

Roles of political journalism in a multiplatform context and institutional crisis

*Roles del periodismo político en un
contexto multiplataforma y de crisis
institucional*

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The article analyzes the role of Chilean political-economic journalism during the crisis of trust in 2015 when cases of corruption emerged, affecting important corporate groups and politicians. By analyzing the implementation of different professional roles in a multiplatform context, traits of a dynamic hybrid media system were found in the relationship between the journalistic profession and power.

KEYWORDS: Professional roles, journalistic role performance, journalism, Chile, political communication.

El artículo analiza el papel del periodismo político-económico chileno en el contexto de la crisis de confianza que se vivió el año 2015, con el surgimiento de casos de corrupción que afectaron a importantes grupos empresariales y políticos. Mediante el análisis de la puesta en práctica de diferentes roles profesionales en un contexto multiplataforma, se encontraron rasgos de un sistema de medios híbrido y dinámico en la relación de la profesión periodística con el poder.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Roles profesionales, periodismo, Chile, comunicación política.

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INTRODUCTION

Within the framework of contemporary democracies and scenarios of global complexity, political communication represents one of journalism's cornerstones (Bennett & Entman, 2000). Any model that explores the interaction of political activity with its vital and operative surroundings will necessarily have to integrate or accept the existence of political journalism if it wishes to exist in this space (Bartels, 1996; Negrine, 1996).

Indeed, the way in which the discourse of politicians and journalists is addressed (Wolton, 1995) usually influences how power is viewed (Castells, 2009). The manner in which journalists cover events and generate the news content that reaches the public has a strong impact on the configuration of the public and private sphere of society today (Mellado, 2015). Likewise, the media coverage of politics and the interactions between politicians and journalists are key areas to be considered when researching political communication (Strömbäck & van Aelst, 2013).

With regard to the relationship between power and the media, the performance of specific journalistic roles on the current international stage have become of special interest to studies in journalism. For example, the arrival of Donald Trump to the White House –after an election campaign with peculiarities that are now under investigation by North American institutions– has strained the relationship between the presidential office and political journalism (Frum, 2018). In modern western history, these connections have never been simple (Todorov, 2012). Nevertheless, these manifestations reach a point of polarization that test the quality of democracies (Levitsky & Ziblatt, 2018), the work of the media and the functions of political journalism.

Democracies measure their strength through rule of law that sanctions political actions that deviate from the law, controlling authoritarianism and corruption (Colomer, 2003; Runciman, 2008; Sunstein, 2018). Meanwhile, the task of journalists to foster freedom of expression (Enguix, 2015) is put to the test when pressure restricts them to the point where they become prisoners of an ornamental role in democracy, carrying no weight to oversee power.

Over the last few years, this has not been easy either for other Central and South American democracies (Interamerican Institute for Democracy, 2015). Aspects associated with drug trafficking and violence in politics or the excessive use of force by the State are issues that define the agenda and journalistic work in several countries in the region.

The fact that watchdog journalism cannot be practiced or is very limited due to obstacles such as government control, corporate control over media and the impact of cartels on self-censorship by journalists (Waisbord, 2009) is often a generalized aspect on a global level.

In the case of South America, the recent exercise of the roles of political journalism with regard to power has been marked by the intensity of the political processes. The news coverage of these events has even featured the outgoing presidents of countries such as Brazil, Argentina, Peru and Guatemala, questioned on issues of corruption during their administrations or of irregular financing during their election campaigns. In this sense, there is an increasingly conspicuous and visible fusion between the political and the economic in the arena of power and the extension of information, an issue that should be undertaken for a subsequent empirical analysis.

Chile, positioned as a democracy that has not experienced general problems of corruption, was caught up in scandals where the common denominator has been the illicit relationship between politics and money at the highest level, affecting cabinet members of President Michelle Bachelet, collaborators of the previous administration of Sebastián Piñera, and then, the family circle of the previous president-in-office.

This article explores the roles that the macropolitical news coverage of Chilean journalism presented during 2015, one of the most difficult years in recent memory for the institutional exercise of Chile. To this end, macropolitics (Sterling, 1974) is understood to be the figure that integrates the political and economic agendas as part of an interconnected and dependent system on a large, national scale, a natural space that harbors the concentration of power in Latin America.

Furthermore, this study incorporates and combines the analysis of print and digital media, resulting from technological and cultural transformations that the media ecosystem –understood as the

environment of new platforms that reassign other places to the older media (Kittler, 1996)— has experienced over the last few years in Chile (Hallin & Mellado, 2018).

