Latin American leaders on Twitter. Old uses for new media during political crises

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Abstract
Introduction. Twitter has evolved into an important medium for political communication. However, research on Twitter has focused almost exclusively on its use in electoral campaigns. **Objectives.** This article analyses the use that the main Latin American political leaders make of Twitter as a communication channel. **Method.** Content analysis was applied to 688 tweets posted by ten political leaders in two different time periods, one of them characterised by the attention paid by the media to a political scandal. The content analysis focused on identifying the different types of messages posted and the direction of their discourse. **Results and conclusions.** Based on this analysis, we concluded that there is still no common strategy to use Twitter in times of crisis among the Latin American political leaders in the government and the opposition.

Keywords
Social media; Twitter; civic dialogue; interactivity; political communication.

Contents
1. Introduction. 1.1. Research objectives and questions. 2. Method. 3. Results. 3.1. Latin American politicians' activity on Twitter. 3.2. Discourse directionality. 3.3. Types of messages posted. 4. Discussion and conclusions. 5. Notes. 6. List of references. 7. Related articles

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1. Introduction

The popularisation of the Internet has radically changed political communication (Dahlgren, 2005).Within this revolution social networks have acquired special importance (Wattal, Schuff, Mandviwalla and Williams, 2010; Woolley, Limperos and Oliver, 2010), especially after the milestone set by Barack Obama's 2008 election campaign. That year the main services of the web 2.0 were already widely implemented in almost all of the Western democracies (Hanson *et al.*, 2010) and thanks to the use of these tools the US candidate managed to create a virtual organisation of more than three million members and mobilised more than five million volunteers. The communication strategy of Obama involved the use of these web 2.0 services to encourage supporters and boost the vote (Cogburn and Espinoza-Vásquez, 2011). These new tools have become a new election campaign channel for politicians, a new source of information and topics for journalists and a new platform where citizens can talk and discuss politics (Jungherr, 2014). Among the things that politicians highlight when defending the use of social networks are their versatility as vehicles for marketing -especially in the case of Facebook- and their capacity to facilitate dialogue with citizens -particularly in the case of Twitter- (Enli and Skogerbo, 2013).

Scholars have highlighted the positive role that this new landscape has played in the improvement of political communication, and by extension of democracy. Thus, the academia has highlighted the potential of these tools to include alternative voices in the public sphere and diminish the attention given by the media to the traditional political elite (Hong, 2013). In this sense digital media can, at least ideally, encourage political participation among users (Towner, 2013),operate as a vehicle for the dissemination of views that are alternative to those offered by the conventional mainstream media (Gleason, 2013), as platform for the expression of minorities that have been traditionally marginalised in the traditional media (Bekafigo and McBride, 2013) and as an information channel on topics and issues which the public authorities prefer to censor or keep hidden (Tufecki and Wilson, 2012). The potential of these technologies allows citizens to recover part of the public space that they had given up or from where they had been expelled (Gerbaudo, 2012).Thus, social networks and the web 2.0 play a significant role in the influencing of the decisions taken by governments and the shaping of the relations between the executive power, politicians, citizens and other social actors (Sandoval-Almazán and Gil García, 2014).In this sense, activist movements increasingly use social networks with more intensity and frequency to make the public aware of certain themes and issues (Harlow and Harp, 2012).However, just like they can stimulate protests against the status quo, the use of social networks and electronic media can increase the possibilities of control and censorship of these citizen movements (Fuchs, 2014).

As mentioned, social networks allow dialogue and direct interaction between citizens and their political representatives (Trejo Delarbre, 2011). In this sense, one of the key factors needed to achieve a successful political communication campaign in the web 2.0 is the ability to make citizens feel they are been heard (Mancera Rueda and Pano Alamán, 2013). Although politicians have identified the potential of social networks as valuable instruments to stimulate their voters (Zamora and Zurutuza, 2013), taking advantage of all this potential requires a strategy. It is necessary for politicians to be more interactive on these platforms, and to use social networks not only to promote their discourses but also to consult their voters and talk to them (Graham *et al.*, 2013). It is not

enough to be present in social networks or to post more messages to exploit these communication channels in political and electoral terms (Sánchez Duarte and Rodríguez Esperanza, 2013).

