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Argentine political influencers on X during the 2023 presidential campaign

Influencers políticos argentinos en X durante la campaña presidencial de 2023

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This article presents the results of an exploratory research project on the communication of Argentine political influencers on X, in the context of the 2023 presidential campaign. Through content analysis methodology, 60 posts by political Internet users with more than a thousand followers on X who had a visible identity and were neither journalists nor professional politicians were analyzed. The results found a dominance of logical microarguments over emotional ones and, within these, the elicitation of negative emotions over positive ones, the participation of lower-ranking political influencers in this type of digital conversation on the platform, as well as the use of humor in their communications.\(^1\) **KEYWORDS:** Influencers, X, communication style, arguments, speeches.

En este artículo se presentan resultados de una investigación exploratoria sobre la comunicación de los influencers políticos argentinos en X, en el marco de la campaña presidencial de 2023. A través de una metodología que implicó el análisis de contenido, se analizaron 60 publicaciones realizadas por internautas políticos con más de mil seguidores en X y que poseían una identidad visible, que no eran periodistas ni políticos profesionales. Se encontró la dominancia de microargumentaciones lógicas por sobre las emocionales y, dentro de estas, la suscitación de emociones negativas por sobre las positivas, la participación de influencers políticos de menor rango en este tipo de conversación digital en la plataforma, así como la utilización del humor entre sus comunicaciones.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Influencers políticos, X, estilo de comunicación, argumentaciones, discursos.

Este artigo apresenta os resultados de uma pesquisa exploratória sobre a comunicação dos influenciadores políticos argentinos no X, no contexto da campanha presidencial de 2023. Por meio de uma metodologia que envolveu a análise de conteúdo, foram investigadas 60 publicações feitas por internautas políticos com mais de mil seguidores no X e que possuíam uma identidade visível, e que não eram jornalistas nem políticos profissionais. O resultado foi o predomínio de microargumentações lógicas sobre as emocionais e, dentro destas, a suscitação de emoções negativas sobre as positivas, a participação de influenciadores políticos de menor importância neste tipo de conversa digital na plataforma, bem como o uso do humor em suas comunicações.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Influenciadores políticos, X, estilo de comunicação, argumentações, discursos.

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INTRODUCTION

This study investigates political influencers' communication on X (formerly Twitter) in the context of the 2023 presidential campaign. We present the results of exploratory research that analyzes the characteristics of communication styles based on 60 publications posted by Argentine political influencers on the X digital platform.

Political influencers have entered the mediated public space in political campaigns in recent years in Western democracies (Carcavilla Puey et al., 2024; Mackelmann, 2024; Muñoz, 2021). In this regard, studies have examined political influencers' communication styles in the media ecosystem (Yaguache et al., 2020), such as prominent figures on the YouTube platform (Fischer et al., 2022), in TikTok clips (Alonso-López & Sidorenko-Bautista, 2023; García Beaudoux & Slimovich, 2024), and on Instagram (Palacios-López et al., 2025). We also find, within the specific context of X, studies on the digital authority of political influencers (Casero Ripollés, 2021).

Likewise, research has centered on the characteristics of the communication issued by politicians and candidates themselves, both in the mass media and in the materials published on their official accounts on social networks such as Facebook, TikTok, Instagram and X (García Beaudoux & Slimovich, 2021, 2023; Moreno Díaz, 2022). This work focuses on X and the selected sample intentionally excludes journalists and users who are professionally involved in political activity.

The decision to explore the communication of political influencers on X is based on the special interweaving that this social network has with political discourse (Slimovich, 2021) and on the impact that the platform has on the media ecosystem and the agenda (Calvo & Aruguete, 2018).

Likewise, X is a platform where polarization dominates in the electoral scenario (Acosta, 2022; Calvo & Aruguete, 2022). Indeed, investigations (Acosta, 2022) have shown that in Argentina influencer accounts are the ones that produce the most interaction, that the topics that prevail are those generated by these accounts, and that polarization predominates among user communities. Thus, those who generate the greatest number of viral publications that reach the mass media are

the opinion leaders and authorities of the network (Calvo & Aruguete, 2018). At the same time, the X platform is characterized by its capacity for viralization, mediatization, and citizen activism (Pérez-Curiel & García Gordillo, 2018).

