



# New job roles of the political leaders in infotainment television programmes

## *Nuevos roles del líder político en programas televisivos de infoentretenimiento*



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**Abstract:**

Traditionally, the role of the politician in mass media is to be the source of information about political news. The beginning of political infotainment in television (politainment) during the 90's opened a broader range of roles for political leaders as they began to appear in new formats not always informative, talking about their lives, acting as presenters or even as celebrities. The current research studies those new profiles for politicians in TV. The paper suggests the conceptualization which is completed by an empirical study about the roles of the politicians that appear in the TV program Las Mañanas de Cuatro as a significant program of TV infotainment (Sánchez-García y Campos Zabala, 2017). Among the conclusions, it is relevant to note the appearance of the main characters in this format and the roles they assume such as political chroniclers, political debaters or political celebrities.

**Keywords:**

Political communication; television; infotainment; politainment; content analysis.

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**Resumen:**

*La función tradicional del político en los medios de comunicación ha sido la de fuente informativa sobre la actualidad política. La irrupción del infoentretenimiento político (politainment) en televisión en los años 90 abrió el espectro de roles desempeñados por los líderes que empezaron a aparecer en formatos no estrictamente informativos y en facetas inéditas, hablando sobre su vida personal o como comentaristas de la actualidad. Esta asunción de nuevos cometidos ha evolucionado favorecida por la hibridación de géneros. La investigación aborda los nuevos perfiles asumidos por los políticos en los programas de politainment que hasta el momento no habían sido catalogados. El artículo aporta una conceptualización de estos nuevos papeles y un estudio empírico sobre los roles de los políticos aparecidos en Las Mañanas de Cuatro como magacín matinal representativo del infoentretenimiento televisivo (Sánchez-García y Campos Zabala, 2017). Entre las conclusiones destacan su presencia significativa y el desempeño de funciones novedosas tales como las de político-cronista, político-contertulio o político-celebrity.*

**Palabras clave:**

*Comunicación política, televisión, infoentretenimiento, politainment, análisis de contenido*

## 1. Introduction

The traditional role of the politician in relation with the mass media has been to act as the informative source about political news, providing the facts that the press requires to supply the news (De Fontcuberta, 1993). However, the truth is that he is a peculiar supplier of information with a strong position in the media hierarchy, becoming part of the so called "stable sources" (Armentia y Caminos, 1998), "proactives" and even "compulsives" (Borrat, 1989) as they take the initiative of communication and they have strategic resources to share with the audience their vision of reality (Borrat, 1989). It's what Rodrigo Alsina calls "routine sources" which represent a strong reference among a wide range of events, gaining a "semiautomatic access straight to the mass media" (1999: 125).

From this position, the politician tries to be present in the media in order to set a public image and reach the potential voters. The political parties seek to hoard an informative space to achieve "the greater number of news concerning their own topics or accomplish to control the structure of informative sources with actors of their own political organization" (Casero, 2009: 356). Once they achieve that presence, they aim to control the media speech concerning the news hierarchy, the interpretation of the facts or the prevailing arguments: "the political figures aim to make profit of this mediatic set up of the political scene which enables them to take profit of several revenues of the symbolic domain" (Casero, 2009: 357).

To achieve this target, the politics has fallen into a “mediatization” process (Mazzoleni y Schutz, 1999; Kepplinger, 2002; Casero, 2009; Habler, Maurer y Oschatz, 2014; Strömbäck y Esser, 2015) which describes how the dominant values in the media scene are taken by certain sources adapting them to the media message in a procedural symbiosis (Redondo, 2011). Back in 1990, Krippendorff noticed how the “properties of the media, regarding the register and dissemination of information produce an important effect among the nature of the institutions that can be supported due to this communication process by using the media” (1990: 67). The mediatization of politics describes the process through which the political figure assumes the journalistic communication logic, getting adjusted to the media’s requirements. (Kepplinger, 2002). This goal becomes a must in the case of TV due to its power when it comes to make popular both persons and ideas. This adaptation to media logic includes strategies such as: the personalization of the political action, the simplification of the message, the creation of catchwords and slogans that can be used as television testimonies or radio cuts, the creation of artificial news events or the search of *photo opportunities*.

Being an adaptive phenomenon, the mediatization is not a stable process and it has evolved in relation to the mediatic logic which has suffered a change in its paradigm during the last years.