The strategy, the frequency of posts, and the type of relationship adopted by politicians in these social networks have consequences on their image, public perception and even in the voting intentions. Political candidates who show a greater level of interactivity generate a greater sense of direct contact with voters, which in turn improve their public image and increase their chances to win more votes (Lee and Shin, 2012). Thus, candidates whose accounts are more prone to conversation and interaction with other users obtain greater political revenue than those who are more inactive or chose to post simple one-way messages (Grant, Moon and Grant, 2010).Thus, candidates' presence and participation in Twitter throughout the election campaign is directly linked to the number of votes they obtain on the elections day (Kruikemeier, 2014). Based on this correlation, numerous studies have highlighted the usefulness of Twitter as a predictor of election results (for example: Unankard *et al.*, 2014; McKelvey, DiGrazia and Rojas, 2014; Ceron *et al.*, 2013; Tumasjan *et al.*, 2010. For a meta-analysis of this issue see Gayo-Avello, 2013).

However, the adoption of this ideal model of reciprocal communication in which politicians respond to citizens'messages and chat with them is minimal, since the vast majority of politicians follow a one-way communication strategy which leaves no room for dialogue with their followers (Crawford, 2009).Many of them use these media exclusively as a one-way information dissemination channel to gain visibility in the public sphere (Ross and Burger, 2014).A large number of politicians exhibit an erratic or suspicious behaviour on different social networks (Almansa Martínez and Castillo Esparcia, 2014).Politicians have adopted social networks as another campaign instrument but they have not adapted themselves to the communicative logic of the online environment (Vergeer and Hermans, 2013).This distant, incorrect or suspicious attitude towards social networks can be counterproductive for politicians because it can aggravate the communication gap between citizens and their institutional representatives (Vázquez Sande, 2013).

The importance of this new context for political communication has inspired numerous studies on the uses of digital and social media but they have so far focused in the context of election campaigns(for example: Ampofo, Anstead and O´Loughlin, 2011; Dang-Xuan *et al.*, 2013; Hong and Nadler, 2012). Studies on the use of these tools outside of these parliamentary events constitute a minority (Larsson and Kalsnes, 2014). Research should not exclusively focus on pre-election periods, given that contemporary political communication campaigns have lost much of their importance (Sampedro and Sánchez, 2011; Gómez Compay, 2013).

1.1. Research objectives and questions

As explained in the previous section, the increasing use of Twitter by politicians, journalists, strategists and citizens has placed it in an important position of the sphere in which political issues are publicly negotiated and discussed (Ausserhofer and Maireder, 2013). The overall objective of this research is to analyse how Latin American political leaders react on Twitter when possible political scandals breakout, in a context that is conditioned by its own specific characteristics, which are similar to and different from other geographical areas (Welp and Wheatley, 2012). Most political leaders from the region have adopted this tool but their communication strategy is more similar to a

monologue and a one-way communication model than to a dialogue (Deltell and Martínez Torres, 2014).

This general objective is translated into a series of specific objectives focused on knowing how political scandals influence revealing aspects of Twitter use: the intensity of use (to establish the frequency of use of this tool among politicians), the type of discourse (to determine whether Twitter is used as a conversational tool or a one-way information dissemination tool), and types of messages posted.

These specific objectives are reformulated into the following research questions:
Q1: Do Latin American politicians Tweet more during a political scandal?
Q2: During a political scandal, do Latin American politicians use Twitter to talk to citizens or to transmit a one-way discourse?
Q3: Do Latin American politicians change the types of message they postduring a political scandal?
Q4: What differences exist between Latin American Presidents and opposition leaders in terms of Twitter use?

2. Method

This exploratory study aims to examine the use of Twitter among Latin American politicians. The study is based on the content analysis technique, which has been used in other studies addressing the use of social media by other groups (for example: Golbeck *et al.*, 2010).

The study focuses on the analysis of the Twitter activity of the heads of state or heads of government and the leaders of the main political opposition parties in four Latin American countries in which significant cases of corruption, political scandal or government crisis occurred during 2014 (Argentina, Colombia, Ecuador, and Mexico). The occupation or not of government positions is one of the factors that differentiate the type of use politicians make of social networks (Skovsgaard and Van Dalen, 2013), as well as their ideology (Vergeer, Hermans and Sams, 2013). In all cases, to determine the figure of the leader of the main opposition party we took as reference the latest elections in each country.

One of the limitations of the study is, thus, that it only included leaders of consolidated political parties, and excluded minority parties and parties without parliamentary presence.

In parallel to the method employed by Said and Arcila (2011) in their study of the digital media from the same region, we analysed the Twitter accounts of the Prime Minister and the leader of the main opposition party of Spain, which was taken as a country of control or reference for the development of the rest of the analyses.