In the following pages, we first present a brief review of the findings on Argentine political communication on X and the changes in recent years. Second, we present the definition of "political influencer" used in this research. Next, we present the main results of the empirical exploration, which analyzes variables such as the predominance of political information or *politainment* in the influencers' communications, the preponderance of logical or emotional appeals in their microarguments, the use of humor as a political communication tactic, the type of content of their publications, and the prominence or absence of their personal figures in their communication.

POLITICS AND THE FIGURE OF THE POLITICAL INFLUENCER

Current digital political discourse is affected by transformations in the world of politics. First, the parties that organized protests and played "a role of safety valves or transmission belts between citizens and institutions" (Forti, 2021, p. 46) have been dissolved. At the same time, the centrality of negativity has increased, with the predominance of rejection over adherence to a project (Annunziata, 2015; Rosanvallon, 2007); and, in this way, negative political communication, a type of message that focuses on arousing negative emotions in citizens, such as fear or anxiety, anger, and feelings of rejection towards their opponents, has grown significantly in recent decades (Crespo-Martinez et al., 2022).

Mediatization is defined as a process that unfolds in different phases, with a significant leap and acceleration in the last quarter of the 20th century (Hjarvard, 2014; Verón, 1984, 2013), and then again with the emergence of social networks and a new resizing in the contemporary period of deepening digitalization. Specifically, the historical process of the mediatization of politics supposes the imbrication of political and media logics (Couldry, 2014; Hjarvard, 2014; Strömbäck, 2008). With the generation of these digital spaces, a new leap was generated and "it

became clear that the replicating public on the Internet is not only made up of militants or members of political parties, but has also widened" (Slimovich, 2022, p. 40). We are referring to the emergence of "militant Internet fans" (Slimovich, 2012, p. 152), users with strong attachment to politicians who produce political content on social media supporting them and opposing others, and who digitally display their identity anchored to that partisan affiliation. These Internet users are digital sociopolitical subjects who participate in political activity through social media, engaging in political conversations on the platforms, launching campaigns anchored in hashtags, orienting digital discussions, generating messages in favor of a political idea, a person, a party, a force, or against it, among other actions. They do so in a manner analogous to a fan of mass media (Slimovich, 2012). These militant Internet users are united on social media and form collectives, but they also occupy urban space in mobilizations that intersect the urban with the digital. In short, these militant Internet fan users, who emerged with social media, became the precursors of the political influencers of the contemporary era, who, in addition to displaying a political-partisan identity on their social media, also have a community of followers (García Beaudoux & Slimovich, 2024).

Influencers often start as ordinary users whose messages are geared toward their everyday lives and later become influential by accumulating many followers (Abidin, 2016). The literature review reveals that there is no academic consensus or single definition of the concept of "political influencer" (Casero Ripollés, 2020; Riedl et al., 2021, 2023). A recurring point of debate is whether journalists should be considered within this category (Peres-Neto, 2022), as well as the inclusion of figures holding political positions (de Gregorio & Goanta, 2022). However, there is agreement around three essential dimensions for defining a political influencer: the generation of political content, the use of digital platforms, and their capacity to influence (Riedl et al., 2023). In this study, in order to clarify the concept, we adopt a definition that integrates these three dimensions along with three additional ones, which has been used in previous studies (García Beaudoux & Slimovich, 2024): the type of broadcaster, their identity, and their level of popularity. We believe that any definition of a political influencer should consider not only the content, the platform, and its impact, but also aspects related to the broadcaster's profile, their identity, and their level of recognition.

A political influencer in this work is therefore defined as:

Any user who is not a journalist or professional politician, with a verifiable identity in their digital publications, who has gained notoriety on social media, manifested in their large community of followers on one or more platforms, and who can influence others' attitudes or behaviors through the political content they create or share to support or question public issues (García Beaudoux & Slimovich, 2024, p. 3).

