

# Audiovisual Representation in Spanish and European Election Debates

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*The presence of ever more conflicting stances between Europhiles and Eurosceptics has revealed some audiovisual discourses unknown until now. The fragmentation of inconclusive narrative discourse and staged situations with a clear intent to clash all make it necessary to analyse in detail the role given by the audiovisual media to the European process of democratisation. This study addresses the audiovisual discourse in Spanish public television (TVE) with the intention of discovering how the different topics addressed in debates are dealt with in audiovisual production, and whether those topics have benefited from certain decisions by the production team that are subjective a priori. Using external codifiers, the intensity of each question has been*

*checked and the result has been correlated with the dependent variables "[camera] shot with question while listening" and "shot with question with split screen". The variables have been subjected to descriptive analyses, correlation with hypotheses, and bivariate analyses using Pearson's correlation (Rx-y). The results indicate a clear difference in the modes of television representation between national Spanish and European debates. It is discussed whether this audiovisual differentiation may condition the perception that the audience may have of European politics.*

**Keywords:** political communication, television production, audiovisual narrative, Euroscepticism.



Numerous studies on European integration have underlined the paradox that although the politics of the European Union (EU) have a considerable effect on the lives of citizens who are members of the EU, the process itself of formulating policies does not attract their attention (Banchoff and Smith, 2005; Lord and Beetham, 2002; Eriksen and Fossum, 2004). Several studies have attempted to explore the role of the media in this phenomenon. They have demonstrated that the media contribute to the creation of the above paradox (Gleissner and Vreese, 2005; Koopmans, 2007; Statham, 2008).

The elections to the European Parliament (EP) are considered to be a process focusing on national matters, or at least the European matters tend to be seen through a national lens (Marsh, 1998; Cayrol, 1991; Vreese, Lauf, and Peter, 2007; Brüggemann and Schulz-Forberg, 2009; Risse and Steeg, 2003), i.e. the so-called “second order” (Reif and Schmitt, 1980). The workings of European institutions are perceived as distant from local citizens’ preferences and needs (Tsakatika, 2007), and factors such as the impossibility of determining the makeup of the executive and supranational bodies aggravate the feeling of detachment from the EU (Cremonesi *et al.*, 2019). In addition to other reasons, this leads to low participation in the elections to the EU (Reif, Schmitt, and Norris, 1997) due to consideration of them as ambiguous, distant and having little influence on domestic life (Cremonesi *et al.*, 2019).

Nevertheless, the idea is gaining ground that European matters such as economic and financial topics are being considered more strongly after the economic Great Recession as of 2008, gaining weight in EU countries’ public agendas (Wilde, 2011; Statham and Trenz, 2012; Kriesi, 2016; Hutter and Kriesi, 2019). The idea of rejection or reaction is also growing, which in turn has accelerated the trend towards integration among European spheres and national debates, raising doubts about the “second order” and creating vertical processes of Europeanisation (interaction between national and European public spheres) and horizontal ones (interaction between the public spheres of European countries) in the EU’s new role (Schmitt, 2005; Hobolt and Wittrock, 2011; Galpin and Trenz, 2018; Cremonesi *et al.*, 2019). Authors like Koopmans and Erbe (2004) state that what really concerns people and is relevant to them has more to do with the ways of addressing the problems than the problems themselves, referring to Europeanisation as connections, relationships, interactions and mediations between the different stakeholders in the public sphere, i.e. “patterns of Europeanisation” (Cremonesi *et al.*, 2019: 670). Europeanisation of the public sphere is perceived as a formula parallel to the national debate, which helps discuss the same problems concurrently and with the same relevance and routines in different European countries (Porte and Dalen, 2016; Königslöw, 2012; Pfetsch, Adam, and Eschner, 2008; Trenz, 2004; Maier, Strömbäck, and Kaid, 2011; Vreese *et al.*, 2006). However, as Segesten and Bossetta (2019) point out, the reaction from Eurosceptics in the EU may have an undesired effect by giving debates in national media a stronger European dimension.