Following these criteria, the chosen leaders are those listed in table 1

Table 1: Position, country and Twitter handle of the sample of political leaders

Leader	Position	Country	Twitter handle
Cristina Kirchner	President	Argentina	@cfkargentina

Hermes Binner	Opposition party leader	Argentina	@hermesbinner
Juan Manuel Santos	President	Colombia	@juanmansantos
Óscar Iván Zuluaga	Opposition party leader	Colombia	@oizuluaga
Rafael Correa	President	Ecuador	@MashiRafael
Guillermo Lasso	Opposition party leader	Ecuador	@LassoGuillermo
Mariano Rajoy	Prime minister	Spain	@marianorajoy
Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba	Opposition party leader	Spain	@_Rubalcaba_ [2]
Enrique Peña Nieto	President	Mexico	@epn
Andrés López Obrador	Opposition party leader	Mexico	@lopezobrador

Source: Author's own creation

The following step was to limit the time framework of the study, by establishing two seven-day periods. The first period is characterised by the beginning of a media scandal or any event that generated a crisis of government, and thus this period is different in each of the five countries under analysis (see table 2). In all cases, the second period matches the week of 23 to 29 September, a period in which no relevant political developments occurred in any of the five countries. With this strategy we aimed to determine whether this geographical framework confirmed what other studies (Larsson and Moe, 2012) have proven: those media events such as televised debates cause greater activity on Twitter and a greater involvement of the parties around these events (Elmer, 2013)

Table 2: Description and dates of each of the analysed scandals and crises

Country	Crisis	Dates
Argentina	Vice-President Amado Boudou is indicted for alleged bribery	29 June - 5 July
Colombia	Abduction of general Alzate by the FARC before the start of peace talks	17-23November
Ecuador	Request to hold a referendum, call to protest and protest after Constitutional Court approved re-election amendments in favour of President Rafael Correa	3-9November
Spain	Publication of documents about the alleged illegal financing of the Popular Party written by the Party's former treasurer, Luis Bárcenas	14-21July
Mexico	Arrest of Iguala's former Mayor and wife after the forced disappearance 43 students	5-11November

Source: Author's own creation

The following step was to code the messages. The variables included in the analysis are the following:

Tweet's post date
Number of retweets
Number of favourited tweets
Mentioning of users in tweets
It is a retweets or not
Author of the original message

Inclusion of links. Taking into account the celebrity status of political leaders, the main thing they seek to do "is precisely to direct traffic to certain links" (Fernández, 2012). Given the importance of these links within the political communication strategy on Twitter, we differentiated whether the destination of these links was the party's page, the news posted by a medium, or other website.

Inclusion of hashtag. If so, register the text

Type of message, according to the division established by Naaman *et al.* (2010), which can be seen in table 3:

Table 3: Types of messages posted on Twitter

Type	Definition
Information sharing	User shares with followers any information deemed of interest to them
Self promotion	User posts a link to his/her own website, blog or any other link directly related to him
Opinions/complaints	User shares opinions or complains aboutissues f relevance or interest
Statements and random thoughts	User expresses his/her point of view on some inconsequential matter
Me now	User updateshis/herstatus, i.e., reports what he/she is doing at every moment
Question to followers	User makes a direct question on any issue to his/her followers to know their opinion
Presence maintenance	User shares details about his/herlocation and movements
Anecdote (me)	User shares details about experiences he/she has lived in the past
Anecdote (others)	User shares stories or anecdotes of other people

Source: Naaman *et al.* (2010).

It must be noted that these categories are not mutually exclusive, so some tweets have been placed in more than one category. For example, if a politician posted a link to his/her YouTube channel, this message would be classified in the *information sharing* and *self-promotion* categories.

3. Results
3.1. Latin American politicians' activity on Twitter

The sample of politicians posted a total of 688 tweets in their accounts during the two periods under study. The figure was similar in both periods: 340 in the respective weeks of crisis in each country and 348 in the week of September, which was established as control week.

As Table 3 shows, there was greater activity in two of the analysed countries: Spain and Colombia, whose leaders (Mariano Rajoy, Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba, Juan Manuel Santos and Óscar Iván Zuluaga) were the most active along with the leader of the opposition in Ecuador, Guillermo Lasso. Together, these five leaders posted a total of 516 tweets, representing 75% of all the messages. On the contrary, politicians such as Rafael Correa, Enrique Peña Nieto and, above all, Hermes Binner and Andrés López Obrador had a much lower activity, with less than

35 tweets posted during both periods. In this way, Mexico exhibited the lowest activity of the sample of five countries.