Unlike the definitions proposed by authors such as Riedl et al. (2023) and Goodwin et al. (2023), who characterize political influencers as content creators who support or associate themselves with a political position by producing or disseminating material on social media platforms, this paper proposes that political influencers can engage in social media to either support or question leaders or political, social, or electoral issues. Furthermore, influencers have different statuses depending on their number of followers. Campbell and Farrel (2020) developed and defined the following typology: "mega-influencers" are those with more than one million followers; "macro-influencers" are those with between 10 000 and one million; "micro-influencers" are those with between 10 000 and 100 000; and finally, "nano-influencers" are those with fewer than 10 000.

In Latin America, an increasing number of empirical studies characterize political influencers in electoral contexts. The Friedrich Ebert Foundation's (2022) report, *Influencers in the Political Sphere*, documented, based on questionnaires and interviews in Argentina, Chile, Colombia, and Mexico, how young people identify and engage with influencers who are part of the digital political conversation. In a complementary vein, Ravecca et al. (2022) systematically analyzed more than thirty thousand Twitter posts by Latin American influencers and activists, showing the role they play in the circulation of political discourse, particularly from right-wing positions. Likewise, García Beaudoux and Slimovich (2024) examined the 2023 presidential campaign in Argentina and Spain and found that political influencers on

TikTok focused on disseminating hard political information, using logical micro-arguments and a balanced mix of emotions. This background shows that, although still in its infancy, there is an expanding empirical field in the region, which reinforces the relevance of approaching the Argentine case in 2023 from an exploratory perspective.

Regarding arguments on social media, we return to the notion of "logical micro-argumentation" and "emotional micro-argumentation", which we have discussed elsewhere (Slimovich, 2022). These are condensed meanings characterized by their brevity and they can permeate other media and/or social networks (Slimovich, 2022). At the same time, we refer to "logical micro-argumentations" when these meanings are oriented toward micro-enthymemes (with propositions and conclusions) or micro-examples (cases that function as evidence), and to "emotional micro-arguments" when they refer to negative or positive emotions intended to be elicited in the political Internet user receiving the publication.

INFLUENCERS ON SOCIAL MEDIA

Influencers have emerged as opinion leaders in communication, playing a crucial role in shaping public opinion and in the communication strategies of political parties (Rodrigo-Martín et al., 2022). Palacios López and Bonete Vizcaíno (2024) conducted an exploratory study on Spanish influencers on Instagram and revealed that these new digital actors accumulate millions of young followers and register high interaction, combining political information with entertainment and addressing current issues through the platform's own formats, such as reels. This study shows the potential impact of influencers on young people and on deliberative democracy in social media. For their part, Fernández Gomez et al. (2018) also explored Spanish influencers but on X and concluded that they are emerging as new opinion leaders who combine personal branding with the role of prescriber, including messages with political thematic content. They found in their research that the discourse they published was moderate, and even de-ideologized. On the contrary, Timal Lopez (2024) studies Mexican electoral processes on social networks and concludes that

users with a good number of followers take a position on social media and invite people to vote for certain candidates, even during electoral bans.

Likewise, Acosta Corral and Sánchez Jánosik (2024) study Ecuadorian political influencers in an electoral context –specifically during Guillermo Lasso's presidential campaign in 2021- and conclude that they play the role of simplifiers of political reality through the use of entertainment and simple media content that is embedded in the logic of social media platforms, which they use to generate engagement with their followers, challenging their emotions and influencing their behavior and decision-making. At the same time, Jiménez-Ovando and Cadavid-Echeverri (2022) carried out a study of seven influencers during the post-electoral political crisis in Bolivia in October 2019. They revealed that the influencers studied, having access to and extensive knowledge regarding digital platforms, managed to amplify their political message, as part of a permanent campaign against Evo Morales, under a logic of ideological polarization through the use of adjectives and different narrative resources. Finally, Mateus et al. (2022) investigate the role of influencers in a critical context -that of the COVID-19 health crisisand concluded that within the framework of that crisis, the relationship between influencers and their communities acquired a new sense of civic and social commitment by mixing information and entertainment.

