PREMISE, FRAMING AND FUNCTION OF THE DISCOURSE OF THE INTERVIEW GRANTED BY IRENE MONTERO IN THE ELECTORAL FRAMEWORK OF THE GENERAL ELECTIONS OF APRIL 28, 2019.

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Abstract

Introduction and objectives: The aim of this research is based on analyzing the discourse of the interview given by Irene Montero, spokesperson of the confederal parliamentary group United We Can, to TVE, replacing the leader of Podemos, Pablo Iglesias, on paternity leave, in relation to the general elections of April 28, 2019, in Spain, attending to elements such as premise, framing and function.

Methodology: Through the transcription of the interview, and with the help of a work table, its verbal language is evaluated -ideas force, premises, framing, rhetoric and linguistics- and, on the other hand, its non-verbal language -paralanguage, kinesics, chronemics and proxemics-.

Results: The use, in most of the answers, of a mobilizing function of their discourse is perceived, as well as the use of demand/solution premises.

Conclusion and Discussion: It is reflected that their chronemics is not adequate for the correct grasp of the message (an informative overload is produced). Synergies between the political sphere-media sphere and the media sphere-political sphere are perceived, managing to transfer the message to the public opinion. Of the seventeen topics exposed, three of them are directly linked to feminist issues. Subsequently, the interviewee becomes Minister of Equality (2020-2023)

Keywords: electoral debate, elections, candidates, critical discourse analysis, feminism, public opinion.

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1. Introduction

The political instability experienced in Spain since the partial end of the two-party system[1], with the entry of the new parties Ciudadanos and Podemos to the Cortes Generales in 2015, corresponding to the XI legislature and with a failed investiture by Pedro Sánchez (PSOE) after the resignation of Mariano Rajoy (PP) to form a government, brings with it an electoral repetition only six months later. Parliamentary fragmentation was still present. So much so that in 2018 the first successful motion of censure in history takes place. Mariano Rajoy is dismissed as President of the Government by the Congress of Deputies, with Pedro Sánchez taking his place. Eleven months later, general elections are called.

After the dissolution of the Cortes, a multiparty electoral pre-campaign began, with the considerable electoral representation of the formations led by Albert Rivera and Pablo Iglesias, with real options to govern. The political marketing used in that issue served, therefore, to "segment the electoral market and the ability to generate valuable knowledge on increasingly differentiated targets" (Del Rey, 2014: 15). To all this, we can add the emergence of Vox, an "extreme right-wing" party (Rivera et al., 2021) -still without parliamentary representation at the time-, which participates in various media during the campaign period, even going so far as to use "its militants and sympathizers -women-, as part of the communicative tools (...) in their fight against feminist advances" (Alcaide, 2022), producing a social polarization "from the media practice" (Quevedo, 2022), with "polemics by *tweet*, on television, radio and many digital platforms" (Martínez et al., 2022). With the rise of feminism in public opinion from different perspectives, it is curious to find five male candidates leading the five national parties with options to govern.

All the interviews and debates organized during the pre-campaign and campaign were conducted by the representatives of the main national parties with parliamentary representation, i.e., four male leaders of the parties. There is one exception: the interview with Irene Montero, at that time, Spokesperson of the Confederal Group UP-EC-GeC in the Congress of Deputies, replacing Pablo Iglesias, on paternity leave. Given this situation, it is appropriate to perform a critical analysis of the content discourse provided by Montero, in the interview conducted on March 4, 2019, considering that "political parties have had to frame, necessarily, feminism, which has burst into the agendas" (Brandariz et al. 2021).

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1   The partial and not total end is considered due to the importance of the traditional parties (Partido Socialista Obrero Español and Partido Popular), which maintain the first and second positions in number of votes.

As objectives, we define, firstly, (1) to analyze the interview made by TVE to Irene Montero, and, secondly, (2) to examine her argumentation in terms of framing. The hypotheses defined will be the following: (1) the mobilizing function is more important than the sentencing function in the discourse; (2) the premise of value and the framing of human interest will be predominant; (3) the chronemics will be adjusted to the appropriate values.

Justifying the search for the aforementioned hypotheses, it is understood that Podemos, from the perspective of a newly created political party, has a greater predisposition to solve the problems of citizens through measures, with real concerns to improve their quality of life. In addition, a moderate speed of speech is considered to transmit the message in a clear way.

It should be noted that this 2019 interview represents an important milestone in terms of politics, since the multi-party system has already been established in our country: Irene Montero, even as a substitute for a male candidate (Pablo Iglesias), is the woman who has been the closest to represent, in an electoral period and as the first visible head, a party with real options to govern. In addition, during the meeting on TVE, several issues related to feminism were discussed, "a highly topical issue, as it is part of the European agenda 2030" (Mariottini, 2022). It should be noted that the sample may be small; however, it is the only interview given by a female politician within the round of meetings with candidates for the Presidency of the Government -from national level formations- regarding the two General Elections of 2019. Regarding the methodology, there are joint evaluation parameters (framing, premise, discourse function and nonverbal language) which, although seen separately in different research, converge together in this work.

