



VISUAL COMMUNICATION AND NARRATIVE DISCOURSE IN SOCIAL NETWORKS

Emma Watson's digital identity on Instagram

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ABSTRACT

Social networks allow us to trace a self-management of the image with a high self-referential intention. This research analyses the digital identity of the actress Emma Watson through her visual narrative on the social network Instagram. Based on an empirical and longitudinal methodology, an exploratory study is designed to analyze the attention metrics and the images published by the actress, in order to analyze the different stages of her visual discourse and find out if there is a relationship between her aesthetics and the engagement rate produced from it.

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1. Introduction

Immersed in a digital world where visual culture is increasingly powerful and the image constitutes one of the major axes of communication, this article deals with the potentialities and complexities of these images and digital production as a means to create a digital identity and brand image.

The rise in the use of social networks as a means of social participation (Valdivia, 2021; Jurgenson, 2019; Kemp, 2020; Shum, 2020) has brought about an increase in the use of the image as an activator of senses and sensations. The image tells a story, and that visual narrative provides a specific visual identity and particular content threads.

The aim of this study is to analyze the visual narrative of actress Emma Watson's Instagram account from February 13, 2020, to January 31, 2024 (paying special attention to the dates between January 12, 2022, and November 22, 2023, when there seems to be a change in the images), in order to study the visual aesthetics, digital identity, visual narrative, visual sequences, and attention metrics generated. Currently, Instagram, due to its simplicity to express oneself and the attractiveness of its resources, is one of the most appealing social media platforms (Alhabash & Mengyan, 2017). Part of its success lies in the fact that Instagram does not require any type of instrumental competence or media literacy for its use (virtual downgrade), it is free, it can be accessed from any device, and it allows for seamless interaction among users: sharing, editing, and recording any information immediately.

The dissemination of visual aesthetics in social media is based on what Sibilia (2008) calls *extimacy* (as opposed to the term *intimacy*), that is, the creation of a self-referential discourse around the self. Social networks constitute the perfect environment for transforming intimacy into extimacy by using images to build social relationships, virtual communication networks, and the shaping of subjectivities. In this way, the user constructs a visual narrative that transmits, through visual sequences, an image of oneself, one's values, and one's world. Thus, the self-narrative emerges, where individuals become signs that present themselves as an image to others, producing themselves for the view of others, as mediated subjects rather than a physical presence (Gartón and Hijós, 2017). It is the culture of the *self* (Sánchez-Martínez, 2015): self-narratives, self-images, self-discursivity. In the words of Groys (2014), "the contemporary subject is defined as the owner of a series of keys that they know and others do not. The contemporary subject is, fundamentally, someone who keeps a secret". This implies a relationship between the one who publishes and the user who consumes the images/publications: by following the visual narrative, we learn more and more about the subject of our interest, who reveals small drops of information in the form of images. To continue discovering their feelings, one must continue observing.

The focus of these social networks is also centered on generating engagement, with the need to attract attention and sell advertising or information. In this way, the social network becomes a space where certain ideas are praised while others that do not sell or are not interesting are rejected. Images cease to be a passive subject, observed in solitude or in small groups. The image on social networks becomes the centerpiece around which communication revolves, where socialization takes place, and where the user feels part of something, an idea, an aesthetic, or a group, because as stated by Sánchez-Martínez (2015) they allow the orientation of collective viewpoints. Echoing the words of Gartón and Hijós (2017), while it is through these platforms where the individual is empowered by a certain discourse, at the same time, they feel pressured to define everything. To exist today, it is necessary to live in networks: to connect, engage and be engaged, to get involved, to define oneself, and to self-manage through the image.

1.1. Background and theoretical framework

Visual communication has been one of the most rapidly evolving elements of communication in recent decades, particularly since the emergence of social networks. Now more than ever, the image is used as a primary agent of social interaction. Numerous studies have been dedicated to understanding its impact and dynamics in recent years.