### 1.1. *The mediatic logic of politainment*

The mediatic logic and even more sharply the TV logic, have experienced a considerable change since the 90’s of the last century choosing television shows as a way of increasing their audience in a very competitive environment: “TV programmers find in entertainment a crucial priority and are forced to adapt the features of the entertainment formats and the means of conversation in order to encourage a very casual communication style, emphasizing personalization, style, storytelling tools and shows” (Thusu, 2007: 3).

This changing process in the nature of information has also affected politics minting the term politainment to name the “superficial, spectacular and frivolous” treatment of political information (Berrocal, 2017).

In this context, we notice certain changes in the adjustment process of the political figures to the television logic, incorporating new attributes and tactics to the prevailing ones in order to maintain and increase the media role. Table 1 collects in a visual way this attribute collection (old and new ones) in which the television and political logics converge.

**Table 1. Attributes (A) of the political figure according to the political and television logics**

Television logic		Political logic
A1	Personalization	Personalization
A2	Media communication competence	Media communication competence
A3	Popularity	Popularity
A4	Good image (telegeney, dressing style)	Good image (telegeney, dressing style)
A5	Good diction	Good diction
A6	Gestural expressiveness	Gestural expressiveness
A7	Availability	Availability
A8	Gender (if parity is sought)	Gender (if parity is sought)
A9	Charisma	Charisma
A10	Tune with the public	Tune with the public
A11	Speech flexibility. Ability to adapt to different formats and styles	Speech flexibility. Ability to adapt to different formats and styles
A12	Simplicity of the message	Simplicity of the message
A13	Attention to the fact rather than to the process	Attention to the fact rather than to the process
A14	Polemist attitude (spur)	Rhetorical capacity for confrontation
A15	Negative criticism of the opponent	Negative criticism of the opponent
A16	Polarization of ideas	Ideological alignment
		Ambiguity
A17	Reduction of production costs	Compensation below usual or payment in kind
A18	Ultimate interest: generate audience to get better advertising contracts	Ultimate interest: gain popularity and voters

Source: own elaboration

Personalization (A1) is a requirement in television as it needs to provide with a voice and an image in order to broadcast ideas. Due to this requirement, politics is experiencing a parallel process with an increasing limelight of the leaders against doctrines, notions or collective organizations (Rebolledo, 2017), and as a result, there is an increasing concern of the candidate to create and maintain a profile facing his voters.

An important number of these attributes that are tracked in the mediatic politician are related with this personalization, among them, having a good image (telegeney) (A4), a clear and pleasant voice (A5), a pantomimic gestural expressiveness (A6), charisma understood as the talent to attract the audience through the speech and image (A9), and of course, the popularity which guarantees being recognized by the audience (A3). Another imperious feature of the political leader is to have media communication competence, that is, to understand how the media works and the codes that rule in it, in order to use them for their own profit (A2). There are also another kind of requirements that arise from the productive

demands, such as time availability in order to participate when it is requested (A7) or the gender when the programme searches a representative parity (A8).

But there are also new demands that arise due to the extension of politainment. In discussion groups, debates, or interview programmes, the new mediatic logic promotes the confrontation “footballing” of the television speech (Sánchez-García y Campos Zabala, 2017). Thus, a new information producer access code has been incorporated to television that relies in its ability to produce controversy that will increase the audience rates. In fact, a great number of the talk show programmes guests are “professional polemicists” (Mercado, 2002) (named spurs by the television slang), experts in seeking the most sensationalists issues of reality and to make the most extreme observations.

It is required that the politician has the ability to polemicize about a wide range of issues without evading confrontation (A14). However, reaching this point, it is true that the interests of the media and those of the political party sometimes might get confronted. The logic of the political party is to encourage the prominence in the media of those politicians that are in a stronger position in the hierarchy, resulting in a more reliable image due to the ideological tuning with the party's ideology. However, the media can sometimes prefer a discordant politician due to his ability to create controversy, not only with his political adversaries, but also with his own co-regionists, providing a more personal and original point of view. In any case, the ironic politician will be sought because the television message encourages negativity and confrontation (A15), more than a constructive proposal and an explanation (Habler *et al.*, 2014).

