

‘For Spain!’: Constructing the Spanish People in Vox’s Social Media Videos

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Abstract

This article analyses how the Spanish radical right-wing party Vox constructs the figure of the people in the videos disseminated through its social media platforms. The study focuses on audiovisual content published on Instagram, YouTube, Facebook, and TikTok during the electoral periods between 2014 and 2025. Drawing on a semiotic perspective, the article aims to identify the distinct discursive configurations through which Vox presents the collectivity and positions itself as its legitimate spokesperson. To this end, it applies the model of the collective actant developed by Algirdas J. Greimas and Éric Landowski, together with the notion of the collective political actant formulated by Jacques Fontanille. This theoretical framework facilitates the reconstruction of the discursive strategy through which Vox endeavours to resolve a constitutive paradox of populism: the tension between Vox’s claim to embody the people as a whole and its electoral support, which is limited to a portion of the population. The analysis reveals that Vox’s videos articulate a logic of inclusion and exclusion, in which the community addressed by the party is defined as the only one truly adhering to national values and capable of acting in a manner worthy of the fatherland. In contrast, political opponents are excluded from the community of the Spanish people and presented as hostile to it. In this way, Vox is discursively configured as the legitimate embodiment of the people, while simultaneously delineating its identity boundaries.

Keywords: Vox; the people; populism; radical right; semiotics; social media

Resum. *«¡Por España!»: la construcció del poble espanyol en els vídeos a les xarxes socials de Vox*

Aquest article analitza com el partit espanyol de dreta radical Vox construeix la figura del poble en els vídeos difosos a través de les seves xarxes socials. L'estudi se centra en el contingut audiovisual publicat a Instagram, YouTube, Facebook i TikTok durant els períodes electorals compresos entre 2014 i 2025. Des d'una perspectiva semiòtica, l'article es proposa identificar les diferents configuracions discursives mitjançant les quals Vox presenta la col·lectivitat i es posiciona com el seu portaveu legítim. Per fer-ho, aplica el model de l'actant col·lectiu desenvolupat per Algirdas J. Greimas i Éric Landowski, juntament amb la noció de l'actant polític col·lectiu formulada per Jacques Fontanille. Aquest marc teòric facilita la reconstrucció de l'estratègia discursiva en la qual Vox intenta resoldre una paradoxa constitutiva del populisme: la tensió entre la pretensió de Vox d'encarnar el poble en conjunt i el seu suport electoral, limitat a una part de la població. L'anàlisi mostra que els vídeos de Vox articulen una lògica d'inclusió i exclusió, on la comunitat a la qual es dirigeix el partit es defineix com l'única veritablement adherida als valors nacionals i capaç d'actuar de manera digna de la pàtria. En contrast, els adversaris polítics són exclosos de la comunitat del poble espanyol i presentats com a hostils a aquesta. Així, Vox es configura discursivament com l'encarnació legítima del poble, alhora que delimita les seves fronteres identitàries.

Paraules clau: Vox; poble; populisme; dreta radical; semiòtica; xarxes socials

Resumen. *«¡Por España!»: la construcción del pueblo español en los vídeos en las redes sociales de Vox*

Este artículo analiza cómo el partido español de derecha radical Vox construye la figura del pueblo en los vídeos difundidos a través de sus redes sociales. El estudio se centra en el contenido audiovisual publicado en Instagram, YouTube, Facebook y TikTok durante los periodos electorales comprendidos entre 2014 y 2025. Desde una perspectiva semiótica, el artículo se propone identificar las distintas configuraciones discursivas mediante las cuales Vox presenta a la colectividad y se posiciona como su legítimo portavoz. Para ello, aplica el modelo del actante colectivo desarrollado por Algirdas J. Greimas y Éric Landowski, junto con la noción del actante político colectivo formulada por Jacques Fontanille. Este marco teórico facilita la reconstrucción de la estrategia discursiva en la que Vox intenta resolver una paradoja constitutiva del populismo: la tensión entre la pretensión de Vox de encarnar al pueblo en su conjunto y su apoyo electoral, limitado a una parte de la población. El análisis muestra que los vídeos de Vox articulan una lógica de inclusión y exclusión, donde la comunidad a la que se dirige el partido se define como la única verdaderamente adherida a los valores nacionales y capaz de actuar de manera digna de la patria. En contraste, los adversarios políticos son excluidos de la comunidad del pueblo español y presentados como hostiles a esta. Así, Vox se configura discursivamente como la encarnación legítima del pueblo, al tiempo que delimita sus fronteras identitarias.

