fROM COMPLICIT JOURNALISM TO MILITANT JOURNALISM:

politicians as media critics and strategic news users in contested political scenarios

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Table 1: Sample of Twitter accounts analyzed.

Name of politician	Username	Position and political stance	Party	Is he/she part of the ruling coalition?
Álvaro Carter	@Alvaro_CarterF	Deputy, right	UDI	Yes
Amaro Labra	@amarolabra	Deputy, left	PC	No
Andrés Celis	@ANDRESCELISM	Deputy, right	RN	Yes
Alfonso de Urresti	@adeurresti	Senator, left	PS	No
Camila Rojas	@CamilaRojas_V	Deputy, left	CS	No

Camila Vallejo	@camila_vallejo	Deputy, left	PC	No
Carmen Hertz	@carmen_hertz	Deputy, left	PC	No
Catalina Pérez	@CatalinaPerezS	Deputy, left	RD	No
Claudia Mix	@Claudia_Mix	Deputy, left	Comunes	No
Daniel Jadue	@danieljadue	Alcalde, left	PC	No
Daniel Nuñez	@daniel_nunez_a	Senator, left	PC	No
Diego Ibáñez	@diego_ibanezc	Deputy, left	CS	No
Diego Schalper	@Diego_Schalper	Deputy, right	RN	Yes
Erika Olivera	@erikaoliverad	Deputy, right	Independent	Yes
Felipe Kast	@felipekast	Senator, right	Evopoli	Yes
Fidel Espinoza	@fidelsenador	Senator, left	PS	No
Francisco Chahuán	@chahuan	Senator, right	RN	Yes
Gabriel Boric	@gabrielboric	Deputy, left	CS	No
Gabriel Silber	@gabrielsilber	Deputy, center	DC	No
Giorgio Jackson	@GiorgioJackson	Deputy, left	RD	No
Gonzalo Winter	@gonzalowinter	Deputy, left	CS	No
Hernan Larraín	@HernanLarrainF	Minister of Justice, right	UDI	Yes
Hugo Gutiérrez	@Hugo_Gutierrez_	Deputy, left	PC	No
Ignacio Briones	@ignaciobriones_	Minister of Finance, right	Evopoli	Yes
Iván Moreira	@ivanmoreirab	Senator, right	UDI	Yes
Jaime Mañalich	@jmanalich	Minister of Health, right	Independent	Yes
Jenny Alvarez	@jennyalvarezv	Deputy, left	PS	No
Jorge Brito	@jorbritoh	Deputy, left	RD	No
José Antonio Kast	@joseantoniokast	Presidential candidate, right	PR	No
Juan Ignacio Latorre	@senadorLatorre	Senator, left	RD	No
Juan Santana	@diputadosantana	Deputy,left	PS	No
Karol Cariola	@KarolCariola	Deputy, left	PC	No
Luciano Cruz Coke	@lcruzcoke	Senator, right	Evopoli	Yes

Maite Orsini	@MaiteOrsini	Deputy, left	RD	No
Manuel Ossandón	@mjossandon	Senator, right	RN	Yes
Marcelo Díaz	@marcelodiazd	Senator, left	PS	No
Mario Desbordes	@desbordes	Deputy, right	RN	Yes
Matías Walker	@matiaswalkerp	Senator, center	DC	No
Maya Fernández	@Mayafernandeza	Senator, left	PS	No
Miguel Crispi	@MiguelCrispiS	Deputy, left	RD	No
Natalia Castillo	@ncastilo	Deputy, left	CS	No
Pablo Vidal	@pablovidalrojas	Deputy, left	RD	No
Pamela Jiles	@PamJiles	Deputy, left	PH	No
Pepe Auth	@pepe_auth	Deputy, left	PPD	No
Rabindranath Quinteros	@rquinteroslara	Senator, left	PS	No
Renato Garín	@RenatoGarinG	Deputy, left	Independent	No
Tomás Fuentes	@tomasfuentes	Deputy, right	RN	Yes
Tomás Hirsch	@tomashirsch	Deputy, left	PH	No
Vlado Mirosevic	@vladomirosevic	Deputy, left	PL	No
Yasna Provoste	@ProvosteYasna	Senator, center	DC	No

Source: Authors.