Digital media has grown hand-in-hand with accessibility and portability (Boczkowski & Mitchelstein, 2013; Hermida, 2014), with a new online space for interaction between power and political journalism (Gans, 2010). However, political communication continues to reside in television and other media such as radio and print media, which continue to have influence on the public agenda (Mellado & Lagos, 2014).

PROFESSIONAL ROLES AND ROLE PERFORMANCE

A theoretical approach required to study the relationships of power in the practice of political journalism from a journalism studies' perspective, is that of professional roles, and specifically, of implementing said roles.

The “performance” of the professional role has been conceptualized as the collective result of the concrete decisions adopted in the newsroom and the resulting news style, influenced by internal and external forces (Mellado, 2015).

This theoretical line in journalism studies has gained much importance over the last decade (Hellmueller, Mellado, Bluebell & Huemmer, 2016; Mellado, Hellmueller & Donsbach, 2017; Mellado & Van Dalen, 2017; Tandoc, Hellmueller & Vos, 2013; Wang, Sparks, Lu & Huang, 2017), mostly because of the incapacity of normative studies to explain the professional practice, but also for its sophisticated methodology. Indeed, this area of research became visible due to results that showed that the surveys using polls with journalists did not necessarily reflect the detection of professional roles in practice (Mellado & van Dalen, 2014; Patterson & Donsbach, 1996; Van Dalen, 2017; Weaver & Wilhoit, 1996).

It is understandable that journalists have a perception of their functions in society and that the journalistic role is defined in that way (Donsbach, 2008; Weaver Beam, Brownlee, Voakes & Wilhoit, 2007), establishing the information to be drafted and presented in accordance with the idea that they have of journalism (Graber &

Smith, 2005; Hanitzsch, 2011; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). In fact, the literature refers to the ideological responsibility of journalism to gather and deliver objective news or information (Weaver, 1998; Weaver & Willnat, 2014).

However, the difficulty in the observation and analysis of this area is that the practice of journalism operates within a more complex reality, pressured by political, cultural, financial and corporate media dynamics (De Burgh, 2012), so that there is not always a correlation between what the journalists perceives as their role and what they produce as content.

This is especially sensitive in political realities of countries in which power is being challenged for its public and private actions, suffering crises of trust, as has occurred in most of South America. The characteristics of a nation and its press system (Berkowitz, 2011) determine the way in which journalists interact with sources and the comprehension of society about what media professionals should do (Hellmueller & Mellado, 2016). In order to legitimate their position in society, journalists are socialized in their occupational practices and ideologies (Deuze, 2008).

The observation of the performance of journalistic roles contributes to comprehending the forever-intricate network between political-economic power, journalism and its result when it is finally delivered to the public sphere in the form of news. For this reason this study proposes that a perspective of this nature is required for the proper reading or interpretation of national realities that are trying to consolidate their democracies, complementing the point of view that the political communication and the media culture of these nations can provide.

Journalistic coverage of politics is not a minor thing or an aspect that should not be revisited at different times and places. The relationship between politicians and journalists is fundamental for the democratic process given the importance of the media as a source for political information (Mellado & Rafter, 2014). It has been suggested that the comprehension of the relationship between journalism and politics is specific to each country (Elórtegui, 2013; Strömbäck & Nord, 2006). Indeed, for several authors, the coverage of politics in new democracies and post-dictatorship regimes may have some distinct characteristics

that lead to unique patterns of political communication (Hughes, 2006; Porto, 2008).

Recent studies have measured the materialization of the roles in news content (Tandoc, Hellmueller & Vos, 2013; Van Dalen et al., 2012; Vos, 2017). A series of investigations have also developed a standardization of measures and operationalization of different professional roles in news reporting (Mellado, 2015; Mellado, López-Rabadán & Elórtegui, 2017; Mellado & Van Dalen, 2014).

These proposals comprise and operationalize the performance of the roles into three main dominions: the “journalistic voice” in the news; the way in which journalism approaches the audience; and the relationship between journalism and those who are in power (Mellado, 2015), the latter perspective being of utmost interest to this investigation.

In each one of these dominions the journalistic roles can be measured through the news content with specific indicators. The journalistic voice entails the role of the journalist as a “disseminator” or “interventionist”. The disseminator role keeps considerable distance between the journalist and the facts, and is associated with roles of neutrality. The interventionist role is present in the interpretation, opinion or other mechanisms specific to journalists (Mellado et al., 2017). It is linked with a participating function (Donsbach & Patterson, 2004) with which it defends different groups of society (Esser, 2008).