For the sake of populism, it is sought that the politician appeals the public, being able to become its spokesman and flatter their approaches (A10). It is also sought that the political message is easily understood in order to reach the TV audience, which is very heterogeneous. Given the ephemeral and immediate character of the media, “the expositive clearness of the speech has to be a must. This clearness has effects on the language, and in television it has to be clear, short, concise and precise” (Salgado Losada, 2005). In this same sense, there is a need to take into account punctual facts more than processes that inevitably require a greater explanation and contextualization imposed by the media (Habler *et al.*, 2014) (A13). Searching for that simplicity, the absence of ambiguity is imposed (A 16): the media prefer polarized messages as Sánchez-García y Campos Zabala point out in their analysis of the political television talk shows “the journalistic talk show guest and the political fellow guest go on to the stage with ‘preconceived’ postures easily recognizable by the audience (...) this explains why the audience gets hooked with this sort of talk show in their search for reinforcing their ideological positions by clinging to clearly ideologically defined debaters” (2017: 83). However, the politician will opt, in some occasions, to choose an ambiguous message better than a more precise one that in the end can reveal inconsistencies (Habler *et al.*, 2014).

Given that the infotainment programmes combine a wide range of formats, what is sought is that the political figure is flexible and can adopt different speech styles (A11), as a result, he will take part in the news programmes with an institutional image when he is referring to present issues from his own training or adopt an individual role in a talk show sharing his personal ideas or relating his own personal experiences in relation to other affairs with no relation at all with politics.

In the same way, in remuneration issues, politics and mediatic logics come together although for different reasons (A17). Given that the politician is interested in appearing in the media he sometimes accepts low payments or receives payment in kind (the popularity provided by the programme), helping to cheapen the production costs.

The main aim of this symbioses searched both by the media and by the politicians is different although, once again converging (A18). The media seek to arise interest in the audience in order to increase the audience rates, that is understood as potential voters.

### *1.2. Role expansion played by political figures in television politainment*

Together with the adaptation trend to mediatic logic, there has been an assumption of new roles by the political leaders within the television programmes. This process has been encouraged by the hybridization of genres, encouraging the evolution of many formats allowing the politician to take part in the information and opinion production process, monopolizing the prominence and even replacing the journalist's work as a commentator or chronicler. This phenomenon occurs in a positive context because the job of the journalist has become less exclusive, vaguer and sometimes carried out by other "so called journalistic actors" (Loeb, 2017). As a result of this fragmentation of the audience, the politician has to be present in different kinds of programmes in order to assure his voters (Diamond, McKay y Silverman, 1993).

The outbreak of *politainment* in television opened the range of duties carried out by the political leaders that started to appear in not only purely informative programmes but also sharing some hidden facets, aspects of their personal lives, emotions and tastes, as commentators of a wide range of issues, acting as celebrities of the show business and even as actors in films and TV series (Berrocal, 2016).

At this point, the present research work finds necessary to define these new roles assumed by the politicians in television programmes because until this moment they hadn't been classified. This work offers a conceptualized proposal that can be broadened by future research works due to the changing nature of this phenomenon.

**Source-Politician.** As a vertex of the information system the political sources will be present constantly in the media determining the production of the news content (Cesareo, 1986). In fact, they supply a great part of news that will build up the media's agenda.

Acting as a source of information, the politician will assume an institutional role as an agent of the organization he belongs to.

**Debater-Politician.** (eventual or stable). The political talk show, as a genre or as a part of a television programme, is very present in the Spanish TV grill since the 90's, imported from the radio. In the payroll of Tertullian's the figure of the politician is a constant. Sánchez-Serrano (2005) notes how at the end of 1996, 34 deputies had been authorized by the Chamber to take part in radio talk shows. Abejón (2013) updates this fact in 2013 confirming that 123 deputies took part at that time in media debates.

Very much the same, nowadays media gatherings assume a polarization and polemic tone "organizing the intervening parts in sides expressing categorical judgements (closed and explicit) to which the audience adheres as part of the show"

(Sánchez-García y Campos, 2017: 86). Some examples are the talk shows of programmes such as *La Sexta Noche*, *El gato al agua*, *La Noria* or the morning magazines of the different TV channels.