Table 3: Number of tweets posted by politician and period of time

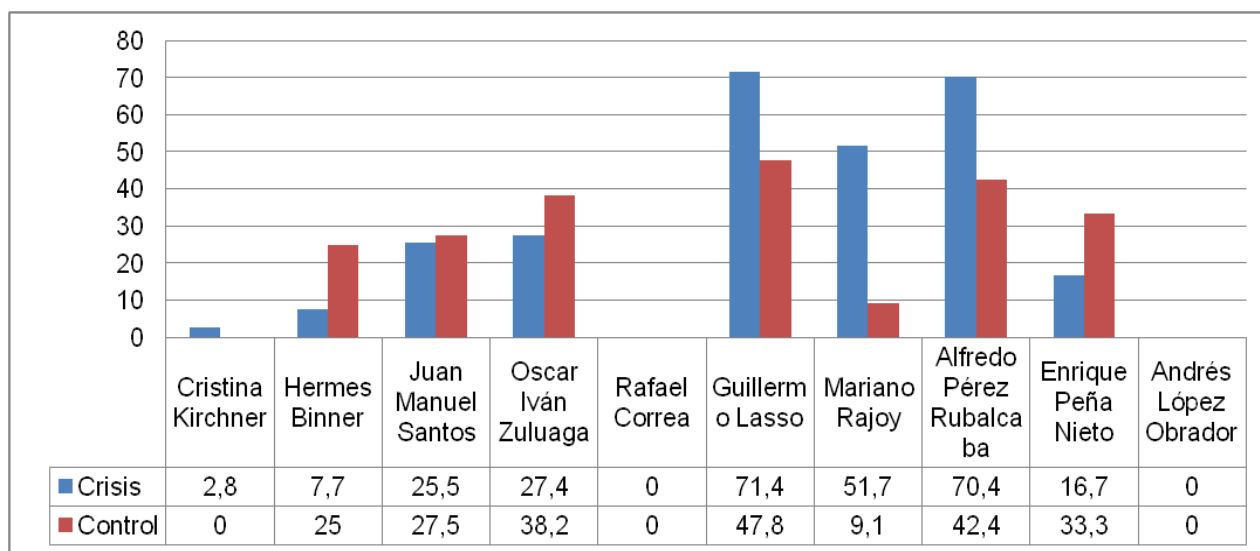| Name	Country	Tweets posted in crisis week	Tweets posted in control week	Total n. of tweets
Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba	Spain	66	54	120
Óscar Iván Zuluaga	Colombia	51	68	119
Mariano Rajoy	Spain	44	60	104
Juan Manuel Santos	Colombia	47	40	87
Guillermo Lasso	Ecuador	63	23	86
Cristina Kirchner	Argentina	36	33	69
Rafael Correa	Ecuador	7	27	34
Enrique Peña Nieto	Mexico	6	27	33
Hermes Binner	Argentina	13	8	21
Andrés Manuel López Obrador	Mexico	7	8	15
Total		**340**	**348**	**688**

Source: Author's own creation

On the other hand, data from both periods reflect differences across countries. Thus, Spain and Ecuador show similar trends: leaders in the government had lower activity during periods of crisis while the activity of the opposition leaders increased in those days. On the other hand, the Presidents of Argentina and Colombia posted more tweets during the crisis weeks than in the control week. Finally, the Mexican President was less active during the crisis, while the leader of the opposition was much less active in both periods.

3.2. Discourse directionality

This section also shows opposite trends (Figure 1), since the mentioning of other users increased during the crisis week in four of the analysed politicians and decreased in four, while there are two leaders (Rafael Correa and Andrés López Obrador) who did not employ this resource during any of the weeks. The Spanish Prime Minister, Mariano Rajoy, stands out among the politicians who mentioned other users in their tweets during the crisis weeks: the mentioning of other users in his tweets went from 9% to 51%. There are also significant increases in the case of Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba (from 42.4% to 70.4%) and Guillermo Lasso (from 47.8% to 71.4%). On the other hand, the cases of Enrique Peña Nieto and Óscar Iván Zuluaga are interesting, as mentioned more users in their tweets during the control week.