Palabras clave: Vox; pueblo; populismo; derecha radical; semiótica; redes sociales

1. Introduction

Vox is a Spanish political party founded in 2013 following an agreement between a dissident faction of the right-wing Partido Popular and individuals associated with radical right-wing movements, including Democracia Nacional and Falange Española de las JONS. Since its debut in the 2014 European

elections, Vox has experienced sustained growth, progressively expanding its representation at regional, national, and European parliamentary levels. In the most recent general elections, held in 2023, it received 12.39% of the vote, becoming the third-largest party in Spain.

Concerning its ideological stance, the coexistence of distinct internal currents has been noted, as well as some evolution over the years (Forti, 2023; Antón Merino et al., 2023). Nonetheless, the academic literature generally converges in classifying Vox within the category of radical populist right, whose anti-liberal democratic stance rejects political pluralism, counter-majoritarian institutions, and the protection of minorities (Mudde, 2007). In particular, various studies agree in attributing to Vox a strongly nationalist stance and an authoritarian view of society (Ferreira, 2019; Escribano López, 2022; Küppers, 2024). Some differences compared to other European radical right-wing parties have also been identified, particularly regarding nativist attitudes. In the case of Vox, this feature is tempered by the emphasis on the concept of the 'Iberosphere' (Fernández-Vázquez, 2024), which is grounded in the legacy of Spanish culture and institutions in the territories of the former empire. Moreover, unlike other European countries, where the radical right has long been present in national parliaments, in Spain its entry into formal institutions coincides with Vox's electoral success. This marked the end of 'Spanish exceptionalism' and constitutes another point of academic interest (Turnbull-Dugarte, 2019; Ortiz Barquero & Ramos-González, 2021; Rodríguez Hidalgo et al., 2024).

Alongside these political science considerations, several studies have underscored the role of Vox's digital communication strategies, even attributing much of its success to them (Camargo Fernández, 2021; Lerín Ibarra, 2024; Moreno-Cabanillas et al., 2026). From this perspective, the digital ecosystem emerges as a key space for articulating its ideological discourse, mobilising its base, and shaping its collective identity (Barbeito & Iglesias, 2021; Pineda et al., 2022). Indeed, several studies consider Vox as a paradigmatic case of adaptation to the digital communication environment (Aladro Vico & Requeijo Rey, 2020; Capdevila et al., 2022; Morejón-Llamas et al., 2024). In this regard, research indicates that its discursive evolution has led to a more active engagement with the working-class vote, redefining the traditional links between a party and its electorate through close, direct communication (Pallarés-Navarro & Zugasti, 2022). It is precisely these logics that define the new political reality, anchored in the digital sphere and its 'platform campaigning' dynamics, which extend beyond electoral cycles and intensify direct interaction between parties and voters (Pérez-Castaños et al., 2022; Cowburn et al., 2025).

It is therefore primarily through social media that Vox has developed its communication strategy, which largely reflects the three characteristic elements of populist discourse: anti-elitist rhetoric, the idealisation of the people, and the legitimisation of the popular will as a normative principle of democracy (Rosanvallon, 2021). Drawing on this populist framework, Vox

constructs a collective identity grounded in social discontent, additionally incorporating elements that are specifically nationalist (Rueda, 2025). In this way, its discourse has been observed to articulate an antagonism between ‘the Spanish people’ and political elites, both national and European, who are held responsible for hollowing out the popular will (Casas-Mas et al., 2025).