**Interviewee-politician.** Within the microformat of the talk show, the interview to the politician in which he explains his management and discusses the latest news is a constant. In this gender, the interviewer sets the tone and directs the development of the meeting. Thus, when he sticks to a format of power control (watch dog), he is incisive, asking delicate and even uncomfortable questions avoiding to fall in a partisan follow-up (Halperin, 1995). However, it is becoming more frequent to find in the programming grids “soft interviews” (Berrocal y Quevedo, 2014) in which the politician’s private life acquires prominence and his values and feelings are exposed in order to humanize the leader (Quevedo, 2017). In this kind of formats, it is frequent to find “questions referred to their tastes, personality and hobbies, and in to a lesser extent, about their sentimental situation and about their reconciling work and family life” (Quevedo, 2017: 132). This is the case of programmes such as *En la tuya o en la mía*, *Planeta Calleja* or *Viajando con Chester*.

**Chronicler-Politician.** The politician relates with a journalistic style news events that he has lived or seen in first person and to which he has attended as a member of his party. He speaks directly to the camera, looking at the audience, and even carrying the microphone of the TV channel. In this case, the dominant institutional speech gets a journalistic style, stealing from the journalist his role of mediator.

**Speaker-Politician.** The politician approaches the citizens using a public speech, normally live broadcasted. This practice is not common in the Spanish political landscape. An example of it are the performances of the political leader when he approaches the audience without having the journalist acting as a mediator, generally in extraordinary cases: for example when important messages are transmitted to the nation right after a serious terrorist attack or in the case of the King’s and other autonomic presidents Christmas Eve messages. This kind of performances syntonize with Kernell’s (1997) concept of “Going Public” in which the politician overcomes the “inherent filters of the institutional mediation of the mediatic system” (Casero, 2009: 361) in order to transmit his speech without the selection process and avoiding the interpretation of the journalist.

In these cases, the message is purely institutional as well as all the elements that build it up: the text, the tone, the gestures, the staging, have all been carefully designed in achieve the target previously defined: that is to obtain legitimacy, gain voters or reassure in times of crisis (Gaspar y Ibeas, 2015).

**Politician-presenter.** Another kind of programmes without journalistic intermediation are those in which the politician presents or coordinates a programme through which he freely speaks to the citizens. The most relevant international case is that of the ex president Hugo Chavez with his *Aló Presidente* that was broadcasted on a weekly basis in the Venezuelan public channel for more than a decade. In this kind of format, the politician exposes and announces his actions, frequently in a propagandistic tone, and eventually, answering questions asked by the citizens. In this sense, the politician intervention shares some similar characteristics with the role of the politician-speaker.

In the Spanish scene we only find the example of the leader of the political party Podemos, Pablo Iglesias, who directs and presents two television programmes, completely assuming the role of the journalist: the interview programme *Otra Vuelta*

*de Tuerka* (Publico.tv) and *Fort Apache*, a political talk show broadcasted in *HispanTV*, an alternative media sponsored by the Iranian Government broadcasted for the Spanish speaking community. (Cembrero, 2012).

**Parodic-Politician.** In political satire and humor programmes specially in the parodic informative programmes, the leader is used as a source of information to produce a cartoon of present news. In the programme *Las noticias del guiñol*, the politicians are represented by stick figures that star in absurd scenes (Berrocal, Abad, Cebrián y Pedreira, 2003). The provocative reports of the programme *Caiga quien Caiga* submitted the politician to uncomfortable situations looking to ridicule him and point out his defects. In the programme *La noche de José Mota*, the humorist disguised himself as political leaders in his sketches to criticize the sociopolitical reality. In the manipulated videos of the TV programme *El Intermedio*, both the images and the words spoken by the politician are edited to produce absurd messages and situations. In this case the politician lacks the ability to control the message even though he is actually the main character of the action.

**Celebrity-Politician.** The politician assumes the notoriety of a celebrity and is represented in the media by the interest he generates as a famous character, due to his personality and his private life, and not because of his political activity. For Street (2004), the emergence and development of the celebrity-politician is favored by the mediatization process, the personalization of politics, and the rise of “ a desperate populism in which the presentation and appearance substitute both politics and principles” (2004: 436). For Rebolledo, the mediatic overexposure of the politicians makes them acquire this “celebrity status” (2017: 167) that compares them with stars from the show business.