These two positions form part of a unidimensional structure, in which a greater level of participation of the journalistic voice implies a greater level of interventionism and vice versa (Mellado et al., 2017). As can be seen by its characteristics, it is also interesting to include this dimension in political coverage, especially in situations of tension, crisis or the emergence of political scandals that challenge institutionalism, given that it involves a journalistic position towards the events.

Meanwhile, the second dominion of the approach with the audience is related to public service and the commercial debate regarding journalism, including the opinion of the audience as citizens, clients or spectators (Mellado, 2015). Thus, three independent professional roles are identified: the “civic”, where the audience is encouraged to participate at the social, political and cultural level; the “service role”, where the audience is observed as a client, providing information

and advice on goods and useful services for everyday life; and the “infotainment”, based on different narrative-visual styles and discourses to entertain and thrill the audience (Mellado et al., 2017).

In view of the characteristics of mediatised politics in contemporary democracies (Couldry & Hepp, 2013; Mazzoleni, 2008), infotainment is also a role that will be observed with special attention in the macropolitical coverage of this study, due to the analytical context of corruption cases and journalistic strategies that are used to catch the attention of audiences on these topics (Radunski, 1999), through an exacerbated spectacularization of politics (Castells, 2009; Edelman, 1988).

DIMENSION RELATED TO POWER

The third dimension, which is observed with natural emphasis in this study, is related to the connections of journalism with those in power. Power has different resources and means in which it can manifest itself in the political, economic and sociocultural spheres, as well as different levels of influence depending on the scenarios in which it moves. In this respect, journalists can defend the function of monitoring the powerful and report wrongdoings (Waisbord, 2000; Weaver et al., 2007). Press journalists can also become loyal spokespeople for those who are in power, transmitting a positive image of them, supporting official policies and using every propagandistic mechanism necessary to do so (Pasti, 2005).

From this perspective, two independent dimensions emerge from the performance of the respective role: the “watchdog” (Donohue, Tichenor & Olien, 1995) and the “loyal-facilitator” (Sparrow, 1999). The aim of watchdog journalism is to investigate and make governments, public institutions and the corporate world accountable when engaging in illicit actions, thus acting as the “fourth estate” (Waisbord, 2000). The journalistic performance is associated with that of a custodian of conscience, making events hidden by those in power visible (Etterna & Glasser, 1998).

On the other hand, the loyal-facilitator is known for cooperating with those who are in power, for being submissive, dependent, subservient,

a defender of the powerful (Sparrow, 1999). Its collaboration includes highlighting national triumphs and the prestige of the leaders. The watchdog and loyal-facilitator roles are independent of each other, as the lesser presence of one does not mean the greater presence of the other in the news content (Mellado et al., 2017).

THE CHILEAN CASE

As indicated by Hallin and Mellado (2017), while each media system is unique, the Chilean case is even more so, in various aspects. Its most significant traits are related to a post-authoritarian political system, with a media that is highly commercial and has a high concentration of ownership (Becerra & Mastrini, 2009). Furthermore, over the last few years, the dominion of electronic media has emerged as a source of information for the people (Hallin & Mellado, 2017).

Along with this, the television industry has experienced changes in its ownership over the last few years, with the entrance of powerful economic groups linked to the retail business (Bethia Group), banking and large-scale mining (Luksic Groups) and transnational communications (Turner Group). A similar aspect in the concentration logic occurs with Chilean radio stations, where the Prisa Group (Spanish capital) predominates. Newspapers, meanwhile, are managed by a duopoly that controls all printed news nationwide (Edwards Group and Copesa).

The close relationship between the economic and political powers of Chile, which is also present in the mass media, was the motivation behind this study of both news dimensions (politics and economics) within the period studied. Hence, this research may be a starting point to moving forward in comprehending similar phenomena of the political communication of South American nations, according to the types of post-authoritarian transition regimes identified by Voltmer (2013) or those suggested in the media systems identified by Hallin and Mancini (2004).

The scandals in Chile affected not only prominent and historical figures of the political world of the main parties but also businesspeople that financed election campaigns that defrauded the tax authority. Against this backdrop, a crisis of trust resulted from situations such as the former

son-in-law of dictator Augusto Pinochet, Julio Ponce Lerou, controlling shareholder of Sociedad Química Minera de Chile (SQM), one of the largest lithium producing companies in the world, acting as an important financier to Chile's left-wing ruling party, or that of a former mining undersecretary of the first government term of Sebastián Piñera (2010-2014) convicted for tax crimes and an unjustified increase in assets. Moreover, important leaders from across the political spectrum were accredited with illicit behavior that resulted in a series of convictions while other lawsuits are still in process with an uncertain final.

