Dr. Alicia GIL-TORRES
University of Valladolid. Spain. alicia.gil@uva.es. http://orcid.org/0000-0002-8042-2208

Sofía TAPIA-CUESTA
University of Valladolid. Spain. sofia.tap.cuesta@gmail.com. https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3897-5922

Dr. Cristina SAN-JOSÉ-DE-LA-ROSA
University of Valladolid. Spain. cristina.sanjose@uva.es. https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6891-3170

Politics and social networks. Analysis of the profiles of Pedro Sánchez and Pablo Iglesias in Instagram before and after holding public office (2019-2020)

Política y redes sociales. Perfiles de Pedro Sánchez y Pablo Iglesias en Instagram antes y después de ser cargos públicos (2019-2020)

Abstract
In political communication, platforms that enable political actors to develop communication strategies and interact with society are of importance. This paper embarks on an almost unknown investigation that combines the current situation of Spanish politics with the rise of Instagram, the social network which is growing exponentially and is most in demand by young people (WeAreSocial, 2020). A quantitative and qualitative study of almost 1,000 publications of the accounts of President Pedro Sánchez and Vice-President Pablo Iglesias between 5 April 2019 and 2020 analyses the nature of their communication strategies (image, text, connotation and interactivity) and asks whether communication in their Instagram accounts changed after Pedro Sánchez and Pablo Iglesias took office in the first coalition government in Spain's democratic history. The results show a change in the communication strategy of both leaders when they reach the Executive and, although they publish content referring to the Government, they appear not to project an image of political unity.

Resumen
En la comunicación política priman plataformas que permiten a los actores políticos desarrollar estrategias comunicativas e interactuar con la sociedad. Este artículo se embarca en una casi desconocida investigación que aúna la actualidad política española con el auge de Instagram, la red social que crece exponencialmente y más demandada por los jóvenes (WeAreSocial, 2020). Un estudio cuantitativo y cualitativo de casi 1.000 publicaciones de las cuentas del presidente Pedro Sánchez y del vicepresidente Pablo Iglesias comprendidas entre el 5 de abril de 2019 y 2020 analiza cómo son sus estrategias comunicativas (imagen, texto, connotación e interactividad) e indaga si la comunicación en sus cuentas de Instagram ha cambiado después de que Pedro Sánchez y Pablo Iglesias tomaran posesión de sus cargos en el primer Gobierno de coalición de la historia democrática de España. Los resultados muestran un cambio de estrategia comunicativa en ambos líderes cuando alcanzan el Ejecutivo y, aunque publican contenido referido al Gobierno, no logran proyectar una imagen de unidad política.

Keywords
Social networks; Instagram; political communication; Spanish government; political leader

Palabras clave
Redes Sociales; Instagram; comunicación política; Gobierno; líderes políticos

1. Introduction

At the advent of Information technologies at the end of the twentieth century a new hybrid media system appeared which was based on interactions between the logics of former media and new ones which joined the media with policy (Chadwick, 2017). These technologies encompassed a range of different meanings which include greater emphasis on the user, exchange of data and content, on striving to collaborate, new ways of interacting with applications and using them as a social platform for creating content.

Politicians can now be found in the same digital arena where ordinary people are, where "the network enables them to address the public directly without having to go through mass media and to establish a relationship of trust" (Giansante, 2015: 25). This enables politicians to have a direct relationship with users, helping them build an image of intimacy so as to bond with the common people.

Social networks are a means of communication that are particularly intended for stressing the human and personal features of politicians and building "an image of immediacy, without any set periods for posting" (Názaro, Crozzoli and Álvarez- Nobell, 2019: 9). Politicians use these new communication technologies to their advantage and create strategies they use intensively (García-Guerrero, 2019). In Spain many experts in political communication had great interest in the parliamentary elections in 2015 due to the emergence of new formations in politics. Establishing a fruitful dialogue between representatives and voters is still not part of the online electoral strategy campaign (Ballesteros-Herencia and Díez-Garrido, 2018) but emerging formations have shown to be far more spontaneous and interactive on social networks than are traditional parties (López-García, 2016).

According to 'World Leaders on Facebook 2019', Twitter is the most popular social network in international politics. 97% of the 193 member states of the UN are officially represented on the platform, while Facebook takes second place (Twiplomacy, 2019). Therefore, a lot of research on the important role image has in the dissemination of political messages has focused on Twitter (Bode and Dalrymple, 2016; Muñiz, Dader, Téllez and Salazar, 2016; López-Rabadán, López-Meri and Doménech-Fabregat, 2016; Campos-Domínguez, 2017; Pond and Lewis, 2019), showing how images became more important than the text itself, and very often, became the main vehicle for communication in politics.

In 2017, Instagram had already become a network that was second only to Facebook, with over 800 million followers and used for over 300 million posts every day (WeAreSocial, 2020). It has become the third most popular channel for governments and is the fastest growing network among world leaders, governments and foreign affairs ministries (Twiplomacy, 2019).

Instagram, whose followers are young, is gaining ever more importance due to the simplicity and intimacy it provides. Moreover, it notes tendencies in the creation of political leaders by means of managing image on social networks and because" today´s politics with political parties and candidates is very connected to using one´s image" (Ruiz del Olmo and Bustos-Díaz, 2016: 84). In this respect, "Instagram is one of the main instruments for a communicative model based on the power of denotation in photography" (Quevedo-Redondo and Portalés-Oliva, 2017: 917). Political images, are therefore used in order to create, maintain, sharpen and strengthen favourable perceptions among the public to influence their political and personal attitudes, and, in turn, strategic decision-taking (Lalancette and Raynauld, 2017).