**Showman-Politician.** In this role the politician develops an activity that is generally attached to the show business: he sings, dances, plays an instrument, as if it was a professional performance of some kind. This role is a consequence of the spectacularization of politics that requires that the leader shows off other virtues apart from his proposals or his ability to deal with the public issues to tune in with his voters. Generally, the politician assumes this role in info-show programmes in which the presenter asks him to carry out this performance.

**Actor-Politician.** The politician takes part performing cameos in TV series or films, in his role of celebrity. Mariano Rajoy´s cameos in the TV series *Jacinto Durante representante* of TVE, or the ones of *Alfonso Guerra*, *Javier Arenas* or *Carod Rovira* in *7 Vidas* (Telecinco) are very popular.

## 2. Methodology

The main aim of this study is to examine the new roles assumed by politicians in politainment programmes, especially analyzing the programme *Las Mañanas de Cuatro*, cataloged within the TV channel Cuatro as a magazine show broadcasted live. This programme has been considered, together with *Al rojo vivo* y *La sexta noche*, as one of the best political Spanish talk shows that best represent the spectacularization of politics in television (Sánchez-García y Campos, 2017).

The research also includes three secondary targets: 1) to examine how the time is distributed between politicians and journalists in the programme *Las Mañanas de Cuatro*, with the eagerness to find out who has a greater role; 2) to get to know the political parties and the mass media more represented, in order to find out which political groups and mass



media are taking part in this kind of talk show and 3) to establish the politician's and journalist's profiles related to basic categories such as age and gender, in order to find out what is the profile of the politician or journalist who take part in this format.

The starting hypothesis remarks that the narrative style of politainment has provided new communication activities for the leaders creating new roles for the political actor, who now adopts new performances such as debater-politician, celebrity-politician or chronicler-politician.

*Las Mañanas de Cuatro* started in 2006 linked to the Company Plural Entertainment and presented by the journalist Concha García Campoy. Since January 2015 until its last emissions in June 2018, the one in charge of the programme was Javier Ruiz. The programme was broadcasted during the mornings from 11,20h. to 14,15h, from Monday to Friday. The team was made up of 40 members between direction, production, realization, and editorial staff.

The sample studied consists of 1.050 minutes (17 hours and 30 minutes) examining 7 programmes of *Las Mañanas de Cuatro*, randomly selected during the month of February 2018. By lottery, the day the sample starts getting collected is on February the 8<sup>th</sup> and from then onwards during one week, until February 16<sup>th</sup>. The average share of the programmes studied is 7,7%.

The programme is structured around a discussion table moderated by the TV presenter. The members of the table are mostly journalists, although there are also politicians, experts in political communication, economists, as well as guests related with breaking news.

Apart from the debate carried out in the discussion table, the programme also gets contents from:

- 1- . Duplex. Live connections with celebrities who without needing to be accompanied by a journalist, start speaking with the TV presenter or they take part in the open debate in the discussion table.
- 2-. Live connections with reporters. New fixed connection points are added to the traditional live connections with street reporters: the congress of deputies, the National audience and the newsroom of the programme, from where fresh breaking news are shared.
- 3-. Videos, reports, totals, queues and live signals. The presenter opens the way to the videos produced by the copywriters of the programme, declarations and images that arise during the morning and also to the live news that occur depending on the informative news.

From the total sample obtained, this research work chooses for its analysis 721 minutes which is the amount of time that the programme dedicates to the interventions of politicians, journalists, reporters and experts. The remaining part, 329 minutes are not included in the analysis as they correspond to the presenter's opening paragraphs, video/reports located by the copywriters and advertisements. The descriptive statics (Berger, 2015; Daymon y Holloway, 20119) shows that the sample has media representativeness, allowing to order the data in a simple way and the results obtained can be used as a guideline in future predictive models with larger samples and inferential analysis.

The descriptive study carried out uses a quantitative type content analysis method in order to measure: the distribution of time among journalists and politicians; the modality of the interventions; the media and political parties representation,

age and gender of the journalists and politicians and a quantitative analysis in order to establish the roles of the politicians. To collect the information quantitative analysis charts structured in 25 variables have been used using the following parameters:

Roundtables: number of participants, mode and time frame of their contributions; mass media and political parties represented, prototype of the politician and journalist that take part (age, sex and qualifications).

