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Reality television and politics come together. Topics and discursive strategies of politicians on the programmes *En la tuya o en la mía* and *Planeta Calleja*

Abstract

Political infotainment is increasingly present on Spanish television. The rupture of bipartisanship caused by the emergence of new political parties and new leadership has favoured the expansion and diversification of the number of politainment programmes. This article analyses interviews with Pedro Sánchez, Albert Rivera, Soraya Sáenz de Santamaría and Mariano Rajoy on *Planeta Calleja* and *En la tuya o en la mía*, two of the programmes that are included in a new genre of political infotainment in Spain, reality television. The objective of this study is to describe the topics covered in the interviews as well as the discursive strategies used. There are three main conclusions in this research: first is the fact that despite being two programmes of the same genre, the topics differ; second, there are coincidences in the predominance of proposals in the face of attacks and defensive messages; thirdly, it has been confirmed that politicians who are performing government functions are less aggressive than their opponents.

Keywords

Infotainment, 20 December electoral campaign, *Planeta Calleja*, *En la tuya o en la mía*, political interview, reality television.

1. Introduction and state of affairs

The fact that three elections, two of which were general, were held in less than twelve months, and the intermediate period of parliamentary deadlock, unprecedented in Spain, has re-energized the phenomenon of political television infotainment (Berrocal, 2015). An election campaign is always a good moment for media exposure, but the irruption of Podemos and Ciudadanos on to the political stage has increased competition. This has encouraged the leaders of all the political parties to grant interviews to programmes such as *Viajando con Chester*, *Salvados*, *El intermedio*, *En la tuya o en la mía* or *El Objetivo*, and has forced them to accept the challenges offered by *El Homiguero*, *Qué tiempo tan feliz*, *El Programa de Ana Rosa* or *Planeta Calleja*. Participation

of leading politicians on entertainment programmes is not exceptional in Spain, but it has increased in this new political and social context (Rabadán, 2017)

Political infotainment, more recently called *politainment* (Schultz, 2012), is a term which was first used in the United States in the late 80s, but it only spread to the international arena a decade later. Publications on political television infotainment were first seen in Spain in the year 2000 (Berrocal et al., 2001; García Avilés, 2007; Farré, 2013, Rossell & Pineda, 2014). It was in that same year that American researchers, undoubtedly the most untiring in the field, began to focus on the spectacularization of political information (Patterson, 2000; Baum, 2002, 2003, 2005; Hollander, 2005, Moy, Xenos & Hess, 2006).

Berrocal summarizes the trends in television infotainment into three parallel streams: on the one hand, the addition of lightweight news on traditional news bulletins in place of analytical or development news items; on the other, a tendency to deal with serious matters on programmes and in formats mainly intended to entertain the viewer. And, finally, the appearance of formats that parody current affairs (Berrocal, 2015).

Las Noticias del Guñol was the first political infotainment programme broadcast in Spain. First scheduled in 1995, its success motivated other channels to produce programmes such as *Caiga Quien Caiga* (CQC) or *El Informal*. Later saw the arrival of American-style late-night shows like *Buenafuente* (2005) and *Noche Hache* (2005). Since then, the television panorama has offered a broad range of *politainment* (Berrocal, 2015).

After a first stage of the spectacularization of information, with the objective of hooking and holding onto the audience (García-Avilés, 2007), we are now at a new stage in which the politicians are no longer a passive subject of banality. In the words of Sánchez-Alonso, “the media choose a light, relaxed approach (sometimes vulgar and twisted); whereas the politicians themselves, who are aware of this, adapt to the approach; they assume the role demanded; and happily fit into the schemes” (Sánchez-Alonso, 2005: 75).

The willingness of politicians to play the popularity game has meant that the number of infotainment programmes has increased and diversified. In an analysis of the television schedule for the year 2009, Cebrián and Berrocal (2013) concluded that the *politainment* programmes on the air on mainstream television in Spain may be classified into three groups: spectacularized political formats, politicized magazine shows and political *infoshows*. Following this classification, spectacularized political formats are programmes in which the contents and participants belong to the area of traditional political analysis, but their debates occur in an exceptional framework. The politicized magazine shows have a more varied subject matter, in which politics alternates with other current affairs of questionable good taste or social value. Finally, the political *infoshows* are undoubtedly intended as entertainment and use humour and satire to deal with political current affairs (Cebrián & Berrocal, 2013).

Seven years later, *politainment* has increased on the television schedule:

Table 1. *Politainment* programmes on air in 2009 and in 2016

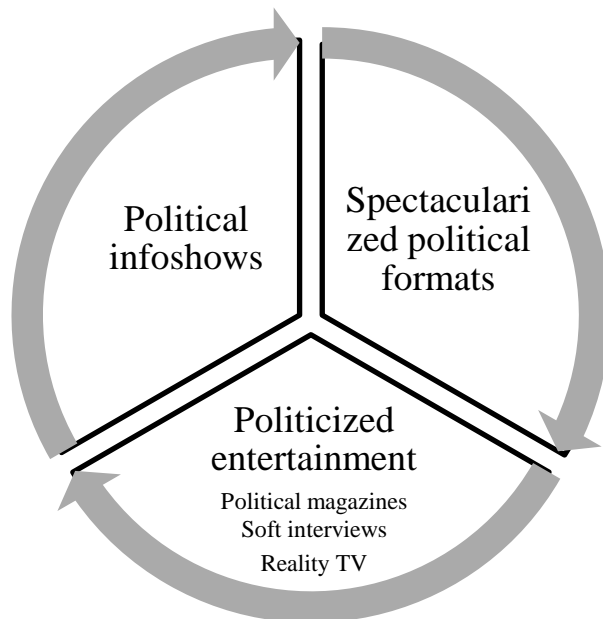
	PROGRAMA POLÍTICO ESPECTACULARIZADO	MAGAZINE POLITIZADO	INFOSHOW
2009	59 segundos Tengo una pregunta para usted	Espejo público El programa de Ana Rosa La noria	Buenafuente El intermedio Salvados
2016	Salvados El Objetivo Toma partido Las mañanas de cuatro La sexta noche Al rojo vivo Más vale tarde	Espejo público El programa de Ana Rosa ¡Qué tiempo tan feliz! El Hormiguero Viajando con Chester El rincón de pensar En la tuya o en la mía Dos días y una noche Planeta Calleja	El intermedio
	PROGRAMA POLÍTICO ESPECTACULARIZADO	ENTRETENIMIENTO POLITIZADO	INFOSHOW

