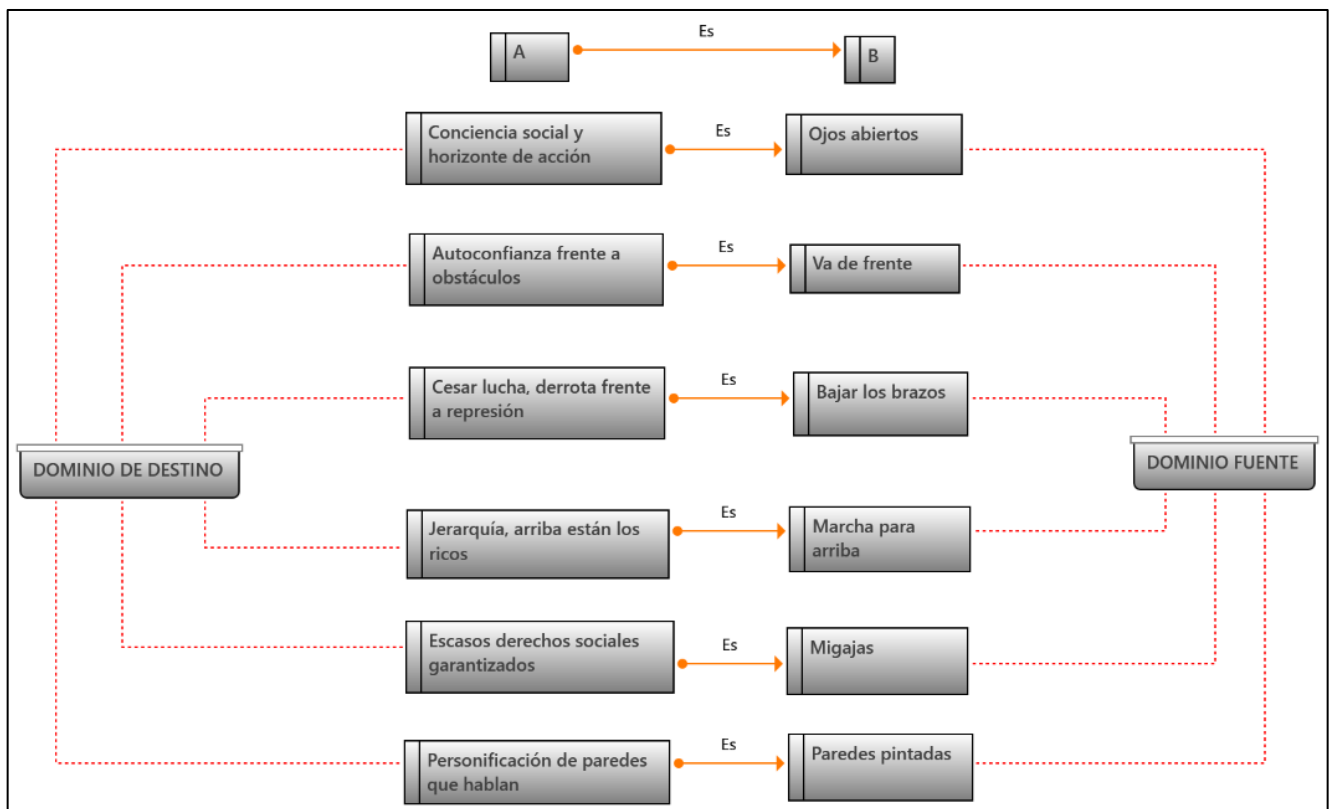
Example 6 is particular in the set, but it is similar to other texts related to the same call to participate in the feminist performance "*Un violador en tu camino*" created by the group Las Tesis. In this case, a POLARIZATION is established between women and sexual dissidents (in-group) who denounce the action of rapists (out-group). Given this confrontation, the ideological scheme resorts to the IDENTIFICATION of women and dissidents who systematically suffer material and symbolic violence by a patriarchal society that subjugates and oppresses them, embodied in various authorities

that activate male hegemony in the public and private spheres (the State, the justice system, the police). The INTERESTS consist of making visible and contributing to a process of social awareness around this situation of normalized structural violence, which specifically denounces the impunity of its perpetrators. The ACTIVITY corresponds to an urban intervention inspired by RULES AND VALUES that refer fundamentally to gender solidarity.

#### 4.2. Conceptual metaphors

This section reports the critical analysis of discourse carried out at a metaphorical level, the results of which reveal the variable and strategic presence of orientational, ontological, and structural metaphors. Using these three types of metaphors, the texts calling for protests provide information regarding certain ways of apprehending abstract phenomena (destination domain), such as: awareness of social inequalities and injustices, necessity to denounce this disagreement, holding its causes responsible, and call to action, the power of mobilizations as an engine for the transformation of society, etc., based on the knowledge structure that underlies phenomena closer to our daily experience (source domain), such as: waking up, watching, feeding, talking, walking, etc.