1.1 Public opinion, women and the political class

Public opinion and political communication are closely related. The "issues, political candidates and public relations messages possess characteristics or properties that describe them, and the coverage made of them will entail emphasizing some of such aspects" (Aruguete, 2017) over others, although it may also mean obviating parts or even their totality. The latter is reflected in the silencing interest on the part of the powers that be (Spiral of Silence). Within this relationship, three systems reside: political, media and social. These elements bring with them the pursuit of their respective agendas, (*building, setting* and public) "composed of issues that, in some way, are issues to be resolved or that at least demand attention" (Rodriguez et al., 2019). We should not forget the thematization of news, that is, the delimitation and recognition of matters of public interest -with an elaborated climate of opinion- reflected in the media and which will be analyzed below.

In order to delve deeper into public opinion and seek its subsequent relationship with the political landscape, it is necessary to mention the spheres initially defined by Lazarsfeld (1954). Citizens, politicians and media generate links among themselves through their corresponding spheres. Starting with the nexuses (cf. Gil, 2018), it is necessary to mention:

- The "political sphere-media sphere": politicians are aware of the usefulness of the media as sources of information. They have to adapt their message with highly prepared teams, called *spin doctors* (Esser et al., 2005), to capture the public's attention, after, at first, trying to make them "their institutional channels of diffusion" (Mazzoleni, 2010) without success.

- The "political sphere-public sphere": refers to institutional communication, political party messages with propagandistic information (known as political *marketing*) and rallies (independent of the media) in which the politician speaks to the public.

- The "media sphere-political sphere": mediatization is the central axis, together with the liberal theory of the press (freedom of the press), media partisanship and meta-coverage.

- The "media-public sphere": it focuses on possible partisan information and thematization, studied below.

- The "public sphere-political sphere": the voice of the people in elections through voting, electoral polls or the adequacy of two-channel communication thanks to new social media platforms belong to this union of spheres.

- The "public sphere-media sphere": this includes surveys conducted by the media themselves, letters to the editor or social networks.

It is in these last two connections between spheres that the penetration of social networks in our daily lives is most noticeable. Habermas thus relates public space with public opinion, considering the former as the basis for establishing the latter: it is "a sphere of our social life, in which something like public opinion can be constructed" (Habermas, 1964: 61). It is necessary to mention Luhmann's (1976) nuance on public opinion: "it does not consist in the generalization of the content of individual opinions (...), but in the adaptation of the structure of the themes of the political communication process to the decisional needs of society and its political system". These lines do not follow parallel paths to his theory of thematization, where he argues that, faced with an innumerable number of topics, the public's attention will be limited. Therefore, only certain information, the most relevant for society, will be thematized, therefore, it will be the only one that will enter the public opinion of a post-industrial society. This happens, as mentioned above, due to the arrangement of news by the media.

The debate in a physical place is left behind to move to "an atmosphere without territorial boundaries where communication or information is placed interactively in a prism of many diffusely involved (21st century public sphere)" (Testa, 2018). The ease with which the citizen can address the politician has meant an important significance: it is the professional himself who receives feedback from the public sphere, being able to adapt his strategy to the demands. Approaching the conception of "public opinion", for Habermas, in the words of Marta Gil Ramírez (2018), there is a public space, defined as a "space of participation, debate, criticism and exchange of opinions and governed by (...) rationality, argumentation, free exchange of

ideas and constitution of 'public opinion'". He also comments that it is a place where the State and Society converge. He considers that the public meets with total freedom to discuss issues that concern them, always in favor of general social progress. In the public space itself, from a broader population perspective, he believes that the media, such as newspapers, radio and television, are necessary for proper communication. Therefore, this public opinion is sufficiently important to convey the issue in question to the political class, which is responsible for enforcing popular sentiment.

The context would be distorted if a space were not dedicated to the role of women in the political sphere. Although succinct, it is necessary to make a brief review of the Spanish panorama in terms of political feminism as a synonym of equality. It is from 2007, with the Equality Law, when the number of women politicians grows. This is due to article 44 bis, which requires a "balanced composition in the electoral lists", with a minimum of 40% in each of the sexes.