Politicians profile: source-politician; debater-politician; interviewee-politician; chronicler-politician; speaker-politician; presenter-politician; parodic-politician; celebrity-politician; showman-politician; actor-politician.

Two researchers have done the coding with a sample of 721 minutes in order to reassure the liability of the study.

### 3. Results

One of the main objectives of this research study is to measure the time dedicated to the politicians in the programme. Chart 1 points out that 78,77% of the time examined (568 minutes) is dedicated to the participation of journalists and experts; the time used by politicians is 21,22% (153 minutes). This means that the time dedicated to the journalists and experts (both in reporting and in the television studios) is three times larger than that dedicated to the politician's interventions, becoming the main characters of the programme. This situation should not tarnish the recognition of the role the politicians assume when they take an active part in this kind of formats.

Chart 1. Time distribution



Source: own elaboration

Concerning the space in which the politicians participate in the programme, generally this occurs outside the television studios in 71% of the cases. This data points out that the current political actors have to be prepared to provide with an immediate answer to the latest news and to do it in a setting that normally is not the television studio. This fact is related to the factor of the politician's availability to take part when he is asked to do so (A7) (See chart 1).

This predominant modality of the politician's attendance to outdoor events gets complemented with the time the journalists spend outdoor covering the news events. The minutes dedicated to journalists and politicians outside the television studio are almost the same, 117 versus 108.

However, as it has already been noted, the presence of the politicians in the television studio is much smaller than that of the journalists and experts: only 15 minutes versus 451 minutes. When commenting the topicality of the programme in the television studio this job relies upon the journalist and to a lesser extent upon the experts: 36 are professional journalists (67,9% of the sample), 12 are experts in different areas (22,6%): economy, law, communication, that are able to analyze any news that arises during the television broadcast. The number of politicians acting as speakers in the television studio is 5 (9,4%).

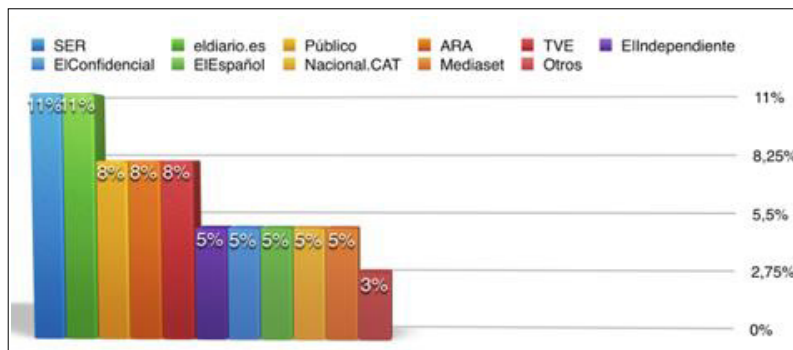
Like this, *Las Mañanas de Cuatro* presents a constantly active debate table that can be used in dead times waiting while the live press conference starts or the last minute news from which there is still not much information.

The Tertullian's table constitutes the muscle of analysis that allows the programme to stay alive, informatively talking, during the two and a half hours of the live show. Thus, the television studio becomes a space dominated by the professional journalists fief of his specialized labor, although a diachronic analysis might decrease his leadership favoring other "pseudo-journalistic" actors (Loeb, 2017) and providing a special treatment to the politicians.

In relation to the 36 professional journalists that make up the sample, the media more represented are Cadena Ser and eldiario.es (11,11%) followed by the digital newspaper Público and the paper Ara from Catalonia (8,33%).

As it can be seen in Chart 2, there is a considerable presence of digital media in relation to the traditional media such as the written press (*El País, El Mundo, ABC*, among others) which is not represented in the sample.

Chart 2. Mass media represented

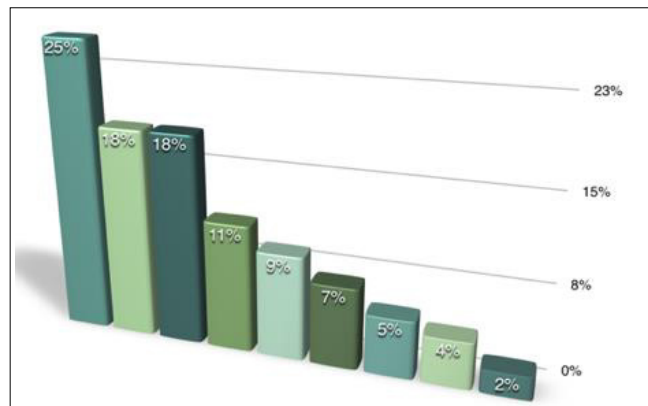


Source: own elaboration

In the section of distribution of the different political parties related to the time dedicated in the programme (Chart 3), it can be seen that Ciudadanos is the stronger political group, with 25% (33 minutes). Followed by the Partido Popular and Podemos with 18% (24 minutes). Izquierda Unida and Compromis have respectively 11 and 12 minutes (11% and 9%). The