As in any populist strategy, the key issue in Vox’s discourse lies in its self-representation as the genuine voice of a collective fully identified with the people. This, however, is precisely what makes any populist party’s stance appear, at least in principle, paradoxical. As Jan-Werner Müller points out, ‘if they are the only legitimate representatives of the people, how can it be that populists aren’t in power already? And how could anyone be against them once they have attained power?’ (Müller, 2016: 27). Or, put even more simply, how is it possible to embody the authentic values of the people while obtaining only a minority share of the votes?

Populist parties resolve this paradox by placing certain social groups outside the collective ‘people’ (Arato, 2013; Olivas Osuna, 2022; Rovira Kaltwasser & Zanotti, 2023), through an exclusionary strategy structured around the opposition between ‘us’ and ‘them’ (Cervi et al., 2023). This raises the question of what truly constitutes the ‘people’ and, consequently, what falls outside it. In other words, this calls for an investigation into the logic underlying the line that separates the ‘people’ from the ‘non-people’.

2. Theoretical framework

Analysing the discursive mechanisms that configure ‘the people’ requires decoding both the dynamics of digital communication and the underlying structural logic of identity-building. Recent empirical research within the Spanish context has underscored how social media platforms serve as prime spaces for the consolidation of Vox’s populist style. In this regard, Alonso-Muñoz et al. (2026) have analysed how appeals to the people, outgroup exclusion, and negative campaigning are deployed within online electoral communication to foster highly confrontational dynamics. Similarly, Camarero Fernández (2021) examines how the party’s digital discourse utilises nativist and polarised frames to establish symbolic boundaries against external groups. Complementing these perspectives, Olivas Osuna (2022) argues that populism and borders are mutually constitutive concepts, demonstrating how bordering narratives serve as fundamental tools for the definition of ‘the people’ and the subsequent legitimisation of exclusion. While these perspectives from political science and political communication provide essential insights into the thematic and adversarial strategies of populist radical right discourse, the analysis of how the collective identity of ‘the people’ is discursively constituted and articulated can be productively enriched by a structural and generative semiotic paradigm. Consequently, this study shifts the focus from thematic framing to the underlying textual strategies that structurally organise the collective within audiovisual discourse.

In the case of nationalist populisms, such as Vox, a full identification between people and nation has been noted (Juarez Miro, 2025). However, from a semiotic perspective, Jacques Fontanille's reflection (2021: 61-101) on the construction of the collective political actant suggests a more articulated model of relationships. In the tradition of Greimasian generative semiotics 'an actant is said to be collective on the basis of a collection of individual actors endowed with a common modal competence and/or a form of doing' (Greimas & Courtés, 1982: 6). Drawing on this perspective, Fontanille treats the constitution of the collective political actant through the interrelations of three concepts that represent its different facets: nation, fatherland, and people.

In Fontanille's framework, the nation is presented as 'a holistic totality, distinct from the mass of individuals that comprise it, and bearer of political sovereignty' (Fontanille, 2021: 62, our translation). Its constitution rests on 'a set of circumstantial elements' (p. 65, our translation), such as territory, history, language, culture, or religion, which share a common origin and temporal continuity. The defining feature of the nation is to ensure the transmission of a heritage, understood as shared knowledge grounded in communal belonging. Thanks to this, the nation takes on the actantial role of Sender, a guarantor of common values that grants legitimacy and authority to those who exercise sovereignty. That is, the people, who act as political Subject.

In this conceptualisation, the collective fatherland is defined by an affective attachment to specific places belonging to the 'country of the father'. This affectivity is further overdetermined by a sense of sacredness. As a result, actions performed in honour of the fatherland and directed toward it must be worthy of it, that is, 'worthy of the fathers, the dead, and the ancestors' (Fontanille, 2021: 68, our translation). In the fatherland, we would thus recognise a bond to the country that fosters 'a sense of belonging and the eventual motivation for self-giving and devotion' (p. 70, our translation). In this way, the fatherland would take on the actantial role of Receiver, with the function of accepting, ignoring, or rejecting actions carried out in its name according to their worthiness or unworthiness.