A study by Gómez, García, Santín, Rodríguez and Torregrosa (cf. 2008: 61) warned of the increase of stereotypes in the reporting of women politicians, as well as the use of trivialization regarding their private life or the way they dress. Even at the social level, through Twitter, this is observed in the comments generated by the debate of June 9, 2016[2] , organized by *Atresmedia*, in which only female candidates participated for the first time in history: Inés Arrimadas (Ciudadanos), Carolina Bescansa (Podemos), Andrea Levy (PP) and Margarita Robles (PSOE). It may be due to a lack of empathy and awareness, characteristics that to a positive degree allow building an egalitarian country, where women leaders are not a minority in positions of power, thus avoiding lacking "female role models to identify with", and without assuming "the uses and norms of the prevailing male power" (Sánchez et al., 2013). This would prevent "female politicians from receiving media coverage inferior to that of their male peers" (Sánchez, Pineda and Bellido, 2018: 122). Continuing with the analysis of the first debate held by women in Atresmedia, of the 395 tweets under the *hashtag* #debate9J, a significantly lower figure with respect to the one million eight hundred tweets of the debate held between male frontrunners, 24 mention the aesthetics, body or physical appearance of the female candidates (cf. Zurutuza, 2019: 127). Thanks to "certain feminist activism that finally made possible the adoption of parity strategies in political parties and in the country's legal systems" (Muñoz, 2022), the gender gap, the glass ceiling or stigmatizations linked to sex are elements that are increasingly distant in our society.

With a national essence, and in the composition of the XIV legislature, 108 women -versus 167 men- occupy a seat in the Senate; and 154 women -versus 196 men- do so in the Congress of Deputies (INE, 2019). In the latter, it is Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya who is more aware of the presence of women in its ranks: in its elected lists, 53.8% are women. However, it is the extreme right-wing party Vox who holds the figure of inequality: only 26.9% are women.

2   50% of the tweets written by men are negative towards the *Atresmedia* debate; only 20.8% of the tweets written by women are negative (cf. Zurutuza, 2019: 123).

From this, it can be deduced that "gender (...) structures social organizations in an unequal way, also influencing cultural patterns (...) and the participation of people in the so-called public sphere" (Francovich et al., 2023), which produced a significant political positioning: "it marked the constitution of a renewed conservative reaction, which saw in these dimensions a threat to its ideas and worldview" (Morán, 2023).

2. Methodology

On the occasion of the call for the General Elections, and within the framework of the pre-campaign, TVE offered four interviews of the main leaders of the national political parties, included in the space of the Telediario. In the case of Podemos, Irene Montero, replacing Pablo Iglesias, answered the questions of journalist Carlos Franganillo on March 4, 2019, with a duration of 30 minutes.

The main objective of this research is to conduct a discourse analysis of Montero's intervention. After visualizing the interview, through the subsequent transcription, a table was prepared to identify the most relevant elements of this qualitative study, positioning phrases and words in the different types of frames, premises and discursive functions. For the analysis of non-verbal language, the most representative *frame* was considered; regarding chronemics, the words uttered per minute will be counted to elaborate the average. The indicators used are detailed below:

1. Subject of discussion: the item being asked about or discussed.

2. Strong ideas (Fouillée, 1893; Burgué and Díaz, 2010): the phrase used, the way of expressing it. For example, it will not be the same to answer, to talk about abortion, "murderer of unborn persons" as opposed to "voluntary interruption of pregnancy".

3. Argumentation:

    -   Premise (Fairclough and Fairclough, 2012: 88-89): demand/solution (D) -need for change-, circumstantial premises/problems (PC) -existing setback due to the presence of the rival-, premisesgoals (PM) -allegiance to prosperity provided by the candidate-, value premises (PV) -responsibility and civility shown by the candidate-, premises of means/resources and goals (PMM) -solution provided by the candidate from study and tranquility-, and Alternative Options (OA) or Addressing Alternative Options (AOA), i.e., what leads to rejecting proposals and offering other alternatives.

    -   Framing (Semetko and Valkenburg, cf. 2000): attribution of responsibility - the responsibility of the individual or group is questioned and the possible resolution of the inconvenience is addressed - human interest - is it presented as an impersonal event or is a human value added to it? Does the information show evaluative details that denote the

mobilization of feelings? conflict -does the information value the disagreements between the actors, reproaches and even refers to winners and losers-, economic consequences -are losses or gains announced, costs and possible effects of continuing or not with the practice of these activities-, and, finally, moral -does the information have any moralizing aspect, including religious forces? Are social norms established on how to act?)

- Discourse function (political intentionality with mobilizing, sentencing or interpretative functions, the enemy-allied perspective and the type of story used by the candidate), rhetoric (rhetorical figures used) and linguistics (colloquial expressions, repetitions, use of "I-us" ...).

4. Non-verbal language[3] : it will be divided into paralanguage (tone, pauses, mumbling and diction), kinesics (body movement of hands, head...) and chronemics (speed of speech). For this purpose, the most representative frame will be chosen.

3. Analysis

Next, we proceed with the critical analysis of the interview with Irene Montero, on TVE, on March 4, 2019, with a duration of thirty minutes. At the end of the part referring to verbal language, a table will be elaborated where the main characteristics of non-verbal language will be explained succinctly:

First topic: Situation in Podemos.

Expected response:
No estimate.

Debate/interview framework:
Progressivism obtained thanks to the strength of Podemos in the institutions.