These scandals emerged in the midst of an initial judicial inquiry that involved one of the most important financial groups of the Chilean economy, Penta, as the financial articulator of the election campaign of Chilean right-wing parties through tax-evasion schemes. At the same time, news broke of alleged influence peddling affecting the son and daughter-in-law of then-president Michelle Bachelet, involving the speculation of a million-dollar real estate business (Caval case).

In view of the aforementioned, this study establishes the following research questions:

RQ1. What presence do different journalistic roles have in the political-economic coverage presented by television, online media, radio and print media at times of institutional crisis?

RQ2. Are there significant differences in the presence of different professional roles in the macropolitical coverage of Chilean journalism depending on the news platform?

METHODOLOGY

Sample

The content of television, radio, digital and print news published in Chile's most important media (N=1 054) was analyzed, with a design that aims to determine the journalistic roles contained in the news that have been validated in previous research.

Two different procedures were used to select the sample, linked by common technical aspects so as to make the global sample comparable: the same temporal framework (2015), the same days under analysis

and the same unit of analysis. Within each communication media, the units sampled were the selected editions and the unit of analysis was the news piece.

The criteria used to select the media were the size and scope of the audience, the orientation of the audience, the ownership and the level of influence in establishing the agenda. In this way, eight media were included in the study, all of which have ongoing coverage of power and exercise political journalism nationwide.

The print media chosen were *Las Últimas Noticias*, oriented towards a popular press, and *La Tercera*, representing the elite press, both delivering news of general interest with nationwide coverage. *Las Últimas Noticias* forms part of the Edwards Group, owned by *El Mercurio*, and its headlines are known for news on the world of entertainment and TV celebrities or public figures, including politicians. *La Tercera*, meanwhile, is owned by Copesa and its agenda focuses on political and economic topics, with influential front pages carrying exclusive news items of interest for an elite with non-conservative values.

According to the Chilean Association of Publicity (Asociación Chilena de Publicidad, 2017), *Las Últimas Noticias* is in fourth place as the country's most widely read national morning paper from Monday to Sunday, while *La Tercera* ranks third as the print newspaper with the highest readership from Monday to Friday and second on weekends.

With regard to digital news platforms, two online communication media with the largest audience were analyzed, *El Mostrador* and *El Dinamo*. In order to be taken into account, both met the criteria of being native digital sales points rather than digital editions of a traditional print media. *El Mostrador* is known for being one of the Chilean media that has gained influence on the agenda and does not identify with the traditional political groups. As a digital native, according to the Alexa ranking, it ranks first place but if all news portals are considered, it fluctuated among the top ten in 2017. For its part, *El Dinamo* started as an editorial project unrelated to big media groups and its news line is close to social movements and extra-political party leaderships.

In the case of television, the main newscasts were selected from a representative of public television (Televisión Nacional de Chile, [TVN]) and another from private television (Chilevisión), both with high

viewing rates at the time of taking the sample. TVN is the only public television company in Chile, with a board of directors representing diverse political partisan leanings, although the chairman of the board is appointed by the president of Chile in office. Its main newscast, *24 Horas*, seeks to achieve a political balance and disputes the leadership in ratings every year. Chilevisión, on the other hand, has a commercial strategy and is linked to the ownership of the Turner Group. Its newscasts typically begin with police headlines or other high-impact stories.

In radio, two of the most-listened to news programs in the country, from radios BioBio and Cooperativa, were selected. Radio BioBio is an interesting case of a commercial regional media that became a nationwide leader, with strong emphasis on news and the opinion of its journalists and station owners, the Mosciatti family. Radio Cooperativa is also one of Chile's most important private radio stations focused on news, recognized for its role as the medium opposing the Pinochet dictatorship and supporting the "NO" option in the 1988 plebiscite.

The chronogram for the analysis of news content was the entire year of 2015. Based on the constructed week method, a systematic stratified sample was chosen for each selected medium. Thus, a Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Sunday of each semester of the year were randomly selected from each medium. All published news articles, feature stories and interviews of the political and economic sections of each selected edition were analyzed. Brief news items were excluded from the sample.