Source: authors' own

The most relevant change has been the emergence of new politicized entertainment programmes. In 2009 there were only three magazine shows. In 2016, five programmes can be considered as fitting into this category: *Las mañanas TVE*, *Espejo público*, *El programa de Ana Rosa*, *¡Qué tiempo tan feliz!* and *El hormiguero*. They are all shows with a varied subject matter in which politics alternates with other current affairs and with non-information contents. Politics is presented out of context, mixed up with celebrities and frivolous and sensationalistic opinions which trivialize and vulgarize political matters. But apart from the increase in politicized magazines, the 2016 schedule shows another innovation: the emergence of new entertainment formats which address politics and have politicians among their guests, such as *Viajando con Chester* and *Al rincón de pensar*, two interview programmes with three characteristics or styles which placed them in this category (Lozano, 2004; Ortells 2009, 2011; Carrillo, 2013; Berrocal et al., 2014). The first of these is the shared prominence of the presenter, the second is the unconventional setting for the interview and the third is the type of subject matter addressed. The questions the political leaders are asked go beyond matters which are strictly related with their activity such as their election programmes, their proposals, actions and public decisions, and go into personal matters (Martín; Vázquez-Barrio & Cebrián, 2017).

In short, together with the spectacularized political formats, politicized magazines and political *infoshow*s which were on air in 2009 (Cebrián & Berrocal, 2010), we now have *soft interviews* and political reality television, to which *En la tuya o en la mía* and *Planeta Calleja* belong; these are the two programmes on which this research focuses.

Graph 1. Classification of political infotainment programmes



Source: authors' own

There is one particularly relevant factor which may explain the change observed in infotainment: the breakup of two-party predominance. The irruption of Podemos and Ciudadanos into the Spanish Parliament has been a unique event in the history of our democracy. This was not the first time that new parties had appeared, but it was the only time new parties had had such high electoral backing. Regionalist parties had appeared in the autonomous governments, and at countrywide level there was the precedent of UPyD, but their election results were much more modest. The more parties there are, the more competition there is and greater necessity to convince people. This fact increased the media exposure of the political leaders. Besides, Albert Rivera and Pablo Iglesias make greater and better use of the social networks and move with ease on television sets. They both adopted a more direct way of interacting the public and, in a way, forced those leaders with more conventional approaches to the logic of the political *show*, which belongs to the “audience democracy” formulated by Manin (1997). In this deformation of the democratic political regime, party competence focuses on the candidates and not on the ideological or programmed aspects of the parties, and the voters are seen as an audience which must be won over through use of the image of the leaders in the media

2. Research method

In this study, contents analysis technique has been applied to the interviews with the presidential candidates for the general elections of 20 December carried out on the programmes *En la tuya o en la mía* and *Planeta Calleja*. The justification for this choice is that they were the only reality TV programmes the politicians appeared on during the research¹.

¹ Later, on the occasion of the 26J elections, a special programme was broadcast presented by Susana Griso, titled *Dos días y una noche*, to which the candidates were also invited; it belongs to the same genre.

En la tuya o en la mía is a chat show presented by Bertín Osborne. The interviews are held either in the presenter's home or in that of the guest; among the guests there have been singers, sportspeople, artists and also politicians. The first season was broadcast on TVE, but after some disagreement between the channel and the production company, the second season was shown on Telecinco with the title *Mi casa es la tuya*, and continues there at present. The first season premiered on 9 September 2015 and finished on 16 March 2016. Its ratings *share* for the first season was 18.4%.

Table 2. Audience data for broadcasts of the program *En tu casa o en la mía*

Title	Description	Channel	Start time	End time	AM(000)	Share	MAA(000)
<i>En tu casa o en la mía</i>	Pedro Sánchez	La1	22:25:27	23:51:53	3733	20,4	8366
<i>En tu casa o en la mía</i>	Mariano Rajoy	La1	22:25:06	23:52:57	4334	23	8765

Source: Barlovento Comunicación

Planeta Calleja is an adventure program directed by Jesús Calleja who, with one celebrity per program, roves around the world. The list of well-known people who have accepted his invitation to have an adventure includes the politicians Pedro Sánchez, Albert Rivera and Soraya Sáenz de Santamaría. The programme premiered on 14 April 2014. Its mean *share* was 7.7% during the seasons it was broadcast.

Table 3. Audience data for broadcasts of the program *Planeta Calleja*

Title	Description	Channel	Start time	End time	AM(000)	Share	MAA(000)
<i>Planeta Calleja</i>	Pedro Sánchez	CUATRO	21:30:50	22:53:57	1728	8,7	6008
<i>Planeta Calleja</i>	Albert Rivera	CUATRO	21:29:55	22:42:20	1090	5,5	4760
<i>Planeta Calleja</i>	Soraya Sáenz de Santamaría	CUATRO	21:30:19	22:41:57	1601	7,6	5551

Source: Barlovento Comunicación

In order to carry out the analysis of the interviews, the programmes were reviewed on their websites by the two authors of this work. Once the review process was finished, an independent judge carried out a new analysis on a 20% sample of the chosen units at random in order to calculate the intercoder reliability. Applying the Holsti formula, the mean percentage of coincidence obtained was 84.18%. Taking into account that the degree of agreement with this formula may oscillate between zero and one hundred, and that anything over 70 is considered to be a good index of agreement, it may be concluded that acceptable reliability has been obtained (Neuendorf, 2002).