Regarding the Argentine case, in previous research (García Beaudoux & Slimovich, 2024) we have shown that on TikTok during the 2023 electoral campaigns, political influencers published videos that contained more hard political information than soft information, that logical micro-arguments predominate, and that there was a balanced communication appealing to positive and negative emotions.

In summary, the review of Latin American studies on political influencers reveals a field of research that is still in consolidation, characterized by predominantly descriptive approaches and with little comparison between platforms, countries, or electoral contexts. Most works have focused on analyzing the emergence of these actors on Tik-Tok, Instagram, or YouTube, while systematic research on X is still scarce. The relationship between the different levels of influence (nano, micro, macro) and the communication styles they adopt has also not

been deeply explored. In this sense, the present study seeks to fill these gaps through an empirical approach focused on the Argentine case of 2023, which allows us to examine how the discursive styles of political influencers are configured on a platform strongly linked to public debate and political polarization.

THE 2023 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

The 2023 Argentine electoral contest unfolded in three key stages. Open, simultaneous, and mandatory primary elections were held on August 13, during which parties defined their internal candidates and outlined electoral trends for the general elections. In this phase, three political forces obtained very close results: La Libertad Avanza, led by Javier Milei, took first place with 29.86%, followed by Juntos por el Cambio, led by Patricia Bullrich (28%), and Unión por la Patria, led by Sergio Massa (27.28%). Subsequently, in the general elections on October 22, Massa obtained first place with 36.6%, while Milei placed second with 29.9%. Finally, the November 19 runoff election concluded with the victory of the Milei-Villarruel ticket over Massa-Rossi, with 55.5% to 44.5%. This result marked, for the first time in the country's history, the electoral triumph of a radical right-wing force. Thus, the triumph of the libertarian candidate, who positioned himself as an outsider and combined economic votes with anti-system protest votes, was obtained (Murillo & Oliveros, 2024). The media covered the electoral process with an emphasis on emotional framings (consensus/ conflict) over rational ones (official/opposition positions) (Arcangeletti et al., 2024). In relation to the political campaign on social networks, it was characterized by the insertion of influential political figures on TikTok, Instagram, Facebook and X -without them being people who held political positions—, marking the beginning of the electoral processes with a strong incidence of political influencers in the media ecosystem.

The 2023 presidential election in Argentina constitutes thus a pertinent case for an exploratory study. The growing inclusion of "political influencers" in electoral campaigns has already been documented in various international contexts: for example, Schwemmer

and Riedl (2025) observe that influencers have evolved from creating lifestyle content to emerging as actors shaping political discourse. In the Argentine scenario, however, there is a lack of systematic research addressing this phenomenon. Therefore, a first approach was chosen that, without attempting to generalize, allows for the description of initial patterns and opens the debate on the possible impact of these actors in highly mediatized and polarized campaigns.

METHODOLOGY

The objective of this research is to define the communication style of political influencers on X during the 2023 presidential campaign. The concept of *style* can be understood as a "way of doing things" (Steimberg, 2013, p. 60). It is based on the premise that there are patterns of action that are repeated in social and discursive life. For the purposes of this work, the variable "communication style" is defined as repeated traits in the way political influencers usually interact with their followers in mediated communication contexts.

The research has a cross-sectional time sequence, is descriptive and exploratory. On X, common users, digital media, influencers, political influencers, trolls and bots coexist, so the selection of the sample is incidental and, consequently, the results have no claim of representativeness. Content analysis was used to systematically investigate the selected sample of publications, which is made up of 60 units of analysis. The universe from which the sample was drawn consists of publications made on the X social network in the period prior to the primary election (July-August 2023) by users who meet the characteristics of political influencers. Thus, political influencers on X were defined as users who had: more than 1 000 followers, a recognizable identity with photo, first name, and last name, sustained political publications over time, and who were not professional politicians or journalists. Each publication in the sample was considered a unit of analysis. The sixty posts that were analyzed were made in response to candidates' posts on the platform regarding electoral spots.