political party with the smaller share is the Partido Socialista with only 3 minutes (2%). In this case the timeshare given to each political party is not balanced in relation to their parliamentary representation, demonstrating that other values prime upon which the democratic legitimacy marks such as: the media's communicative ability (A2), the popularity (A3), the charisma of their spokesmen (A9) or their ability to create controversy (A14) (see chart 1).

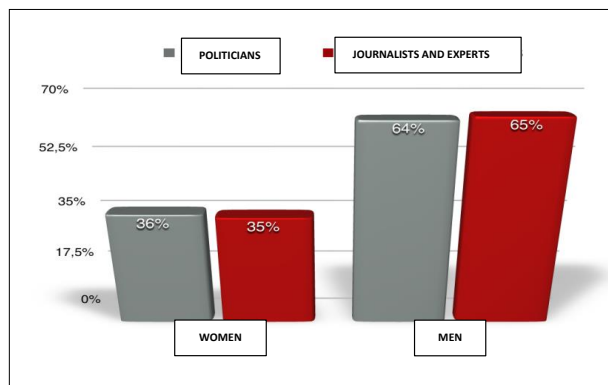
Chart 3. Political parties represented



Source: own elaboration

Regarding the gender of the intervening parties there can be seen a discrimination of the women both related to the political offices as well as in relation to those of the mass media and experts, with equal male overrepresentation rates that are almost identical (with approximately 64,5% of men facing the 35,5% of women).

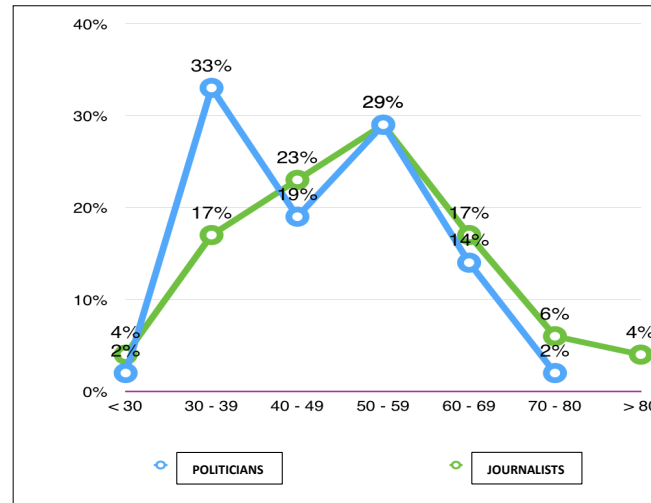
Chart 4. Gender of politicians, journalists and experts



Source: own elaboration

In relation to the age, the predominant strip among politicians lies on the age range between 30 and 39 years old (33,3%), closely followed by the strip that goes from 50 to 59 years old with 28,6% of the total. The controlling age range of the journalists is higher, going from 50 to 59 years old (29,17%). Followed by the previous age range that goes from 40 to 49 years old holding the 22,92% of the total share.

Chart 5. Age of the journalists and politicians



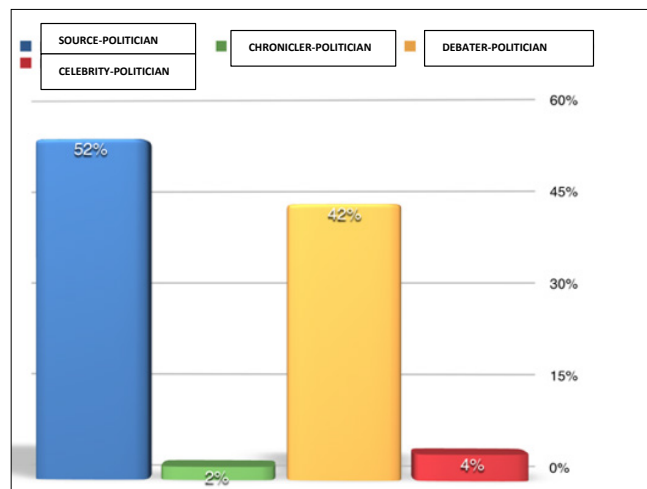
Source: own elaboration

A younger middle age of the politicians could be related with the attributes of a good image and telegeny (A4) (see chart 1) that the political parties seek when they are choosing the candidates that will represent them before the media.