Broadly speaking, the use of orientational metaphors uses up/down directions to represent modes of polarization associated with social classes (rich and poor, respectively), as well as attitudes that are linked to these opposing groups (courage/cowardice, consciousness/unconsciousness, etc.). Additionally, the use of ontological metaphors refers to the visual field and the visible urban space to give meaning to the mental actions (understanding, knowing, etc.) of the protesters, which use physical and material components (eyes, walls, etc.) to be completed. Finally, structural metaphors are used to refer to concepts and states of change that guide the mobilizations (defending the country, winning citizenship rights, etc.), which are synthesized through other concepts or familiar objects (food, merchandise, etc.).



**Figure 2:** *Domains of conceptual metaphors*  
 Source: Self-made

Figure 2 shows a summary of the destination domains (A) and the source domains (B) found in a limited set of examples. In the left column appear the abstract phenomena under which these destination domains are implicitly constructed, which, as can be seen in the right column, correlate with the source domains from which the linguistic expressions that refer or symbolize them derive.

The publications selected to illustrate this analysis are shown below:



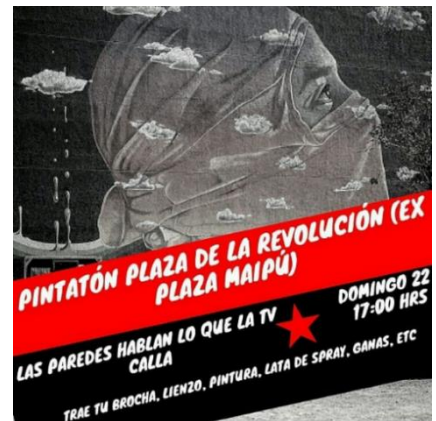
**Example 7:** *Tus ojos*

Source: @capucha\_informa



**Example 8:** *Migajas*

Source: @capucha\_informa



**Example 9:** *Pintatón*

Source: @capucha\_informa



**Example 10:** *De frente*

Source: @capucha\_informa



**Example 11:** *Los brazos*

Source: @capucha\_informa



**Example 12:** *Para arriba*

Source: @capucha\_informa

Example 7 calls for a series of activities to benefit Gustavo Gatica, a student who lost his sight due to the impact of pellets fired by the police forces in the middle of a demonstration in Santiago. Due to the national commotion that this fact caused, the figure of the young man quickly became an emblem with which heroic qualities began to be assigned to social fighters, in general, and those injured by ocular trauma, in particular. In this publication, the slogan "Your eyes opened ours" refers to the visual field that represents the vital experience of becoming aware of the socio-political crisis that affects the country, both regarding the structural causes that explain the reproduction of inequality and the abuses of the powerful, as well as the violation of human rights that comes with the repression of social protest. This awareness is symbolized through Gustavo's eyes, whose loss moves and challenges those who still have theirs to show solidarity, act, and rebel in his name. Thus, the ontological metaphor BECOMING AWARE IS TO OPEN YOUR EYES operates in this and other

cases (see Examples 4 and 11) not only as a tribute but as a call to action that transcends the understanding of this unjust and inhuman reality.

Example 8 is a call to gather at the headquarters of the University of Chile, in Santiago, made by the western cordon that brings together the popular assemblies belonging to this sector of the Metropolitan Region. This group, calling itself "conscious and combatant", summons the government through the slogan "because we will not accept their crumbs", which is based on the structural metaphor SOCIAL RIGHTS ARE FOOD. In this way, it is deduced that bread, as a basic input for the subsistence of families, represents one of the many rights (to housing, education, health, etc.) that have been monopolized by elites and that have not been fully received by the population. Hence, the crumbs symbolize the leftovers, that is, the partial or restricted rights with which ordinary people must conform, while other privileged groups take full advantage of them.

In Example 9, a "pintaton" is called in the vicinity of the renowned Plaza de la Revolución (formerly Plaza Maipú), located in a commune in the western sector of the capital. This activity consists of painting the surrounding walls under the slogan "The walls speak what the TV silences", with which a personification is configured that, in turn, corresponds to the extension of an ontological metaphor, as it allows to understand certain phenomena based on properly human motivations, intentions, and actions that are assigned to inanimate entities. The walls, in this sense, amplify the voices of the protesters, materializing criticism and denunciations that have no place in the traditional media; they contain realities that official speeches conveniently omit so as not to hold the authorities responsible for these accusations.

