



Keying. PÁgina12 and the smuggling of ammunition to Bolivia

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Abstract: The objective of the work is the description of the modulation process of a frame from a primary frame of a news item in a graphic media with a digital page. The work proposal is justified by the influence that the modulation process has on the subjective perception of audiences with a reading contract about a media, when identifying a problem as a threat to the democratic and popular system in Latin America. On the other hand, to identify theoretical aspects about the modulation process that can provide a contribution to the Agenda Setting theory from the framing of the news or agenda framework, built between the discourse of the media and the official discourse of a hegemonic state.

Keywords: modulation process, keying, agenda framework, frame, agenda, remodulation, rekeying, mediocracy.

Keying. Página 12 y el contrabando de munición a Bolivia

Resumen:El objetivo del trabajo es la descripción del proceso de modulación de un *frame* a partir de un marco primario de una noticia de un medio gráfico con página digital. La propuesta del trabajo se justifica en la influencia que el proceso de modulación tiene en la percepción subjetiva de las audiencias con contrato de lectura sobre un medio, al momento de identificar un problema como amenaza al sistema democrático y popular en Latinoamérica.

Por otro lado, identificar aspectos teóricos sobre el proceso de modulación que puedan brindar un aporte a la teoría de la Agenda Setting desde el encuadre de la noticia o marco de agenda, construido entre el discurso de los medios y el discurso oficial de un estado hegemónico.

Palabras Clave: proceso de modulación, *keying*, marco de agenda, *frame*, agenda, remodulación, *rekeying*, mediocracia.

I. Introduction

1.1. Presentation

According to Marta Martín Llaguna (2000, pp. 115 – 116) [1]Lasswell's (1948) theory that gave the press the ability to monitor the social environment and that of McCombs, M; Einsiedel E. and Weaver D (1991) [2] who maintain the quality of sentinel of the system become current with the advancement of new technologies, the globalization of communications and the power of mass media entities with the capacity to publicize collectively and simultaneously in a more complex and integrated environment.

But the research does not aim to detail the power of the media to impose an agenda of a hegemonic discourse on a particular issue or problem, but the objective of the work is the description of the process of modulation of a frame from a primary frame [3] of a news item from a graphic media with a digital page.

To materialize this idea, the Theme/Problem is the description of the process of modulation or Keying of the Smuggling of war material to Bolivia by the Macri government built by the newspaper *Página 12* between July 9 and September 8, 2021, from primary framework presented by that media in its digital edition through the news of the "Coup d'état in Bolivia" between November 09 and 12, 2019.

The work proposal is justified by the influence that the modulation process has on the subjective perception of audiences with a reading contract about a media, when identifying a problem as a threat to the democratic and popular system in Latin America. And on the other hand, to identify theoretical aspects about the modulation process that can provide a contribution to the theory of Agenda Setting from the framing of the news or agenda framework, built between the discourse of the media and the official discourse of a hegemonic state. This



approach is proposed from an exploratory perspective to the Keying concept developed by Goffman (2006) [4], Sádaba (2008) [5] and the experience of McCombs (2004) [6].

The Corpus of the investigation is made up of two groups, the first made up of thirteen articles corresponding to the construction of the primary framework through the digital edition of the graphic media *Página 12* corresponding to the period between November 09 and 12, 2019 at times in which the Bolivian right wing questioned the electoral process with the support of the OAS and demanded the resignation of President Evo Morales and his Vice President. The second group made up of 63 articles from the digital edition of the same print media, published between July 9, 2021, when the newspaper presents the first evidence of the smuggling of war material by the Cambiemos government, until September 8, 2021 moment in which the Primary, Open, Simultaneous and Mandatory elections (PASO) take place in Argentina.

1.2. Theoretical framework¹

The concept of Second Level of Agenda, Agenda of Attributes or Qualities according to McCombs (2004) [7] suggests that the setting of the agenda is connected with the fabrication of the image and stereotypes. For Rodríguez Días (2004) [8] to talk about Agenda Attributes is to directly relate to the Framing Theory as a frontier to the Agenda Setting theory. [9]

Robert Entman (2003) [10] presents the theme of Agenda framework - framing- or framing, concentrating on the relationship between a hegemonic sector and the media, in his work "*Cascading Activation: Contesting the White House's Frame After 9 /11*", article published in 2003 and consolidated in 2004, in his book "*Projection of Power*". On the other hand, at certain times not only the frameworks or schemes are handled but also other subsequent transformation processes.

For Erving Goffman (2006) [11] these frame transformations are called keyings or modulations:

"The key (key) I refer here to the set of conventions through which a given activity, already endowed with meaning in terms of a certain primary

frame of reference, is transformed into something based on this activity, but considered by the participants as something very different. The transcription process can be called change or transposition of keys (keyings). Keying, then, when it occurs, plays a crucial role in determining what we think is really happening" Goffman, E (2006: 47) [12]

The work is part of the Agenda Setting Theory and the Second Level of Agenda² in general (Maxwell McCombs, 2004 [13] ; Alicia Casarmino, 2005 [14] and Teresa Sádaba, 2008 [15]) and the framework Agenda in particular (Robert Entman, 2003, 2004) [16] , and specifically the keying (Goffman, Erving, 2006) [17] or modulation, which in the words of Sádaba (2008) [18] is defined as:

"A transcription process where the primary frames constitute the base that contains already significant aspects, thanks to which it is possible to advance in the process of giving meaning to the facts with new interpretations. The same event can thus become part of different explanatory systems" (2008, p. 25). [19]

The concept of modulation is the theoretical bridge that connects the agenda of the hegemonic discourse with the agenda of the media and the process of transformation of meaning between both.

1.3. Methodology³

Defined the Topic/Problem, the period of time to study and the Corpus, we proceed to the Data Analysis. Based on what has been described, the general strategy to address the problem is a mixed qualitative-quantitative methodology.

Based on this relationship, the steps to follow are:

– Define the periods corresponding to the Primary Framework (the institutional coup in

²It should be noted that the First and Second Levels of the Agenda are part of the Agenda Setting Theory and that the author does not take them as separate theoretical aspects.

³For more detail, see Walter Fontana (2014, pp. 72 - 78) The relationship between the US discourse and the Latin American print media with an Internet page. The framework of the agenda in the conflict over the Iranian nuclear project. Doctoral Thesis. Introduction, Section III, VII. Theoretical-Methodological Proposals. [20]http://sedici.unlp.edu.ar/bitstream/handle/10915/43432/Documento_completo.pdf?sequence=21&isAllowed=y

¹Due to the length of the article, the author dispenses with the State of the Art and limits himself to the fundamental aspects of the Theoretical Framework.



Bolivia) and the following periods - according to the Corpus - that define the modulation process.

- Define the First Level of the Agenda based on the measurement of the relevance of the topics according to the Corpus, in each period, which will be the basis for the definition of the Second Level of the Agenda and the construction of the corresponding Framework.
- Determine the Second Level of the Agenda and the resulting framing of each period, through the following moments:
 - Define the Substantive and Affective assessments for the construction of the Second Level of Agenda
 - Integrate valuations
 - Construction of the resulting frame

The questions that are sought to be answered throughout the work and that guide the Research are the following:

- What and how many frames arise from the modulation process?
- Does any rekeying arise from them that warrants an update of the primary framework?
- Regarding the methodological process when presenting the Agenda Frameworks: What conclusions emerge from evaluating the substantive and affective valuations applied during the modulation process?
- After defining the problems and the recommendation for their treatment or their solution, through the different frames in the modulation process, what inferences are reached?
- What does the period of an agenda item in the media depend on and how is it related to the modulation process?

Regarding the Agenda Framework theory or frame: Under what conditions is Entman's *Cascading Activation Theory* (2004) [21] applicable at the time of the news?