Strong ideas:

- Do not look to the polls.
- The important thing is the measures that are proposed and that must be carried out.
- Thanks to Podemos, progress is possible in the institutions.
- The SMI and decent pensions are the work of Unidas Podemos.

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3   It should be clarified that non-verbal language will be analyzed, succinctly, as follows: the most significant frame will be examined, the one that can provide the most data.

Verbal language:

> Premise: Premises-Metas (PM): "a political force that is the only one that is running without a single euro from the banks, (...) with the strength that you give us, we are the ones who will be able to do the things that have meant the most important changes in this country".

> Framing: Attribution of responsibility: Podemos is the engine of change. If it were not for them, pensions, among others, would remain the same: "Everyone knows that pensions would not have been updated to the CPI if pensioners were not in the streets and if we did not have Yolanda Díaz". The economic framework is perceived.

> Speech: Sentencing and mobilizing function: "the PSOE would not raise the SMI without the intervention of Pablo Iglesias"". He does not answer the question directly. An institutional brand story is perceived: increase of SMI and revaluation of pensions.

> Rhetoric: Intentional anaphora explained in the section on discourse. Use of "we" as anaphora, as a synonym of efficiency and good praxis after the enumeration of positive acts. Use of "everybody knows" as anaphora after the narration of negative facts reconverted into positive ones after the intervention of Podemos.

> Linguistics: Use of the crutch "bueno" at the beginning of the answer. Rhetorical questions "no?" (becomes a crutch).

Podemos is presented as the engine of change, the only party capable of carrying out social measures never seen before in our country. The discourse presents a mobilizing and sentencing function: it points directly to the PSOE for not having been able to carry out some necessary laws, while Podemos is positioned as the force that the country needs. It presents a goal premise ("to achieve social justice") and a frame of attribution of responsibility (in front of the other forces, United Podemos).

Second topic: Strength in Podemos.

Expected response:
No estimate.

Framework debate/interview:
Podemos as a party of social justice and progressivism.

Strong ideas:
- Podemos has made mistakes, but it has achieved measures that provide progress and it will continue to fight for that.
- The existence of splits is normal in a democracy.

- Former Podemos members have the right to create other parties.

Verbal language:

Premise: Premises-Goals (PM): "every vote for United We Can is a vote for the minimum wage to rise to 900 euros, for pensions to be updated according to the CPI, and even those who will never vote for us know that".

Framing: Human interest: Podemos will solve social problems with every vote.

Speech: Does not directly answer the question. Use of "we" as anaphora to explain positive facts about Podemos. Focuses on Podemos' achievements. Mobilizing function, as indicated in the premise-goal.

Rhetoric: Use of anaphora explained in the speech section. Rhetorical questions interpreted as self-criticism: "have there been difficult situations and serious mistakes, which I think is what people dislike most about us?".

Linguistics: Use of the rhetorical question "no?" as a crutch.

Montero positions her message: the energy of her electorate (strength of 15M) makes possible the power of Podemos in the institutions to change the situation. It is, therefore, a mobilizing function, with a target premise and a framing of human interest (concern for the problems of society).

Third topic: Relationship with Iñigo Errejón.

Expected response:
No estimate.

Framework debate/interview:
Union of the left.

Strong ideas:
- Errejón's departure was a mistake.
- Podemos has achieved unimaginable things after the motion of censure, even though the PSOE had no hope (motion of censure).

Verbal language:

Premise: Premises-Circumstantial/Problems (PC): "to continue doing politics to change people's lives, even in spite of internal difficulties".

Framing: Attribution of responsibility: points to Errejón as the problem of the division of Podemos, but shows the solution with the union of the left or the majority block of the congress.

Speech: Use of "the people" as an anaphora to explain the social injustices they suffer: low pensions, lack of aid for dependency... He answers the question, but positions his electoral message with the appropriate measures. After listening to Errejón's statements, he tries to degrade his position: "almost poetic statements". He lists the achievements of Podemos. Springboard story by stating that the motion of censure was a turning point that led to a change for the better. Mobilizing function: "And, later, the confirmation that 'Yes we can' (through the motion of censure)". Sentencing function: "I do not agree with it (Errejón's decision to leave), I think it was a mistake".

Rhetoric: Explained in the previous section.

Montero excels in the use of the springboard story: a successful decision (the motion of censure) that inspires future actions. There is a perceived circumstantial premise/problem and a framing of attribution of responsibility.

Fourth topic: Values of Podemos.

Expected response:

No estimate.

Framework debate/interview:

Honesty of Podemos.

Strong ideas:

- Internal issues have to be addressed, but we have lived up to them with humility and unity.
- We must work to make a difference in an honest and progressive manner, as is being demonstrated.

Verbal language:

Premise: Premises of Means/Resources and Goals (PMM): "We must work together because those of us who do not ask for one euro from the banks, those of us who have limited mandates, those of us who do not have the telephone numbers of the bosses of the large multinational companies in this country, have no other choice but to unite".