This research took as its starting point the Functional Theory of Political Discourse (Benoit, 2007), which permits description of the strategies used by candidates to present their political ideas during election campaigns. It has been used to analyse debates in the United States (Benoit & Brazeal, 2002; Benoit et al., 2003; Benoit et al., 2007), in Israel (Benoit & Sheaffer, 2006), Ukraine (Benoit & Klyukovski, 2006), Spain (Herrero & Benoit, 2009; Téllez, Muñoz & Ramírez, 2010), France, Germany, Canada and Australia. However, although this theory has mainly been applied to debates, there are precedents of

researchers who have used it for the analysis of political *spots* (Arruguete & Riorda, 2016), news and websites (Téllez, Muñoz & Ramírez, 2010). More specifically, in Spain it has been used to analyse television news bulletins (Berrocal et al., 2003), TV infotainment for the legislative elections in the year 2000 (Berrocal et al., 2003) and the 2006 autonomy elections in Catalonia in the quality press (Cebrián, 2008).

Benoit holds that the candidates use three functions: affirmative statements, proposals and *acclaims*, attacks on or criticism of their opponents, and defence or refutation of attacks. The research carried out using this methodology reveals that affirmative statements or proposals are more common than attacks, and the latter are more common than defences.

Following the Functional Theory of Political Discourse, the unit of analysis was the idea, the subject, proposal or argument. The start and end time of each of the interventions were registered and up to 190 segments were enumerated to constitute the sample of the units of analysis. The total number of segments registered, taking into account the questions and interventions of the presenters and those moments in which third parties participated or visual and transition sources were used, was 429. Timewise, the 190 segments are equivalent to 10,624 seconds or 2.9 hours.

A code book was prepared for the execution of the analysis and was composed of the following sections:

- *Identification data.* The units of analysis were numbered, the analysed programme and the interviewed politician were coded. The program and the candidate were taken as independent variables of the study in order to make comparisons between their categories.
- *Duration of the interventions.* The start and end time of each intervention was coded in order to calculate the total duration of each of the units of analysis.
- *Subjects addressed.* The Functional Theory of Political Discourse points out that the political campaign discourse may consider two subjects: the candidate's politics and characteristics (Benoit, 2007). The political subjects refer to statements concerning government actions or problems which may bring about government actions. The characteristics of the candidates refer to the features, skills and attributes of the politicians. The political subjects are classified, in turn, into past events, future plans and general aims; while the characteristics of the candidate are subdivided into personal qualities, leadership capacity and ideals (Benoit, 2007).

In this research we wished to make an in-depth study of political matters and, to do so, a list of subjects was prepared, taking into account the CIS classifications and the methodology design used in earlier research (Cebrián Guinovart, Vázquez Barrio & Sarias González, 2016). The list of subjects includes: politics, international matters, economics, labour, population, the environment, housing, the media, culture, sport and leisure, science and technology, education, health, justice, values and attitudes, social problems and conflicts, autonomous communities, political agenda, electoral campaign and more. In the case of the characteristics of the candidate, apart from the three proposals of the Functional Theory of Political Discourse, two more were added: biography and hobbies/pastimes.

- *Functions of the discourse.* This section adopted the categories proposed by Benoit (2007). *Acclaims* were taken to mean any affirmative statement, proposal or declaration referring to actions and decisions and their consequences. *Attack* means any unfavourable commentary about an opponent, his/her party or decisions and political proposals. Finally, the responses to prior attacks on the candidates or his/her party were coded as defence.

This research has two objectives:

- O1. To define the typology of subjects addressed in the interviews of Mariano Rajoy, Soraya Sáenz de Santamaría, Pedro Sánchez and Albert Rivera on *Planeta Calleja* and *En la tuya o en la mía*.
- O2. To describe the function of the political leaders' messages in the interviews.

The starting hypotheses are as follows:

- *H1: On reality TV programmes what predominates is political personalization.*
This hypothesis contradicts the results obtained in prior studies carried out using Benoit's Functional Theory of Political Discourse. However, the studies were applied to election debates and in this case the context of the discourse is *politainment*, a genre that aims to attract the public to the more human facets of the politician (Shultz, 1995, 2012), which implies that the subject of personal issues is more important than political matters.
- *H2: On reality TV programmes the candidates use acclaims more frequently than attacks. Defences are the least used.*

The studies carried out using the Functional Theory of Political Discourse by Benoit and researchers from other previously mentioned countries coincide in the affirmation that acclaim is the discursive strategy most frequently used by the different political candidates, whereas defence is the least common. In Spain, however, the research by Berrocal et al (2003) on the news bulletins broadcast by the four national television open channels during the election campaign in 2000 concluded that the most obvious intention in the messages was attack (57 %). More recently, Téllez, Muñoz and Ramírez (2010: 258) analysed the discursive function in political debates in Mexico, Spain and the United States and point out that, while acclaim was the dominant strategy in the discourse of the US debates, in Spain it was attack, which led them to speculate on the possibility that "the culture which is typical of each country may influence the use of discursive strategies". Nevertheless, taking into account that the object of analysis in this case is not debate, but rather interviews on a reality TV programme, the general hypothesis of the theory is maintained.