As for Spain, Instagram is the platform that has grown the most in terms of users and the most used (Interactive Advertising Bureau (IAB), 2019). The group with the most users is 18 to 34-year-olds: they account for 65% of the network and almost 600 million users, to which 56.6 million users aged between 13 and17 year olds must be added (WeAreSocial, 2020). Instagram is the social network preferred by the youngest Internet users, who have been seduced by this visually attractive platform and due to the ease of sharing their every moment quickly and simply. One part of these young people are known as Generation Z, born with the arrival of the Internet and who are now targeted by political parties since their vote is more changeable (Suárez and Zuil, 2019): they are interested in politics, but have grown distant from party leaders and do not adhere to any given ideology (Sanmartín, 2019). Ranking on platforms such as Instagram is attractive for party leaders to engage with these voters if one considers that just looking at the elections on 28th April a total of 1,157,196 young people were first time voters (Europa Press, 2019).

Another interesting point is the relationship between social networks and the trend in following people in the public eye. 68% of users follow influencers and Instagram is the second most used platform to do so (IAB, 2019). Instagram enables politicians to show their lives spontaneously and closely (Ekman and Widholm, 2017), helps make them more human and lets them enjoy a more personal connection with ordinary people.

It is undeniable that Instagram is the ideal channel for communication in politics today. Firstly, as the platform prioritises images, politicians can have several strategies as regards spectacularity, humanisation and personalisation of the leader. Secondly, because younger audiences can be found on this social network. However, researching how political stakeholders make use of Instagram is a relatively recent phenomenon, although politicians have made progress in standardizing its use, but without there being any clear pattern (López-Rabadán and Doménech-Fabregat, 2018). The first studies made on the use of Instagram by Spanish politicians detected it was used in a far more conventional way than as was expected given its visual potential (Selva-Ruiz and Caro-Castaño, 2017). As parties perceived as being the elite and out of touch with ordinary people are being rejected, communication teams strive to present their candidate as "someone ordinary" instead of a "professional politician", playing with the illusion of intimacy and providing access to private and intimate areas of their lives (Wood, Corbett and Flinders, 2016).

Therefore, although use of Instagram varies in campaigning periods, a common pattern has been observed with the celebrification of politicians, who are firstly "humanised by referring to their personal life and, secondly, they are presented in their official role highlighting their aptitudes for governing" (Quevedo-Redondo and Portalés-Oliva, 2017: 925). This humanising strategy acts as a basis for a populist style which contrasts the authenticity of the new parties and their leaders as an attractive alternative against the elitism of "traditional politicians" (Enli, 2017) and so, Instagram has also been studied for nurturing the rise of populism (Engesser, Fawzi and Larsson, 2017; Sampietro and Sánchez-Castillo, 2020) due to the ease of spreading this populist message by being emotive.

Regarding the presence of the Spanish Government on social networks, members of Unidas Podemos surpass the socialists in their popularity ratings on these platforms even though there are only five members. On Twitter followers of Pablo Iglesias, Irene Montero, Alberto Garzón, Yolanda Díaz and Manuel Castells (not active) amount to around four million, a figure twice that of other politicians. On Instagram, only the President, Pedro Sánchez, the Vice-President, Iglesias and 10 other politicians have a profile (Arancha González Laya, María Jesús Montero, José Luis Ábalos, Yolanda Díaz, Reyes Maroto, Luis Planas, José Manuel Rodríguez Uribes, Salvador Illa, Irene Montero and Alberto Garzón), most of whom appeared after 2016. Luis Planas, minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, is the latest one to open an account (14th of March 2019) along with María Jesús Montero, Treasurer (4th of March 2019).

The main point of research in this article is to examine the presence of the current President of Spain -Pedro Sánchez- and the Second Vice-President, -Pablo Iglesias- on Instagram, by analysing a sample made up of almost 1000 posts every day between both leaders. This social network was chosen due to an interest in the growing use of it by young people. Despite numerous studies aimed at analysing and comparing the most revealing periods in politics such as general elections and electoral campaigns, the main aim of this research is to examine the communicative contrast and personal profiles of Sánchez and Iglesias before and after having taken up their roles in government.

2. Methodology

The main aim of this article is to examine the trend in messages from Pedro Sánchez and Pablo Iglesias on Instagram from 5th of April 2019 to 5th April 2020 and to find out whether since 13th of January 2020, the time at which both politicians took up their positions in government, there has been a change in their communicative strategy which helps them to project an image of unification in the coalition government. Likewise, the aim is to gain an insight into how their accounts on this social network are being used, as well as how they are managed.

From this point the following secondary objectives were derived:(1) To analyse both written and visual communication on Instagram by Pedro Sánchez and Pablo Iglesias; (2) To describe the type of contents which predominate in communications from both of them on this social network and what formats they use and (3) To look at whether Pedro Sánchez and Pablo Iglesias in their posts refer to their personal and private life in order to stress their individuality and make them appear more human on Instagram. According to these aims, two hypotheses were set:

H1-: The communication strategies of Pablo Iglesias and Pedro Sánchez on Instagram undergo notable variations in their visual or written contents, in the main formats they use and their degree of interaction after having taken up their top governmental positions.

H2-: The communication strategies on Instagram of the current President and Second Vice-President of Spain converged to create an image of one government from 13th of January 2020.

2.1. Analysis of contents and encoding sheet

Quantitative analysis was the chosen methodology for looking at the contents in order to gain an accurate representation of a set of a series of messages and for processing a large amount of information (Wimmer and Dominick, 1996), supported by qualitative variables. An encoding sheet was used that had been produced by the author from the methodology other authors had used previously in similar case studies. From this the most pertinent variables were retrieved to use them in this research (Lalancette and Raynauld, 2017; Liebhart and Bernhardt, 2017; Marcos-García and Alonso-Muñoz, 2017; Quevedo-Redondo and Portalés-Oliva, 2017; Sampietro and Sánchez Castillo; 2020) while proposing others yet to be published.

The encoding chart has three units of analysis; (A) image, (B) text and (C) connotation. Within these blocks different categories were chosen according to everything from the posts to be analysed and encompassed a total of 61 variables.