The literature surrounding visual communication in the 1980s and 1990s focused on design and the image (Kostelnick, 1989; Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996; Kramer & Bernhardt, 1996), as well as reflections on the representation of the "real" in the image (Debord, 1990, 1999; Baudrillard, 1984; Gombrich, 1980; Barthes, 1992; Berger, 2000; Aparici, García-Matilla, Fernández-Baena, Osuna-Acedo, 2009). In the early 2000s, studies shifted towards debates on the dichotomy between written and electronic/digital image (Bolter, 2001; Stroupe, 2000), new forms of media (Bolter, 2003; Wysocki,

2003), new literacies or multiliteracies (Cope & Kalantzis, 2000; Hawisher & Selfe, 2000; Kress, 2000), and design (Schriver, 2005).

Undoubtedly, we live in a time where there is a hegemony of the visible, which supersedes other communicative activities (Mitchel, 1994; Sartori, 1998; Ledo, 2020; Fontcuberta, 2016), largely driven by the use of mobile phones and the expansion of social networks. In this context, several trends in research have emerged in recent years that are relevant to this study: the historical memory of images (Rosa, 2016; Virilio, 2006; Berger & Luckmann, 2015; Castro-de-Paz, 2019); the image as a construction of personal identity (Belting, 2007; Martín-Núñez, García-Catalán, Rodríguez-Serrano, 2020); digital visual culture (Mirzoeff, 2003; Català-Domènech, 2015; Sánchez-Martínez, 2015) and post-digital aesthetics (Berry & Dieter, 2018; Sánchez-Martínez, 2015); the intersection of art, technology, and communication (Jordan, 2019) and virtual activism (Acevedo-Nieto, 2020), cyberfeminism (Zafra & López-Pellisa, 2019); transmedia narratives and fan phenomena on social networks (Scolari, 2013); the issues surrounding the application of artificial intelligence on social networks (Han, 2017; Guardiola, 2018; Aparici & García-Marín, 2019) and digital identity, which deserves further exploration and analysis.

The digital identity

Having a presence on social media entails digital identity management. The concept of identity (not related to the digital realm) has been the subject of multiple investigations. Goffman (1981) posited that when a subject voluntarily presents themselves on social media, it is because they intend to project. Indeed, in recent years, we have seen that this goes much further, and that it is also about *existing*. This identity is shaped, according to Wood and Smith (2005), by how we want others to perceive us, and how, in fact, they perceive us. Giones-Valls & Serrat Brustenga (2010) analyze three key aspects of digital identity: visibility, reputation, and privacy. In this study, visibility is measurable based on the number of followers who engage in certain activities or based on the number of times certain contents are replicated, for example, by reposting a blog entry, saving, liking, commenting, sharing. On Instagram, the entire digital society can see the number of "likes" or comments, but only the account manager knows how many times a post is shared or saved. On the other hand, reputation is the opinion that a subject has of another. Thus, the better reputation a digital identity has, the more relevant what they say and do will become. In their study, Giones-Valls & Serrat Brustenga (2010) establish a series of considerations to successfully manage a digital identity, of which three are applicable to our study: 1) coherence between analog and digital identity; 2) everything published on the internet remains for posterity, so every content must be carefully managed to avoid reputation issues in the future; 3) providing responsible and ethical content directly affects our reputation.

There is not much literature specifically focusing on the digital identity of actors and actresses, but there is research on influencers and YouTubers (de-Casas-Moreno & Vizcaíno Verdú, 2020) analyzing these profiles from a psychosocial perspective, in order to determine human interaction processes on the Internet through in-depth interviews. Additionally, de-la-Torre-Delgado & Vidal-García (2022) conducted a study through interviews that analyzes the process of identity construction among *influencers*.

In this regard, and according to the classification established on the *Influency* website, a reference webpage for *influencers*, within the realm of digital identity and considering her engagement and number of followers, Emma Watson would be considered a *celebrity*, since she has over 7 million followers (approximately 75 million).

Brand image, branding, and engagement on Instagram

For this research, we revisit two empirical studies conducted on these matters, although in the last decade, a significant number of investigations have been conducted.