FINAL CODEBOOK

These codes were identified inductively, following guidelines on thematic analysis. This coding was applied to the posts included in this study (N = 2062). Below, the analytical codes used to account for the results are explained. This coding was not exclusive; each tweet could have more than one code associated with its content. Two main categories were used: the political function of the Twitter post and the topic related to the analyzed tweet. Sub-codes are nested within these.

POLITICAL FUNCTION OF THE POST.

- **INFORMATION:** This code identifies tweets primarily aimed at informing followers about facts, data, or events related to the social unrest. In this type of message, politicians share information without expressing personal opinions or taking explicit stances. These tweets typically include descriptions of the current situation, updates on public policies, or relevant data for the audience.

- **POSITION-TAKING:** This code applies when a tweet expresses a clear political stance or position on a specific issue, whether in support or opposition. Politicians share news or make media commentary, adding a political interpretation. These messages are used to clarify their political position regarding events related to the protest, aiming to align themselves with specific sectors or principles.

- **SELF-PROMOTION:** This code should be use when news or media-related information is shared for the political actor to highlight the politician's achievements, initiatives, or role within the context of the social unrest, usually associated to their own media appearances, or those of their political allies. The objective of these messages is to enhance the author's public image, reinforcing their political profile and showcasing their active involvement or leadership in the events.

- **CRITICAL FUNCTION:** This node should be applied to messages with a clear critical intent, directed at questioning or discrediting other actors in the public sphere. This function is further subdivided into the following specific codes:

  o **Criticism of political adversary:** This subcategory includes tweets where the politician issues criticisms directly aimed at other political actors or parties. The goal is to discredit or hold opponents responsible for specific situations related to social unrest.

  o **Media criticism:** This subcategory includes tweets critical of the media, journalists or news. Posts may accuse the press of covering events with bias or failing to accurately represent the situation accurately.

  ▪ **Militant journalism:** Messages suggesting that media outlets or journalists are moving away from objectivity to embrace political agendas. They may be accused of unprofessionalism, partisanship and of acting as activists rather than maintaining a

neutral stance. Usually formulated when journalists express some degree of sympathy toward the demonstrations.

▪ **Complicit journalism**: Tweets accusing the media of omitting, downplaying, or concealing certain aspects of the social crisis, implying that journalists are actively collaborating with powerful economic and political actors. These tweets portray the media as working in tandem with elites to control the narrative, suggesting a deliberate alignment with specific interests rather than an objective representation of events.

○ **Rhetorical Strategies:**

▪ **Accusation of media bias:** This code encompasses general accusations of bias within the media. Politicians use these types of tweets to denounce unfair treatment in media coverage.

▪ **Naming & shaming**: In these tweets, politicians specifically name media outlets or journalists, pointing to their practices or informational approaches. The strategy is used to publicly expose biases and discredit those considered responsible.

▪ **Fake News:** This code includes tweets that accuse media outlets of spreading fake news or false information to the audience. Politicians use these tweets to question the credibility of the media, suggesting that misinformation is being deliberately disseminated to sh

▪ ape public opinion or manipulate perceptions of the social crisis.

TWEET THEMES

• **Protest Actions:** This theme includes tweets discussing various forms of protest actions during the protests. These posts may reference the nature of the protests, specific protest events, calls to action, or expressions of support or criticism regarding the protests. The focus may range from peaceful demonstrations to incidents of confrontation, looting and unrest.

• **Human Rights and Police Brutality:** Tweets in this theme address the role and actions of law enforcement during the protests, as well as concerns related to human rights abuses and police brutality. Posts may include commentary on the conduct of police and security forces, allegations of excessive force, or calls for accountability regarding human rights violations. The focus is often

on the balance between order and rights during the management of social unrest.

- **Authorities Performance:** This theme groups tweets discussing actions taken by government authorities, including decisions, policies, and official responses to the protests. Posts may also assign responsibility or blame to specific political actors, parties, or institutions, analyzing their roles in either aggravating or attempting to address the crisis.

- **Agendas of demands and solutions:** This theme includes tweets addressing the key demands that arose during the social unrest, such as calls for social reform or a new constitutional process. Posts may discuss issues like inequality, social justice, and specific policy areas (e.g., healthcare, education, pensions), reflecting public demands for structural change and participation in the constitutional process.