- Regarding news theory and construction of reality in the media, what contributions does the research present?
 - Are resources applied by the media to ensure a naturalization of meaning in the perception of events?
 - How does the media present the Other different from Us in relation to the legitimacy of the discourse, according to the point of view of Mouffe (1999)? [22]

Considering the questions raised, the step to follow is the development of the framework that gives rise to the primary framework that serves as a reference to the central issue of the work: the modulation process to the theme of arms smuggling to Bolivia.

II. Data analysis

2. The Primary Framework: Coup d'état in Bolivia

2.1. Framing the Primary Framework: The Coup d'état in Bolivia

The first step is determining the frequency of the topics in order to determine the importance in the media's agenda. In the words of McCombs (1981, p. 211) [23], a topic or argument gains media relevance as a consequence of the frequency with which it appears in the news, since this is, according to Natalia Arguette[24], "an important indication used by recipients to assess its relevance". (2017, pp. 121 - 122)

In this particular case there is a single actor in the relevance of the issues of the problem "Coup d'état in Bolivia" the newspaper *Página 12*:

Issue	Frequency	Percentage	First Substantive Assessment	Second Affective Assessment
denouncement of coup d'état	11	18,03	Bolivian Neoliberal Right	Coup sectors
Participation of the Bolivian armed forces and police	10	16,39	Armed Forces and Bolivian Police	Coup sectors
Bolivian political opposition	5	8,19	Bolivian Neoliberal Right	Coup sectors
Coup antecedents in Latin America	5	8,19	Latin American Neoliberal Right	Coup sectors
US Linkage	5	8,19	US government	Coup sectors
OAS Liaison	4	6,65	US government	Coup sectors
Bolivian right	3	4,91	Bolivian Neoliberal Right	Coup sectors
Latin American neoliberal	3	4,91	Latin American	Coup sectors



Issue	Frequency	Percentage	First Substantive Assessment	Second Affective Assessment
right			Neoliberal Right	
Achievements of the popular and democratic government of Evo Morales	3	4,91	Popular sectors of the Bolivian left related to the government of Evo Morales	Democratic sectors
Chronicle of facts	3	4,91	Bolivian Neoliberal Right	Coup sectors
Promotions of popular Latin American governments	2	3,27	Latin American left	Democratic sectors
Unasur's role	2	3,27	Latin American left	Democratic sectors
Threats to Argentina	2	3,27	Latin American Neoliberal Right	Coup sectors
Argentine right	1	1,63	Latin American Neoliberal Right	Coup sectors
Hegemonic media	1	1,63	Latin American Neoliberal Right	Coup sectors
Future Argentine government	1	1,63	Latin American left	Democratic sectors

Table N° 1 Frequency of themes and assessments in the determination of the primary framework. **Source:** Own media.

Of the total Corpus surveyed to constitute the primary framework, 76.9% of the articles are opinion articles, 15% are argumentative narratives in which the chronicle of the events stands out, and only 7% are informative. The large percentage of opinion articles in crisis situations account for the lack of information⁴ on the background of the coup d'état in Bolivia, but it does reveal the main problem: "Denunciation of a coup d'état" representing 18.03% of the total topics covered by the media. The second topic "Participation of the Bolivian armed forces and police" is manifested with 16.39% of a total of 16 issues. The "Denunciation of a coup d'état" and the "Participation of the Bolivian armed forces and police" add up to 34.42%, which demonstrates the importance of the relationship of the military in coups d'état by the media.

Out of a total of 16 topics developed by the media, the Substantive and Affective evaluations defined are the following:

Substantive Assessment: Political actors who participate in the coup d'état that overthrows Evo Morales in Bolivia.

- Bolivian Neoliberal Right (it includes the visible faces of the coup - Chamorro and Mesa -)
- Latin American Neoliberal Right (linked to the US and the rest of the West)
- Armed Forces and Bolivian police
- Popular sectors of the Bolivian left related to the government of Evo Morales
- Latin American left
- US Government

Affective Valuation: They represent the sectors that respect democratic governments and those that participate in the institutional breakdown of popular government.

- Democratic sectors: represented by sectors of the popular Latin American left
- Coup-mongering sectors: present in the neoliberal right-wing and hegemonic Western media, linked to the US government and its interests.

Regarding the analysis of the Valorizations, in the Substantive Valorization the identification of an Adversary considered as a threat: "the coup sectors" represents 86.88% of the discourse. While the democratic sectors in the media's discourse cover only 13.11% and are represented by the "Popular

⁴Referring to S11 on the attack on the Twin Towers, Danny Schechter (2004, pp. 71 -72) [25] indicates "the reports focused first on the facts, the chronology of the hijacked planes and the attack (...) Later the parade of interviews with the experts began (...) Suddenly we went from the realm of facts to the realm of opinions and speculation..."



sectors of the Bolivian left related to the government of Evo Morales" and the "Latin American Left". Within what *Página 12* considers as Coup Sectors, the Bolivian Neoliberal Right (41.50%), the Latin American Neoliberal Right (22.64%) are recognized, which identifies the right-wing governments of the region directly involved (Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador and Chile), the Bolivian armed forces and the mutinous police of that country (18.86%) as a necessary element and the US government (16.98%) as a mentor and international support for the actions of the coup leaders. The center of gravity in the announcement of the coup d'état and in the participation of the coup sectors presents the problem with the character of a complaint.

2.2. The integration of the valuations and the construction of the frame resulting from the primary frame

To start with what Goffman (2006) [26] defined as a frame of reference that is the basis for understanding and explaining the meaning of events, which he identifies as primary frameworks, noting that "they function as interpretative schemes allowing the individual to recognize an event and make sense of any nonsense of a scene" (Goffman, 2006, p. 26) [27], and it is from these frames of reference that the framing process begins.

The work develops how a graphic media, in this case *Página 12*, performs framing actions to give meaning to the primary framework of the news presented by *The coup d'état that overthrows the democratic and popular government of Evo Morales in Bolivia* and give an interpretation to your audience with a reading contract.

It is important to specify the category of news that gave rise to the primary framework, Martín Llaguno (2002, pp. 127 - 128) [28] frames the case as *Big Topics*, which according to the author are "those that are above the topics with the characteristic that they generate successive cycles of attention with climaxes and descents" (Martín Llaguno, 2002, p. 23) [29].

In the case of *the Coup d'état in Latin America*, they are part of the Permanent Agenda of Argentine society and especially for the editorial of *Página 12*, but they do not enter the daily life of the media audience, which from the opinion of Harnold Zucker (1978) [30] is defined as *non-newsworthy*

(*Unobstrusive*)⁵ because it is not only geographically remote from Argentina but also does not directly affect the interests of its audience, nor is it considered a threat to their interests.

Entering into the development of the framework, on a total of 15 topics presented by the media, the following questions arise from the evaluation of the valuations:

– What is the main theme of the problem?
The main topic is the overthrow of Evo Morales in Bolivia, representing 8.9% of the total topics covered by the media.

– Who are the main actors in the media's discourse?
The most important political actors in the media discourse are the Latin American Neoliberal Right (19.67%), the Bolivian Neoliberal Right (18%), the Bolivian armed forces and police (16.39%) and the US government (14, 75%). These actors add up to 68.85% of the media's discourse.

– Within the main problem, which is the most negatively affected actor?
Despite the fact that the most affected political actor is the Latin American Right, the coup sectors represent 68.85% of the negative discourse.

– Within the problem, who is the most favored actor in the situation?
The sector most favored by the media's discourse is the Latin American Left with 8.19% of the total discourse.

– ¿Which protagonist of the problem brings the greatest negative charge and which the positive one?
The protagonists with the greatest negative charge are clearly the coup sectors with 68.85% and the popular and democratic sectors with 31.15% represent the minority with a positive charge from the media's discourse.

– What negative consequence or consequences does the problem bring, beyond the actors involved?

⁵One cannot fail to consider the context for a diachronic analysis, since on November 9, 2019 the new Argentine government was already defined with the return of popular sectors by the hand of Peronism of the Frente de Todos and the departure of an Alliance of Center right.