Luque-Ortiz (2019) analyzes Instagram content generated by influencers to determine engagement, emphasizing their importance as fundamental elements of corporate communication and influencer marketing. Meanwhile, in the study conducted by Caerols-Mateo, Tapia-Frade and Carretero-Soto (2013), the interaction between users and brands is examined, concluding that brands employ a structured and consistent corporate discourse in terms of image, with a defined aesthetic line within a specific style, since style also provides corporate information. Another interesting aspect is what is

depicted in photos, which undoubtedly influences the character the brand exhibits on this social network. Photographs of products and/or services (86.5%), events (69.2%), "behind the scenes" (61.5%), establishments (51.9%), customers (50%), employees (44.2%), celebrities/famous individuals (38.5%), cities/landscapes/scenarios (25%), and finally, production processes and/or elaboration (13.5%) predominate. Additionally, Pérez-Condés & Campillo-Alahama (2016) study and analyze the communication strategies of influencers on social networks.

Visual narrative and storytelling, visual aesthetics, visual sequences

There is a vast literature on this subject that highlights the power of visual narrative on this social network: Gurrieri & Drenten (2019) in the field of health; Liebhart & Bernhardt (2017) in the political field; Bainotti, Caliendo & Gandini (2021) on the power of the image and self-construction; and De-Casas-Moreno, Calvo & Rodríguez (2018) on micronarratives on Instagram.

Regarding visual aesthetics, we refer to the work of Kusumasondjaja (2020), which analyzed over 40,000 Instagram posts and showed that an expressive aesthetic receives more "likes" and comments than a classic one.

In the field of visual communication analysis, we draw inspiration from the work of García-Sánchez, Cruz-Benito, Therón & Gómez-Isla (2015), in which they propose real research proposals to avoid common problems when analyzing visual communication processes and patterns on social networks.

Works on visual sequences are also diverse. However, to analyze images in this study we relied on the recent study by Varela-Rodríguez & Vicente-Mariño (2022). This research examines images by the photographer Olatz Vázquez, who passed away at the age of 27 from stomach cancer. The study analyzes Olatz's Instagram profile, which served as a strong driver for raising awareness about her illness. The authors employ a mixed method approach, including quantitative content coding and its qualitative interpretation. Drawing on the theories of Panofsky (2004) and Rodríguez and Dimitrova (2011) regarding the levels of image analysis, we use the denotative level: evaluating the contents of the image for what they are, without making interpretations about what they mean to the image producer or viewer. Additionally, we rely on the components of visual grammar proposed by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) to observe the content of the image.

2. Design and method

The present research is empirical and qualitative in nature. Therefore, it is an exploratory study focused on analyzing the content of the images on Emma Watson's Instagram account. The study arises from the need for a methodological approach to understand the type of content generated by the actress, the visual narrative and user engagement. Therefore, this work does not start from a hypothesis but rather it is conceived as an exploratory, descriptive and inductive research, centered on studying the nature of a subjective and dynamic reality.

This is a longitudinal study that collects and analyzes information from Watson's account from February 2020 to January 2024, with this timeframe representing the maximum sampling allowed by the software used.

Regarding the working universe, only the images from the account are collected (109 images in total) from January 2022 (when a change in aesthetics is detected) to November 2023.

This study is divided into four main phases: (1) defining research objectives and questions, (2) developing a protocol for image extraction and analysis, (3) analyzing engagement using the InsTrack App Premium tool, (4) manual extraction and analysis of images, and (5) interpreting and synthesizing the results.

Regarding the research techniques employed, observation is used to capture ideas expressed in the sample in their natural form, where the subject under study is unaware that their behaviors are being analyzed. It involves non-participant observation, collecting information from the outside without intervening in the phenomenon, and structured observation, as tools and technical elements are used to manage the information.

To conduct the image analysis, we relied on the research of Varela-Rodríguez & Vicente-Mariño (2022) for image processing; García-Sánchez, Cruz-Benito, Therón & Gómez-Isla (2015) to avoid methodological issues in research; Kusumasondjaja (2020) to calculate engagement; and on applied theories and methods from Panofsky (2004) and Rodríguez and Dimitrova (2011) (denotative level of image analysis) as well as the components of visual grammar by Kress and van Leeuwen (1996) to

observe the elements that appear in the image. In this study, we consider not only the elements but also other items that we describe in the following section.