As noted, within this framework, sovereignty is exercised by the people, configured as the Subject of political action. Fontanille observes that one of its fundamental characteristics is its 'force', understood as a 'potency that awaits mobilisation to give rise to transformation' (Fontanille, 2021: 86, our translation). Above all, however, this force depends on its size. Unlike the nation and the fatherland, the people can expand or contract; that is, it is possible to add or subtract people from 'the people'. This reveals the 'potentially polemical' (Fontanille, 2021: 77, our translation) nature of this concept, in line with the populist aim of distinguishing between people and non-people. But how can this distinction be drawn? What are the criteria of inclusion and exclusion? In our view, the model we have just presented suggests a possible solution: 'the people' consists of those who, on the one hand, receive legitimacy from the nation and, on the other, carry out actions wor-

thy of the fatherland. Those who do not meet these conditions cannot form part of this collective.

In light of the foregoing, it seems pertinent to analyse the discursive mechanisms through which Vox constructs the collective as a political actant and articulates it with the concepts of nation and fatherland. Two factors are particularly relevant. The first is the aforementioned centrality of digital communication in Vox's overall strategy. The second is the high semiotic density of electoral periods, during which political actors, beyond mobilising support, construct their own identities and define their programmes and visions of the social order.

Grounded in these theoretical considerations, the central research question guiding this study is: how does Vox discursively constitute the figure of 'the people' and articulate its boundaries within its social media audiovisual discourse? To address this question, this article examines the modes of presentation of the collective disseminated by Vox across these platforms during electoral campaigns. In doing so, it seeks primarily to identify the criteria for the constitution of 'the people' employed by this party, as well as the logics of belonging, inclusion, and exclusion articulated in its discourse.

3. Method

In line with this theoretical framework, we collected a total of 2,239 audiovisual items disseminated via the official channels of Vox and its leading candidates on Instagram, YouTube, Facebook, and TikTok.

The content was retrieved using Fanpage Karma (<<http://www.fanpagekarma.com/>>), which allows extraction of social media posts according to dates, formats, and associated metadata. Furthermore, technical constraints in obtaining materials from X (formerly Twitter) after certain dates required its exclusion from the analysis. Nevertheless, this limitation has minimal impact on the corpus, as the vast majority of videos were disseminated simultaneously across multiple party platforms.

The sample encompasses all audiovisual content produced by Vox from its first participation in the 2014 European elections up to 2025. Accordingly, all European electoral cycles (2014, 2019, and 2024), general elections (2015, 2016, April and November 2019, and 2023), and regional elections held during this period are included. All videos were systematically reviewed to identify the discursive mechanisms underpinning the construction of the people as a collective political actant.

The research is framed within the semiotic paradigm, relying on the analytical tools of Greimasian semiotics (Greimas & Courtés, 1982). In particular, we utilise the semiotic square of the constitution of the collective actant (Greimas & Landowski, 1982). In generative semiotics, the semiotic square represents the most fundamental level of significance, traditionally defined as "the visual representation of the logical articulation of any semantic category" (Greimas & Courtés, 1982: 305). This analytical tool is employed to describe

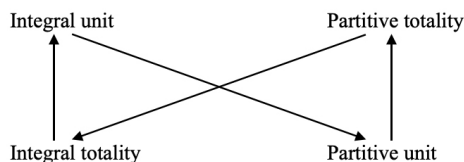
the elementary structure of a given semantic universe, which may coincide with a text—or a coherent series of texts—in the traditional sense, but also with everyday practices, media flows, or strategic interactions (Marrone, 2016). When modelling the constitution of the collective actant, the square is organised around two axes: unity versus totality, and integral versus partitive. Their intersection gives rise to four positions: integral unity, partitive unity, partitive totality, and integral totality (Greimas & Landowski, 1982: 89).¹ Alongside this, we incorporate the notion of modes of semiotic existence (Greimas & Fontanille, 1993: 47; Bertrand, 2000: 263). Although these frameworks address distinct analytical dimensions, their articulation makes it possible to account simultaneously for the constitution of the collectivity and for the different degrees of existence through which the people emerge as a political subject.