The coups d'etat continue in Latin America by the Neoliberal Right linked to the West and US interests. Examples demonstrate this: the rise of the right-wing government in Paraguay, Brazil and Ecuador, the incidents in Chile and the dismantling of Unasur.

– What is the most prominent negative value judgment?

The coup antecedents are repeated by the Latin American right and the military issue as a threat to populism in the region. The Bolivian right, the armed forces and the police of that country do not recognize the victory of the ruling party in the elections. The mobilizations and acts of violence were prepared by sectors of the coup.

– What is the most prominent positive value judgment?

The presence of Néstor (Kirchner) in Argentina and Lula in Brazil would have prevented the coup in Bolivia.

– Do you contemplate consequences for Argentina?

Among the negative consequences, the presence of sectors of the Neoliberal Right that threaten the development of popular democratic governments in the region stands out. On the positive side, the future populist Frente de Todos government represents an alternative for the left in the region.

– What is the proposed solution to the problem?

The non-recognition of the Bolivian coup right-wing government represented by Camacho, Mesa and General Kaliman.

According to Entman (1993, p. 52) [31], the presentation of the framing of the Object starts from the Process of Issuing the news and is:

“A selection of some aspects of the perceived reality, and most prominent facts in the text that is communicated, in a way that promotes a particular definition of the problem [...] the frames pay attention to dominant points in the images created by the media, indicating that it is relevant and that [...] on the other hand it creates a definition of the determined problem, a causal interpretation, a moral evaluation and/or a recommendation for its treatment” (McCombs, 2004, p. 174) [32].

The response to this questionnaire applied to each organism configures the particular framework of each one with the following scheme according to Entman's Theory (1993) [33], in which four dimensions are established:

– The definition of the problem: It refers to what an agent is doing and with what effects. The coup d'état of the Bolivian right with the support of the armed forces and the police of that country that overthrew the democratic and popular government of Evo Morales.

– Its causal interpretation, or level of the attributed causes and the specification of the forces that create the problem. It is the constant of coups in Latin America by the Neoliberal Right linked to the West and US interests. Examples are shown by the rise of the right-wing government in Paraguay, Brazil and Ecuador, the incidents in Chile and the dismantling of Unasur.

– The moral judgments that denote the evaluation of the action of the agent or social actor and of the effects. The political opposition of that country does not recognize the triumph of the ruling party (MAS) in the elections. The coup antecedents by the Latin American right and the military question is a threat to the populist and democratic governments in the region. The mobilizations and acts of violence in Bolivia were prepared by sectors of the coup. In the presence of Néstor (Kirchner) and Lula these events would not have happened.

– The recommendations for the treatment of the issue, which in this case is the proposed solution from the media discourse: the proposal by the sectors of the Latin American left is the claim of Evo Morales and the non-recognition of the countries of the Bolivian de facto government region.

As McCombs [34] affirms, "in moments of the development of a crisis, given the relevance of an issue and uncertainty, information is a need for people" (2004, p. 112). In the case of the readers of *Página 12*, the institutional breakdown in Bolivia and the failure of the neoliberal alliance present the situation as a call to attention for the sectors of the Argentine left rather than a threat to the system. But in the same way, as Shechter (2004, p. 24) [35] refers in crisis or social upheaval, the media instead of looking for the answer to why? they limited themselves to presenting the problem in a



relationship of guilty and victims who respond to the question of Who?

Defined the primary frame on the coup between November 09 and 12, 2019, and from this, there is a time jump of 18 months to go on to describe the process of modulating a frame from a primary frame.

3. The process of modulating the Smuggling of arms to Bolivia

In this new period, the corpus consists of 63 articles from the digital edition of *Página 12*, published between June 9 and September 8, 2021, when the Primary, Open, Simultaneous and Mandatory elections (PASO) take place in Argentina.

The news of the smuggling of arms to Bolivia during the Macri government is presented on *Página 12* as a complaint, but the same media is not the first time that it has echoed destabilization actions by an Argentine government: during the Menem government there were two arms smuggling: one to Croatia and the other to Ecuador⁶. Highlighting these antecedents allows what Fiske and Taylor (1991) [36] define as cognitive priming for the effects of a prior context in the interpretation of information.

“This position focuses on the effects of long-term memory on information processing. Essentially, cognitive training is built on the premise that the frequency, salience, or traits of a stimulus activate previously learned cognitive structures”. (Fontana, Walter: 2017, 67) [37]

According to Mauro Wolf [38] he emphasizes that "aspects consistent with one's own opinions and attitudes are better memorized than the others, and this tendency is accentuated as the time of exposure to the message passes." (1987, p. 44)⁷

The denunciation of *Página 12* on June 9, 2021 about the actions of the Cambiemos government has its frame of reference in the "coup d'état in Bolivia" in November 2019. But this primary framework undergoes modifications to be able to adapt to the new circumstances, which Goffman (2006, p. 47)

[39] and Sádaba (2006, p. 34) [40] identify to keyings or modulation.

3.1. The denunciation of the smuggling of arms and ammunition for the overthrow of the government of Evo Morales

Between July 9 and 11, 9 articles were published through which seven of them were of an informative nature and only one of opinion, which demonstrates the existence of material to develop an agenda.

⁶The history of this cause began in the early '90s. Menem, the then president of Argentina, signed three decrees between 1991 and 1995 authorizing the country to sell weapons of war to Panama and Venezuela. These weapons, however, never reached the destinations established by the decree. Instead, they were directed at Croatia and Ecuador. Published in <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/146501-menem-fue-absuelto-por-el-contrabando-de-armas>

⁷Mentioned in Macedo García (2017: 52) Op. Cit.



Topic	Frequency	Percentage	First Substantive Assessment	Second Substantive Assessment	Affective Assessment
Participation of the Macri government	9	23,07	Macri government	Other Adversary	Negative
War material	9	23,07	Probative Evidence	Other Adversary	Negative
Collaborators in the coup	7	17,94	Latin American Right	Other Adversary	Negative
Documents and Declarations	4	10,25	Probative Evidence	We Whistleblowers	Negative
Relationship with the past of dictatorships	3	7,69	Bolivian Official Statement	We Whistleblowers	Negative
Collaborators of Evo Morales	3	7,69	Probative Evidence	We Whistleblowers	Negative
Departure of Evo Morales	2	5,12	Macri government	Other Adversary	Negative
Judgment of Macri in Bolivia	2	5,12	Bolivian Official Statement	We Whistleblowers	Negative

Table N° 2 Frequency of topics and evaluations in the problem "Denunciation of arms smuggling". **Source:** self made.

Compared to the primary framework, there are themes that are repeated, such as the Latin American right-wing, in this case represented by the Cambiemos government and the coup collaborators, the relationship with the coup past - with the presence of the Condor Plan - and those who supported the MAS government.

Out of a total of 8 topics developed by the media, the Substantive and Affective evaluations defined are the following:

First Substantive Assessment: origin of the existence of an action against Evo Morales.

- Latin American Right
- Government of Cambiemos
- Probative Evidence
- Statements by Bolivian officials
- Historical Background

Second Substantive Assessment: identification of affected political / social sectors.

- Other Adversary
- We Complainants

Affective Valuation: value relationship linked to positive or negative actions that affect or not the Bolivian populist government.

- Positive tone: preserve the populist government
- Negative tone: attacks the development of a Latin American populist government

On a total of 8 topics, from the evaluation of the assessments the following questions arise:

- What are the main issues?
The participation of former President Macri and the existence of war material represent 46.15% of the total issues and identify the Cambiemos government as the origin of the coup and the existence of documents and war material found.

- What is evidence of arms smuggling from Argentina at the time of the coup in Bolivia?
The existence of ammunition from Argentina in Bolivian police units and documents of Bolivian officials. Representing 41% of the first substantive valuation.

- What is the most affected political and social sector?
The Other adversary, considered by the newspaper's editorial as a threat to the democratic and popular system, represents 69.23% of the discourse and is the most affected sector.