In the characteristics of the (A) unit of analysis of the image the following categories were covered:

- (A1) Type of element to analyse, in which there were these variables: (A1.1) Photography, (A1.2) Video, (A1.3) Selfie, (A1.4) Video in Selfie mode, (A1.5) Infography of party or Government and (A1.6) Other types of formats such as reposts, written texts, screenshots of tweets or direct messages.
- (A2) Protagonists of the image with the variables: (A2.0) is not applicable, (A2.1) "Only leader", used when the focus is on the leader. (A2.2) "Other Politicians in his Party", when different politicians in his team appear with him or by themselves. (A2.3) "Other politicians", both leaders and non-leaders from other parties. (A2.4) "Important figures" international leaders and figures such as the King were included. The variable (A2.5) "Members of Government" were included to analyse the presidential period from 2020 and encompassed the Cabinet. (A2.6) "Citizenship", (A2.7)" the Media", (A2.8) "Family and friends", when the leader is surrounded by his close ones. (A2.9) "Scenery, objects and animals" which either appear alone or with the leader and, lastly, the option (A2.10) "Others", which include, for example, top sports people, police and firefighters, etc.
- (A3) Attire of the candidate had the variables: (A3.0) Not applicable, when the leader does not appear in the post. The variable (A3.1) "Formal" refers to a full suit, including a tie. (A3.2) "Casual", when the leader style is smart casual, but not in a suit, which may be jeans, jacket and shirt. Lastly, (A3.3) "Casual" which includes that attire which does not adhere to strict criteria for a serious look, and (A3.4) "Other attire" which might be, for example, work overalls.
- The (A4) Category scene includes the variables: (A4.0) "Indeterminate", when no information about the scene of the post is given. (A4.1) "Public Space" is envisaged when it concerns public and outdoor areas. (A4.2) "Political Space" is when the image is a setting traditionally used for politics such as the Congress of Deputies (the lower chamber of the Spanish Parliament) or La Moncloa (the official residence of the President). (A4.3) "Media Space", refers to media places and also enclosed spaces where speeches are made and there are cameras and the media, such as press conferences, the media or rallies. (A4.4) "Private Space" refers to a house, an office, hotels, restaurants or private estates.

In the characteristics of the (B) unit of analysis of text the following are analysed:

- The Line of argument function (B1) whose variables are: (B1.1) "Political statement", when these are statements or attacks, but always in the governmental not personal arena, and they do not make personal statements. (B1.2) "Personal statement", when opinions are given and feelings shown. (B1.3) "Schedule or indicator of presence". (B1.4) "Request for support", if leaders directly ask for their vote or trust.
- The (B2) appeal refers to the tone of the text and includes: (B2.0) Not applicable, when there is no text in the post. (B2.1) "Rational appeal" when the text is a consistent statement which is not aimed at conditioning the reader and is always within the bounds of reason. (B2.2) "Emotive appeal" when the leader uses adjectives as a technique for attracting the reader and uses arguments to raise awareness.
- In the analysis unit of the text, the number of hashtags (B3) has also been taken into account for every post: (B3.0) Not Applicable, (B3.1) From 1 to 5#, (B3.2), From 5 to 10#, (B3.3) From 10 to 15# and (B3.4) Over 15#.
- Likewise, Mentions (B4) which appear in the captions with the variables have been collected: (B4.0) Not Applicable, (B4.1) To the own account of the party, (B4.2) To a politician, (B4.3) To a personal account, (B4.4) To a media and (B4.5) Others.

Lastly, in the characteristics of (C) the connotative analysis of the post, which includes both images and their respective captions, the following is encoded:

- (C1) Symbolic role of the variables: (C1.0) Not Applicable, posts such as reposts in which the profile shown cannot be perceived. (C1.1) "The great communicator", to identify the candidate giving speeches, interviews or press conferences. (C1.2) "The hero", when the image immortalises the subject applauded by the crowd. (C 1.3) "The protector", when the intention is to make his profile more human by making intimate gestures. (C1.4) "The primary administrator" if the leader appears carrying out his or her public duties.
- With the (C2) Ideal Candidate Frame taken from research from Goodnow (2013) the own photography of an ideal candidate is set apart from a populist one. This category has the variables: (C2.0) Does not apply. (C2.1) is "Statesman frame", when the art of governing is exemplified. (C2.2) "Compassion" posts are those which convey empathy. (C2.3) "Mass appeal" is a call to the masses and (C2.4) is "Ordinary people/Citizens", where the leader is shown in everyday and private situations. They are not seen here as political figures.
- The main topic of (C3) posts are: (C3.1) "Current", which is everything that refers to social or sports events and non-political important issues, (C3.2) "Political Activity", (C3.3) "Private Life", (C3.4) "Image Promotion"; when there is an electoral campaign or when the leader is overselling his image, (C3.5) "Investiture/agreements" and (C3.6) "Other".

In order to prove how reliable the study is, in April and May 2020 the three authors encoded a common sample from 50 posts and after three rounds of encoding, the correct level was found: 94.65%) This percentage is considered appropriate "when nominal measures are used and all disagreements are considered to be equal" (Riffe, Lacy, Watson and Fico, 2019: 123).

2.2. Sample for research

On 5th of April 2020, Sánchez´s profile amounted to 2,127 posts and there were 460 from Pablo Iglesias, disparate amounts which indicate from the start that the size of the samples were different. The analysis samples were taken from the Instagram profiles of Sánchez and Iglesias over one year: covering the period 5th of April 2019 to 5th April 2020. These dates were chosen to analyse different periods (pre-electoral periods, electoral campaigns, 28th April 2019, 26th May 2019, 10th November 2019- non electoral periods and those when parliament was not sitting) and to thereby obtain a clear insight into their communicative models. It was decided to not extend the analysis to the first 100 days of the Government because this occurred on the 22nd of April 2020 and if the previous 12 months were examined, the 22nd of April 2019 was at the height of electoral campaigning for the elections for the 28th April.