Europeanisation of public spheres is taking place in all of the traditional areas as well as in political communication channels in the web. The traditional audience for printed media, radio and television have a more Europhile profile than the

audience in the social networks, who are more inclined towards Eurosceptic feelings (Highfield *et al.*, 2013; Segesten and Bossetta, 2019). It is suggested that Europeanisation is fostered by those who oppose Europe more than by those who embrace it, insinuating the integrating potential of the reaction, seeing Eurosceptic voices “as an influential catalyst for cross-border dialogue” (Segesten and Bossetta, 2019: 379).

Public debate in the European Union (EU) takes place amid dynamics that involve different players in terms of the interactions and connections between different public spheres. It is a kind of Europeanisation understood as a multi-sided process (Cremonesi *et al.*, 2019: 668). National media can help construct a public European sphere by concentrating on European topics and players, or on matters that took place in other European countries (Koopmans and Erbe, 2004; Cremonesi *et al.*, 2019). It is possible to develop a European public sphere if the national media addresses topics and stakeholders related to European matters and taking a perspective that goes beyond national interests (Cremonesi *et al.*, 2019; Gerhards, 2000; Koopmans and Erbe, 2004). The media can keep a neutral, negative or positive attitude towards the EU, mitigating or increasing Eurosceptic sentiments.

The use of the media, as demonstrated in numerous studies on political participation, is closely related to senses of political effectiveness perceived by citizens (Norris, 2000). In fact, the more citizens consume news and information about public affairs, the more likely it is for them to feel sure about their ability to understand politics (Kaid, McKinney, and Tedesco 2007) and thus take part in politics. That is why it is crucial to study the audience results obtained in the media in order to understand the transformations that have taken place in the public sphere (Trenz, 2004).

Empirical studies have so far identified television programmes with political interviews as the most favourable kind for spreading populist messages (Bos and Brants, 2014; Cranmer, 2011). It has also been shown that television news may bring about stronger emotions among the audience compared to the content of a newspaper (Namkoong *et al.*, 2012). This is one reason to carry out academic research into the contribution from the main public television channel in Spain to the dynamics of Europeanisation in media coverage of EU matters. Such research is addressed in this article.

## INTERACTION AND POLITENESS IN POLITICAL DEBATES AND INTERVIEWS

The political interview is a genre in itself. It is defined as the communication of information or opinion by public figures, experts or other people in the news for the benefit of the general public (Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991). It is a genre organised with two interlocutors —the interviewer and interviewee— who have an asymmetric relationship in which the journalist’s discursive control interplays with the politician’s social power in an exercise of negotiation linked to linguistic politeness (Cortés and Bañón, 1997; Hirsch, 1989). The political interview takes

place between two interlocutors (first frame) but is designed for an external audience that is sometimes not even present (second frame), according to Fetzer and Weizman (2006). However, in the televised political interview carried out under audiovisual production, we can consider a third frame: the one defined by the production team, who make subjective choices in partitioning the time and space, as well as in the use of narrative elements that can modulate the resulting discourse.

One should keep in mind that the media (and especially television) play a key role in establishing the problems that concern citizens, as successive studies on “agenda setting” have shown (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Rodríguez and Bouza, 2008; Iyengar and Kinder, 2010), and that in recent years there has also been a significant increase in the role of television as a privileged vehicle for staging alternative politics, conflicts, strategies, and debates of all kinds (López-García *et al.*, 2015).

Live audiovisual debate with political leaders is made up of many intrinsic and extrinsic factors. The intrinsic factors are those related to journalistic discourse deriving from current affairs or with a specific editorial intentionality, whereas the extrinsic factors are those that create a staging, a *mise en scène* and a predetermined organisation of audiovisual production. In televised political interviews, politeness, neutrality, and cooperation can in principle be dissolved by deliberate action controlling the audiovisual discourse and the elements that make up the production.