In total, our sample is comprised of 443 news items from the written media and 141 news items from digital media. The imbalance between the figures is explained by the fact that, in the case of Chile, digital media cover less news articles per day. Meanwhile, the television sample includes 84 news items and radio, 386; a difference that is also explained by the greater daily production of news by radio in comparison to television, especially as regards political-economic issues.

Measures

In order to measure professional roles in news, the instrumentalization proposed and validated by Mellado (2015), and Mellado and Van Dalen (2016) was used, adapting the operationalization of the indicators

initially designed for the format of print media, to digital, television and radio media (Mellado & Vos, 2017), taking into account the audio and visual resources these news items may include. The four journalistic roles incorporated in this research in their distance with power, journalistic voice and audiences, were examined through the explicit presence of specific indicators in the news content.

Each one of these indicators was codified as present (1) or absent (0). For each professional role, scales of multiple elements were generated after carrying out a confirmatory factorial analysis within each dominion. Likewise, independent variables were measured such as type of media, orientation of the medium's audience and the issue in question.

The search process of the editions and articles of the sample, as well as the codification of each news item, was carried out by six codifiers, who were trained by the researchers according to the codebook and coding sheet created for this purpose. In order to reduce bias, the sample was randomly divided among the codifiers. The final global intercoder reliability test, based on Krippendorff's alpha (K_a), was .75.

FINDINGS

The results show significant differences per communication medium in the analysis of the macropolitical coverage in Chile during the analyzed period. This first finding is key to overcoming the limitations observed in many studies that have only focused on the print media and, more specifically, on newspapers, as if they were the only natural space to observe political journalism, without comparing other media.

With regard to the journalistic roles confined to the distance with power in the types of media, the presence of a watchdog model can be seen which coexists with the loyal-facilitator in low amounts. Nevertheless, the watchdog has a significantly higher presence ($M = .07$; $SD = .11$) than the loyal-facilitator ($M = .01$; $SD = .04$). This could draw attention due to the political and journalistic culture that exists in Chile, marked by a post-dictatorial system that tends to self-censure and is oriented towards private and commercial performance. However, previous studies in the Chilean press environment perceive

that the facilitator is present in a more implicit manner (Mellado & Lagos, 2014).

Likewise, by incorporating other media in the analysis, as is the case, certain modifications can be seen to appear inherent of a changing system (Hallin & Mellado, 2017). This does not mean that Chile loses its identifying traits in the context of political transition and control of capital, but we may begin to see more liquid characteristics (Hallin & Mellado, 2017).

The greatest presence of the watchdog role is observed in online media ($M = .10$; $SD = .11$). These media have gained protagonism in political journalism over the last few years in Chile, resulting from the emergence of platforms whose main and emblematic news coverage is focused on power. This is followed by television and radio ($M = .08$ and $M = .08$, respectively), and rounded off by newspapers ($M = .06$). Meanwhile, the facilitator is evidenced in television ($M = .03$) and in print media ($M = .01$), disappearing in radio and online media ($M = .00$ and $M = .00$). Although the media within these roles do not observe any significant differences, certain particularities are observed in digital media and radio stations vis-à-vis print media and television.

In this sense, it was interesting to include in the multiplatform comparison the journalist voice dimension, especially the interventionist role, and to analyze whether there was coherence or existing relevant situations with previously submitted data. Although the figures are not high, this role has the most significant presence in Chilean macropolitical coverage ($M = .21$; $SD = .23$).

Television proposes a more active journalistic function in this respect ($M = .38$; $SD = .22$). The findings show us that television is a complex, hybrid journalistic bastion in the coexistence of its functions. This is because of the inherent traits of images and the audiovisual narration, as well as the emotional variations that stories can take on during newscasts, adopting positions that oscillate between a “sharp” point and a more measured or “softer” one in political coverage, even from one day to another, probably to manage internal and external tensions and loyalties.

Radio follows with the interventionist role ($M = .23$; $SD = .26$), a medium that enjoys credibility among Chilean audiences, as it is

considered to be a more questioning, opinionated and independent space towards the authorities, along with a natural proximity achieved with its programming and style. Nevertheless, the occurrence of these characteristics in radio does not seem to be very high. Online media and print media fall behind in their interventionist role ($M = .20$ and $M = .18$, respectively).

Another interesting dimension added to this multiplatform investigation of roles, now with a focus on the audience, was the behavior of infotainment. In political communication, it takes on an effect of spectacularization in the corruption scandals and increasingly more often in the treatment of politics (Castells, 2009), as a way of generating greater interest in audiences on issues that do not usually increase ratings or readership, or deflect attention from other topics.