It was decided to analyse all posts in this period in order to gain a reliable picture in this article which may be used for subsequent comparisons with random samples. Therefore, a total of 685 and 268 posts were analysed from Pedro Sánchez and Pablo Iglesias respectively.

To make a comparative analysis, as a dividing point, the 13th of January 2020 was used, the date on which ministerial appointments were published in the BOE and when they were sworn in before the King, Phillip VI. In this way, the figures and percentages from 13th January to 5th April 2020 were provided for posts from both politicians over this 12-week period. Therefore, a total of 94 posts from Pedro Sánchez and 55 from Pablo Iglesias were compiled. Then, the results obtained from all posts over a year and those from the presidential period were studied.

3. Results

3.1. *General data from the profiles of Pablo Iglesias and Pedro Sánchez*

The Instagram account @sanchezcastejon was created on the 24 of February 2014 and follows 390 profiles, has 263,000 followers and 2193 posts (counting from the 5th of April 2020). The profile of the Spanish president is rather simple, as it does not use items which at first sight make it stand out. His biography is clear and concise and is currently included in the link on the Moncloa website.

Image 1: Screenshot of Pedro Sánchez´s Instagram profile

Source: Instagram

It is remarkable that there is a large amount of posts to date, with over 17 photographs shared (8th of November 2019). The average amount of likes the President has in the sample of 689 posts comes to 3,785. Those which received most likes were those which show important moments, such as the photo of the celebration in Ferraz after his election victory on 28th April published in the early hours of 29th of April 2019 which came to 30,816, one of the highest figures for likes on his Instagram account. Other high figures appear for voting in the electoral college with 15,886 (28th of April 2019) with 14,494 *likes (*10th of November 2019) or in those which he appears with leaders of the PP, Ciudadanos and Unidas Podemos, the other political parties.

The estimated number of comments per post is 238 and a great amount of interactions by the users was seen when the message was more personal and sentimental, such as that on10th of May 2019 dedicated to Rubalcaba after he passed away, which received 336,55 *likes and* 1,495 comments.

Pablo Iglesias created his Instagram profile (@iglesiasturrionpablo) on 6th of June 2016, two years after the party was founded and while he was leader of Unidas Podemos. He follows 272 users and has 307,000 followers, an outstanding fact as this surpasses those for Pedro Sánchez in audience even though he opened his account almost 28 months afterwards. He is positioned on this social network inconstantly, with periods in which there is no activity which show his unusual use of the platform, such as on 19th of July 2019 to 3rd of September 2019, when negotiations ceased and summer arrived. Even so, he scored high on his likes per post (10,637 *likes*) just like his average of 711 comments, which makes us wonder what his secret is to obtaining such great data.

Image 2: Screenshot of Pablo Iglesias Instagram profile

Source: Instagram

His profile is very visual as he uses emoticons and a different font for his biography. Some of his pictures stand out, such as those on 9th and 10th of November 2019 in which his dogs appear and they obtained a total of 24,535 and 35,674 likes respectively. The publication which received most likes (70,417) was on 12th of November 2019 when the draft agreement for forming a government with Pedro Sánchez was announced.

3.2. A visual analysis

In this section, it must be stressed that the analysis has focused on the initial element which appears in the post as this is what first appears when one scrolls down the app.

Firstly, with the category, Type of element to analyse (A1), different techniques between both politicians are looked at. Over one year, the socialist leader shared 297 videos (43%), 281 photographs (41%), 52 infographs of the party (8%) and 55 reposts from the @psoe and @desdelamoncloa accounts which have been included in the variable "Others" (8%). Also, Pablo Iglesias does not use any reposting method nor does he publish infographs from the party and his profile is almost completely composed of (69%) photos (185) which are often in the foreground. One important observation is how the politician uses selfies. Although data is rather scarce- 4% (12) and 3% (7) of videos are selfies -, there is an outstanding margin with Sánchez both for innovation and conveying intimacy and appearing natural to his followers, since Pedro Sánchez has not published a selfie in twelve months (0%). The profile of Pablo Iglesias has 58 videos (22%) and lacks any infograph of the party (0%). He sporadically (2%) publishes screenshots of his tweets or the direct messages he sends to his followers. Here, elements, were included in the variable "Others" (6).

Although the data obtained during the presidency analysed are very similar to those for the twelve-month period, some differences were observed. Out of the 94 posts for the socialist, 42 are videos uploaded from the IGTV platform (45%), 32 are photographs (34%) and the 11 remaining ones were classified as "Other elements" which are all reposts, and which increase proportionally with the sample over one year. If out of 685 posts there were 55 reposts (8%), out of 94 there were 11 (12%), most of which were from @desdelamoncloa. Pablo Iglesias´ account contains just 15 videos in the 55 posts (27%), and 37 photographs (66%), the rest being two screenshots of tweets and a sole "meme" published on 27th of January included in the "Others" variable due to its special nature.

Image 3: "Meme" screenshot of @iglesiasturrionpablo 27th of January 2020
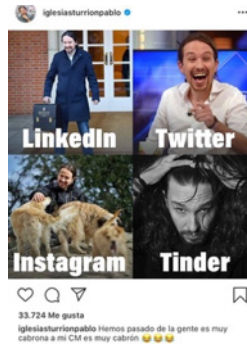
Source: Instagram

As regards category (A3) Protagonist of the image, to a greater extent they themselves are the centre of attention of the profile. Sánchez accounts for 39% of posts in which he alone appears (265) and Iglesias 36% (97). The second component on both profiles is "citizens" with 13% for Pedro Sánchez (92) and 17% for Pablo Iglesias (45). From here on, significant differences can be found with the results from the remaining variables. Pablo Iglesias dedicates more posts to other politicians in his party (16% and 44) and introduces his family, friends and people in his personal milieu on his profile (5% and13) and his daughter on the 28th of September.
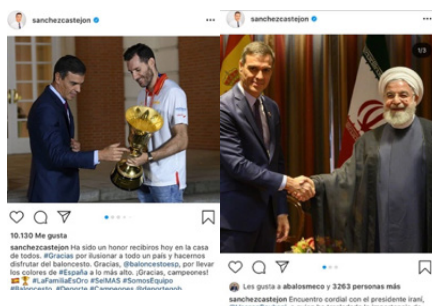
Source: Instagram