Framing: Human interest: unity to achieve the achievements that the country needs.

Speech: Does not directly answer the question. Comments on the main threats they must face. Mobilizing and interpretative function: names actions that they do not perform (of dubious ethics) to indirectly point out to the other parties.

Rhetoric: Enumeration of achievements and regenerative measures of the policy.

Linguistics: Use of "bueno" at the beginning of the answer as a crutch. Use of "no?" as a crutch.

Montero excels in the use of history that guides us to the future. It makes a difference with the rest and manages to mobilize. The interpretative function is enough to show that the other formations do not present such an adequate and ethical praxis, according to the interviewee.

Fifth topic: Confluences in Podemos.

Expected response:

No estimate.

Framework debate/interview:

Correct functioning of the confluences of Unidas Podemos.

Strong ideas:

- The confluence provided greater strength at the time of presenting initiatives.
- There are problems to which one is overexposed, but most of the time, there is diversity and it is solved without complications.

Verbal language:

Premise: Demand/solution (D): in the face of "non-solvent" groups, Podemos has managed, with its confluences, to become a reference.

Framing: Attribution of responsibility: the other parties have not managed to overexpose their difficulties; Podemos has.

Speech: Mobilizing function: "We have been the parliamentary group that has presented the most legislative initiatives and they doubted us". Story that communicates the institutional brand, perceived with the anaphora "we have".

Rhetoric: Not appreciated.

Linguistics: Use of questions to introduce your answer. Verbatim quotes to highlight the words of other leaders.

It is worth mentioning the challenge story used: despite the adversities (the rejection of the other parties), Podemos has managed to position itself. It also highlights the mobilizing function by exposing the achievements of the confederal group. All this, from a premise of demand/solution and with a frame of attribution of responsibility.

Sixth topic: Direct competence of Podemos.

Expected response:

No estimate.

Framework debate/interview:

Relationship with Íñigo Errejón's party.

Strong ideas:

- It is too early to know if there will be a union with Íñigo Errejón's party (Más Madrid, at that time).
- It is more necessary to have pacts than a majority.
- We are a social party.

Verbal language:

Premise: Demand/solution (D): Sánchez is not capable of complying with what has been signed; Podemos, if it manages to be the most voted, will do so.

Framing: Attribution of responsibility: Sánchez is to blame for not fulfilling his promise; Podemos, the solution.

Speech: Sentencing function by accusing Pedro Sánchez of being a coward for not having fulfilled his promise to lower the price of electricity and mobilizing function by defending the position of Pablo Iglesias if he had enough votes to change this situation.

Rhetoric: Not appreciated.

Linguistics: Use of "oiga" as a crutch. Literal quotations to refer to the words of other leaders.

The presenter's question takes a back seat when Irene Montero accuses Pedro Sánchez of not fulfilling his electoral promises. It fulfills the sentencing and mobilizing function, since it asks for a vote of confidence to show that Podemos could carry out everything it promised. The demand/solution premise and the framing of responsibility attribution stand out.

Seventh topic: Dismissal of Pablo Iglesias.

Expected response:

No estimate.

Framework debate/interview:

Podemos' position regarding the resignation of Pablo Iglesias.

Strong ideas:

-It does not weaken Pablo Iglesias' discharge; it is a right that defends equality.

Verbal language:

Premise: Demand/solution (D): There is no equality, but "we propose that permits be equal and non-transferable".

Framing: Attribution of responsibility: Podemos must be voted for in order for the situation to change.

Speech: Mobilizing function: we must vote for Podemos so that equality becomes real.

Rhetoric: Not perceived.

Linguistics: Use of the catchphrase "no?" and "oye". Use of colloquialisms: "pillar".

There are two narratives: the connection story (it manages to empathize with people in adverse situations who identify with what has been said) and the story that communicates "who you are" (when the leader of the formation exemplifies the equality that exists in his private life). A mobilizing function is observed, with a demand/solution frame and a responsibility attribution frame.

Eighth topic: Feminism.

Expected response:
No estimate.

Framework discussion/interview:
Use of the movement by political parties.

Strong ideas:
- March 8 is a worldwide democratic example.
- This fact should not be used in campaigning.
- Ciudadanos' strategy was clumsy.

Verbal language:

Premise: Premise-Goals (PM): the feminist strike as a movement to demand equality and to be able to live in a just society.

Framing: Attribution of responsibility: all political formations that do not share the pure feminist message.

Speech: Sentencing function: "I think the gesture of Ciudadanos is clumsy, I think it was very clumsy".

Rhetoric: Not perceived.

Linguistics: Use of "man" as a crutch.

The speech presents a history that leads to the future: the feminist strike as a milestone for a just society. It points to all the parties that do not turn to the movement in its most transparent essence: judgmental function. It has a premise-goal and an attribution of responsibility.