- In what percentage is the complainant sector represented?
This represents 30.76% and includes the sectors of the progressive and popular left identified with the Frente de Todos government elected in the 2019 elections in Argentina.



– What is the distribution of the affective assessment of the media's discourse on the problem and how is it manifested in the actors?

The negative affective assessment of the discourse represents 94.87% of the total and is manifested in 100% of what is considered to be the Other as a threat to the system, while the positive assessment represents a minimum of 5.12% and is presented in the request for trial of Macri by the Bolivian justice system.

The integration of the valuations results in the following scheme in the framework of the first problem:

– Problem: what does an agent do and with what effects. Former President Macri supported the coup that overthrew Evo Morales with war material and they are responsible for the repression of the Bolivian population.

– Causal interpretation: attributed causes and forces that create the problem. A letter of thanks from a Bolivian soldier to the Argentine government supports the existence of the smuggling of repressive material to Bolivia. To which is added the

inconsistency of information between Argentina and Bolivia on the subject.

– Moral judgments: denote the evaluation of the agent's action and its effects. President Fernández apologizes to the Bolivian people, while the sectors that support the Peronist government repudiate Macri's action. For their part, former Cambiemos officials are silent.

– Recommendations for the treatment of the subject: Investigation in Bolivia and trial of Macri and the officials involved for sedition.

In this first period of the modulation process, not only the event is important, but also the moment in which the media presents the event on the agenda - Independence Day -, and the actor who, due to his symbolic capital, makes the announcement as a complaint, in this case the newly elected President.

3.2. The protest of the left sectors against the participation of the Cambiemos government

Out of a total of four articles (July 15, 16, 18 and 29, 2021), three of them are informative and only one presents the interview with former President Evo Morales. This demonstrates the incorporation not only of more information but also of new sources.

Topic	Frequency	Percentage	First Substantive Assessment	Second Substantive Assessment	Affective Assessment
Complicity of the Latin American Right	4	28,57	Latin American Left	Complaint	Negative
Coup policy coordination	2	14,28	Popular and progressive left	Complaint	Negative
Analogy with the coup policies of the past	2	14,28	Left-wing sectors that support the incoming government	Historical reconstruction	Negative
Reconstruction of the 2019 coup	2	14,28	Left-wing sectors that support the incoming government	Historical reconstruction	Negative
Justice investigation	2	14,28	Human Rights Organizations	Requirement	Positive
Evidence of material and documents	1	7,14	Left-wing sectors that support the incoming government	Complaint	Positive
Collaboration of intelligence elements	1	7,14	Bolivian Officials	Complaint	Negative

Table N° 3 Frequency of themes and assessments in the "Claim of the sectors of the Left by those responsible for arms smuggling". **Source:** self made



Out of a total of 6 topics developed by the media, the Substantive and Affective evaluations defined are the following:

First substantive assessment: sectors of the Left that demonstrate before the new Argentine authorities:

- Sectors of the left that support the incoming government.
- Human Rights Organizations.
- Bolivian officials overthrown by the coup (Evo Morales)
- Popular and progressive left (involves the OODDHH and the sectors that support the incoming government)
- Latin American Left (involves the previous categories)

Second substantive evaluation: categories of the expositions of the Left sectors (reporting of crime, historical reconstruction of the past and demand for trial and punishment of the guilty).

Affective Valuation: in relation to positive or negative actions linked to the development of popular and democratic governments in Latin America:

- Positive tone: preserve the populist government
- Negative tone: attacks the development of a Latin American populist government

On a total of 6 topics, from the evaluation of the assessments the following questions arise:

- What is the main theme and how much does it represent of the total published by the media? The complicity of the Latin American Right is the main theme representing 28.57%. It highlights the complicity of the president of Brazil – Jair Bolsonaro – and Mauricio Macri.

- What is the sector of the Left that manifests itself the most in the media?

The sectors of the Left that support the new Argentine government – Frente de Todos - represent 48.78% of the opinions.

- With regard to the categories of the published manifestations, which of them is the one that offers the most frequency?

The Denunciation is the category that appears most frequently - 57.14% - and in them the cooperation and coordination of the action of the Latin American Right to overthrow populist governments is manifested, the presence of evidence that proves the

existence of the smuggling of repressive material to Bolivia by the Argentine government and the presence of intelligence elements during the process of the coup d'état.

- What is the least presented category and what is the sector that manifests them?

The least presented category is the complaint for the prosecution of those responsible for the smuggling of war material, which represents 7.14% and the complainant sector is Human Rights Organizations.

- What is the affective valorization that is most manifested in the discourse?

78.57% of the discourse in which the sectors of the Left manifest are negative and point to aspects of memory and the denunciation of facts.

- Is there any theme that accredits a remodulation –rekeying– that implies coupling a fact to update a situation and its consequence, always having a primary framework as a reference?

The denunciation of the existence of the action of intelligence elements during the coup process in Bolivia, is an aspect denounced by Evo Morales in the interview of July 18, 2021, and is linked to the article published on the 25th of that month in relation to the investigation requested by the Bicameral of Intelligence of the Legislative power.

What is striking in this evaluation is that the mention of documents and materials by sectors of the Left is represented to a lesser extent than the denunciations of the actions of destabilizing groups of the Right. Then, the result of the process of integration of valuations of the frame is the following:

- Problem: what does an agent do and with what effects. The Cambiemos government represented by Macri and the Latin American Right coordinate the fall of the popular and progressive Latin American governments.

- Causal interpretation: attributed causes and forces that create the problem. The reconstruction of the events that led to the coup and the presence of documentation and war materials of Argentine origin attest to the complicity of the government at the time.

- Moral judgments: denote the evaluation of the agent's action and its effects. The cooperative and coordinated action of the Latin American Right



realizes facts that go back to the past and the existence of a Condor Plan of the 21st century.

– Recommendations for dealing with the issue: Those responsible for sending war material for the repression of the Bolivian people during the coup that overthrew Evo Morales must be tried.

What is particular about this moment of modulation is the appearance of a situation that will require updating the facts, such as evaluating the action of Argentine Intelligence and its relationship with

other agencies that participated in the overthrow of Morales.

3.3. The declaration of the main actors in the judicial process on the smuggling of war material.

Between July 12 and September 3, 2021, the media publishes 14 articles, only one of which is an interview and the rest of an informative narrative nature. This indicates that the construction of the resulting framework is based on information and not on speculative data typical of opinion articles.

Topic	Frequency	Percentage	First Substantive Assessment	Second Substantive Assessment	Affective Assessment
JXC Cabinet Responsibilities	6	21,42	Officials of the new Argentine government	Development of the judicial process	Guilty
Responsibility of former President Macri	4	14,28	Officials of the new Argentine government	Development of the judicial process	Guilty
Destination of the war material	3	10,71	Officials of the new Bolivian government	Facts related to war material	Aggravating factors
Denial of responsibility of the accused	3	10,71	JXC Government Officials	Development of the judicial process	Innocent
Interference in investigations	2	7,14	Officials of the new Argentine government	Development of the judicial process	Aggravating factors
Presence of documentation	2	7,14	Officials of the new Argentine government	Facts related to war material	Aggravating factors
Trial in international courts	2	7,14	Officials of the new Argentine government	Development of the judicial process	Guilty
Trial in Bolivia	2	7,14	Officials of the new Argentine government	Development of the judicial process	Guilty
Political support for Macri	1	3,57	JXC Government Officials	Political support and international complicity	Innocent
International complicity	1	3,57	Officials of the new Bolivian government	Political support and international complicity	Aggravating factors
Identification of the personnel involved	1	3,57	Officials of the new Bolivian government	Development of the judicial process	Aggravating factors
Linkage of the new Argentine government	1	3,57	Officials of the new Argentine government	Development of the judicial process	Innocent

Table N° 4 Frequency of themes and assessments in the statements of the main actors in the judicial process against the smuggling of war material. **Source:** self made.