The users who produced the 60 analyzed posts were selected to reflect diverse sociopolitical positions: "Mileistas", "Kirchneristas",

left-wing, and PRO. At the same time, the influencers selected were also expected to support one position while others opposed it.

The decision to work exclusively with posts reacting to presidential spots reflects the centrality of these communication pieces within the framework of electoral campaigns. The spots constitute privileged moments for the candidates' intervention in the media and digital agenda, encapsulating their proposals and positions. Analyzing influencers' responses to these messages allows us to observe how these non-professional political actors insert themselves into the core of the digital political conversation, amplifying, challenging, or redefining the meanings proposed by the candidates. In this sense, the selection of the corpus reflects the methodological intention of capturing accurately the interaction between official political communication and non-professional digital influencers in an electoral context.

Based on the general objective of exploring some characteristics of the communication styles of political influencers on X, seven specific objectives were set:

- O1. Explore whether the communication style of political influencers on X is characterized more by the communication of hard/public/political or soft/politainment information.
- O2. Explore whether the communication style of political influencers on X is characterized by micro-arguments with a predominance of logical or emotional appeals.
- O3. Explore the type of emotions that political influencers on X aim to provoke.
- O4. Explore the frequency with which political influencers on X use humor as a communication strategy.
- O5. Explore the degree of prominence of the political influencers' own figures in their communication on X.
- O6. Explore the types of content political influencers use in their communication on Twitter/ X.
- O7. Explore the categories of political influencers on X.

A data collection matrix was designed, tailored to the research variables and indicators included in each specific objective. The conceptual

and operational stipulations of the variables for this research are presented below. The coding of the variables coincides with their operational definition. That is, the indicators that are operationalized and detailed below in the description of each variable constituted the inputs or categories used for coding.

Variable 1. Communicated Information: For research purposes, this variable was defined as binary. Information can be hard/public/political, or soft/politainment. The first type of information alludes to issues of public, political, or social content. Operationally, these are publications that mention activities and/or social and political actors involved in decision-making, events, and campaign proposals or government actions. Soft information/politainment, on the other hand, characterizes publications where entertainment content predominates over informational content. Operationally, it includes publications related to people in the political sphere when they act in extrapolitical spaces, as well as those that allude to the personal, family, and private life of the influencer, candidates, governors, or other leaders, anecdotes, hobbies, personalities from the entertainment world, and humorous situations (García Beaudoux & Slimovich, 2021, 2023).

Variable 2. Predominant micro-argument: The variable was defined as binary, with micro-arguments being either logical or emotional. The indicators for the first class are references to ideas, debates, or proposals. The indicators for the second class were appeals to joy, sadness, love, fear, anger, disgust, calm, guilt, shame, pride, hope, or optimism.

Variable 3. Humor: A communication strategy that uses humorous, witty, or ironic appeals. Operationally, it consists of the inclusion of memes, jokes, or humorous elements in the expression of ideas.

Variable 4. Communicated emotion: Emotion is conceptually defined as an experienced reaction or response to a stimulus. Operationally, the presence or absence of attempts to elicit 12 emotions in posts commenting on content was classified: joy, sadness, love, fear, anger or rage, disgust or displeasure, calm, guilt, shame, pride, hope, and optimism.

Variable 5. Content type: Content was conceptually defined as the issues discussed in the posts, which tended more toward the political or

personal spheres. For operational purposes, it was classified exclusively into one of three categories: promotion or negative assessments of a candidate's or leader's performance, and posts in which the influencer made general references to the social, political, or electoral context.

Variable 6. Prominence: The prominence variable refers to the presence of the political influencer in the post. Operationally, these are the publications in which their participation is mentioned and/or their face, body, and/or voice are clearly identifiable.