Ninth topic: Women in politics.

Expected response:

No estimate.

Debate/interview framework:

No gender equality among the candidates for the Presidency of the Government.

Strong ideas:

-In Podemos, it is only a matter of time before a woman leads.

Verbal language:

Premise: Premise-Meta (PM): change is near and Podemos "will make it possible".

Framing: Human interest: fight for equality at the forefront of politics.

Speech: Mobilizing function: "I am convinced that, in Podemos, the next person to occupy the General Secretariat will be a woman".

Rhetoric: Not appreciated.

Linguistics: Use of "pues" at the beginning of the answer.

It presents a mobilizing function, by guaranteeing that, in Podemos, the appointment of a woman as leader is very close. It is a meta premise, with a human interest frame.

Tenth topic: Incoherence between Pablo Iglesias and Irene Montero.

Expected response:
No estimate.

Framework discussion/interview:
Purchase of the family villa in Galapagar.

Strong ideas:

- What is done with private money does not matter to the public.
- Lack of congruence is what affects the public sector and what other political formations do.

Verbal language:

Premise: No premise can be detailed; only a moral message is perceived.

Framing: Moral: "people are much more concerned that the Popular Party says that the bank bailout will not cost us and costs us 60 billion euros, or that Pedro Sánchez says he will publish the list of tax amnesties and does not publish it, or that he says he will repeal the two labor reforms and does not do it, or that Mrs. Villacís hides a wealth of two million euros in a patrimonial company that does not declare".

Speech: Sentencing function by exposing the alleged irregularities or malpractice of the other parties.

Rhetoric: Repetition of the word "inconsistency" to reinforce the message and make it clear that it does not exist.

Linguistic: Not perceived.

Montero turns the question about the purchase of his family villa (housing) into an attack on the other parties for malpractice or alleged irregularities (moral framing). Therefore, a sentencing function is perceived.

Eleventh topic: Social measures.

Expected response:

No estimate.

Framework debate/interview:

Podemos as a social guarantee.

Strong ideas:

-The Socialist Party does not dare to implement social measures.

-Podemos will be in charge of lowering the price of electricity and generating employment.

Verbal language:

Premise: Premises of value (PV): concern about the high cost of electricity, which is a problem for many families.

Framing: Conflict: Pedro Sánchez does not comply with the agreement.

Speech: Use of measures proposed by the PSOE that later failed as a sentencing function. Sentencing function: blames Pedro Sánchez for not lowering the price of electricity. He does not answer the question. Sentencing function: Pedro Sánchez does not comply with the agreement.

Rhetoric: Not perceived.

Linguistics: Use of "no?". Literal quotations to refer to sentences of other leaders.

Through the connection story, Montero manages to position her message with a clear sentencing function: Pedro Sánchez does not comply with his pact to lower the price of electricity. This means, according to the candidate, a problem for many families. A premise of value and a framing of conflict are perceived.

Twelfth topic: Covenants.

Expected response:

No estimate.

Framework debate/interview:

Aspirations of Podemos.

Strong ideas:

- The PSOE fails to comply with the agreed measures, despite its minority.
- We aspire to win.
- Pablo Iglesias drives the social movement with decisive measures and actions.

Verbal language:

Premise: Demand/solution (D): "It will be Pablo Iglesias who is going to sit in front of an electricity company and tell them that (to lower the price of electricity) and not Pedro Sánchez".

Framing: Attribution of responsibility: "the Socialist Party did not want to raise the minimum wage to more than 800 euros. The Socialist Party has shown that it does not comply with the agreement and that they did not want to control the abusive price of rents". Economic consequences.

Speech: Sentencing function with the PSOE's impediments to carry out effective social measures and accuses them of not complying with the agreement. Mobilizing function: "Therefore, I believe that the vote for Podemos is the vote of guarantee, that people's lives can substantially improve in the things that are important". He does not answer the question.

Rhetoric: They are not perceived.

Linguistics: Use of "hombre" as a crutch at the beginning of the answer. Use of the crutch "huh?".

Through this speech, and the previous ones, it can be seen that the interviewee sets Pedro Sánchez as a direct adversary. Through the judgmental and mobilizing function, she tries to ask for the vote to change the situation. It has a demand/solution premise and a frame of attribution of responsibility with economic consequences.

Thirteenth topic: Citizens as a party.

Expected response:

No estimate.

Framework debate/interview:

Pacts with Ciudadanos (old and future) of the other formations.

Strong ideas:

- A government with the three right-wing parties (PP, PSOE and Ciudadanos) is inconceivable.
- It was demonstrated that the measures are insufficient (between Ciudadanos and PSOE).

Verbal language:

Premise: Demand/solution (D): "That Government agreement said that the minimum wage had to go up by a measly 1%. (...) In order to stop the right wing, it is necessary to guarantee rights, to shield rights...".