The findings show this function to be present in all of the media, with greater intensity in television ($M = .19$; $SD = .21$), followed by online media ($M = .10$; $SD = .14$), print media ($M = .09$; $SD = .14$) and radio ($M = .05$; $DS = .12$).

Of course, the audiovisual format favors some media over others in infotainment, such as television and online platforms. This is true because of the massive political coverage they conduct with narrative resources typical of these spaces. Although they may be more dependent on economic power and the need for commercial success, they maintain quotas as interventionists and, to a very small extent, the watchdog role with respect to power.

These nuances, which are not necessarily contradictory, can be explained by the type of vigilance that television conducts of the political world, which in the case of Chile tends to replicate other media in the design of its political agenda and to be self-regulating when it focuses too much attention on a controversial political case (Dermota, 2003).

The performance of print media is more homogenous in its journalistic functions, and significant differences can be seen with other media. In terms of roles, the greatest difference of newspapers is observed as loyal-facilitator ($M = .01$; $SD = .05$) with regard to the rest of the descriptions. For its part, online media stands out for its

low presence as loyal for this period and higher as interventionist, exhibiting certain behaviors resembling that of newspapers. This is also reflected in the infotainment and watchdog roles, as there is a slight but insignificant difference that favors online media.

Significant differences are seen in the presence of journalistic roles analyzed on all platforms. The manifestation of the interventionist role leads in the analysis of 1 054 political-economic news items ($M = .21$; $SD = .26$), followed by infotainment ($M = .08$; $SD = .14$), then watchdog ($M = .07$; $SD = .11$) and finally, the loyal facilitator ($M = .01$; $SD = .04$).

That said, such a low percentage for the loyal does not mean that this figure does not exist in the political press, but rather that it can be very present, for example, in implied relationships with power or in the number of sources of authorities that are incorporated in the news.

CONCLUSIONS

This investigation reaffirms the evident difficulties that watchdog journalism experiences in the Chilean reality at the multiplatform level. In spite of the crisis of trust and institutions that marked the political and economic agenda in 2015, the watchdog does not present significant activity in its functions of questioning or overseeing the authority, in accordance with the methodological design applied. Nevertheless, the distance with power does not encourage either a loyal-facilitator role towards the economic and political structures. Chilean political journalism, in this context, continues to reaffirm the traits found in previous studies and periods limited only to the print media (Mellado & Lagos, 2014; Mellado, López-Rabadán & Elórtegui, 2017).

The more specific indicators show a journalism that does not assume the need to establish levels of conflict for social or political change, admits the little interest that political-economic coverage generates in the majority of the audiences, and applies commercial and spectacular logic to generating their news. Neither does it feel very stimulated to defend anyone or champion nationalist or corporate causes.

A conspicuous influence of the economic model over the media system, a part as well of a post-authoritarian political structure, can

explain these conclusions. Together with this, the Chilean media concentrate a private ownership linked to important economic groups, whose political leanings, in turn, are openly known. In this respect, the balances between the need to inform and not risk credibility with audiences that are volatile and critical of the Chilean political scene, but without losing focus on institutionalism and dependencies on power from the normative standpoint (*status quo*), are aspects of Chilean political communication that are reflected in these findings.

Likewise, there are aspects that should be looked at with attention, as they may be embryonic instances of a political journalism that is transiting towards change. This could be true, for example, of an interventionist role whose nature is more related to interpretation (36%) and use of adjectives (43%) in the general descriptions of the indicators, which could lead to more active forms of journalism in the questioning and oversight of politics.

There are two other aspects that can be concluded from this investigation. The first one, a media system that evidences dynamism in its correlations between platforms that not only explains the speed of news production, but also the performance of roles that do not remain static in macropolitical journalism. This entails a second aspect, a journalistic performance that is complex and hybrid. It is not seen as predictable and combines roles that could lead to changes in the media system. The more respective performances between the media are compared, the more nuances and tones can be seen in the behavior towards the facts, actors and processes.

Future research should make a more extensive analysis in the period, so as to determine whether these characteristics remain the same or develop into a more elaborate profile. For example, if the watchdog and interventionist traits of online media will continue to grow, impacting the media of the platforms, or if infotainment in Chile will continue to perceive politics as a privileged space that personalizes crises.

In summary, the analysis must continue to see whether institutional ties loosen up or return stronger than ever, in pursuit of revealing how much restriction or margin for movement there is for political journalism, either under normal or democratically tense circumstances.

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