The political leaders assume five different profiles or roles when they participate in the television programme *Las Mañanas de Cuatro*. The source-politician represents the most traditional role of the politician, the kind who takes part in the television programme in order to explain the party's stance related to an issue in which he is normally starring. This is the most repeated role in the programme, with 51% of the share of the politician's interventions. The second most common profile is that of the debater-politician, this is the public representative that adapts to the television and becomes an analyst, offering himself so that the tv presenter can ask him questions about all sorts of news events and discuss them with the other Tertullians.

The Tertullian-politician holds a 42% of the sample interventions. The third role with the larger presence is the celebrity-politician, which occurs when the politician is given the importance of a news event and his personality or private life becomes of public interest, holding a 4% of this sort of interventions. The chronicler-politician who assumes the roles of the journalist in the programme (providing and discussing the information) holds the 2% of the sample.

Chart 6. Politicians profile



Source: own elaboration

#### 4. Discussion and conclusions

The descriptive analysis carried out about the television programme *Las Mañanas de Cuatro* points out interesting facts regarding the development of the political talk shows framed in the politainment domain, as well as describing the new roles the political leader assumes.

The television talk shows were understood in their classic format as a space in which journalists could approach news events but now they have evolved becoming monothematic speeches in which politics becomes the main issue. If at the end of the XX century the prevailing model of talk show was made up of conversations with debaters-journalists, in the XXI century the talk shows adopt a hybrid format as it occurs in the programme *Las Mañanas de Cuatro*, where the debate table includes live performances, recorded outside the television studio with politicians, reporters and experts. Even more, the incorporation of videos, reviews or totals to compete the broadcast adding an spectacular character which provides the show with dynamism and theatricalization.

The field work demonstrates the importance of the speakers in the programme *Las Mañanas de Cuatro* which includes journalists and experts as well as political leaders and reporters. It is important to point out that the amount of time dedicated to the live intervention of politicians reaches 21%. Therefore, one third of the programme's time is dedicated to the political leaders and most of them are broadcasted live, outside the television studio and only for that programme or sometimes adding public appearances. Most of the times, this situation forces the politician to assume the informative

needs of the mass media, leaving behind and structured and, well prepared speech due to the mediatic urgency to answer live questions about breaking news.

It is striking to confirm that the new political parties Ciudadanos and Podemos, are the ones who get more attention during the programme together with the government party (when the sample was collected it was the Partido Popular). The need to gain visibility among the voters might explain this trend and the assumption of new roles in their relationship with the mass media.

The profile of the parties involved is majorly male both in the case of the journalists and experts as in the case of the politicians. While the politicians who take part in that programme are between 33 and 39 years old, in the case of the journalists and experts the age range goes from 50 to 59. It looks as though the experience is an important factor among the journalists while the political parties choose to send young politicians to this kind of programmes.

In relation to the role of the politicians, it can be seen that next to the classic figure of the source-politician there are new models such as the debater-politician, the celebrity-politician or the chronicler-politician. Thus, this study confirms the established hypothesis: the narrative style of politainment provides new communication activities for the political leaders creating new profiles and functions, although this are still minorities in relation to the traditional figure of the politician, as a source of news. In this new role the individual qualities of the politician are above the institutional ones, encouraging the process of personalization inherent to a spectacular sort of politics.

The present study exposes a new categorization proposal of the roles of the political leader before the actual informative ecosystem, which is seen in new media and formats. The design of new research studies applied to politainment formats others than the political gathering that will help detect the new communication functions acquired by the politicians and deepen in the classification of the proposal. Even more, the descriptive work carried out encourages the study of politainment and its media impact on the political leader, the strategies of the political parties and the information acquired by the audience.

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