Figure 1: Percentage of tweets that mention other users

	Cristina Kirchner	Hermes Binner	Juan Manuel Santos	Oscar Iván Zuluaga	Rafael Correa	Guillermo Lasso	Mariano Rajoy	Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba	Enrique Peña Nieto	Andrés López Obrador
Crisis	2,8	7,7	25,5	27,4	0	71,4	51,7	70,4	16,7	0
Control	0	25	27,5	38,2	0	47,8	9,1	42,4	33,3	0

Source: Author's own creation

Meanwhile, up to five of the ten leaders under analysis (Cristina Kirchner, Hermes Binner, Rafael Correa, Enrique Peña Nieto and Andrés López Obrador) never retweeted messages (Table 3). Among those who did use this resource, the Spanish Prime Minister, Mariano Rajoy, is once again the most active, with very similar percentages in both periods, followed by the leader of the opposition in the country, Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba, who on the contrary made greater use of the retweet during the control week. Also, the opposition leaders from Colombia and Ecuador, Óscar Iván Zuluaga and Guillermo Lasso, respectively, retweeted more frequently during the crisis weeks, while the Colombian President, Juan Manuel Santos, made a minimal use of this tool.
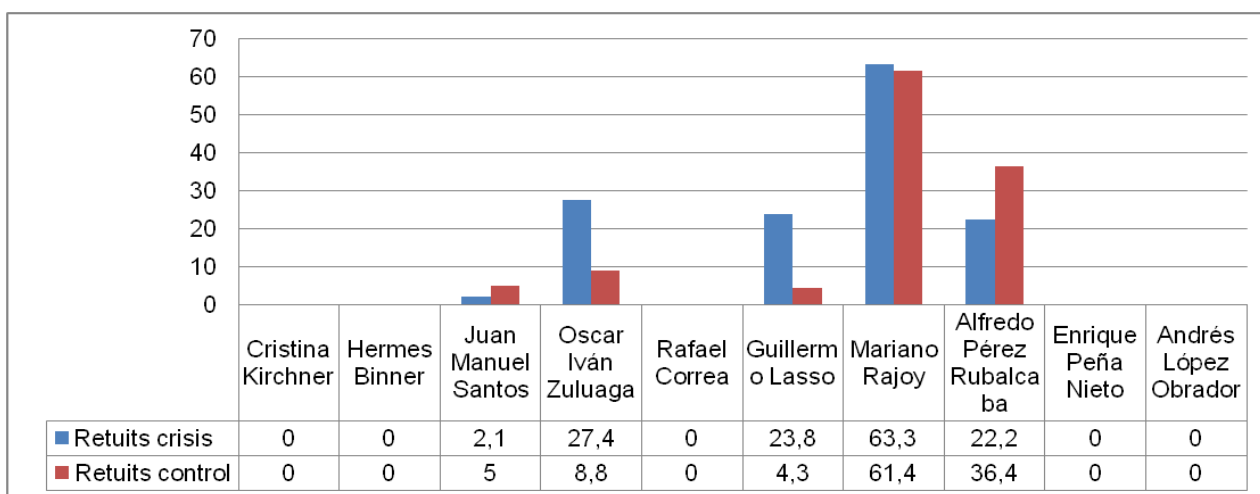

	Cristina Kirchner	Hermes Binner	Juan Manuel Santos	Oscar Iván Zuluaga	Rafael Correa	Guillermo Lasso	Mariano Rajoy	Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba	Enrique Peña Nieto	Andrés López Obrador
Retuits crisis	0	0	2,1	27,4	0	23,8	63,3	22,2	0	0
Retuits control	0	0	5	8,8	0	4,3	61,4	36,4	0	0