3. Field work and data analysis

To carry out the research objective, once the research objectives and questions are defined and a protocol for extracting the items to be studied is developed, we move on to phases (3) and (4), where the elements to be analyzed are extracted.

Phase 3

- Publication date
- Number of posts
- Number of "likes" per post
- Number of comments
- Engagement rate

Phase 4

- Type of post (image, carousel, or video)
- Image characteristics (triptych, standalone image, documentary series)
- Content of the image (people/objects shown)
- Brand being advertised (Prada, Renais Gin, others)
- Type of image (advertising, portrait, artistic, advertisement frame, infographic)
- Predominant colors
- Presence of social awareness content

First (phase 3), we focus on the first three items to study: the number of posts, the number of "likes," the engagement rate, and the number of comments, for which the InsTrack App Premium tool is used. InsTrack App is a web scraping application/tool that provides analytics and detailed analysis of Instagram accounts, including "likes" and engagement rate. This tool allows us to identify a change in the account's engagement, so we proceed to analyze the images to observe if there is a relationship between the decrease in engagement and the type of image, content, among other factors (phase 4). This change occurs in January 2022, so we proceeded to analyze a total of 109 images from January 1, 2022, to November 22, the date of the last post at the time of writing this article. This classification is carried out manually and the images are categorized in an Excel spreadsheet according to different categories: date, type of post, characteristics, content, brand, type of image, colors, and appearance of social awareness content.

Finally, in phase (5) of the study, to facilitate data visualization and interpretation, the software tool Orange Data Mining v. 3.36.2 is used. Orange Data Mining is an open-source machine learning and data visualization tool aimed at identifying data distributions and potential relationships among the collected data. To conduct this analysis, the Excel data was converted into the required CSV format. One of the features of Orange Data Mining is image analysis, where images are converted into numerical data to enable machine learning and classification into groups. The 109 images from the posts were processed using this image analysis option to observe how they are hierarchically grouped and situated in a grid based on similarity. To perform an image analysis with Orange Data Mining and to organize the 109 images from the posts into groups, we first imported the images to convert them into image descriptors (numbers describing the image content). This conversion transforms images into their vector representation using the program's deep neural network. After embedding the images, we compared them to group them using cosine distances, which is the most effective option for processing images and obtaining dendrograms. Once the hierarchical grouping was obtained, we used the image grid tool to display the images from our dataset in a similarity grid, showcasing images with similar content closer together.

4. Results

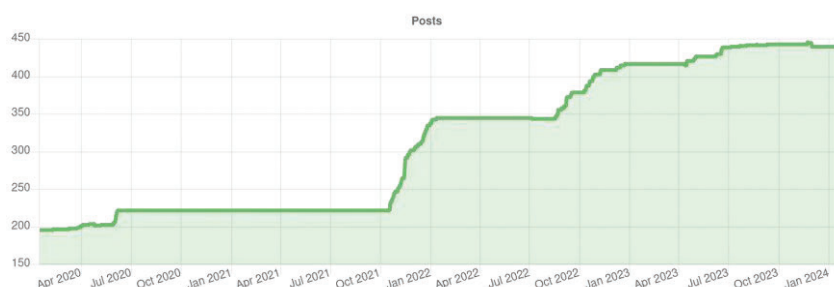
This section presents the results of the study. For clarity, the analysis conducted with the InsTrack App Premium tool is presented first, followed by the most relevant data regarding the images extracted manually. Finally, the analysis conducted with Orange Data Mining is presented.

4.1. *InsTrack App Premium (2020 – 2024) analysis*

Date and number of posts

The results regarding the number of posts over the last 4 years show a significant increase from the beginning of the sample observation, in January 2020, until the end of the analyzed posts in January 2024. What stands out the most is the significant rise in Emma Watson's activity starting from October 17, 2021, especially from January 2022 onwards, when the type of posts changes and she focuses on promoting the Prada advertisement she stars in and directs.