MAIN RESULTS

Communication style of political influencers on X: communication of hard/public/political or soft/politiainment information

In the sampled publications, the communication style that prevails is that of strictly political information during the election period. Indeed, 100% of the publications follow this style, and no messages containing soft information were identified. In this sense, no anecdotal, emotional, or human content predominates over political, civic, or public content. Furthermore, no messages focused on the private or intimate lives of the candidates or the political influencers themselves are recorded among the publications. Thus, it is observed that political influencers on X focus on messages with political content tied to the current political situation and the topics on the media and digital agenda at that time. This absolute predominance of strictly political content contributes to the great impact these influencers' publications have on the media and political ecosystem (Calvo & Aruguete, 2018).

TABLE 1	
COMMUNICATION STYLE OF POLITICAL INFLUENCERS ON X	

Style	Percentage
Hard information/public/properly political	100
Soft information/politainment	0
Total	100

Source: The authors.

Communication style of political influencers on X: micro-arguments with a predominance of logical or emotional appeals

In the publications sampled, logical micro-arguments predominate slightly (51.67%) over emotional micro-arguments (48.33%). In fact, political influencers in the period prior to the 2023 election preferred to use rational evidence in their X messages, despite the platform's character limitation. They employed micro-enthymemes involving statistics, figures, explanatory propositions, and factual information, as well as micro-examples presenting specific cases, rather than appeals designed to arouse emotions in political Internet users. In short, in their publications, brief, multimedia content containing rational evidence clearly coexists with content aimed at arousing emotions.

TABLE 2	
TYPE OF MICRO-ARGUMENTATION OF POLITICAL INFLUENCERS ON X	

Туре	Percentage
Logical micro-arguments	51.67
Emotional micro-arguments	48.33
Total	100

Source: The authors.

Type of emotions that political influencers on X aim to provoke

Within emotional micro-arguments, posts that aim to provoke positive emotions, such as joy, optimism or hope, are the minority (41.37%), compared to those that arouse negative emotions such as anger/rage, disgust/disgust and shame (58.63%). Thus, appealing to negative political communication predominates among political influencers on X. The arousal of this type of emotion can occur through linguistic text or also a combination of multiple signifying materials—text plus video, text plus gif, text plus edited photo, etc.

Frequency with which political influencers on X use humor as a communication strategy

Regarding the use of humor as a communication tactic by this type of user, in the case of influencers' publications, only a minority employ it

 $\label{eq:table 3} \text{Types of emotion that political influencers aim to arouse on } X$

Туре	Percentage
Positive	41.37
Negative	58.63
Total	100

Source: The authors.

(16.67% of posts in the sample). Thus, posts with memes, with edited productions aimed at eliciting laughter, are the minority in the set of messages analyzed. Thus, it is evident that, unlike Instagram, where the use of infotainment and recreational genres is central, on X, political influencers approach content types through classic informative or political genres.

TABLE 4
PERCENTAGE OF USE OF HUMOR BY POLITICAL INFLUENCERS ON X

Use of humor	Percentage
Use of humor	16.67
No use of humor	83.33
Total	100

Source: The authors.

Degree of prominence of the political influencers' own figures in their communication on \boldsymbol{X}

Regarding the prominence of political influencers on X, it is evidently minimal, appearing in only 1.67% of publications. Thus, in most publications, influencers focus on referring to candidates rather than themselves in the process. Their presence fades, and they communicate like ordinary users —those with fewer than a thousand followers and no established community.

TABLE 5

DEGREE OF PROMINENCE OF POLITICAL INFLUENCERS ON X

Prominence	Percentage
Yes	1.67
No	98.33
Total	100

Source: The authors.

Types of content political influencers use in their communication on X

Regarding the topics of the posts, most of them were attacks on a candidate or political leader (66.67%), followed by promotion of a leader (28.33%), and the minority were thematic references to the political and/or social context (5%). This shows a polarization in the types of posts, with attacks and promotions of a candidate or political force accounting for 95% of the posts.