Framing: Attribution of responsibility: the right wing cannot be allowed to reach the Government; it would mean the loss of rights, and this would occur if Ciudadanos makes a pact with the PSOE.

Speech: He uses the politics of fear as a mobilizing and sentencing function: "if what there is as an alternative to the right is a Socialist Party that hesitates, that does not lower the price of the electricity bill, that does not lower the rent, that does not guarantee stable employment, the right, maybe, does not arrive in two years or does not arrive in three years, but it arrives in five".

Rhetoric: Enumeration of measures that Podemos would not carry out if it reached the Government as a mobilizing measure.

Linguistics: Use of the phrase "no?

Montero stands out in the use of the politics of fear as a mobilizing and sentencing function, by expressing that, if no action is taken, the right wing will cut freedoms and rights. It is suggested that the solution lies precisely in voting for Podemos. It counts on the demand/solution and on the framing of attribution of responsibility.

Fourteenth topic: Catalan conflict.

Expected response:

Democratic resolution of the Catalan conflict. The viable management of the conflict in Catalonia involves building a reconciliation process that allows for dialogue and reaching agreements. We

are committed to an agreed referendum in which Podemos will defend a new fit for Catalonia in Spain.

Framework debate/interview:

Podemos' position on the Catalan crisis and the possibility of a referendum.

Strong ideas:

- The solution is dialogue and that society can choose.
- The other communities, and the rural world, also have the right to decide their improvement.
- It is not only a Catalan issue: there must be a territorial pact that allows for the improvement of each autonomy.

Verbal language:

Premise: Demand/solution (D): dialogue and reform of the Constitution are key to understanding in Catalonia and to dealing with the problems in the other autonomous communities.

Framing: Conflict: it is not acting in the right way. It is necessary to act from the Constitution (with its reform).

Speech: Mobilizing function: the solution, through the reform of the Constitution. The benefit would be extended to the other autonomous communities: "there is an immense majority of citizens who want the Constitution to protect social rights, there is an immense majority of citizens who want this country to have a territorial pact so that the rural world counts, so that it is present in the news".

Rhetoric: Use of "vast majority" as an anaphora to show the social rights demanded by society. Use of the anaphora "there is".

Linguistics: Not appreciated.

Montero answers the question, but deflects it towards the interests of other communities. She offers as a solution the reform of the constitution. He avoids talking about an agreed referendum, contrary to his electoral program. All this, from the premise of demand/solution and the framing of conflict.

Fifteenth topic: Solution to the Catalan conflict.

Expected response:

Democratic resolution of the Catalan conflict. The viable management of the conflict in Catalonia involves building a reconciliation process that allows for dialogue and reaching agreements. We are committed to an agreed referendum in which Podemos will defend a new fit for Catalonia in Spain.

Framework debate/interview:

Podemos' proposal for an agreed referendum in Catalonia.

Strong ideas:

- The autonomy of communities to resolve conflicts should be advocated.
- It is necessary to reform the Constitution.

Verbal language:

Premise: Demand/solution: the necessary measure is the agreed referendum and the reform of the Constitution, and not measures that only harm the citizenry.

Framing: Attribution of responsibility: "let's open the Constitution to improve it and to incorporate in it the protection of pensions so that a Popular Party or a Socialist Party cannot arrive to unlink them from the CPI...".

Speech: He uses the subject in question to propose to modify the Constitution and to shield social rights (pensions unlinked to the CPI). She does not answer the question directly. Sentencing function by pointing out PSOE and PP, among others, who, according to the interviewee, do not respect social rights. Mobilizing function by proposing a solution to the problem.

Rhetoric: Not appreciated.

Linguistics: Use of "oiga" and "hombre" as a crutch.

Montero diverts the question to propose to guarantee the shielding of measures necessary for the progress of the country. She focuses on the Constitution and moves the focus away from the proposal of an agreed referendum proposed in her electoral program. It extrapolates this reform to a national level, to guarantee rights. It relies on the demand/solution premise and the framing of attribution of responsibility.

Sixteenth topic: Political prisoners/political prisoners.

Expected response:

No estimate.

Framework debate/interview:

Podemos' position on political prisoners or imprisoned politicians.

Strong ideas:

- They are political prisoners because they are condemned for political acts, even confirmed by the judges.
- Spain needs to make progress in all territories (problems with trains, for example).

Verbal language:

Premise: Demand/solution: solve the problem of Catalonia in order to solve the other national and regional problems.

Framing: Attribution of responsibilities: we sense a lack of sensitivity towards other communities that Podemos proposes to solve.

Speech: The presenter asks, again, before the act of not answering if there are not enough judicial guarantees, by not clarifying the issue in question. Sentencing function: "the President of the Government and the Vice-President and the Minister of the Interior had no idea where our State Security Forces and Corps were". Opens debate on the movements of the other autonomous regions in terms of infrastructure (Extremadura train) and progress: mobilizing function. Take the opportunity to offer proposals in other communities.