Figure 1. Number of posts (February 13, 2020, to January 31, 2024).

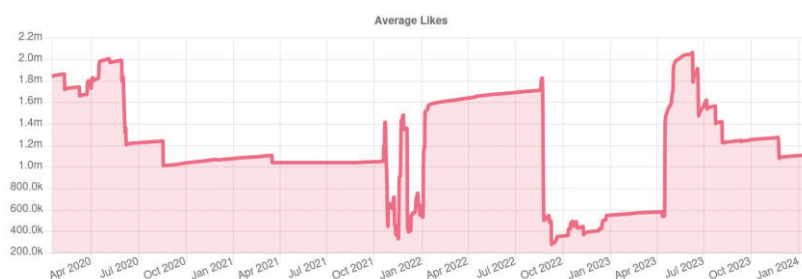


Source: Emma Watson's Instagram Account Report generated by *InsTrack*, 2024. (Own elaboration).

Average number of "likes" per post

Regarding the second element studied, the average number of "likes" per post (Figure 2) reflects significant drops in October and December 2021, although they quickly recover to remain high and stable in the period from February 2022, coinciding with the post where she announces her directorial role in the Prada advertisement, until October of the same year, when they decline again. It is from this moment that the analysis of images reports an aesthetic and content change. However, the number of "likes" on Watson's posts experiences a sharp drop in August 2022 (when she stops posting content) and remains very low until June 2023. From that moment on, it starts to rise again to numbers above 2 million. In the last quarter of 2024, until January 2024, the trend is a gentle decline.

Figure 2. Average of "likes" (February 13, 2020, to January 31, 2024).



Source: Emma Watson's Instagram Account Report generated by *InsTrack*, 2024. (Own elaboration).

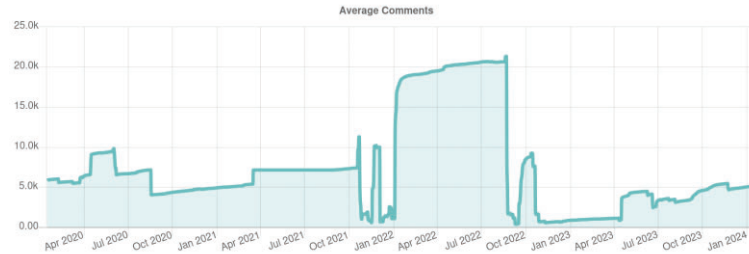
Number of comments

The average number of comments on Watson's posts (Figure 3) reflects brief declines in the number of comments from her followers in October and December 2021, coinciding with the fluctuations in "likes" shown in Figure 2. Figure 3 shows a high peak of comments from January to September 2022, starting from the post where she announces her first foray as director of the Prada advertisement on January 12,

2022, followed by the change in aesthetic and content in her posts from August 18, 2022 (with no posts between these months), when the number of comments experiences a noticeable decline.

This decline persists from November 2022 onwards. The comment count continues to decrease, indicating that her followers are apparently losing interest in this type of posts.

Figure 3. Number of comments (February 13, 2020, to January 31, 2024).

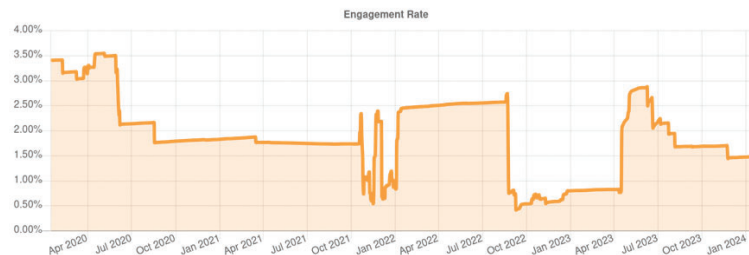


Source: Emma Watson's Instagram Account Report generated by *InsTrack*, 2024. (Own elaboration).