- *H3: Those who are in the government used fewer proposals and fewer attacks than those who aspire to govern.*

While an individual who is part of the government may boast of his/her achievements, someone who aspires to occupying the presidency will probably base his/her strategy on criticizing the actions of the government and on offering his/her proposals regarding the subjects which are mentioned. This hypothesis is also a premise of the theory and has been proven in the case of the research by Téllez, Muñoz and Ramírez (2010).

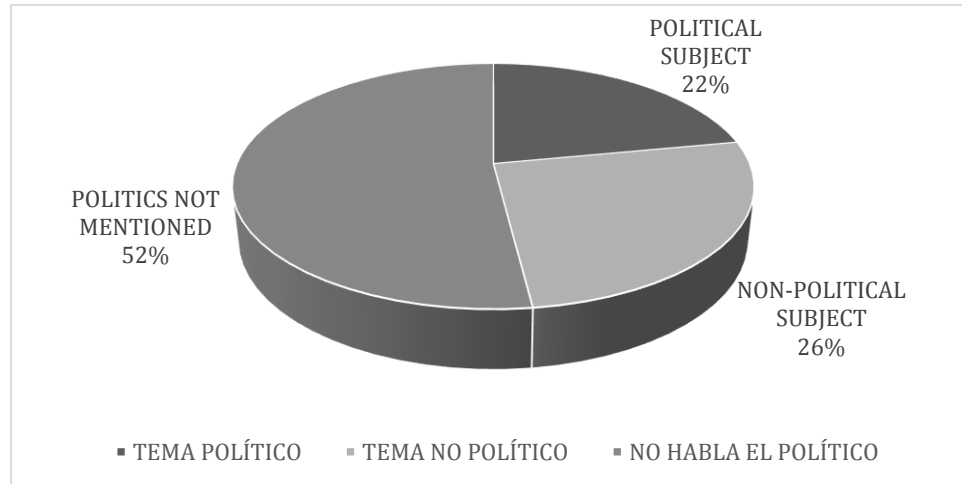
3. Description of the results

3.1. Global analysis of the subjects addressed

Of the total length of the programmes (20,870 seconds), 22% corresponds to political matters, 26% to non-political matters and for 52% of the time the politicians make no statements. In the programmes analysed, apart from the questions and commentaries by the interviewers, other resources were used: music, photographs and the opinions of people from the politician's family or professional field; these take up half of the programme time. For the moment this is in agreement with the hypothesis which proposed that on reality TV

programmes political personalization dominates, although the difference between the time dedicated to political subjects and non-political subjects is limited.

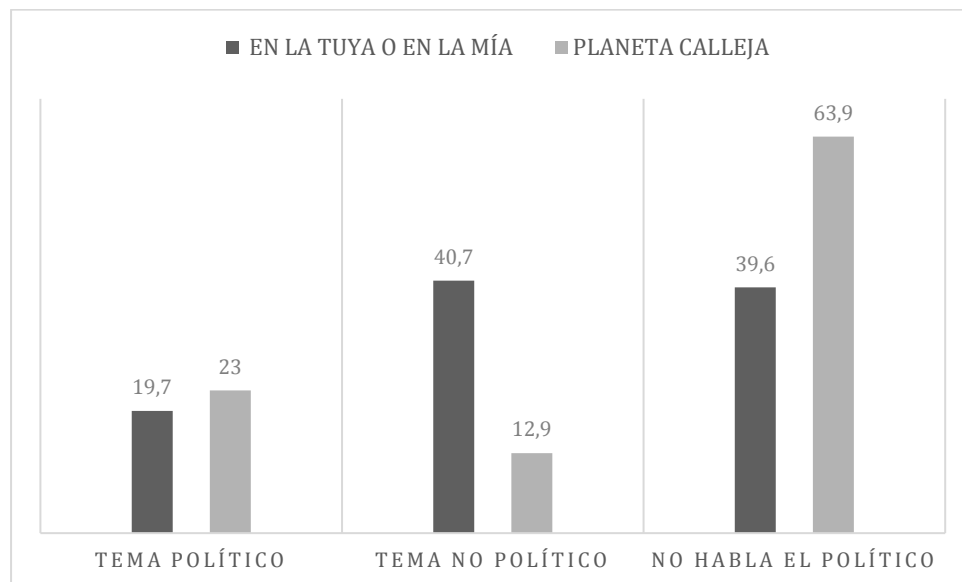
Graph 2. Global analysis of the subjects addressed



Source: authors' own

A separate analysis of the two programmes shows significant differences. As can be seen in Graph 3, while on *En la tuya o en la mía* the hypothesis continues to be met, on *Planeta Calleja* this does not occur.