The collectively participating audience with no physical presence, marking the discourse activity for both the interviewer and interviewee, is relegated to the party present in the third frame, in other words the producer, who is responsible for constructing the audiovisual discourse and who designs the audiovisual politeness as a fundamental element in dealing with the discourse. The objective of this study is to analyse audiovisual politeness by analysing the staging and audiovisual planning in televised debates produced by TVE during the election campaigns for the Government of Spain and the European Parliament in 2019.

In general, we understand politeness strategies to be a series of linguistic or discursive resources intended to minimise the impact of an act of speaking on the receiver (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Goldsmith, 2007, 2008). In specific terms, politeness is made up of “elements that are lexical, syntactic, morphological and even phonological (such as intonation), which serve the pragmatic purposes of establishing solidarity (i.e. closeness) with the listener or avoiding imposing on the listener. Depending on these purposes, we could talk about positive politeness as regards the former, and negative purposes for the latter” (Heffelfinger-Nieves, 2014: 97). Applied to the political sphere, Leech (1983) suggests the political interview is based on maintaining the principle of politeness. Politeness has been studied and accepted from different perspectives. Ferguson (1976: 43) indicates that politeness is shown in “daily routines like greetings, farewells and expressions of gratitude”.

Recent studies suggest that intact gaze cueing is important for social function as Hayward and Ristic (2017) showed alterations in gaze cueing are associated with reduced social competence. Larger effects of gaze cueing were observed

with fearful compared with neutral expressions (Holmes *et al.*, 2010; Lassalle and Itier, 2013; Neath *et al.*, 2013), and a similar effect with surprise (Bayless *et al.*, 2011; Lassalle and Itier, 2013; Neath *et al.*, 2013) and anger (Holmes *et al.*, 2010; Lassalle and Itier, 2013) has been reported in studies measuring neural activity (Kaisler *et al.*, 2020).

Advances in discourse analysis as a discipline have defined politeness as a cognitive model based on a series of expectations and representations constructed based on cultural norms and patterns that have been internalised through experience (Escandell-Vidal, 1988). For their part, Fraser (1990) and Bargiela-Chiappini (2003) affirm that politeness is not only a way of using language, but is also part of grammar. They put forward that it is related to a conversational contract guided by a set of rights and obligations subject to negotiation.

More in keeping with this study, Charaudeau (2012) underlines the importance of other factors linked to the context, such as the specific purpose of the interaction, the participants' identities, the kind of exchange (personal or public) and the influence of collective imagination. Several studies have demonstrated that the journalistic interview, particularly of the political kind, seeks to create an atmosphere of confrontation (Clayman *et al.*, 2006; Garcés, 2010; Mullany, 2002). On the other hand, Garcés-Conejos (2010) suggests that a journalist's impoliteness increases the more distant the interviewee's opinions are from those of society.

As Heffelfinger (2014) recalls, the explanation of politeness in communicative and also televised discourse, based on the model by Brown and Levinson (1987), is founded upon the concept of social image or "social face", the idealised way in which each person strives to be perceived and acts in front of others (Goffman, 1959, 1967). For Brown and Levinson (1987), anybody exposed to a public interview or debate has a "positive face" and another "negative face". The positive face is related to the desire to receive approval and appreciation of one's own image. The negative face is related to the freedom to act and the desire to not be imposed upon.

It is true that one of the norms of political interviews (Cuenca, 2013) is that the interviewer must keep a neutral stance, at least in appearance. However, in audiovisual interviews and fundamentally in ones that are broadcast live, together with the neutrality of the interviewee one has to consider the construction of the narrative by the production team, who are able to choose audiovisual constructs at a specific moment with which to transgress journalistic neutrality and the asymmetry between the interlocutors, thereby modifying the interaction.

In the same way that Fuentes-Rodríguez (2006), Fetzer and Bull (2008) and Cuenca (2013) put forward that the use of vocatives reveals the fight for discursive power between the interviewer and interviewee, acting as a thin line separating politeness from impoliteness, television production can lead to the discursive treatment being interpreted as polite or impolite.