Meanwhile, the PSOE leader uses 9% (61) politicians of his party and 3% (22) those of other parties. Pedro Sánchez gives space to international politicians and important public figures (9%, 61), such as the video in which he appears greeting Donald Trump at the gathering hosted by Queen Elisabeth II at Buckingham Palace on 4th of December 2019 or with the Iranian president (@*HassanRouhani*) on the 24th of September 2019. This is because throughout the whole period under analysis he has continued to carry out his presidential duties. On his Instagram profile there are also other figures (7%, 46) among which are professional and top sportspeople: with handball players on 16th of December 2019 (@*rfebalomano*) having won the silver medal or with the basketball team on the 16th of September 2019 after winning the World Cup.

Image 5: Post from @*sanchezcastejon* with players from @*baloncestoesp* and with the Iranian president; @*HassanRouhani*

Source: Instagram

The latest data changes after he takes office as President, since out of the 94 posts which are concentrated during his presidency, only in 4 of them (4%) does he appear with ordinary people. There is an increase in the presence of other figures and international figures on his profile with 10% (9/94) and a total of 14 posts in which there is no protagonist as they are government infographs, as seen in the sample from the Organic Law Project from the 3rd of March. Also, members of the coalition government can be seen, in a new, important light which both have close, but not equal protagonism: Pablo Iglesias in 7 posts (13%) and Pedro Sánchez in 16 (17%). The 0% result from Pablo Iglesias in (A2.4) "important figures" is remarkable as he is not shown with any international leader. During this period, he appears on his Instagram profile with other politicians in his party (11%) with the members of the coalition government (13%), with ordinary people (14%) in 8 posts and with 7 other protagonists such as members of the platform for those affected by mortgages, on 9th of March 2020.

Source: Instagram

As for the (A2) category, Attire, 333 (49%) of the 685 posts over a year shows Pedro Sánchez in a suit and 74 of the 94 posts from 13th of January (79%). This increase in percentage may stem from his appointment as President in January due to a greater number of meetings and political functions. Conversely, the leader of Podemos, has a "scruffy and rather vain" image (Mata, 2020) which can be seen in 60% of the annual sample with casual dress. Despite this, a change was also perceived after his appointment as Vice-President, as the portion of sample analysed from his profile on 13th of January to April 2020 includes 58% of posts (32) with him in casual dress in which elements such as jackets are used where a less informal style can be seen.

Graph 1 (A2) Attire of Pedro Sánchez and Pablo Iglesias.
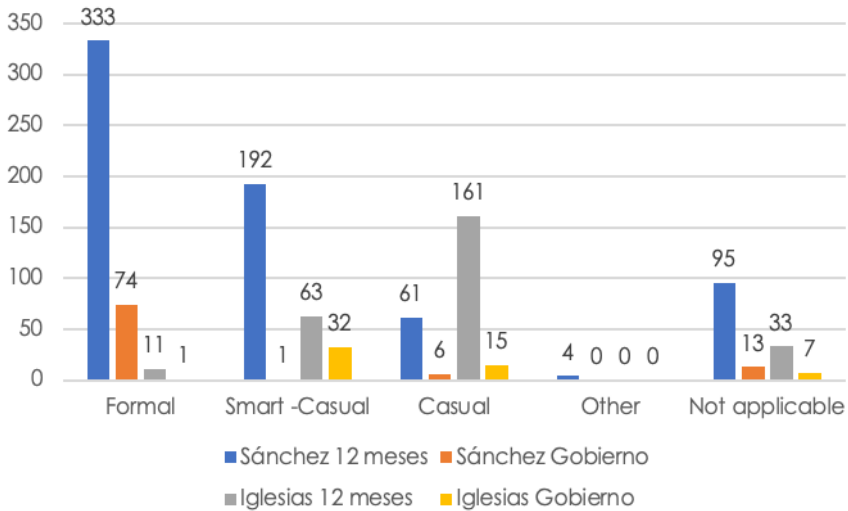
Source: prepared by the author

The category referred to as Scenography (A4) is one which most varies in the two profiles before and after forming a government since the posts marked in political spacesincreased significantly in respect to the others after forming the executive. 31% (82) of the 268 posts over 12 months from Pablo Iglesias represents public space,26% (71) media spaces,20% (55) political spaces and 7% (18) private spaces. Out of the 685 posts from Pedro Sánchez the most outstanding is the media scene with 38% (261), followed by political with 28% (190) and public with 19% (130). Private space only appears in 3 posts on his Instagram profile and undetermined space represents 15%.

3.3. Textual analysis

In the text analysis unit, the Line of argument function developed in the post and appeal of the text is considered. To the caption that goes with the photos or videos on Instagram, the aim of the photo caption is to give a specific meaning to each picture and the capacity to complement or give a special meaning to the visual element.

As for the Line of argument category (B1) it should be stressed that the analysis of Pedro Sánchez was found in all functions catalogued, although the request for support (31%) surpassed the other ones (211). Since being in government, this function ceased to exist (0%) and personal statements (39%, 37) guided his Instagram profile. Some captions are written in Spanish, others in English.

The Appeal of the text (B2) is balanced between the rational and emotional. However, the captions become colder and more expository (62%) when he becomes President but before taking up his post. In the posts from the analysis over 12 months, 344 of his texts are rational appeal and 340 are emotional appeal. From the presidential period (94), 58 posts are rational appeal and 36 are emotional appeal.