Out of a total of 12 issues presented, 35.7% refer to the complicity of former President Macri and his officials (representing 14.28% for the first and 21.42% for the latter). This indicates that the center of gravity of the discursive construction is to identify those responsible for smuggling in the Cambiemos government officials.

The Substantive and Affective evaluations defined are the following:

First Substantive Assessment. Statements regarding the smuggling of war material to Bolivia.

- Officials of the new Argentine government
- JXC government officials
- Officials of the new Bolivian government

Second Substantive Valuation. Journalistic thematic currents

- Development of the judicial process
- Facts related to war material
- Political support and international complicity

Affective assessment. In relation to the declaring officials and the scope of the judicial process.

- Binding in relation to the guilt of JXC government officials. (Guilty)
- Unbinding in relation to the guilt of the officials of the JXC government. (Innocent)
- Additive evidence to the judicial process (Aggravating factors)

From the intersection of the three evaluations, the following list of questions arises that give rise to the construction of the resulting frame:

- Which officials contribute the most to the construction of the discourse?

Officials from the new government represent 58.33% of the total, while those from the previous government represent 16.66%.

- In relation to the second substantive assessment, what is the most relevant thematic current?

The aspects that make the development of the judicial process is the theme that prevails with 66.66%.

- What is the affective assessment that stands out the most in the treatment of the topic?

The summative tests to the judicial process that consolidate the guilt of the presumed perpetrators (aggravating factors) represent 41.66%, while the presumptions of guilt show 33.33%.

- In the relationship between the first and second substantive assessment. What is the thematic current that prevails among the declarants? Officials of the new Argentine government have the center of gravity in relation to the process of legal cases (75%), which is the most developed journalistic theme.

- In relation to the first substantive assessment and the affective assessment. What is the prevailing relationship between the declarants? 100% of the affective assessment of guilt of those considered responsible is accredited to the officials of the new government of Todos. While the aggravating circumstances of the judicial process, which represents 41.66% of the affective evaluation, is manifested mainly in the statement of the Bolivian officials of the new populist government (they represent 60% against 40% of the representatives of the Peronist government).

- In relation to the second substantive assessment and the affective assessment. What is the relationship between the theme of the newspaper and the scope of the development of the judicial process?

The development of the judicial process presents 100% of the assessments of guilt and innocence. While the affective assessment that makes the aggravating factor is distributed by 50% between the judicial process and the facts binding on the war material.

- Is there any link between the new government and the Cambiemos government in relation to the smuggling of war elements to Bolivia?

In the development of the judicial process, the new officials highlight the disassociation with the actions during the coup d'état in Bolivia⁸.

As a synthesis of the main questions, it emerges that the Bolivian officials of the new democratic and popular government provided information in the three thematic currents that the media developed (Development of the judicial process, Facts related to war material and Political support and international complicity), that the officials of Todos are the ones that contribute the most information on

⁸This fact is linked to the second remodulation or rekeying in which the medium denounces the fake news of other media considered hegemonic.



the subject (58.33%), that the development of “*the judicial process*” is the main topic that the officials present to the media (66.66%).

Regarding the scope given to the issue of smuggling of war material, the Bolivian government officials in the first place and the new Argentine officials in the second place highlight the aggravating factors that affect the judicial process against the Cambiemos officials. The assessment given by these officials to the Argentine government implicated in the fall of Evo Morales is: guilty.

Finally, the officials of the previous Argentine government involved in the case claim to be innocent, delimiting all responsibility, according to the discursive constructions presented by *Página 12*.

As a result of the evaluation, the framework is as follows:

– Definition of the problem: what is an agent doing and with what effects. The complicity of former President Macri as responsible, his Security Minister and other officials in the smuggling of war material to Bolivia.

– Causal integration or level of attributed causes and the specification of the forces that cause the problem. The presence of war materiel in warehouses and agencies of the Bolivian armed forces and police is a product of their need for repression in support of the coup, according to statements by Bolivian officials.

– Moral judgments that denote the evaluation of the agent's action and its effects. The documentation provided by the officials of the new governments of Argentina and Bolivia, in addition

to the interference of former President Macri and his Minister of Security in the development of the judicial process, added to hegemonic media such as *Clarín* and *La Nación* in the intention of disassociating him from the accusations, account for the role of the Cambiemos administration in the events.

– Recommendations on the treatment of the subject and possible solutions. The new government of Todos disassociates itself from the events of arms smuggling to Bolivia, continues with the judicial process and internal proceedings in the ministries and organizations involved to define those responsible for the previous government and leaves open the possibility of continuing with other processes in Bolivia or in international courts.

The declarations of the officials are the first step in monitoring the judicial process and the internal actions of the ministries and agencies to define those responsible and define other responsibilities. On the other hand, the media gives an account of the first manifestations of the hegemonic media in their attempt to complicate the new government.

3.4. Beginning of the judicial process and monitoring of the internal process of the Argentine ministries

From 06/11 to 09/08 the media publishes a total of 36 articles, of which 75% are argumentative narratives, 19.44% informative and 5.5% interviews, in which 9 themes are developed. This shows that the center of gravity of the texts on *Página 12* is of an informative nature with a significant load of subjectivity.

Issue	Frequency	Percentage	First Substantive Valuation	Second Substantive Valuation	Third Substantive Valuation	Affective Valuation
Argentine Judicial Process	19	35,18	Judicial process	Argentine Judicial	Argentina	Subjective
Investigation of Argentine Organizations	11	20,37	Internal process	Argentine State Organizations	Argentina	Subjective
Bolivian Evidential Documents	6	11,11	Evidence	Bolivian State Organizations	Bolivia	Objective
Argentine Evidentiary Documents	5	9,25	Evidence	Argentine State Organizations	Argentina	Objective
War material in Bolivia	4	7,40	Evidence	Bolivian State Organizations	Bolivia	Objective
Judicial	4	7,40	Evidence	Argentine	Argentina	Objective



Issue	Frequency	Percentage	First Substantive Valuation	Second Substantive Valuation	Third Substantive Valuation	Affective Valuation
Hypothesis				Judicial		
Investigations of other Organizations	2	3,70	Other Investigations	Other Organizations	Bolivia	Subjective
Ministerial Hypothesis	2	3,70	Evidence	Argentine State Organizations	Argentina	Subjective
Judicial Process in Bolivia	1	1,85	Judicial process	Bolivian Judicial	Bolivia	Subjective

Table No. 5 Frequency of issues and assessments in "the judicial process and monitoring of the internal process of the Argentine ministries". **Source:** self made.

The theme of the media highlights the judicial processes in the Argentine courts and in the different ministries and government agencies involved in the acts of war smuggling representing 55.55%. This shows that the important thing is to keep the public informed with a reading contract about the evolution of the facts.

The Substantive and Affective evaluations defined are the following:

First Substantive Valuation. Action instances:

- Judicial process
- Internal Investigations (Summaries)
- Evidence
- Other Investigations (Outside state agencies)

Second Substantive Valuation. Participants in legal actions

- Argentine judicial officials
- Bolivian judicial officers
- Other organizations (CIEI and IACHR)
- Argentine State Organizations
- Bolivian State Organizations

Third Substantive Valuation. Country involved:

- Argentina
- Bolivia

Affective Assessment. Degree of ownership of perceptions, arguments and language from the media's point of view:

- Objective
- Subjective

The following questions arise from the cross between the four valuations:

- First Substantive Valuation, which of them has more influence in the news?

The information that refers to the follow-up of the cases in Courts (37.03%) and the internal proceedings in different organizations involved in smuggling (20.35%) are the basis of the information (representing a total of 57.40%). In second place, the evidence present in Argentina and Bolivia (38.88%) is manifested by the statements of officers of the Bolivian Air Force (FAB) who came into contact with the war materiel, FAB documents sent to the Argentine embassy and the Ministry of Security, National Gendarmerie documents at the Bolivian embassy, the undeclared presence of an Argentine Air Force (FAA) C130 Hercules and the presence of Argentine war materiel without registering with the Bolivian Police Department.