Figure 2: Percentage of retweets

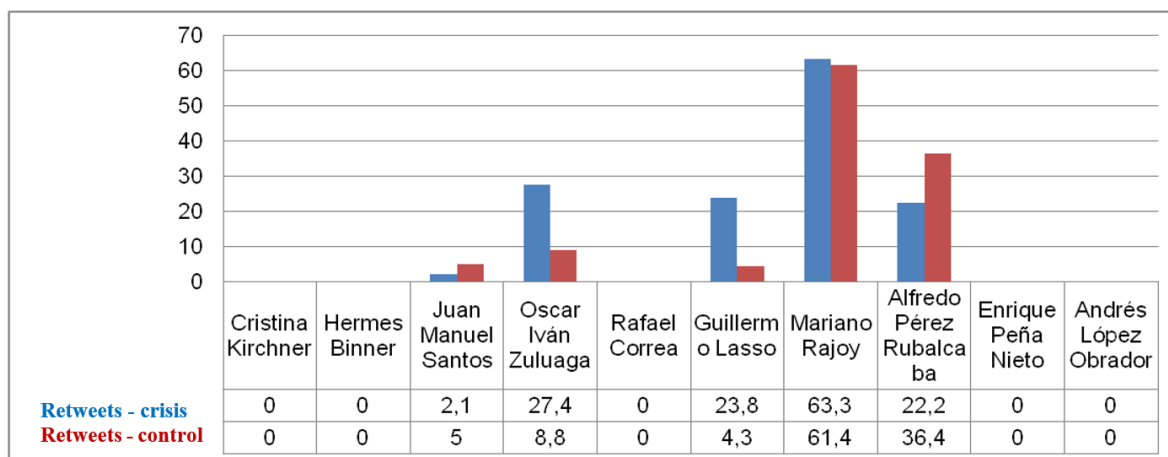|	Cristina Kirchner	Hermes Binner	Juan Manuel Santos	Oscar Iván Zuluaga	Rafael Correa	Guillermo Lasso	Mariano Rajoy	Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba	Enrique Peña Nieto	Andrés López Obrador
Retweets - crisis	0	0	2,1	27,4	0	23,8	63,3	22,2	0	0
Retweets - control	0	0	5	8,8	0	4,3	61,4	36,4	0	0

Source: Author's own creation

On the other hand, the use of links is quite similar to the use of retweets in several respects: the Spanish political leaders, and especially Mariano Rajoy, are the most active and there are three leaders (Hermes Binner, Rafael Correa and Andrés López Obrador) who never employed this resource, while two more (Juan Manuel Santos and Enrique Peña Nieto) used it very sporadically in two and four occasions, respectively (table 4).

The breakdown of the links posted by Mariano Rajoy shows that a large number of them direct users to governmental sources, in particular to the Press Office of La Moncloa, which are sources that are also related to his party. For his part, the account of the Spanish opposition leader, Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba, stands out for the number of links to media outlets.

Table 4: Links included in the tweets posted by politicians during the period under study

Politician	Total links	Links to media outlets	Links to party websites	External links
Cristina Kirchner				
Crisis Week	7	1	0	6
Control Week	15	5	3	7
Hermes Binner				
Crisis Week	0	0	0	0
Control Week	0	0	0	0
Juan Manuel Santos				
Crisis Week	0	0	0	0
Control Week	2	0	1	1
Óscar Iván Zuluaga				
Crisis Week	13	2	8	3
Control Week	9	0	7	2

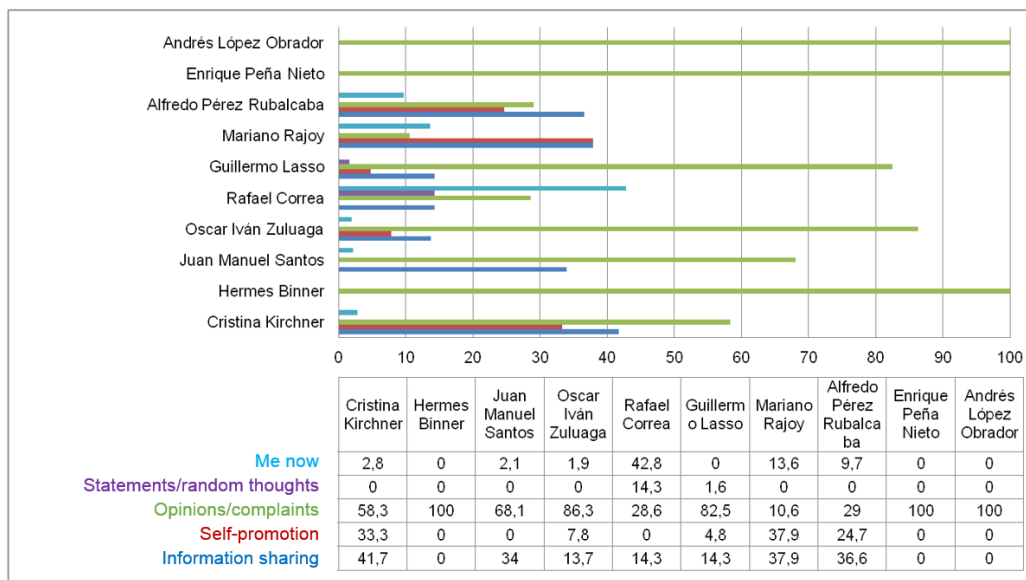|				
Rafael Correa				
Crisis Week	0	0	0	0
Control Week	0	0	0	0
Guillermo Lasso				
Crisis Week	7	0	4	3
Control Week	3	0	2	1
Mariano Rajoy				
Crisis Week	28	0	0	28
Control Week	38	5	0	33
Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba				
Crisis Week	26	11	1	14
Control Week	8	0	1	7
Enrique Peña Nieto				
Crisis Week	0	0	0	0
Control Week	4	3	0	0
Andrés López Obrador				
Crisis Week	0	0	0	0
Control Week	0	0	0	0