The article proposes a method for measuring said audiovisual politeness. Using this method, it is shown that the production team, making use of its ability to choose the type of visual framing (point of view, composition, scaling) and sound framing (equalising, ambient sound, transitions), is an active party

in constructing or destroying the interlocutor's image and in a possible implicit bolstering of the argumentation itself and image towards the public.

To sum up, audiovisual politeness is a strategic form of behaviour that the programme projects through its forms of audiovisual production, welcoming and handling the interviewee favourably sometimes and unfavourably other times. Studies on politeness in political interviews on television have been carried out by Brenes-Peña (2012), Christie (2002), Cuenca (2013), Mullany (2002) and Tanaka (2004, 2009), understanding politeness to be a strategic, intentional behaviour.

This study pays attention to the pragmatic implications arising from certain audiovisual constructs, especially the shot while listening (S(n)L) and shot with split screen (S(n)SS). The use of these strategies in televised debates among national political leaders proposed for the Spanish Congress and European Parliament shall be revealed in order to respond to the following hypothesis and research question:

- $H_1$ : The televised debates with the candidates to the Spanish Congress and are addressed differently in audiovisual terms from those to the European Parliament.
- $RQ_1$ : Is the audiovisual discourse used in carrying out the debate for the 2019 European elections more sedate, balanced and institutional than debate for the Spanish Congress?

## METHOD

The debates broadcast during the elections for the Spanish Congress on 28 April 2019 and the European Parliament on 26 May are analysed here. The debate among candidates for Prime Minister was broadcast by RTVE<sup>1</sup> on 22 April 2019, just six days before the election day. It was presented by Xavier Fortes (see Image 1). The debate itself lasted 100 minutes, though beforehand the build-up was broadcast with the candidates being welcomed and setting the scene, which lasted 53 minutes.

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1 <<http://www.rtve.es/alacarta/videos/especiales-informativos/especial-informativo-debate-cuatro/5159816/>> (seen on 10/02/2020).

**Image 1. Candidates for Prime Minister of Spain**

Source: RTVE.

The debate was organised into four blocks:

1. Economic, fiscal and employment policy: Pablo Casado began and Albert Rivera ended.
2. Social policy, the welfare state, pensions and equality: Albert Rivera began and Pablo Iglesias ended.
3. Territorial policy: Pedro Sánchez began and Pablo Casado ended.
4. Democratic regeneration and post-electoral pacts: Pablo Iglesias began and Pedro Sánchez ended. Each of the candidates had four and a half minutes per block.

The four-sided debate among Pedro Sánchez (Partido Socialista Obrero Español, moderate left), Pablo Casado (Partido Popular, moderate right), Pablo Iglesias (Unidas Podemos, hard left) and Albert Rivera (Ciudadanos, centre) was broadcast live on all RTVE channels.

As for the European political debate, RTVE<sup>2</sup> broadcast the programme on 22 May, four days before the European elections, from Studio 1 in Prado del Rey in Madrid. It was also presented by Xavier Fortes (see Image 2). The public entity offered a nine-sided debate among candidates to the European Elections of 26 May. It lasted 120 minutes. There were three blocks in the debate on European policy:

1. Political and social Europe (immigration, territory, and welfare);
2. Economic and fiscal Europe;

<sup>2</sup> <<http://www.rtve.es/alacarta/videos/especiales-informativos/especial-informativo-debate-elecciones-europeas-26-2019/5233957/>> (seen on 28/02/2020).



3. European challenges. Each candidate had four minutes per block. In addition, they had one minute to round off, the order being established by lottery.

**Image 2. Candidates to the European elections**



Source: RTVE.

The layout of both debates was staged identically, with the candidates in a semicircle and the presenter opposite them behind a transparent lectern. On both occasions there was also a backplane using a Steadicam (Image 3).

**Image 3. Backplane of the candidates**



Source: RTVE.