- Second Substantive Valuation, which of the intervening organizations has its center of gravity in the news about war smuggling, and its link with the first valuation?

The center of gravity is the procedures of judicial bodies in Courts (42.59%) in which President Macri, the Minister of Security, the Foreign Minister, the Chief of Staff, the Minister of Defense, the Secretary for Strategic Affairs, the former ambassador to Bolivia and four gendarmes are being prosecuted. In second place, there are the agencies involved in the smuggling of war material (33.33%), on the one hand with the internal investigations (20.37%) of the link between the National Gendarmerie and the FAB for the delivery of war material and the thirty gendarmes who participated in the defense of the Argentine embassy during the crisis in Bolivia. On the other hand, with the evidence that arises from internal investigations (12.96%). Regarding the information that arises from Bolivian organizations (18.51%), they are linked to the evidence that emerged in Bolivia and the trial that is being followed in that country.



– Third Substantive Valuation: Where does most of the information about the development of arms smuggling come from, and what is the center of gravity in the subject?

Most of the information originates from Argentina (75.92%), of which the most relevant news is the monitoring of legal proceedings in Courts and the proceedings in the intervening agencies (73.17%). While the information from Bolivia emphasizes the evidence referring to arms trafficking (76.92%). It is important to note that while in Argentina three legal proceedings are being carried out, in Bolivia there is a trial by the government of that country and another investigation through international organizations.

– Affective valorization: What is the degree of ownership that prevails in the media's discourse and what themes does it present in each of them?

Subjectivity is the point of view that prevails in the media (64.81%) in matters of monitoring all judicial processes and internal summary proceedings, as well as the hypotheses that are raised. Objectivity is centered on the evidence present in both Argentina and Bolivia.

From the process of the evaluations presented, the following framework is constructed:

– The definition of the problem: refers to what an agent is doing and with what effects. The identification of those responsible for the smuggling of war material and the monitoring of judicial processes.

– Causal interpretation: attributed causes and forces that create the problem. The presence of evidence of the crime materialized in the statements of officers of the Bolivian Air Force (FAB) who came into contact with the war materiel, FAB documents sent to the Argentine embassy and the Ministry of Security, National Gendarmerie documents at the Bolivian embassy, the undeclared presence of an Argentine Air Force (FAA) C130 Hercules and the presence of Argentine war materiel without registering with the Bolivian Police Department.

– Moral judgments: denote the evaluation of the agent's action and its effects. The Minister of Justice, the Minister of Security and the AFIP representative in charge of carrying out the investigations determine the following hypotheses about the facts: that there was collaboration from the Argentine government at the time together with the

governments of Ecuador and Brazil in the fall of Evo Morales, that there was a smuggling of war material from Argentina to Bolivia and that this material in the hands of the Bolivian Police and FAB was used in the repression in that country and that those responsible for the facts investigated are former President Macri and the following officials during the government of Juntos por el Cambio: the Minister of Security, the Chancellor, the Chief of Staff, the Minister of Defense, the Secretary for Strategic Affairs and the former ambassador in Bolivia, added to four committed gendarmes.

– Recommendations for the treatment of the subject and possible solutions. Continue with the three cases in Administrative Litigation, the two linked to the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Security, the Administrative Investigations Attorney, the General Directorate of Customs and the AFIP and the complaint of a former judicial officer.

What is interesting about this period is the incorporation of two argumentative resources that reinforce the credibility of the discourse: hypotheses and chronologies.

The hypotheses come from the value judgments of those responsible for carrying out the investigations: the Minister of Justice, the Minister of Security and the person in charge of the AFIP. The proposed hypotheses are the following:

– The Macri government collaborated in the coup and fall of Evo Morales, along with Brazil and Ecuador.

– The gendarmes that were sent to protect the Argentine's Embassy in Bolivia and the ambassador's residence did not know about the ammunition nor did they handle it, the responsibility rests with superiors.

– 70,000 munitions left Argentina, 40,000 went to the FAB and 30,000 to the Bolivian Police.

– The presence of Argentine war materiel in the hands of the Bolivian armed forces and in the police of that country proves the participation of the Macri government in the repression and the fall of Evo Morales.

– It is the responsibility of the Argentine Embassy to process the Customs and transport the war materiel that enters Bolivia.

– The main people responsible for arms smuggling into Bolivia are former President Macri, the Chief of Staff, the Secretary for Strategic Affairs and the Chancellor.



Applied as a resource, the *journalistic chronicle*⁹ narrates the events in chronological and/or logical order using different techniques for the description of an object or event that occurred, for which it is supported by testimonies or documents. Two types of chronicles are presented, *the judicial* one that marks events from the legal perspective and *the political* one that narrates relevant events related to politics.

Order	Date	Type of Chronicle	Fact
1	11/07	Policy	Maneuver to authorize the departure of war material and movements of gendarmerie personnel (GN)
2	17/07	Policy	Actions of the Logistics Director and the Director of Operations of GN in the movements of war material
3	20/07	Judicial	Information sought by Judge López Biscayart
4	22/07	Policy	GN liaison activities in Bolivia
5	27/07	Policy	Reconstruction of facts from the media about the links of GN in Bolivia related to the smuggling of ammunition.
6	29/07	Policy	Activities of the three gendarmes linked to the management of ammunition smuggling
7	06/08	Policy	Description of the activities carried out on 11/13/2019 in relation to the smuggling of war material
8	10/08	Judicial	Development of the events of 11/12/2019 according to statements by the Head of the National Department of Weapons and Equipment of the Bolivian Police.
9	15/08	Judicial	Reconstruction of the circuit of the route of the war material according to the judicial investigations in Argentina and Bolivia between 12 and 11/14/2019
10	18/08	Judicial	Description of the smuggling events between 11/11 and 11/13/2019 according to judicial investigations in Bolivia
11	20/08	Policy	Description of the meetings held at the Casa Rosada on 11/12/2019
12	03/09	Judicial	Description of judicial irregularities related to the Ministry of Defense
13	05/09	Judicial	Description of the three reports of the NG contingents that account for the departure of war material to Bolivia

Table N° 6 Succession of chronicles presented by the media between 06/11 and 09/05, the moment in which the legal process for the smuggling of war material to Bolivia takes place. **Source:** self made.

⁹Described in the Encyclopedia of Examples (2022) "Types of Examples" the concept of Journalistic Chronicle and its categories published at www.ejemplos.co/tipos-de-cronica.



Out of a total of thirteen chronicles, more than half (53.84%) refer to political maneuvers and actions with war material (political chronicles), and the rest are those that refer to judicial investigation processes (judicial chronicles).

Both the use of the *hypotheses* and the *chronicles* are a discursive resource of the media, both to reinforce the naturalization of the meaning in terms of defining who are the responsible parties identified by those who carry out the investigations. For their part, the chronicles serve to reinforce the cognitive memory of the readers in relation to the development of events.

3.5. The action of the intelligence elements in the coup

The role of Argentine Intelligence arises in relation to the primary framework - the participation of the Cambiemos government in the coup d'état in Bolivia -, while the smuggling of war material is a lateral aspect more linked to the responsibility of the National Gendarmerie in the transfer of personnel and the distribution of ammunition to the FAB and the Police of that country.

On this matter, *Página 12* publishes only two articles, an interview with Evo Morales (07/18/20121) and an article referring to the Bicameral Intelligence Commission (07/25/2021), from which nine issues emerge that are linked to the participation of Argentine Intelligence.

Issue	Frequency	Percentage	First Substantive Valuation	Second Affective Valuation
Argentine intelligence in Bolivia	2	14,28	AFI	Not binding
Participation of the Cambiemos government	2	14,28	Argentine Government	Not binding
XXI Century Condor Plan	2	14,28	Bolivian Government	Not binding
RISCOT	2	14,28	AFI	Not binding
Bolivian complaint	2	14,28	Bolivian Government	binding
The CIA in Bolivia	1	7,14	CIA	Not binding
CIA and Argentine Intelligence Contacts	1	7,14	CIA	Not binding
Intelligence in popular governments	1	7,14	Bolivian Government	Not binding
Linking GN with Intelligence	1	7,14	GN	binding

Table N° 7 Frequency of themes and evaluations in “the role of Argentine intelligence during the coup d'état in Bolivia”. **Source:** self-made.