Rhetoric: Rhetorical questions: "It doesn't seem very credible, does it?

Linguistics: Use of "no?" as a crutch.

Montero answers, relying on opinions and expositions of specialists in the matter, if there are political prisoners in Spain, but she has to be re-questioned about the guarantees offered in Spain. She tries to divert the debate towards the needs of other autonomous regions. The premise is of demand/solution and the framing is of attribution of responsibility.

Seventeenth topic: Relations with America.

Expected response:

No estimate.

Framework discussion/interview:

Opinion on the U.S.-Venezuela conflict.

Strong ideas:

- We must mediate by leading in the Venezuelan conflict.
- We must dialogue and not block or punish.
- This situation can become dangerous.

Verbal language:

Premise: Demand/solution (D): The solution is to lead the mediation positions, not to generate confrontation and invent excuses to intervene.

Framing: Attribution of responsibility: "It is a mistake, it is a mistake to recognize a president in such a way that the only solution to make his presidency effective is a foreign military intervention, which is what Guaidó himself is proposing and which is what the United States is proposing". Conflict: "Everyone in this country, which is a country of peace and

which is a country with pacifist values knows what the Iraq War implied, what it implies that the United States decides that there is a country that has oil and then invents weapons of mass destruction or invents any argument to end up invading that country".

Speech: Mobilizing function: offers an intermediary position to improve Spanish international policy.

Rhetoric: Not appreciated.

Linguistics: Use of "eh" as a crutch.

The interviewee answers the question with the solution of a mediating Spain. She presents a message that suggests the problem of international intervention in Venezuela with a mobilizing character: Podemos advocates political self-management (taking into account sovereignty) in that country. The framing presented is that of the attribution of responsibility and that of the conflict, with a demand/solution premise.

The most significant elements of nonverbal language are summarized below:

Non-verbal language:

Paralanguage:

Tone: Formal. Uniform, without any surprises.

Pauses: No evaluative or hesitant pauses are detected.

Crutches: There is no crutch produced by intimidation or blocking.

Diction: No problems identified.

Kinesics: Marked hand movements. Casual gesture, without showing any alteration produced by the intensity of the debate.

Chronemic: Extremely high speech rate: 210 words per minute. It is considered ideal speed between 170 and 190 words per minute.

Proxemics: It will not be taken into account in the interviews when seated and without moving from the place.

Image 1: Still of Irene Montero in her interview on TVE.

Source: TVE.

Table 1: Total count of critical discourse analysis elements:

		Irene Montero
Premise	Demand/solution (D)	9
	Circumstantial Premises/problems (PC)	1
	Premises-Goals (PM)	4
	Premises of Value (PV)	1
	Premises Means/Resources and Goals (PMM)	1
Framing	Attribution of responsibility	10
	Human interest	3
	Conflict	3
	Economic consequences	2
	Moral	1
Function	Mobilizer	12
	Sentencing	11
	Interpretive	1

Source: Own elaboration.

4. Conclusions

Based on the hypotheses defined, the main conclusions are drawn:

(1)   The mobilizing function will have a greater prominence than the sententious function in the discourse. It is concluded that this hypothesis is fulfilled, although there is a small difference between the mobilizing function (used on twelve occasions) and the sententious function (used on eleven occasions).

(2)   The value premise and the human interest frame will be predominant. This hypothesis cannot be approved. The demand/solution premise is used predominantly (on nine occasions), as opposed to the value premise (on only one occasion). The predominant framing is the attribution of responsibility (used on ten occasions), as opposed to the human interest framing (only on three occasions).

(3)   The chronemics will be adjusted to the appropriate values. This hypothesis is not fulfilled either. A high chronemics is used: 210 words per minute, being the ideal for a correct understanding 170-190 words per minute.

It is perceived, therefore, the use of the premises demand/solution to show Podemos as the suitable formation with the objective of solving the problems of the nation, with a frame of attribution of responsibility and sentencing function that points out the guilty, while providing ideas, with the mobilizing function, to leave behind the existing difficulties. To this end, he employs a high speech rhythm.

It is hoped that this research will serve to continue and explore this type of analysis, as well as to facilitate comparison with other periods or types of indicators, in order to better understand feminism within generalist television channels in Spain. This would allow us to have a broader and more complete vision of how the evolution of women in politics has been.

5. Discussion

Of the seventeen topics discussed during the interview with Irene Montero, three are related to feminist issues. These are: Pablo Iglesias' paternity leave, the feminist movement and the weight of women in Spanish politics. Therefore, the synergies between the political sphere-media sphere and the media sphere-political sphere can be perceived. Through the positioning of feminist issues in the public sphere by the political class, in this case, United Podemos, the media ask direct questions to specific actors, thus closing a communicative circle that has both types of agenda (*building* and *setting*), with the ultimate goal of transmitting these messages to public opinion.

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