 $\label{thm:table 6} Table \ 6$ Types of content from political influencers on Twitter/ X

Туре	Percentage
Promotion of the management of a candidate or political	28.33
leader	
References to the political and social context	5
Attack on a candidate or political leader	66.67
Total	100

Source: The authors.

Categories of political influencers on X

Regarding the types of political influencers detected in the sample analyzed prior to the 2023 election on X, a predominance of users with a smaller community of followers was found, the nano-influencers—between one thousand and ten thousand followers— (86.66%) and the micro-influencers—between ten thousand and one hundred thousand followers— (18.37%). The absence of mega-influencers and macro-influencers in the analyzed corpus shows that digital political

conversation is adjusted between common users and political influencers who achieved their status recently –they were militant Internet users before— or who are stagnant in the growth of their community.

TABLE 7
TYPES OF POLITICAL INFLUENCERS ON X

Туре	Percentage
Mega-influencer	0
Macro-influencer	0
Micro-influencer	18.37
Nano-influencer	86.66
Total	100

Source: The authors.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Having conducted research on a sample of 60 publications on X by political influencers who posted messages in reaction to posts by Argentine presidential candidates between July and August 2023, some patterns were found as well as differences with previous studies of political influencers on other social media platforms. Despite the small sample size included in the exploration, which requires extreme caution when drawing conclusions, it is interesting to reflect on some of these initial findings.

First, it is worth noting a concentration of content types in a campaign period –the run-up to the 2023 Argentine elections– marked by the polarization of digital conversation around three political forces: La Libertad Avanza, Juntos por el Cambio, and Unión por la Patria, which in turn focused on three presidential candidates: Milei, Massa, and Bullrich. Within this framework, the results regarding political influencers' topics on X were consistent, showing that their communications were polarized between promoting the candidate corresponding to their party affiliation or attacking their main adversary. Thus, it was found that influencers' content on X followed the trend toward polarization of contemporary political communication on that social network (Calvo & Aruguete, 2022).

Likewise, the predominance of attacks on politicians over their promotion in these political influencers' posts is consistent with the current trend of negative political communication that characterizes the candidates they support (Crespo-Martinez et al., 2022). In this regard, the study identifies a certain imitation of the communication style between political influencers and candidates at that time. In parallel, the study also found that, in the case of the posts analyzed, those evoking negative emotions predominated over positive ones among these types of political Internet users. This is also in line with the predominance of negative political communication in digital political discourse (Crespo-Martinez et al., 2022).

Second, the research found that, in the corpus of messages analyzed –issued in response to candidates' posts in the pre-campaign period on X– only common users (fewer than 1 000 followers), micro-influencers (10 000 to 100 000), and nano-influencers (between 1 000 and 10 000) participated (Campbell & Farrell, 2020). In this regard, there are indications suggesting that on the X platform, the highest-ranking influencers post their own content and do not participate in the reactions or responses to posts by the candidates they support or reject.

Third, the research found that all messages posted by political influencers were characterized by strictly political content and by the absence of messages containing soft information. This predominance of messages from political influencers with political, civic, or public content, to the detriment of anecdotal or private content, is consistent with previous studies conducted on political influencers on TikTok (García Beaudoux & Slimovich, 2024), showing that during electoral periods, the political-electoral framework dominates the communications of these digital political leaders.

Fourth, another result indicates the use of humor in the analyzed communications of political influencers on X. It would seem that, regardless of the platform, political influencers tend to combine information, politics, and entertainment (Palacios López & Bonete-Vizcaíno, 2024).

Finally, the predominance of logical micro-arguments over emotional ones detected in the analysis of political influencers' communications suggests that, unlike what has been revealed by other studies -such as Acosta Corral and Sánchez Jánosik (2024)— the political messages of this type of political Internet user on X during campaign periods make the political debate more complex rather than simpler. At the same time, they are consistent with what has been revealed in previous studies on the communication of political influencers on TikTok (García Beaudoux & Slimovich, 2024).

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