A total of 30 spoken interventions about 10 topics in the debate in the Spanish Congress were analysed, and 42 interventions about 5 general topics in the European debate, making a total of 72 interventions in the two debates.



In order to establish the intensity of the questions, a Likert scale was applied. It was presented with an intensity of ten points (from 1 = very positive, to 10 = very negative) in order to learn more precisely the level of intensity or difficulty in the question being put to the interviewee. The intensity variable of the questions has been determined based on previous research (Feldman and Kinoshita, 2019; Bavelas *et al.*, 1990; Feldman, Kinoshita, and Bull, 2016). In order to avoid eventual mistaken readings due to the subjective nature in interpreting the intensity of the questions, it was necessary to measure the intercoder reliability with the help of two external codifiers who had not taken part in the initial codification. They independently analysed 40% (n=36) of the variables previously analysed (Tabachnick, Fidell, and Ullman, 2007). The minimum value obtained according to Scott's Pi formula was above 0.66. This value is high according to the classification by Landis and Koch (1977) for all the variables, with a mean value of 0.7248 (Neuendorf, 2012) being reached in all the variables. SPSS IBM v.21 was used for the statistical analysis.

## NARRATIVES

The shots in the two debates were analysed taking into account the following audiovisual narratives (by the author Sánchez, 2018):

- S(n)L (Shot while listening). This is the audiovisual politeness conditioner and it can function as negative politeness (or negative face) when the question poses some difficulty for the interviewee (Heffelfinger-Nieves, 2014; Brown and Levinson, 1987). This type of question is made with a shot of the guest listening on the screen. In other words, the presenter asks the question off-screen while the interviewee to whom the question is being asked remains in the shot, or else during the guest's answer images are inserted that support such statements. A question of great political significance may be uncomfortable for the interviewee, so keeping them on the screen may create an uneasy situation for the guest and clear defencelessness before the audience (Elliot and Bull, 1996; Bavelas *et al.*, 1988; Jucker, 1986). The uncomfortable situation of receiving an incisive question while being for example in a close-up shot, may lead to concerned or displeased gestures that may condition the audience's perception of the guest and the truth or not of their reply (Images 5 and 6). Likewise, the perception there may be of a reply may be conditioned by the images accompanying it. The nature of these images may lend the statements a "positive face" truthfulness, or they may be considered incoherent, due to the "negative face" images being seen by the audience.

Image 4. Shot while listening



Source: RTVE.

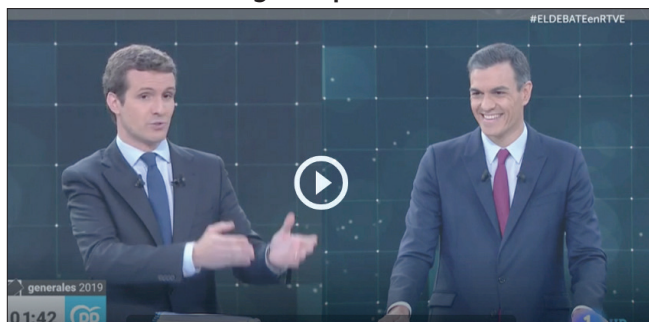
Image 5. Shot while listening



Source: RTVE.

- (S(n)SS) (Shot with split screen). Dividing the screen between two or more candidates means, above all, dividing the audience's attention. Furthermore, this narrative solution manages to more efficiently guide aspects such as where the narrative is coming from and its intentionality. Moreover, it provides an evolution of the previous listening shot S(n)L, since on the same screen it is possible to distinguish the cause and effect of the spoken intervention's intensity (Image 6). In the debates, it is possible to find shots with the screen split into two or more candidates in which only one is speaking (Images 6 and 7), or a multiple screen (Image 8).