Graph 3. Subjects by programme

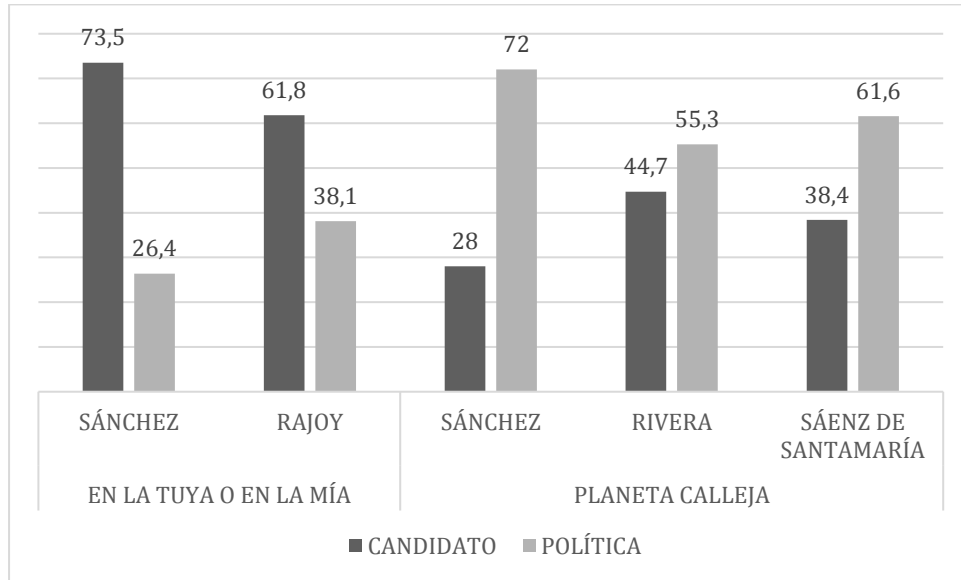


Source: authors' own

Going further into the data disintegration, Graph 4 shows differences between the candidates, but coincides in the dominant subject framework of each programme: on *Planeta Calleja* political issues are the main focus in the three interviews, while *En tu casa o en la mía* deals more with personal issues in the two cases analysed. These data permit us to

conclude that the type of discourse depends more on the programme than on the genre, although in both cases the effect of political personalization is produced, as this is a distinguishing feature of politainment.

Graph 4. The subjects by programme and candidate

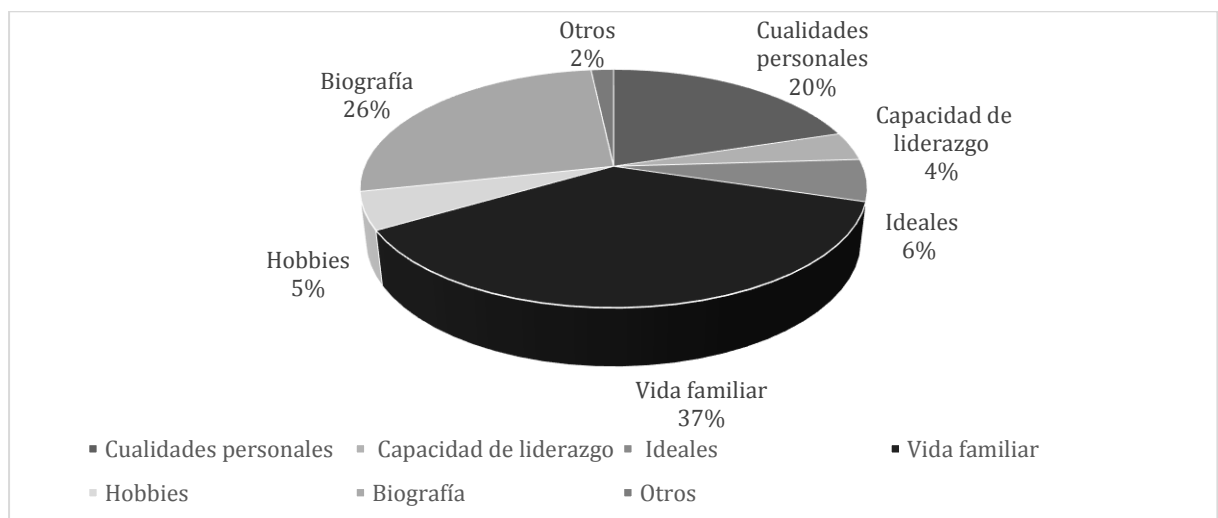


Source: authors' own

3.2. Analysis of the personal issues addressed in the interviews

The typology of the personal subjects was made up of seven categories. The most frequent is family life, followed by biography and personal qualities. Much less frequent are ideals, hobbies and leadership capacity.

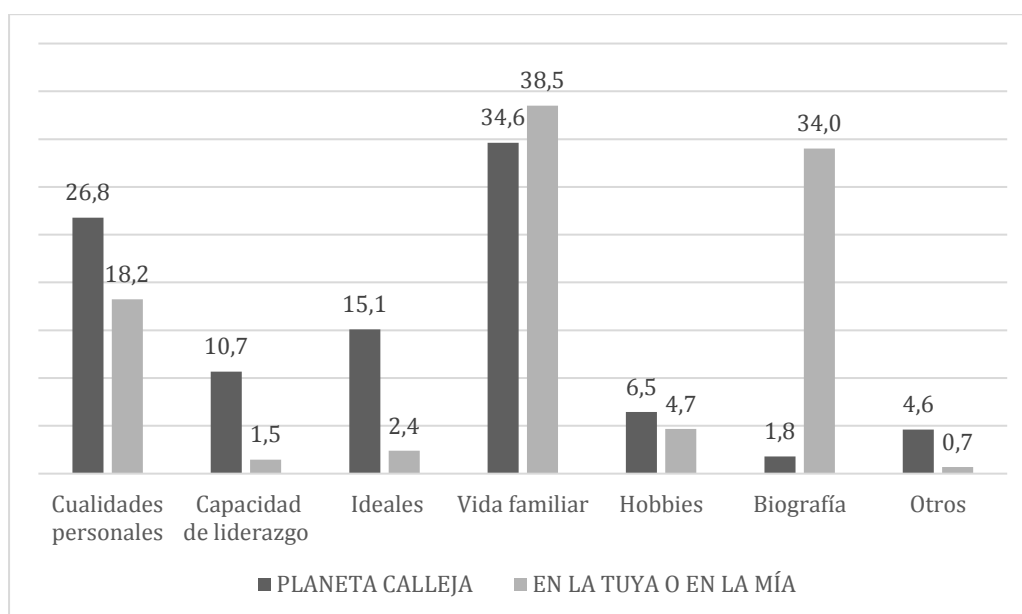
Graph 5. Type of personal matters



Source: authors' own

The compared analysis by programme again shows differences. There is one sole subject which is dealt with in a very similar way by both programmes: family life. This coverage of the private life of the politicians is one of the most significant changes in Spanish politics. Whereas in US politics the family of elected politicians have a decisive role to play and are used to empathize with voters, in Spain politicians' private lives had been little exposed until the advent of infotainment programmes, in which the division between private and public life has been reduced and family life has become part of the media agenda (Vázquez Barrio, 2012).