The articles are presented in the middle of the judicial process with a difference of one week from one to the other, and of the nine topics, only two of them (the complaint by the Bolivian government and the relationship of the GN with the intelligence services) is linked to the matter in question, which is equivalent to only 25% of the information published being related to ammunition smuggling.

The Substantive and Affective evaluations defined are the following:

First Substantive Valuation. Actors linked to the Intelligence action:

- Bolivian Government
- Government of Change
- US Government (CIA)
- Intelligence Services (AFI)
- GN

Affective Valuation. Relationship with the smuggling of war material:

- Binding
- Not binding



The following questions arise from the cross between the two valuations:

– Substantive Valuation, which of the actors has more influence in the news?

Issues involving Argentine Intelligence represent 33% of the news and are presented as a new actor in the process of destabilization of the government of Evo Morales.

– Continuing with Substantive Valuation, what other actors are next in importance?

The Bolivian government represents 25% as an actor in the news with the denunciations that incriminate the Macri government and the presence of Argentine intelligence during the coup, in addition to its connection with what it calls the XXI Century Condor Plan.

The one that follows in importance is the US government (through the CIA) as an actor in the news, especially the alignment between this Agency and Argentine Intelligence before the coup, due to the formation of RISCOT and its possible relationship with the aforementioned Condor Plan.

– In reference to Affective Valorization, how is it manifested in the media's publications?

75% of the issues developed during the period are binding on the participation in the coup, not only of the high officials of the Cambiemos government, but also of the participating gendarmes and Argentine Intelligence as new suspects.

– Continuing with the Affective Valorization, what aspects do the non-binding news of the coup refer to?

In this case, the news represents 25% of the information, in the first place, they show that RISCOT has no interference in the coup since, due to the change in the political sign of its members, they did not meet again since the incidents in Chile - before the destabilization process in Bolivia -. Secondly, the other non-binding piece of news is Evo Morales's proposal for an Intelligence system for popular governments.

– What relationship is established between substantive and affective valuations?

As most of the news reports point out, there is a binding correspondence that links the Cambiemos government to the coup d'état in Bolivia, as well as the interference of the US and the right-wing governments of the region. For the Bicameral Commission and the Ministry of Security in the investigations, the GN remains at the center of

suspicions due to the mobilization of personnel at the time of the incidents and the handling of the war material that remains in the hands of the FAB and the Police, which would be linked to the repression of the moment.

The interview with Evo Morales by the media and the news of the investigation of the Bicameral Intelligence allows a *rekeying* in order to update the primary framework with the addition of two new suspects: the members of the gendarmerie who participated together with the Cambiemos officials – already mentioned- and Argentine Intelligence present in Bolivia. In the midst of the judicial process, the testimony of the former Bolivian president is evidence, while the investigation of the congressmen expands the actions of justice.

Regarding the framework resulting from the processing of valuations, the following arises:

– The definition of the problem: refers to what an agent is doing and with what effects. The role of Argentine Intelligence participating in favor of the coup in Bolivia.

– Causal interpretation: attributed causes and forces that create the problem. Preliminary investigations by the Bolivian government reveal the presence of Argentine intelligence and its links with the CIA as a new actor in the destabilizing process in Bolivia. On the other hand, although in the minutes of the RISCOT network there is no report on Bolivia, it is not ruled out that its participation in the coup was not on the agency's agenda.

– Moral judgments: denote the evaluation of the agent's action and its effects. The Cambiemos government is related to the coup d'état in Bolivia, as is the interference of the US and the right-wing governments of the region to materialize the new Condor Plan for the 21st Century. On the other hand, for the Bicameral Commission and the Ministry of Security in the investigations, the GN remains at the center of suspicions due to the mobilization of personnel at the time of the incidents and the handling of the war material that remains in the hands of the FAB and the Police that would be linked to the repression of the moment.

– Recommendations for dealing with the issue and possible solutions: The government expands the complaint against Macri and the officials involved in the coup, while the Ministry of



Security carries out the internal investigation and makes available to the gendarmes under suspicion. From the point of view of Evo Morales, it is necessary that progressive governments and social movements must do another way of doing intelligence on how the media and social networks act to dominate, the other battle is in the media.

The appearance of the Intelligence services during judicial processes is a retransposition (*rekeying*) that allows updating the frameworks in what Llaguno (2002, p. 127) [41] calls the News Process that begins on 07/09/2021 with the complaint of smuggling of ammunition to Bolivia. The remodulation (*rekeying*) of the frames is not a discursive resource like chronologies and hypotheses are, but rather identifies the new actor: Intelligence in all its forms – the relationship of the GN with the AFI and this with the CIA – and origins – which include foreign agencies -.

Next, another rekeying materializes that Evo Morales defines as "the other battle is in the media."¹⁰

3.6. The fake news of the hegemonic media

Two news items are published (07/27 and 28/2020) during the development of the judicial process of ammunition smuggling to Bolivia, the information denies the alleged participation of President Fernández in the maneuver. The transcendence of *Página 12* is attributed to the hegemonic media *La Nación* and *Clarín*, both linked to the neoliberal right and to the accused Cambiemos officials.

¹⁰Interview with the former Bolivian president Evo Morales. Yapur Felipe & Bertoia Luciana (17 de julio de 20219). Evo Morales: "La CIA contrató inteligencia argentina para el golpe". *Página 12*. [42].
<https://www.pagina12.com.ar/355546-evo-morales-la-cia-contrato-inteligencia-argentina-para-el-g>



Topic	Frequency	Percentage	First Substantive Valuation	Second Affective Valuation
Rebuttal of the News	2	28,57	National government	Support to the National Government
Status of the Judicial Process	2	28,57	National government	Support to the National Government
Media Defense	1	14,28	Hegemonic Media	Support for Imputed Officials
Evidence	1	14,28	Bolivian Government	Support to the National Government
Environment of Cambiemos	1	14,28	Environment of Cambiemos	Disassociation

Table N° 8 Frequency of themes and evaluations in "La fakenews" of the hegemonic media. **Source:** self-made.

The center of gravity of the information presents the refutation of the national government through the Ministry of Justice and Security about what they consider to be fake news from the hegemonic media, compromising the current government in the smuggling of war material. Secondly, the development of the trial with an extension of it based on the documentation found that reinforces the hypothesis of complicity of the previous government.

The Substantive and Affective evaluations defined are the following:

– Substantive Valuation. Participating forces as a consequence of the dissemination of the alleged complicity of the Peronist government by the considered hegemonic media: national government, hegemonic media, Cambiemos entourage, Bolivian government.

– Affective Assessment. Functional relationship to the situation of the parties in conflict: support for the national government, support for the accused Cambiemos officials, disassociation from the facts.

Questions that arise from the evaluation of valuations:

– Substantive valuation: which participating force has the most presence in the news and with what content?

National government officials through the Ministries of Justice and Security are the ones who speak out (57.14%), highlighting the falsity of the news from the *Clarín* and *La Nación* media and confirming the hypothesis of the responsibility of the defendants in

the case judicial process which are considered by the Minister of Justice as highly compromised.

– Which participating force has less presence in the news and with what content?

The manifestations of the environment of Cambiemos (14.2%), despite having little participation in the information, stand out for not making statements that compromise them in the maneuver of the ammunition. In the same way what has to refer to the content of the news disseminated by the hegemonic media identified with the management of Cambiemos, considered as a maneuver by the defendants to commit the new government to the wrongful act.

– Affective valuation. How does each sector manifest itself in relation to information?

The forces that are committed in favor of the national government represent 71.42%, while the leaders of Cambiemos disassociate themselves in the electoral bid and the hegemonic media are the only ones that support those who acted with former president Macri, in what it is considered a media maneuver of the neoliberal right. The latter appear as a minority in the *Página 12* news.