**Image 6. Split screen**



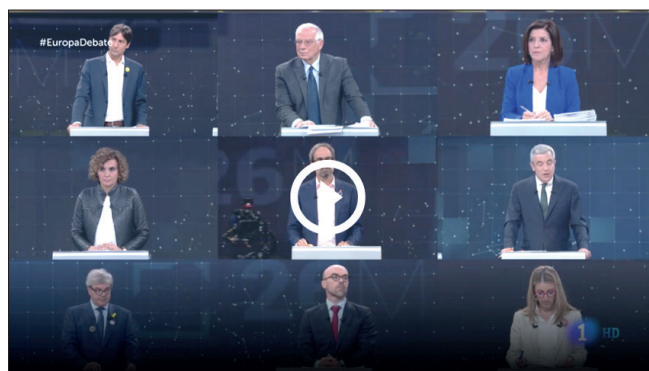
Source: RTVE.

**Image 7. Split screen**



Source: RTVE.

**Image 8. Multiple listening screen**



Source: RTVE.

## RESULTS

Table 1 shows the topics dealt with in the debate for Prime Minister of the Government and the intensity of the questions posed as a result of the Likert scale with the mean average (M) and standard deviation (SD). The same data is given in Table 2 for the European political debate.

In both Tables 1 and 2, the shots using split screens S(n)SS and the shots while listening S(n)L have been correlated using Pearson's coefficient ( $R_{x-y}$ ) with the intensity of the questions. It should be noted that the positive or negative sign of the absolute result can vary between -1 and +1, and a value of +1 is as strong as -1. In the former case, the relationship is positive, and in the latter it is negative.

According to Table 1, the correlation between the topics addressed with the related intensity and the divided shots (S(n)SS) and listening shots (S(n)L), there are significant and very sharp dependencies.

As regards matters regarding "Economic policies", a high correlation has been discovered with the visual formula of the split screen ( $r_{[18]} = .783$ ,  $p < .000$ ) and somewhat less with the listening shots ( $r_{[16]} = .576$ ,  $p < .000$ ). Another matter whose data gives a high correlation is "Employment" ( $r_{[16]} = .747$ ,  $p < .000$ ) in the split screen and ( $r_{[19]} = .264$ ,  $p < .000$ ) in listening shots. Matters pertaining to "Pensions", whose questions obtained a very high mean ( $M = 7.10$ ;  $DT = 1.323$ ), also obtained high correlations for the split screen ( $r_{[18]} = .405$ ,  $p < .000$ ) and the shots while listening ( $r_{[18]} = .621$ ,  $p < .000$ ). The three most significant topics, "Economic policy, Employment and Pensions", show a positive correlation; i.e. the bigger the intensity of these debate topics, the greater the presence of the aforementioned audiovisual narrative proposals. With these considerations, the only topics with a negative sign are "Equality" ( $r_{[16]} = -.462$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and ( $r_{[18]} = -.832$ ,  $p < .001$ ); and "Electoral pacts" ( $r_{[18]} = -.278$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and ( $r_{[18]} = -.527$ ,  $p < .001$ ).

As for the intensity of the questions posed in the national debate, the one concerning "Employment" policies stands out as the biggest ( $M = 7.19$ ;  $SD = 1.342$ ), whereas the least intensity is seen with "Electoral pacts" ( $M = 5.10$ ;  $SD = 1.167$ ).

**Table 1. Debate for Prime Minister**

Topics	Intensity (M/SD)	S(n)SS	S(n)L
Economic policy	7.08/1.284	.783***	.576**
Fiscal policy	6.20/1.385	.432*	.881*
Employment	7.19/1.342	.747***	.264***
Social policy	6.50/1.567	0.836*	.384
Welfare state	6.90/1.256	.638	.354*
Pensions	7.10/1.323	.405***	.621***
Equality	5.70/1.321	-.462*	-0.832

Topics	Intensity (M/SD)	S(n)SS	S(n)L
Territorial policy	5.80/1.298	.362	.287**
Democratic regeneration	5.20/1.311	.537*	.823
Post-electoral pacts	5.10/1.167	-0.278	-0.527*
Total M: 6.27			
* p < 0.05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Source: By the authors.