Graph 6. Type of personal subjects by programme



Source: authors' own

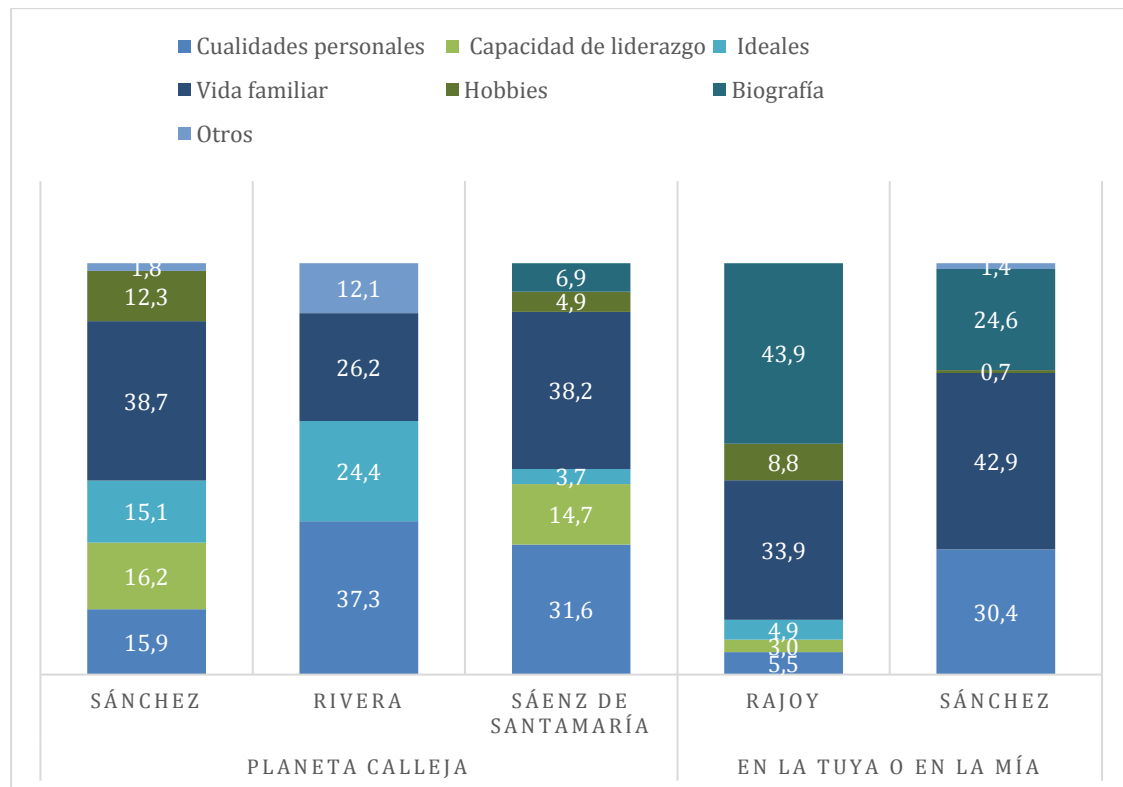
After private life, the next coincidence between both programmes is personal qualities. In the remaining categories the differences are broad. 34% of the time dedicated to personal matters in the Bertín Osborne programme focuses on analysing the politician's biography, while on *Planeta Calleja* this subject only takes up 1.8% of the time. The remaining options are very residual on the TVE programme and are more frequent on the programme on Cuatro.

The disintegration analysis by programme and candidate shows that 44% of the time dedicated to personal matters in the interview given by Mariano Rajoy to Bertín Osborne is spent on his biography, while this percentage is reduced to 24.6% in the interview of Pedro Sánchez. In the case of *Planeta Calleja* the subject-matter agenda is very different, as the results of the analysis show, and biography is a much reduced subject in the three interviews: less than 7% in Calleja's conversation with Soraya Sáenz de Santamaría (6.9%), and not at all in the cases of Pedro Sánchez and Albert Rivera.

Family life ranges between 26.2% of Albert Rivera's discourse time and 42.9% of that of Pedro Sánchez on the programme *En la tuya o en la mía*. 30% of Sanchez' discourse on the Bertín Osborne programme and Sáenz de Santamaría's on the Calleja one refers to personal qualities; this increases to 37.3% in the interview which Rivera gave to Calleja when the former was the Socialist party leader. In the case of Rajoy the percentage is much smaller (5.5%). Another difference shown by this part of the analysis as that ideals are only discussed on *Planeta Calleja*.

One conclusion resulting from the data analysis described is that Mariano Rajoy is seen to be very different from the remainder of the politicians. The reason for these dissimilarities may be because Rajoy is in fact very different from the others: he is the oldest of the politicians, he has had an extensive political career in positions of great responsibility over decades and was the Prime Minister of the Government at the time of the interview. In addition, he has shown his reticence to open up to the media on many occasions, which may be seen as a personal characteristic which differentiates him from the other politicians who were interviewed. The leadership of the candidates who are the heads of the other three parties springs from intense media exposure.