Source: Author's own creation

As for the leaders of the other countries, Cristina Kirchner more frequently uses sources unrelated to her party (either media or external sources), while most of the links posted by the leaders of the opposition of Colombia and Ecuador, Óscar Iván Zuluaga and Guillermo Lasso direct followers to their parties'website.

3.3. Types of messages posted

Finally, the analysis of posts according to the categories proposed by Naaman *et al.*, (2010) shows that the most common category is, by far, "opinions and complaints". In addition, the "information sharing" and "self-promotion" categories are also fairly common. Less common are tweets belonging to the "me now" category, while "statements and random thoughts" are minimal. Also, in the period under study none of the analysed politicians posted "presence maintenance" messages or personal "anecdotes" or about the "anecdotes" of others.
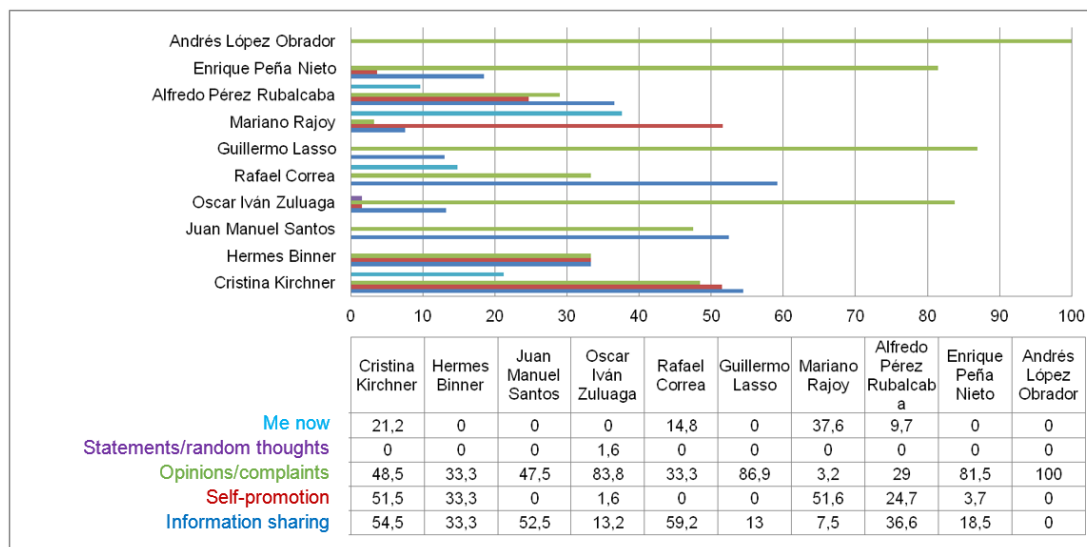
Figure 2: Classification of tweetsposted in the crisis week

	Cristina Kirchner	Hermes Binner	Juan Manuel Santos	Oscar Iván Zuluaga	Rafael Correa	Guillermo Lasso	Mariano Rajoy	Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba	Enrique Peña Nieto	Andrés López Obrador
Me now	2,8	0	2,1	1,9	42,8	0	13,6	9,7	0	0
Statements/random thoughts	0	0	0	0	14,3	1,6	0	0	0	0
Opinions/complaints	58,3	100	68,1	86,3	28,6	82,5	10,6	29	100	100
Self-promotion	33,3	0	0	7,8	0	4,8	37,9	24,7	0	0
Information sharing	41,7	0	34	13,7	14,3	14,3	37,9	36,6	0	0

Source: Author's own creation

There are differences between the two weeks under analysis (see figures 5.1 and 5.2), including the greater presence of opinions/complaints during the crisis weeks. On the contrary, self-promotion messages are more abundant in the control week. Meanwhile, the percentage of "information sharing" messages is similar in both periods and there is also an increase of "me now" messages during the control week, although it focuses on a single account, that of Mariano Rajoy.