The advantage of adopting a semiotic perspective within communication studies lies in its commitment to reconstructing the deep logic of texts (Serra et al., 2020: 5), with a focus on recognising invariants 'beneath the different discursive realisations' (Fabbri, 2017: 103, our translation). This approach, qualitative in nature, privileges textual significance over the statistical comprehensiveness of the full sample. To operationalise this approach, the analytical procedure was structured in two phases. First, a systematic macroscopic screening of the entire corpus was conducted to identify the underlying regularities in the representation of the collective. Second, a micro-analysis was performed on a selection of examples that provide particularly clear illustrations of the different discursive strategies. To provide the necessary analytical depth, this qualitative examination focused on two core dimensions derived from our theoretical tools: (a) the modes of constitution of the collective actant, identifying its specific structural position within the semiotic square; and (b) the modes of semiotic existence (potentialised, virtualised, actualised, and realised) through which 'the people' emerge as a modalised political subject.

4. Results and discussion

The review of the audiovisual material reveals a constant presence, alongside the candidates and party officials, of ordinary people—that is, citizens who, in their aggregate, would constitute the Spanish people. Their appearance

1. The structural architecture of this semiotic square is graphically represented as follows:



takes various forms, individual or collective, which can be categorised according to the modalities of the constitution of the collective actant. Applying this framework allows us to reconstruct the underlying logic by which Vox discursively articulates the notion of the people, ultimately identifying with it and endowing itself with legitimacy.

The starting point of this semiotic square is a collection of individuals conceived as discrete units. From these 'integral units', shared properties are selected in the logical process of group formation, thereby defining a specific thematic role. The next step corresponds to the combination of 'partitive units' into a 'partitive totality', which constitutes the first form of the collective actant. Finally, when this partitive totality acquires characteristics of individuation, it transforms into an 'integral totality'. With this final step, the collective entity perceives itself as a whole rather than as a collection of parts.

4.1. Integral units: The people as individual voices

From the perspective of this model, in which integral unity occupies the first position, a recurring pattern emerges across all electoral campaigns: the constant presentation of individual citizens who speak in a personal capacity, often identified by their first names. These integral units usually express complaints about a specific problem, and Vox appears as an entity that, through its representatives, listens to the opinions of everyday people. Particularly illustrative in this regard is the video series *La España viva habla* ('The Living Spain Speaks'), disseminated via the Facebook profile of Vox Balears in May 2019, in which the local candidate Jorge Campos acts as an improvised reporter interacting with passers-by in Mallorca. In the first of these videos, published on 16 May together with a caption stating 'we only say what ordinary people think', an elderly woman complains in the local language about the Socialists and illegal immigration; in the next, another woman declares that, left disappointed by the left-wing party Podemos, she will give Vox an opportunity; in a third video, an elderly man expresses his dissatisfaction with the performance of the Socialist leader and Prime Minister Pedro Sánchez; in another, a woman polemicises about the 'linguistic business' allegedly being carried out in the Balearic Islands. In this way, Vox candidates appear in a receptive position or as 'narratees', in Gerard Genette's terms (1982), presenting themselves as a channel through which ordinary citizens can make themselves heard, while appropriating their own sentiments. Over the years, similar videos have featured the party's leading figures, such as Rocío Monasterio, Javier Ortega-Smith, or Iván Espinosa de los Monteros. These pieces generally stage a conflict against forces that, acting as an Anti-Subject, sabotage citizens' life projects and attack their ways of being Spanish. In semiotic terms, this configuration can be interpreted as that of a potentialised subject, representing a divided and powerless people, which exists in a latent state.