Regarding the framework resulting from the processing of valuations, the following arises:

– The definition of the problem: refers to what an agent is doing and with what effects. The manifest hegemonic media through *Clarín* and *La Nación* disseminate false news (fakenews) about the smuggling of war material to Bolivia during the Cambiemos government to compromise the new government of President Fernández.



– Causal interpretation: attributed causes and forces that create the problem. Those who carry out the media maneuver are the same ones who are involved in the judicial process. While the leaders of Cambiemos in the electoral bid disassociate themselves from the facts.

– Moral judgments: denote the evaluation of the agent's action and its effects. The Ministry of Justice denies the news from the hegemonic media and highlights that the defendants are highly involved in the illicit, which together with the evidence (documentation provided) allows the national government's complaint to be expanded and strengthens the hypothesis: aggravated arms smuggling and ammunition.

– Recommendations for the treatment of the topic and possible solutions. The government separates President Fernández from the maneuver of the right and expands the judicial process with the imputation of former President Macri, his Minister of Security and Defense, the former ambassador to Bolivia, the former general director of GN, former Logistics director and former Director of NG Operations.

A few days after presenting an adversary – Intelligence as an actor in the Cambiemos government – the media's discourse presents a new rival, materialized in the hegemonic media *Clarín* and *La Nación*. This new actor gives rise to the fight defined by Evo Morales "the other battle is in the media." This framework is the result of the last rekeying of the period contemplated in the investigation and contributes to updating the frame with the incorporation of the new adversary: the hegemonic media.

III. Conclusions

The modulation process that runs from 06/09 to 09/08/2021 presents 63 articles. Based on the definition of keying by Sábada (2008, p. 25) [43] 6 frames emerge throughout the mentioned period from a primary frame that gives it meaning.

Goffman's explanation (2006, pp. 47 - 48) [44] for the concept "transcription process" or "change or transposition of keys (keyings)" refers to "a systematic transformation through a material that already has a sense of according to a scheme of interpretation, and without which the transposition of keys would not make sense."

Regarding the temporal location or phases of the process, the same author says that "there will be indicators to establish when the transformation will begin and end" (Goffman, 2006, p. 47) [45] from which the period can be define the period of time for the presentation of a frame or frame in the modulation process.

On the other hand, two remodulations (*rekeying*) emerge for the updating of these frames with the incorporation of two Adversaries (Intelligence and the hegemonic media). For Goffman (2006, p. 86) [46] these remodulation or retransposition of keys allows an activity to be transformed, being vulnerable to changes, and according to the author these changes have no limits in number.

At the moment of analyzing the methodological steps to present the different Agenda Frameworks in the modulation process, the two political actors are present (the new government elected in 2019 and its adversary, the Cambiemos officials) when the Substantive valuations are defined. While that for Affective valuations, the Positive is from Us¹¹ and the Negative from the Other Adversary, a fact that is repeated in all the frameworks that arise in the Corpus period.

Regarding the presentation of the resulting agenda framework in the evaluated modulation process, the problems identify the political Adversary in all its forms: the neoliberal right (in the figure of Cambiemos officials), the members of the Gendarmerie and Argentine intelligence linked to the illicit and the hegemonic media (represented by *Clarín* and *La Nación*). While the proposals for a solution to the problem have only one common and permitted response: the condemnation and punishment of those responsible.

As a specific aspect of the Agenda Setting Theory, this research coincides with the work of Rodríguez Díaz (2004, p. 23) [48] since "there is no specific period for the presence and removal of an item from the agenda, because it depends on the most diverse causes, so each study is unique". From this it can be concluded that a modulation process can be extended in time according to the circumstances and in the same way the rekeying that updates the relevant frames.

Regarding contributions to theoretical aspects of the Agenda Framework, referring to the model proposed

¹¹The Nosotros refers to the political-ideological relationship by which the *Página 12* media is related to the new Peronist government, in what Schechter [47] (2004) calls mediocracy, while Otro Adversario is identified with everything related to the right neoliberal in all its manifestations.



by Robert Entman [49] in 2004 in his book *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy*, the Activation in Cascade is part of the integration with the theories of the frames, which are in charge of collecting the points of view of the different actors throughout the entire process of political communication in international affairs, but the in the case under study, international politics is not an issue – although the primary framework stems from it – but rather a matter on the permanent agenda and related to daily life: “the corruption”. On the other hand, although the model represents a further step in the interaction between the actors of political communication (political groups, the media and citizens), a hierarchical model is not established with the ruling elite of the moment.

Unlike the Node scheme proposed by Entman (2004, p. 9), [50] typical of political discourse, in this case the relationship proposed is the one defined by Danny Schechter (2004) [51] as mediocracy in the link media/ government as a resource for the implementation of policies of global scope that aim at the search for consensus, typical of Western society. In this regard, he states:

“We live in a time of media politics, governed not only by politicians, but by what turns out to be a mediocracy, a mutually dependent relationship between the media and politicians, a nexus of power in which political leaders use media coverage to form opinion and promote policies”. (Schechter, 2004, p. 38) [52]

Compared to political discourse, media discourse poses what Lila Luchessi and Gabriel Cetkovich (2007) [53] call:

"Regulated polyphony or manifest multilogicity as an enunciation device by which the media radicalize the constitutive heterogeneity of the discourse, but without losing the unique thought that allows it to materialize the unity of thought, hence it is affirmed that the media can achieve a dispersion of voices facing each other without losing control of the message". (Luchessi and Cetkovich, 2007, p. 252) [54].

Leaving aside the theoretical aspects of *frame* and *Keying*, the work contributes aspects related to the concept of news and construction of reality. The greater presence in the news of the narrative informative genre demonstrates not only the disposition of news, but also the intention of the media to highlight the subjective description of the facts.

For the public with a contract to read *Página 12*, both “coups d'état” and “corruption” are topics on the permanent agenda. But unlike the first, “corruption” enters the daily life of the social agenda, in what Zucker (1978) [55] defines as *obtrusive* (intrusive or newsworthy) familiar or close topics where audiences have a direct relationship with them.

The smuggling of war material by the Cambiemos government ceases to be a topic of international politics to be located within the political leadership, and enters what Fermín Bouza and Raquel Rodríguez (2017) [56] define as the “Area of Impact” moment in which the political agenda coincides with the social agenda, which “is the thematic area most sensitive to public communication in general and to political communication in particular, because it is the area in which the individual feels a clear coincidence between the country and himself “ (García, Alejandro Macado, 2017, p.108) [57].

Regarding the construction of the media's discourse, *Página 12* appeals to resources that ensure meaning, these are:

– The hypotheses that materialize value judgments built through officials of the ruling elite that testify to the plausibility of the facts.

– The chronologies that ensure what Fiske and Taylor (1991) [58] define as the adequate cognitive preparation (cognitive priming) of the reader in order to affirm a convenient prior context in the interpretation of the information.

– The refutation of what is considered *fake news* of the Other Adversary, since no solution or alternative other than the proposal presented by the media, on behalf of Us, is allowed.

These resources not only materialize the media/governing elite relationship, but also ensure the naturalization of meaning for the proper perception of the facts, where the Other is the adversary.

Finally, *Página 12* presents the Other different from Us in the context of everyday life, in which an agonist perspective is admitted that presents the category of Adversary. This opponent, whose legitimacy is recognized in the dialectical struggle for the imposition of meaning, is accepted for the legitimacy of his discourse (Mouffe, 1999, p. 57) [59] which is the same in the multilogicity of media discourse, that is to say, the media – *Página 12* – regulates the discourse of the Adversary and only what ensures its own meaning is published from his discourse.



The relationship between different modulation processes produced by different media in the political communication scenario remains for another investigation. Another question is whether the temporal dilation in modulation processes extends to the alignment of frames in other media, and if so, how does mediocracy manifest itself as a phenomenon that ensures consensus policies.

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