The debate about European policy also provides very conclusive data as regards the significant dependence relationship between the topics debated and the visual methods used. The maximum intensity was obtained with questions concerning economic policies (M= 6.20; SD= 1.267), and a minimum response (M= 7.08; SD= 1.284) for the challenges that Europe must face in future. The visual methods used by the production team in the European debate show a higher relationship with “Social Europe” (r [12]= .192, p < .000) in the listening shots, as well as “Economic Europe” (r [12]= .536, p < .000) and (r [12]= .370, p < .000).

**Table 2. European policy debate**

Topics	Intensity (M/SD)	S(n)SS	S(n)L
Political Europe	5.80/1.289	0.738	-0.835*
Social Europe	6.10/1.359	.368*	.192**
Economic Europe	6.20/1.267	.536**	.370**
Fiscal Europe	5.50/1.212	0.373	0.947*
European challenges	4.80/1.387	-.489*	-0.834
Total M: 5.68			
* p < 0.05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001			

Source: By the authors.

It is important to point out that, if each of the blocks is analysed separately, we can see that the block with greatest intensity in questions in the national debate is one point higher in intensity than the block with greatest intensity in the European elections. Extracting the means of intensity from both debates, in the national debate a mean average is obtained of M= 6.40, and in the European policy debate it is M= 5.68.

In addition to this, there is the fact that there are more than twice the candidates in the European debate than in the national one, so it is understandable that it is more difficult for the audience to identify with the candidates. Thus, their level of emotional implication with what is being debated will also be lower.

## DISCUSSION

Spanish people's perspective of the European elections is somewhat contradictory: most admit that decisions taken by the European Union affect them quite a lot or a lot, but in spite of being aware of the important implications of European matters, over two thirds admit that they follow news about the elections to renew the European Parliament with little or no interest (CIS, 2019). The debate for Prime Minister of the Spanish Government broadcast by TVE's channel La 1 reached an audience of 7,246,000, meaning 35.8% of the screen share (*El País*, 28/12/2019). The station's peak minute that day came in the same debate, with an audience of 7,881,000. As for the debate for the European Parliament, the audience turned its back on the programme, also broadcast by TVE's La 1 at prime time. It only reached 817,000 people, meaning 5.2% of the screen share. The comedy series *La que se avecina* was that day's winner, with a share of 18.1%.

This study is based on the initial hypothesis that television discourse with European content is different, not only in its content but also in the ways of presenting it audiovisually compared to local politics. The method used can be considered to have been tested on being applied to two decisive electoral processes with less than a month of difference between them, deciding on the makeup of their parliaments.

In order to carry out this analysis, the importance of the concept of audiovisual politeness has been taken into account, which could function jointly with linguistic politeness, which has already been studied previously (Feldman and Kinoshita, 2019; Bavelas *et al.*, 1990; Feldman *et al.*, 2016; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1991; McQuail, 1992).

After analysing the data obtained in this study, it is possible to point out a clear difference in the forms of televised representation between national and European debates. As a result of this difference, the perception obtained may increase the feeling of distance and relatively less importance as regards European political matters. The way Spanish citizens perceive the European political televised discourse seems to indicate that it is closer to slower, more institutional and less personalised representations. Hence, we can state that in the cases analysed the media discourse may help foster a lack of interest among citizens for certain matters by using an audiovisual language that makes identification difficult for the audience and thus increases their feeling of detachment. Questions in the European debate are perceived with less intensity than questions in the national debate, which may apparently feed a narrative with less audiovisual persuasion or *pathos*, understood as the emotions and the effect they may have on the audience as a rhetorical figure with the intention of achieving the effect of persuasion.

It is also necessary to point out the limitations of this study, especially those concerning the intentionality of the vote and its correlation with the difference in the modes of audiovisual representation. Future studies must address the dependent relationship between election results and the narrative forms of audiovisual representation, always taking into account the reciprocity between linguistic and audiovisual politeness.



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