Example 10 calls for a rally in the center of Santiago using the slogan "Neither drug traffickers nor criminals, it is a dignified people who go forward" and the hashtag "ChileNoSeVende". In this publication, each phrase fulfills a different cognitive function. The slogan involves an orientational metaphor that builds two meanings simultaneously: on the one hand, HAVING DIGNITY IS GOING FORWARD implies literally showing your face, that is, not covering it up as drug traffickers or other criminals do when they commit crimes, an action that, furthermore, responds to the positive self-representation of the movement and its identity, as well as to the delegitimization of stereotypes with which its protest is often criminalized, appealing to alternative values such as courage, bravery, and tenacity; on the other hand, FIGHTING WITH DIGNITY IS ADVANCING gives a future direction to citizen mobilization, where the road ahead symbolizes the utopian horizon that crystallizes social transformation. For its part, the hashtag implies the structural metaphor CHILE IS A MERCHANDISE, whose denial follows the need to defend the country from the hands of other criminals who have misappropriated it.

Example 11 calls for a demonstration in one of the main squares of the city of Coquimbo, using the slogans "The bullets that were thrown at us are going to come back" and "Let's not lower our arms, Coquimbo wake up". Unlike the previous examples, this publication shows a more belligerent and offensive position, which is expressed above all in the first slogan that refers to the bidirectionality of armed attacks: the bullets that have been directed from the police towards the protesters, will at some point take a reverse trajectory. This polarization is amplified through other metaphors present in the second slogan. In the first place, not lowering your arms refers to the orientation metaphor GIVING UP IS DOWN, where arms function metonymically to refer to the bodies of the protesters (THE PART FOR THE WHOLE) and symbolize both the persistence of the street fight and the obligation not to give in to police repression. Second, the metonymic relationship THE CITY FOR ITS INHABITANTS is connected with the ontological metaphor BECOMING AWARE IS TO WAKE UP which, in a similar way to Example 6, calls for maintaining a state of awareness in the face of abuses by the powerful.



Example 12 calls for a "March up" that represents territorially and symbolically the eastern sector of the Metropolitan Region, where the wealthy class of the country resides. Under the slogan "let the rich pay for the crisis", not only is it a call to disturb the normality of these communes (see also Example 1) but also a dispute over the goods and spaces that its inhabitants have is relocated, in contrast to the precariousness and marginalization to which the rest of the population has been subjected. While the structural metaphor THE CRISIS IS A DEBT, points to the costs that citizens must bear as a result of the unequal distribution of social rights, the orientation metaphor PRIVILEGED IS UP alludes to notions of power, hierarchy, and verticality that reinforce prevailing injustice and inequity.

## 5. Discussion and conclusions

From the results, it is concluded that the texts used to call for protests constitute a genre in itself, whose evolution within digital communities facilitates the formation of discursive communities. The members of these communities, in the fulfillment of their communicative purposes, reconstruct their identity and contribute to a socio-cognitive and socio-cultural change, essential to specify the structural transformations that the movement requires (Cárdenas-Neira, 2018).

The calls published on the Instagram of @capucha\_informa activate specific ways of understanding not only the protest but the role that activists assume in the more general process of achieving these transformations. Specifically, the role played by protesters called to deepen the street fight is revealed, which is expressed both in the ideological schemes that underlie the researched discourses and in the conceptual metaphors used in them. In this line, the modes of polarization and the types of metaphors observed are congruent and mutually supportive, since they formulate antagonistic representations that are strengthened and extended under the attributes that symbolize the actors and actions involved in the social struggle. Based on these constructs, the protesters position the movement as a key agent of the political contest, which adheres to certain values and vindictive principles that come into dispute with those hegemonic values and principles (Della Porta and Diani, 2011).

The analysis of these resistant discourses systematically reveals the logic of the dominant discourses, either at the level of the political structure itself (the State, its repressive apparatuses, etc.) and its underlying economic structure (the factory, the *cuicos zorrone*s, those from above, etc.), as well as the evaluative level by which those responsible for reproducing and perpetuating such structures are prosecuted (they do not share privileges, they give crumbs, criminalize, violate, etc.). These distinctions are evident in the discursive strategies used in the elaboration and dissemination of the examples that we have surveyed, whose effectiveness lies not only in the number of participants who meet the calls but in how a way of understanding and dealing with the socio-political crisis that the country is going through is continually framed.

The results presented are derived from a pilot study that needs to be expanded and complemented with other samples from the corpus. Now, this analytical exercise allows a preliminary account of the potential socio-cognitive impact pursued by the discursive strategies deployed at the ideological and metaphorical levels. These are strategies that emerge in an initial stage of the social movement, where it is a priority to frame very basic issues (allies, enemies, demands, collective actions, etc.) that are clearly identified in the examined texts. New research should help confirm or stress these findings.

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**Índice H:** 9

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