Graph 7. Type of personal subjects by programme and candidate

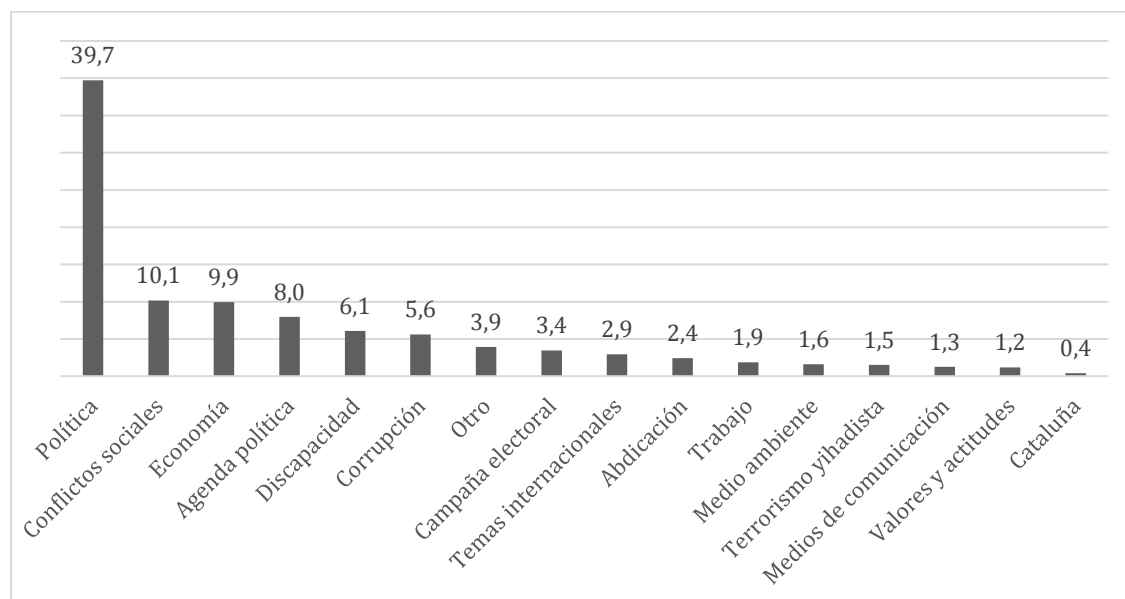


Source: authors' own

3.3. Analysis of the political subjects addressed in the interviews

The following graph shows the political subjects which appeared in the programmes analysed. Politics, defined as activity in the Congress and Senate, within the political parties and comments on the political situation in Spain, receives much greater coverage than anything else. It is followed by social problems, the economy, the political agenda, disability and corruption. The remaining subjects recorded are below 5%.

Graph 8. Type of political subjects



Source: authors' own

The political subjects may be divided into two main groups, current affairs and political analysis issues, and issues referring to the political agenda of the parties and the electoral campaign. Rajoy is the politician who speaks most about politics. This is followed by the economy, international issues, and, in fourth place, he takes his stand on the corruption that affects his party. In the case of Pedro Sánchez on the same programme, the subject that makes up 40.7% of his discourse is social conflicts and problems, a traditional issue for the PSOE. This is followed by politics and, in third place, agenda issues, referring to the participation of the leader in public actions and on the media. Labour and unemployment are also addressed by Pedro Sánchez and a particularly noteworthy point is the attention that the Socialist leader pays to disability in the two interviews which we have analysed.

In the Sánchez interview on *Planeta Calleja* the main subject is politics, but there is an important coincidence with the remaining issues: disability, the political agenda and social conflicts and problems, which indicates a defined manifesto.

Corruption is the most discussed issue in the discourse of Soraya Sáenz de Santamaría, who has to answer Calleja's questions on this most sensitive issue for her party. In contrast, neither Rivera nor Sánchez are asked about this issue on the Bertín Osborne programme. On the *Planeta Calleja* show corruption is commented on very briefly.

The range of issues in the Rivera interview is very limited: the economy (46%), politics (35.5%), values and attitudes (10.4%) and the electoral campaign (8%).

Table 4. Type of political subjects by programme and candidate

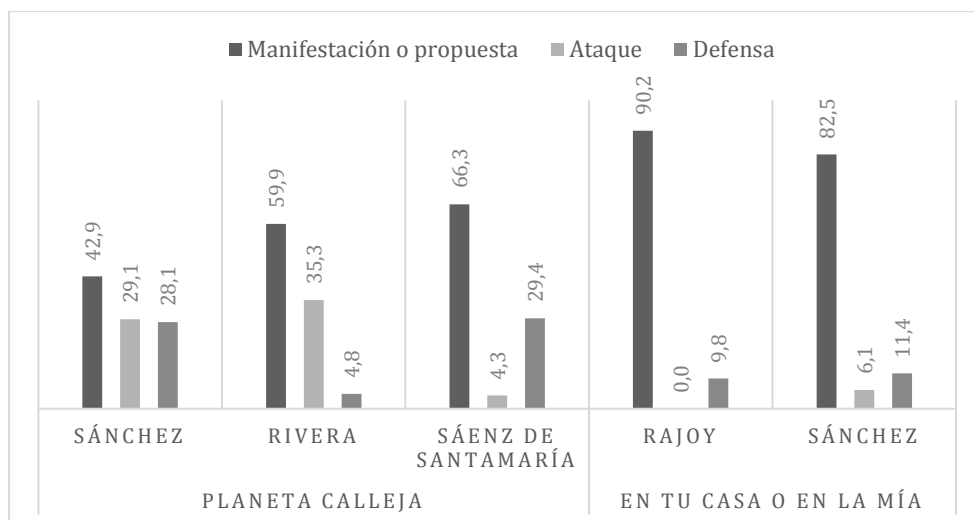
	<i>PLANETA CALLEJA</i>			<i>EN LA TUYA O EN LA MÍA</i>	
	SÁNCHEZ	RIVERA	SÁENZ DE SANTAMARÍA	RAJOY	SÁNCHEZ
Politics	45.8	35.6	24.7	52.2	16.7
International issues			4.6	8.5	
Economics	0.5	46.0	6.0	13.4	
Labour				1.5	11.2
Environment	4.6				
The media	3.6				
Values and attitudes		10.4			
Social conflicts	9.6		11.0		40.7
Political agenda	9.7		12.1	3.2	15.9
Electoral campaign		8.0	10.1	2.1	4.3
Corruption	3.5		18.3	7.0	
Jihadist terrorism				5.5	
Abdication	3.4			4.6	
Catalonia			3.1		
Disability	13.4				11.2
Others	5.8		10.2	1.9	