Chart 3: Classification of tweetsposted in the control week

	Cristina Kirchner	Hermes Binner	Juan Manuel Santos	Oscar Iván Zuluaga	Rafael Correa	Guillermo Lasso	Mariano Rajoy	Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba	Enrique Peña Nieto	Andrés López Obrador
Me now	21,2	0	0	0	14,8	0	37,6	9,7	0	0
Statements/random thoughts	0	0	0	1,6	0	0	0	0	0	0
Opinions/complaints	48,5	33,3	47,5	83,8	33,3	86,9	3,2	29	81,5	100
Self-promotion	51,5	33,3	0	1,6	0	0	51,6	24,7	3,7	0
Information sharing	54,5	33,3	52,5	13,2	59,2	13	7,5	36,6	18,5	0

Source: Author's own creation

With regards to the individual analysis of the different accounts there were two different trends in four of the political leaders in the Government: while "information sharing" messages increased during the crisis week in Mariano Rajoy'saccount, the opposite occurred in the case of Cristina Kirchner, Juan Manuel Santos and Rafael Correa, who also posted the largest number of "opinions/complaints" tweets in that period. These data would suggest the development of opposing communicative strategies to deal with crises by those affected in Latin American countries and in Spain. In the first case, the leaders do not avoid speaking openly on the issue that has generated the crisis, while conversely Mariano Rajoy chooses to share information originally published by the media and other platforms, trying to divert attention and reduce as much as possible the effects of the crisis.

Also, it should be noted that all of the tweets posted by Andrés López Obrador were opinions and complaints, in both periods, while most of the tweets of Enrique Peña Nieto, Guillermo Lasso and Óscar Iván Zuluaga also belonged to that category in both weeks.

4. Discussion and conclusions

Based on the obtained data, it is impossible to reach a positive definition of the uses of Twitter among Latin American politicians. The dispersion of trends and the practical absence of constants in the variables allows us to affirm that there is still no universal or common strategy or manual on how to use Twitter to overcome -from the perspective of the heads of government- or take advantage of-in the case of the opposition leaders- media crises among Latin American politicians. The reason for this scenario is either that the respective managers of these accounts are still exploring this tool (in a phase of "trial and error", if you like) or that they prefer to apply ad hoc strategies for each situation.

The only common trend seems to be the reduction of self-promotion tweets that can be considered as counterproductive for the reputation of the Government in contexts of crisis. This does not prevent some of the leaders in the government to expose themselves to their followers and openly express their point of view on the issue that has generated the crisis.

On the contrary, it is possible to offer a negative definition of these uses on the microblogging platform. In other words, it can be argued that that "Twitter is not for Latin American politicians" and that Twitter is not employed as a conversation tool, given the extremely low frequency of mentions of other users and retweets in the sample of analysis. The study thus confirms that Latin America's main leaders remain clung to the mass dissemination model inherited from the large media companies and have not adapted their behaviour to more effective models in the social networks.

Comparing the accounts of Latin American politicians against their Spanish counterparts the main difference is related to the mentioning of other users in the context of media crisis. While the Spanish President and opposition leader mentioned more users in their tweets, the Latin American leaders did the opposite -except in the case of the Mexican opposition leader. This fact may indicate that Latin American leaders fear users might react aggressively or that they prefer to use other means when it comes to criticise the President (depending on the case).

Regarding the types of messages posted by political leaders, there was a preference among the leaders in the government to post messages that contribute to the construction of their public image, especially "self-promotion" and "me now" types of messages. Complementarily, opposition leaders showed preference to post/share opinions and criticism, probably aiming to undermine the discourse of presidents and heads of government. Media crises intensified this trend among opposition leaders, although to an insignificant degree.

Thus, for Latin American politicians, Twitter is seen more as a tool to promote their political discourses and public persona than as a new space for dialogue or debate.

This study can be the starting point of future research that involves a new level of analysis. On the one hand, qualitative work may be carried out to establish the motivations of these politicians (or those responsible for their online communication) to follow the aforementioned strategies. On the other hand, content analysis can focus on new variables like the types of media that are linked to in tweets, the users whose messages are retweeted, and the users who are mentioned in tweets.

5. Notes

[1] The exception found by the authors of this article would be A Chadwick (2011): "The political information cycle in a hybrid news system: The British prime minister and the 'Bullygate' affair", *International journal of press-politics*, 16 (1), pp. 3-29, which analyses the impact of Twitter in a media scandal that took place in Great Britain.

[2] By the time we were about to complete this research the Party Chief of the PSOE was Pedro Sánchez, but at the time the "Bárcenas case" this position was still occupied by Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba, and that is why his profile was analysed.

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