Engagement rate

As for the engagement rate (Figure 4), we can observe numbers and trends very similar to those shown in Figures 2 and 3, experiencing fluctuations similar to those of the average comments and "likes", although it improves from April 2023 after the post celebrating her birthday (on April 16) and the subsequent announcement of the creation of a family gin brand (Renaissance Gin). From the summer of 2023 onwards, she begins to primarily promote her own brand on her profile, setting aside other promotions.

Figure 4. Engagement rate (February 13, 2020, to January 31, 2024).



Source: Emma Watson's Instagram Account Report generated by *InsTrack*, 2024. (Own elaboration).

4.2. Analysis of the images 2022-2023: engagement and content

After obtaining the preliminary results with *InsTrack* and once variations were detected in the number of posts, engagement rate, average "likes," and average comments on posts, we identified the dates when the aesthetic change in the images occurred (more focused on the promotion of Prada and Renaissance Gin) and proceeded to manually extract relevant data through a process of observation and analysis of visual content for the years 2022 and 2023. To do this, the information was extracted into an Excel spreadsheet and the images were classified by date, type of post, characteristics, content, brand, type of image, colours, and appearance of social awareness content.

Images with more "likes"

Based on the data collected in the Excel spreadsheet, we can extract the following results: The images with the highest number of "likes" are those related to Harry Potter. Specifically, the post with the most "likes" is from January 3, 2022, where she advertises the 20th anniversary of Harry Potter on HBO. In second place, the image that has generated the most "likes" is from January 5, 2022, featuring a young Emma Roberts. In this image, Watson makes a wink to this actress after her photo appeared in the HBO documentary, confusing her for Emma Watson as a child. In third place, we find her birthday post (April 16, 2023), the first post with the most "likes" since the change in aesthetics in her posts the previous year.

Figure 5. The three images with more “likes” from 2022 and 2023.



Source: Emma Watson's Instagram Account (2022-2023).

Regarding the type of image, portraits of Emma Watson receive significantly more "likes," although the average shows a downward trend over time, favoring images showing Emma and her team, which are on the rise. The vintage color theme appears to be the most popular. Regarding the type of post, single images are preferred over carousels or videos, with triptychs being more popular than standalone images.

Images with the most comments

Examining the top three posts with the most comments, we can see that the first is the collage from January 3, 2022, raising social awareness about the need for solidarity. Next is the left part of the triptych from September 17, 2022, a candid story about the making of the Prada ad. Comments on this post focus on questioning Watson about her silence following the murder of Mahsa Amini in Iran, accusing her of abandoning her feminist stance for this new focus on self-promotion. Thirdly, the image with the highest number of comments is the post about the Harry Potter anniversary, with comments centered on celebrating the fans' love for the film.

Regarding the type of image, those that generate the highest number of comments are not portraits (which receive the highest number of "likes"), but rather artistic images. Regarding the brand, the Harry Potter universe generates the most comment interaction. Additionally, more comments appear on black-and-white images, standalone images that are not part of any series or triptych, and images featuring Emma Watson or Emma with her brother.

Figure 6. The three images with more comments from 2022 and 2023.



Source: Emma Watson's Instagram Account (2022-2023).

Content type

In this phase of the study, the content of the images posted by Emma Watson is analyzed to correlate it with the engagement of her followers. Using the denotative plane, which classifies the image solely by the object or the entity being depicted, the following classification is made:

Table 1. Image content and frequency.

	Number of appearances	Frequency of appearances
Ambience	36	33.03 %
Advertisement Paradox Prada	1	0.92 %
Cezanne's studio	1	0.92 %
Clapperboard	1	0.92 %
Emma	31	28.44 %
Emma magazine cover Wonderland	1	0.92 %
Emma Roberts	1	0.92 %
Emma Webster	1	0.92 %
Emma and team	5	4.59 %
Emma and brother	8	7.34 %
Emma and perfume	2	1.83 %
Emma and dog	1	0.92 %
Team	3	2.75 %
Flowers	1	0.92 %
Women in science	1	0.92 %
Landscape	3	2.75 %
Dog	1	0.92 %
Painting	3	2.75 %