Image 7: Examples of captions with emotional appeal (left) and Line of argument function "request for support" (right)

Source: Instagram

As for Pablo Iglesias, he makes personal statements in a similar vein before (51%,135) and after (56%, 31) 13th of January 2020 and, logically, the "petition for support" variable disappears when he is elected Vice-President. In reference to the appeal, it is more emotional (66%, 178) than rational (33%, 88) and percentages are similar after assuming office as Vice- President with 32 captions which appeal to the emotional (58%) and 22 to the rational (40%).

Including elements, such as emoticons, hashtags or mentions, is typical in Instagram captions, while they are also used to make statements in the analysis of interactivity. Pablo Iglesias uses different emoticons, including gestural icons which make him seem more intimate and natural. Pedro Sánchez also chose emoticons, albeit to a lesser extent and they are almost always a "red heart" and a "red flower", elements which can easily be connected to the socialist party, when campaigning.

As for Hashtags, (B3) note that the average for both per post is 5 to 10, although Pedro Sánchez uses over 10 of them on up to 85 occasions. Moreover, in over three quarters of his posts they use them: Pedro Sánchez out of his 685 (21%) posts only 141 do not have them and for Pablo Iglesias this figure is only 25 out of 268 (9%). Hashtags vary according to the current and political situation since in electoral periods they use campaign slogans such as #HazQuePase (Make it happen) and #AhoraGobierno (GovernmentNow) with Pedro Sánchez or #sísepuede (yes, you can) and #LaHistorialaescribestú (You write history) with Pablo Iglesias. Once the coalition government between PSOE and Unidas Podemos (which, logically, they both belong to), was formed, they use hashtags to refer to this combination: #GobiernodeEspaña (SpanishGovernment), #GobiernodeCoalición (CoalitionGovernment) and #Gobierno (Government). They have great potential to influence any post on Instagram since they build a strategically designed message to capture the attention of voters and convey a series of values and feelings.

As for Mentions (B4), Pedro Sánchez makes good use of them since nearly half his posts (288, 42%) use them, not using them in 58% (397) of them. In 97 posts he mentioned the @*psoe* account (14%), in 74 (11%) politicians, whether they be international (@*emmanuelmacron*, @*budeskanzlerin*), in his party or other ones, in 34 (5%) the media and in 71 (10%) others are used such as @*congreso_diputados,*

@*ejercitodelaire*, @*nacionesunidas* or @*deportegob*. Very rarely, in12 (2%) of posts to be precise, does he mention personal accounts and ones which are not close to him (the actor @*joselunaoficial* on 1st of April or the journalist @*otero_julia* on 18th of April). Since being in government, this is mentioned on just 2 occasions (2%) for the PSOE, but the percentage is higher when it is in posts that do not refer to anybody, with 71% (67).

Table 1. (B4) Mentions from the accounts of Pedro Sánchez and Pablo Iglesias.

		To their own party	To a politician	To a personal account	To the media	Others	Does not apply
Over 12 months	Pedro Sánchez	97	74	12	34	71	397
	Pablo Iglesias	1	19	36	8	4	200
In the Government	Pedro Sánchez	2	6	0	3	16	67
	Pablo Iglesias	0	3	5	0	0	47

Source: prepared by the author

On the profile of Pablo Iglesias fewer mentions are included since these do not appear in 75% of posts (200) and it is remarkable that there are repeated references to the personal account of his photographer @*dani_gago*. Pablo Iglesias mentions a personal account up to 36 (13%) times, such as the journalist @*enricjuliana*, the tennis player @*rafaelnadal*, the environmental activist @*gretathunberg* or his friend @*mdelvigo*menciona who has a private account. On 19 (7%) occasions he mentions politicians who may be from his party, in 8 (3%) to a media and in 4 (2%) of other accounts. It is striking that he just mentions his own party once. When he became part of the Government, he does not refer to Unidos Podemos at all to any media. His highest percentage remains in the does not apply category, with 85% of the total (47).

3.4. Connative analysis

In the category Symbolic Role (C1) note how Pedro Sánchez is portrayed as a great communicator in 247 posts (36%) and also takes on the role of primary administrator in 198 (29%). Meanwhile, the variables of protector (28%, 76) and also great communicator (27% 72) are at the forefront on the profile of Pablo Iglesias. The percentages from January to April 2020 indicate that the roles of the leaders transformed after the Government was formed. Sánchez is portrayed as the primary administrator to a greater extent with 46% (43/94) just like Iglesias, who also takes on this role with 36% (20/55). This can be seen in images such as that on 12th of February 2020 in the Congress of Deputies.

**Image 8: Posts from Pedro Sánchez and Pablo Iglesias in the Congress of Deputies**

Source: Instagram

Regarding the *Ideal Candidate Frame* (C2*)*, Pedro Sánchez displays the statesman *frame variable in* 251 posts (37%) and very slightly portrays himself as an ordinary man in just 18 posts (3%), unlike with Unidas Podemos, who adopts this *ordinary people variable in* 21% of his posts (56). Once the government was formed, the *statesman frame variable* rises on both profiles; 65% in the posts from the socialist leader (61) and 47% from the leader of Unidas Podemos (26).

Lastly, image promotion is the leading topic (C3)on both profiles with 53% for Pedro Sánchez and to a lesser degree on the account of the Vice- President (41%) which reflects greater variety of topics and presents his private life in 17 (6%) of the posts analysed over 12 months.