4.2. *Partitive units: The people as thematic roles*

The second strategy for presenting the Spanish people corresponds to the configuration of partitive units. At this level, the individual is stripped of their singularity to acquire the value of a thematic role, thereby acting as a representative of a specific segment of Spanish society. This is the case in two animated videos released on 13 May and 21 October 2015, which depict two fictional figures: Juan, a mechanic, is shown as being 'robbed by the State' of more than half his salary due to taxes, while Manu, his boss, appears as being 'suffocated by the State', which takes over 50% of his income in various contributions and taxes. In both cases, Vox positions itself as the voice of an oppressed people, promising that it 'will lower or eliminate all existing taxes and create no new ones'. A similar, but more elaborated, mechanism can be observed in the videos of the series *Voces de la España Viva* (*Voices of Living Spain*), produced for the November 2019 general elections. Analogously to the series *La España viva habla*, examined previously, the protagonists denounce a problem and express their trust in Vox. However, here they act as witnesses speaking on behalf of a social group, as reflected in the very titles of the videos: 'El pescadero' ('the Fishmonger'), 'El autónomo' ('the Self-Employed'), 'El camarero' ('the Waiter'), 'El currante' ('the Worker'), and 'El dependiente' ('the Sales Assistant'). Furthermore, by placing these partitive units side by side, the serial mechanism prefigures a collectivity that is, however, not yet fully figurativised. They demonstrate a competence to be a people, yet face institutions that sabotage their constitution. Consequently, we can speak of a virtualised subject, which is already willing yet unable to act.

4.3. *Partitive totality: The people as a collective*

Following the logical progression of the square, the next type of presentation of the people appears, in which the collection of individuals ceases to be a mere sum of separate voices and acquires the form of a partitive totality. Individualities are still discernible, but the people are depicted as a social body whose unity is reinforced by the constant presence of national emblems, such as the Spanish flag, and Vox identity markers. This occurs, for example, in videos of rallies in Lleida and Cáceres, published on Vox's official Facebook account on 1 February 2021 and 20 May 2023. It is also observable in a piece disseminated on Instagram on 20 June 2022, as well as in the YouTube spot released on 20 July 2023 for the national elections, titled 'Tú sabes lo que importa...' ('You know what matters...'). In these videos, the camera moves through the audience, alternating medium shots of the speaker with lateral sweeps highlighting the corporeal proximity of attendees, while several shots focus on audience members' faces. In this way, a sum of singularities coalesces into a collectivity. Often, this identity is reinforced by contrast with other groups associated with the radical left or separatism, as can be observed in videos posted on party leader Santiago Abascal's Instagram profile on 3

February, 2021, and on Vox's YouTube profile on 1 and 6 February of the same year. In such cases, Vox supporters, always associated with national and party symbols, are portrayed with continuous camera movements and stable framing, creating an effect of order and unity in opposition to the hostile actions of antagonist groups. The latter are identified through a heterogeneous set of symbols, appear in unsteady shots, and act in an aggressive and disorderly manner. Moreover, their separatist claims and advocacy for regional languages are presented as threats to two pillars underpinning national unity: language and territory. In contrast, party supporters and militants remain steadfast around national symbols while enduring attacks from opposing factions. In this way, an opposition is delineated between the people, who embody the values of the nation, and an anti-people that threatens to destroy its order. In this polemical structure, fundamental to the articulation of the party's discourse (Serra & González, 2025), the Vox community assumes the role of the resistant, acting in a manner worthy of the fatherland, constantly invoked through the slogan "¡Por España, todo por España, viva España!" ('For Spain, everything for Spain, long live Spain!'). Thus, it is configured as an actualised subject, manifesting its full capacity to constitute itself as a people. The only obstacle to its full realisation is embodied by antagonists characterised by programmes opposed to Vox. However, they act disloyally toward the fatherland, serve competing Senders, and the narrative proposed in the videos suggests that they should be excluded from the Spanish people.