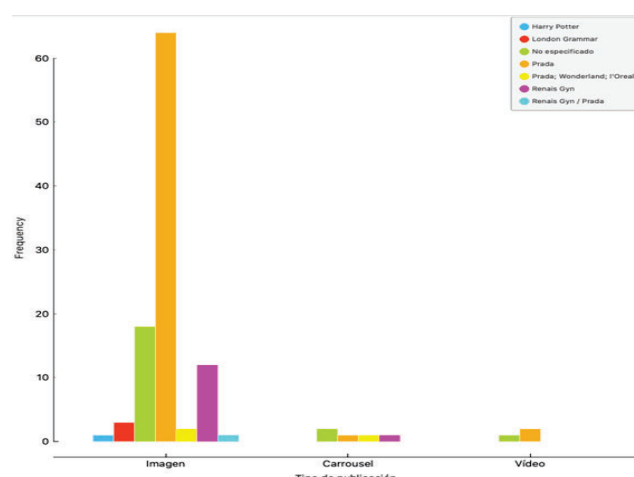
Source: Own elaboration, 2024.

In Table 1, we can observe that Watson's aesthetic change focuses on posts with ambience images (33.03%), followed closely by images of herself (28.44%).

Beyond the purely denotative and regardless of the content appearing in the image, 91% of these do not have a background of social content, thus breaking with one of the clearest hallmarks of Watson's image. It is worth noting in this regard that none of the posts with the most "likes" have social awareness content. Instead, it was an image with social awareness content that generated the most comments on January 3, 2022, indicating that this type of image generates engagement from Watson's followers.

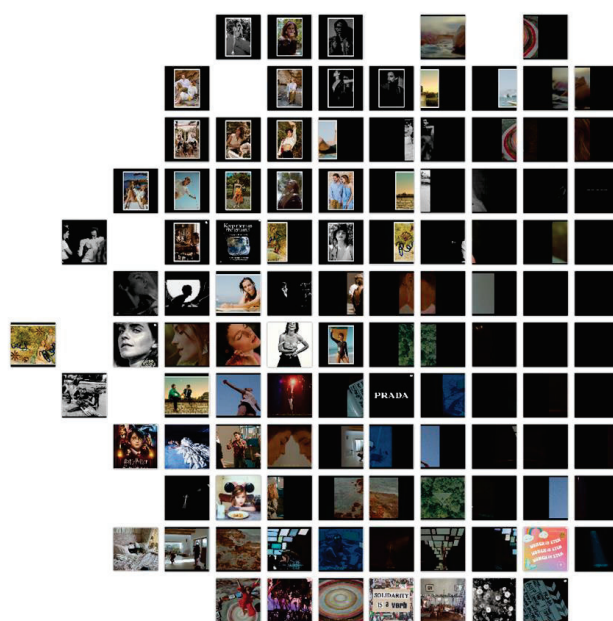
4.3. Phase 5. Manual analyses of the images

After importing the data into Orange Data Mining, we obtain data related to the images and the distributions of the elements included in the Excel spreadsheet by frequency of occurrence. The most frequent type of publication is the image (92.66%), the most frequent image characteristic is triptychs (22.94% each part), followed by images that are part of a series (22.02%), the most frequent image content is ambience (surrounding the central part of the triptych, with 29.36%) followed by images of Emma Watson (26.61%), the brand that appears most frequently in her posts is Prada (61.47%), the most used types of images are advertising images and advertisement frames (33.03% each type), the predominant colour in the posts is black (37.61%), followed by black and white (22.02%), and 91.74% of her posts in these two years do not have social awareness content. Breaking down these statistics, we can see that the characteristics of the images with the most "likes" are triptychs, and the brand most advertised by Watson is Prada (Figure 7).

Figure 7. Frequency of brand appearance per images

Source: Obtained from *Orange Data Mining Report* from own data, 2024.