Graph 2 Topic (C3) of posts from Pedro Sánchez and Pablo Iglesias.
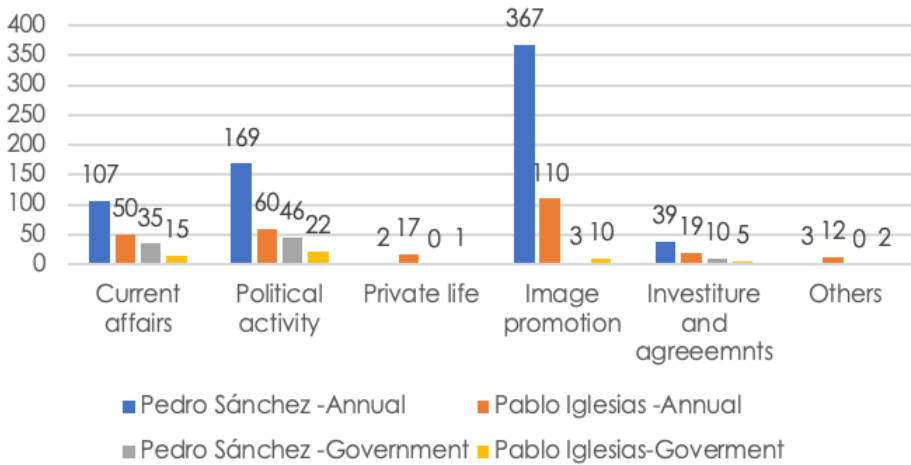
Source: prepared by the author

3.5. Analysis of interaction and participation

In political communication interactivity is essential in order to make optimum use of any social network (Larsson, 2019). Using new features (stories) the Instagram platform enables greater interaction between users and the politician. Pablo Iglesias is remarkable for being very active in his stories using resources such as surveys and live which lets him have a direct link with his followers (136. 51%). Also, the leader of Unidos Podemos shares all kinds of messages, not just those about electoral campaigns and portrays himself as someone very ordinary, with different kinds of shots. Furthermore, it might be said that he communicates directly with users since in almost half the posts analysed he responds to certain comments (128, 48%).

Image 9: Personal caption Pablo Iglesias and response to comments from users.

Source: Instagram

Stories by Pedro Sánchez are closely related to image promotion and the electoral campaign. There are no indications of intimacy between the President and his followers and, unlike the leader of Podemos, he does not respond to comments they leave him, which is shown as non- existent *feedback* on his account. Indeed, comments were limited for a certain period.

4. Discussion

@sanchezcastejon

The PSOE leader is shown on this social network as an institutional figure, far from being a humanised politician, whose pictures are carefully prepared, and this makes him less natural. After a visual analysis it has been seen that the leader proportionally uses videos and pictures, apart from infographs of the party which are usually during electoral campaigns. This result is a far cry from other studies such as those from Quevedo-Redondo and Portalés-Oliva (2017), which showed that Pedro Sánchez as a politician shared more pictures than videos. This discrepancy might have arisen from the increase in posts per year, as in 2017 he shared 250 posts over twelve months, whereas from 5th of April 2019 to 5th of April 2020 this came to 689. This may be linked to a greater use of the platform and his different role in politics: from the opposition to the Presidency.

The situation of Pedro Sánchez since 2018 as acting president, or president elect, explains why he remains with his jacket and tie and mixes with important figures in politics (28%). However, the focal point the socialist leader has on his account is image promotion, since to a great extent he appears by himself, in the media (38%) and in public (19%) spaces which enables him to give rallies and interviews and be a great communicator (36%), although he is also a national leader (29%).

The captions for his posts usually share a request for support or for votes, in which in 29% he argues he is a candidate that "appeals to the masses". However, despite this appeal and showing himself, in situations close to the people, (10%), he does not have any kind of interaction with his followers. On his account new features such as videos on IGTV, hashtags (from 5 to 10 on average) can be seen. There are also mentions (almost over half the posts over one year), Instagram stories or reposts, albeit these always concern politics, promoting either himself or his party. He does not reveal any aspect of his everyday or private life, nor does he use these features as tools to establish feedback with users.

The percentages from the sample chosen from 13th of January 2020 to the beginning of April 2020 show a far more intense communicative model for the President, but one that is in keeping with that of previous months. The study reflects that Pedro Sánchez becomes a more institutional figure, portraying himself as a "Statesman" who personifies legality or a new political order and has a far more rational tone, and this shows he does not portray himself as a President in search of sensationalism and does not use captions to influence others.

Although his image on this social network is still the protagonist, politicians, international leaders and members of the Government take on more importance as he draws near to being president elect, while less space is provided for citizenship. Logically, politics (49%) once more becomes centre stage and his posts about current affairs (25%) increase in percentage terms, just like rational texts (62%). He can be perceived as an even colder figure lacking in spontaneity, since, of course, once he becomes President, he no longer needs to ask people for votes and so his strategy reverts to representing a more serious and restrained person in all senses.

@iglesiasturrionpablo

Pablo Iglesias shows discontinuous use of the Instagram platform so his communication is more uncertain and difficult to describe than that of the socialist leader. As regards previous years, there has been a rise in posts reaching a total of 268 over twelve months. Although this may not sound like many, sometimes fewer posts enhance the quality of a profile since everything published on Instagram appears at the start for followers, and if there are continuous posts all of which are on the same topic, in the end the message risks fading away or saturating followers (Liebhart and Bernhardt, 2017).

There was a quick review of their profiles so that the variables chosen were matched to the research. On first sight it can be seen that the leader of Unidas Podemos uses videos in selfie and selfies, mode, but inconsistently. However, using newer formats, albeit not constantly, portrays him as a more modern and natural politician, since at the same time the shots suggest intimacy. There are also figures from his personal milieu such as his dogs (3%) and his family and friends (5%) in private spaces (7%) which help portray the leader as more human on this social network and as an ordinary person (21%).

According to the number of likes and comments on his profile, it seems that being more natural and showing his private life is Pablo Iglesias´s secret to obtaining a greater number of interactions, albeit, clearly, he does not show this very frequently. However, it could be said that he uses his private life as a political strategy, unlike Sánchez, who does not do this at all. Pablo Iglesias also goes for image promotion and very often he appears alone as the protagonist of his posts with scruffy clothes (60%). He plays the four symbolic roles set out and, to a greater extent, in public spaces for a total of 82 posts (31%). "The protector" variable is the most used one and presents Pablo Iglesias as someone close to ordinary people whose attitude makes him more human.