4.4. Integral totality: The people as an overflowing multitude

The fourth type of presentation of the people corresponds to the integral totality, in which the collectivity appears as a compact, dense mass, capable of occupying and overflowing public spaces. This modality is manifested in pieces that show Vox events where attendees exceed the physical limits of the venues hosting them. The examples are numerous and have multiplied along with the party's growth and institutional consolidation, turning this overflowing configuration into a highly functional strategy in recent campaigns. The first dates back to 17 November 2018, when Abascal posted a video on his Facebook profile with the text: 'VOX overflows the rally in #Málaga with more than 3,500 attendees. #EspañaViva quickens its pace and heads toward an electoral victory in #AndalucíaPorEspaña #VotaVOX'. In the video, the camera pans across an open space completely filled with a crowd, in which individual features are indistinguishable, and the mass extends beyond the frame's boundaries. Over time, this type of content has become a constant in Vox's communication, sometimes presented in a variant that emphasises the impossibility of accommodating all the people who want to attend the events. An example of this is the video from 12 April 2019, posted on Vox's official YouTube channel and titled 'Abascal desborda con más de 3.500 personas en Oviedo' ('Abascal overflows with more than 3,500 people in

Oviedo'). Here, the leader, megaphone in hand, addresses a densely packed mass in front of the auditorium hosting the rally, turning the impossibility of containing it into a sign of mobilisation that spans the entire country. In these videos, antagonist groups disappear, swallowed by an unstoppable multitude. As we have seen, Vox propaganda presents its community as a defender of national values and, therefore, worthy of the fatherland. This is a key premise, because such support from the Sender 'nation' legitimises it as a political Subject and grants it the right to become an integral totality extending to encompass the people *tout court*. The mass observed in these pieces exhibits features of unity and cohesion; individualities are neutralised, and sovereignty is assumed by a totalising collective. In this way, the people lose one of their fundamental characteristics, that of being 'countable', to become a 'massive' totality. We thus encounter a realised people-subject that, in the very act of presenting itself, manifests a transformative power guaranteed by its own actancial consistency (Fontanille, 2021: 86). Through the identification between its community and the (legitimate) Spanish people, Vox asserts its claim to this force.

5. Conclusions

As outlined in the introduction, the populist claim to embody the people in their entirety confronts the empirical reality of a parliamentary representation that is always partial. Our analysis shows that Vox resolves this contradiction through a logic of inclusion and exclusion articulated across a narrative trajectory where the collective actant undergoes a modal transformation. This logical progression moves from potentialised dispersed singularities to a final configuration, in which the figure of the overflowing mass, occupying the entire territory, signals the resolution of the conflict and the realisation of the people as an integral totality; however, this totality is nothing more than the ensemble of Vox voters. In accordance with Fontanille's framework, political sovereignty flows from the Nation acting as a transcendent Sender, yet its exercise belongs to the people. By equating its electorate with this authentic collective, Vox legitimises its exercise of sovereignty. Through this discursive process, these voters, and they alone, acquire the legitimacy to be Spain.

Previous research on populist communication has conventionally focused on the thematic content or ideological framing of 'the people.' By instead examining this construction as a structural process of modal transformation, this analysis highlights the internal narrative logic of populist discourse. Furthermore, while much of the existing literature examines single platforms or individual electoral campaigns, the use of a long-term, multi-platform corpus facilitates the isolation of deep, structural textual invariants rather than fleeting communicative trends.

Throughout these pages, we have sought to examine how Vox presents itself as the embodiment of the essence of the Spanish people. While this qualitative analysis successfully highlights the internal dynamics of this pro-

cess, its main limitations stem from its strictly structural focus, which prioritises the deep grammar of signification over the quantitative measurement of message frequency or the systematic tracking of its diachronic evolution. Future research would therefore benefit from combining this approach with mixed-methods designs to map how these configurations fluctuate across digital ecosystems over time during the party's institutional growth. Finally, these observations remain open to further enrichment through the analysis of analogous formations in other countries, which would allow the establishment of generalisations and distinctions with respect to other forms of populist discourse.

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