After embedding the images, we compared them to group them using cosine distances, the option that works best for processing images and obtaining dendrograms. Once we obtained the hierarchical grouping mentioned above, we used the image grid tool to display the images from our dataset in a similarity grid, showing images with similar content closer together.

Figure 8. Similarity grid of the images published from January 3, 2022, to November 22, 2023.

Source: Obtained from *Orange Data Mining Report* from own data, 2024.

We can observe that on the right side of the grid, black tones with minimal visual content predominate (mainly the left and right parts of the triptychs), while on the left side, images of Watson herself prevail, both the central ones from the triptychs and the independent ones, mainly related to the promotion of Prada and Renais Gin, showing the evolution of her new visual identity.

5. Conclusions and discussion

This research has succeeded in establishing a relationship between Emma Watson's digital discourse, the content of her images, and the generated engagement rate. However, in future investigations, it would be necessary to study in depth the content of the comments and the impact of shifting the focus of her posts from raising awareness of social issues to brand advertisement.

Contrasting with the abundance of activist posters and text-based awareness posts present in the initial analyzed stage, the posts from the years 2022 and 2023 show a marked aesthetic change, focusing on photographic compositions with a carefully crafted vintage black-and-white aesthetic, many of which are extracted from still frames of the advertisement she directed for Prada. Thus, this aesthetic shift reflects the change in the digital identity that Watson wishes to portray, emphasizing her role as a creator, director, and artist while leaving her previous stage behind. We observe a trend towards showcasing more images of individual exposure compared to the predominant use of documentary-style and intervention images in previous years' posts.

From January 2020 to December 2021, Watson made 133 posts, of which 90.98% did contain some form of social content (environmental awareness, feminism, etc.), compared to only 8.26% of posts with social content in this new phase from 2022 to 2023. There is a tendency to change her self-discourse and representation in front of her followers.

In the posts from the years 2020 and 2021, before the aesthetic change of her account, Emma is the protagonist (either alone or accompanied) of only 12.03% of her posts, with a variety of posts focused on book covers, documentaries, activists, or photos, paintings, and posters with a clear activist message, compared to the 28.44% frequency of her appearances in the last stage since the aesthetic change of her account. We can observe a greater focus on herself as the protagonist of her Instagram account, and less on her activist or social awareness side.

In the first two years of the analysis there are no brands mentioned, except for the advertisement for the 20th anniversary of Harry Potter on HBO, as opposed to the frequent appearance of the brands Prada and Renais Gin over the last two years of this study, both personal projects of the artist (director and protagonist of the advertisement, co-founder of the company with her brother). This new trend suggests a change in Watson's self-perception and how she decides to project herself to her audience, no longer just as an actress and feminist, but as a businesswoman and director, thus focusing more on herself and her posts.

This series of changes has affected her relationship with her followers, since comments, likes, and the overall engagement rate of her posts have fallen since 2022, and when there have been increases in engagement, they have mainly been to criticize her abandonment of posts with social content. This shift in Watson's visual discourse on Instagram is related to Groys' thesis (2014), according to which aesthetics have been responsible for opening the way to a new regime of visibility. According to this scholar, content creators offer their followers a drip-feed of information, a series of clues, so one must pay close attention to stay up to date with any changes. According to our data, the problem with offering information in dribs and drabs is that the audience stops participating when the content creator stops publishing. In other words, to exist, one must live on social media. As Gartón & Hijós (2017) affirm, the individual who generates content must manage their image very well, and as we see, it's not only about what is posted, but also when and how it's published, as well as establishing an open and collaborative participation in the digital communication process (Scolari, 2013; Sánchez-Martínez, 2015). In other words, it's not enough to post from time to time; it's necessary to establish a relationship of continuity and loyalty with followers, one of care and attention. Emma Watson's self-referential world on social media is necessary to build an image and a digital identity (Sibilia, 2008; Sánchez-Martínez, 2015), but it's also important, in light of the results of this study, to maintain a constant relationship with the public and to be consistent with previously defended ideas, avoiding monologue (Han, 2017) and the absence of dialogue (Aparici & García-Marín, 2019).

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