His texts are usually personal statements because he mixes political ones with personal experiences and feelings, and his emotional appeal (67%) is what predominates on his Instagram account. Feedback with his followers and using all the new resources from Instagram (IGTV, emoticons, selfies, stories…) classifies him as being in the group of politicians who participate and are interactive on this social network since he fully exploits them and engages with his followers by responding to their comments and sending surveys and live videos in his stories.

The differences seen in his communication strategy lie in his changed role in politics: from being the leader of Unidas Podemos to taking up the Vice-Presidency of the Government. A change in attire is noticeable since he adopts a more formal style (58%) with small changes such as wearing a jacket (which he previously did not put on in public) his image changes a great deal. (Mata, 2020). Just like on Pedro Sánchez´s profile, the scene in which this is expressed changes with the political scene being the most visible. The role of primary administrator rises (from 27% to 36%) and the ideal candidate *statesman* rises to 47% from 26% previously, with other variables such as ordinary people falling which drops to 10 percentage points. Logically, just like on Pedro Sánchez´s profile, the "request for support" variable disappears from his texts and political activity is ranked (40%) as an essential topic in his posts.

With the analysis shown in this article the differences in respect to how both leaders communicate was studied by comparing percentages over the twelve-month period with data provided by the posts between the months of January, February, March and April 2020 as governmental stakeholders. There were differences in the sample because all posts were chosen, and they were adapted to show how both politicians really use this social network.

Although to form the coalition Government Pedro Sánchez and Pablo Iglesias joined forces to take decisions together, and both parties identify themselves as left-wing and seem close in ideology, just as indicated in different research on techniques for political communication, they remain distant (López-Rabadán and Doménech-Fabregat, 2018; Quevedo-Redondo and Portalés-Oliva, 2017). In all categories analysed Pedro Sánchez is seen as far from natural and he is portrayed artificially. Image promotion predominates on Instagram as well as spaces with lights and cameras, in which he invokes the public in a rather contrived way by his persistent requests for support. Pablo Iglesias also reveals his self-promotional side, so typical of political leaders. However, this is done differently. The appeal of his speeches and texts are more emotional and closer to users, as he replies to their comments and provides snippets of his personal life. All of this creates a feeling of sincerity around his political persona which distracts us from his real intention.

5. Conclusions

The aim of this article was to see how both leaders develop on Instagram in a period set by two national election periods and the formation of a government, and at the same time to observe whether after taking up their posts their communication has undergone any significant change.

As a result, the first hypothesis as to whether the communication strategies of Pablo Iglesias and Pedro Sánchez on Instagram change after they take office as top governmental posts was confirmed as on both profiles there is a change in the communicative model which is due to the position they occupy in Spanish politics. However, change was seen to a greater extent on Pablo Iglesias´ account, which previously did not reflect so much approximation to political spaces and appeared to be more inclined towards ordinary people. Possibly, the fact that Pedro Sánchez has been leader of the country for two years as President meant that his communication strategy has been more sustainable over time, although this also became more intense in the latest period with political functions, meetings with international leaders and without any great need for self-promotion.

The second hypothesis (which refers to a possible convergence between both leaders in terms of political communication on Instagram in order to form an image of one government) was refuted. It is true that a change in strategy was observed, but there is no indication that proves that their communications are in harmony so as to give a feeling of complete unity. Both leaders publish content referring to the Government since they share images and videos of other functions and ministers. Likewise, they appeal to governmental concordance in the photo captions with hashtags referring to them. However, this is not

enough to confirm this since the percentages show that even so, both politicians differ in their personal communication. Pedro Sánchez makes professional use of his account, both in previous months and today, and in no event does he make personal use of the social network. Meanwhile, Pablo Iglesias seems to venture to something more personal, although this is not normalised on his Instagram account. This may be due to the fact he is a partner in the Government, each of whom has their own preferred strategy in order to set themselves apart as they lead different parties.

As a final assessment, a series of limitations must be indicated. Firstly, it is difficult to analyse visual elements on the platform, as since Instagram enables one to upload a large amount of images or videos in a post, priority is given to the first element which appears. Therefore, the big difference between the number of posts shared by Pedro Sánchez and Pablo Iglesias meant that the sample between both was very disparate- both over a year and in the period of government- and that the figures here were much higher for the socialist leader who used the social network more constantly.

Another potential drawback was the outbreak of the pandemic led to a state of alarm in Spain and obligatory lockdown which stopped any non-essential activity on 14th of March 2020. However, despite these setbacks it is interesting to reflect on possible changes in the communication strategies of Spanish politicians on social networks once they take up top government posts. The aim of this article is to add to knowledge on how Instagram is used by Spanish politicians and thereby establish a model which can either be backed or refuted in subsequent research.

Finally, it must be remembered that Instagram is a social network that reinvents itself every year and provides a range of new features which enable politicians to engage with ordinary people. The great importance which Instagram gives to visual elements enables political leaders to behave and make patterns that suit them for their communication strategies. Likewise, it must be stressed that nowadays young people are on all social networks and make different uses of them and Instagram, above all, is used to share one´s private and personal life. Therefore, the studies mentioned in this article assert that it is the right social network for politicians to show their private lives and make them appear close to their followers in order to gain the highest number of votes. Instagram at present ranks as a social network in rapid expansion and precisely because of this, the study of political communication on this platform must be exploited as much as possible.

6. Specific contribution each author has made

Contribuciones	Responsable/s
Conception and study design	Alicia Gil-Torres, Sofía Tapia-Cuesta
Searching for documents	Sofía Tapia-Cuesta y Alicia Gil-Torres
Gathering data	Sofía Tapia-Cuesta, Cristina San José-de la Rosa y Alicia Gil-Torres
Analysis and critical interpretation of data	Alicia Gil-Torres, Sofía Tapia-Cuesta y Cristina San José-de la Rosa
Review and approval of versions	Alicia Gil-Torres y Cristina San José-de la Rosa

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