Source: authors' own

3.4. Analysis of the arguments or types of message

In accordance with the results of the earlier research which has been referred to on previous pages, the most habitual message in this study is also a proposal or statement which, in the case of Rajoy, reaches 90%. Only Sánchez participates on both programmes and we can see that his type of message is more critical on *Planeta Calleja* than on the Bertín Osborne show. In spite of the fact that on *En la tuya o en la mía* Sánchez makes declarations or proposals in 82.5% of the cases, he spends 6% of the time attacking Podemos, the parties that defends the independence of Catalonia, Mariano Rajoy and his labour reform. Both the Partido Popular leader and the Socialist defend themselves from the attacks received.

Graph 9. Functions of the political messages



Source: authors' own

On *Planeta Calleja* the acclaims or proposals continue taking precedence, but the percentages are lower, which means that the functions are more shared out. The hypothesis which stated that attacks would be less frequent amongst those who struggle to be re-elected continues to be met, if we consider that Sáenz de Santamaría has participated in the programme in her role as Deputy Prime Minister in place of Mariano Rajoy. There are only a few attacks in her interventions and they are directed towards Ciudadanos, which party she accuses of lack of definition, and towards Pedro Sánchez.

The Socialist ex-leader allots 29% of his intervention time to attack. He articulates critical messages of the other parties, political measures and candidates. Specifically he refers to Podemos and its leader, Pablo Iglesias, to the PP government and to Mariano Rajoy, whom he judges four times, and to Soraya Sáenz de Santamaría. Rivera attacks the three opposing parties, Podemos, PSOE and PP, the latter twice, and also mounts an attack against Mariano Rajoy. His strategy seems to be to distance himself from the governing party.

Pedro Sánchez and Soraya Sáenz de Santamaría allot approximately one third of their discourse to defending themselves from third-party criticism.

4. Discussion of results and conclusions

The research allows us to conclude to that on reality TV programmes what the candidates use most frequency is acclaim, followed by attack and finally defence, which confirms the second hypothesis. This result is consistent with the research carried out by Benoit (2007) on political debates in different parts of the world.

Likewise we found confirmation of the hypothesis which suggested that whoever is in government uses more proposals and fewer attacks than those who wish to govern. Mariano Rajoy only appears on one of the programmes analysed, but his deputy prime minister appears on the other in his place. In both cases they use fewer attacks than their political rivals.

The hypothesis of the preponderance of political personalization on reality TV programmes is partially confirmed. This statement is valid for one of the programmes –*En la tuya o en la mía*–, but not for the other –*Planeta Calleja*–.

Politainment is frequently referred to as a monolithic phenomenon. The introduction to this article offered an updated classification of the formats of political infotainment in

Spain. The results of this study show that programmes belonging to the same macro-genre may have different features, as occurs in this case. The two programmes analysed belong to the category of politicized entertainment, and with it in this category are reality TV programmes. They are similar in that the interviewers are not journalists and in the fact that the interviews are carried out in nonconventional spaces; however, there is an important difference regarding the issues addressed. While what predominates in the interviews on the programme *En la tuya o en la mía* is personal questions, this does not occur in the interviews on *Planeta Calleja*, which contradicts the personalization hypothesis in its terminology. The personal issues of the politicians do not predominate on the two shows, although there is personalization in both cases. This conclusion coincides with that obtained by Van Zoonen and Holtz-Bacha (2000) in a piece of research on the discourse of Dutch and German politicians on talk shows. Their basic hypothesis stated that the genre conventions of the programmes analysed would favour personal discourse and personalized political discourse; however, they concluded that the type of argumentation depends on the communicative capacity of the politicians and on the different types of interview programmes.

In this work a clear difference may be observed in the discourse of the politicians on the two programmes analysed. *En tu casa o en la mía* makes the candidate more human by showing lesser-known aspects of his/her personality to the viewers, thus bridging the gap between his/her private life and the public interest. The format of *Planeta Calleja*, however, is closer to conventional political interviews in its subject-matter, but distances itself due to the context in which the conversation is held. Despite their differences, both programmes, by means of different strategies and approaches, make the voters more familiar with “audience democracy” politics (Manin, 1997), in which “the need to impact on the public is imperative, not merely by means of names or statistics or unique quality contents, but by appealing to drama, emotions and fiction” (Carrillo, 2013: 37). The success of this means of communicating politics has been underlined by research such as that of Taniguchi (2011), who concludes that the candidates accumulate more votes due to their appearance on infotainment programmes than on more traditional ones. Nevertheless, this research also points out that the effect on electors is particularly relevant when political messages are transmitted (Taniguchi, 2011). Along the same lines, there are studies that indicate that political information based on personal details increases voters’ negative perspectives on politics (Ariely, 2015). Perhaps these indications and other evidence which may appear on the effects of *politainment* on citizens’ political attitudes will imply new changes for the future.

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