

Political marketing through infotainment TV programs: content analysis and emotional response on Twitter

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Abstract

This study analyses appearances by political candidates on infotainment television, as well as the emotional response elicited by these appearances among Twitter users during the pre-campaign season for Spain's 2015 General Elections. To that end, we first perform a qualitative analysis of the register and the tone of the interviews. Then, we use the SentiStrength algorithm, optimized for the specific context of our research, to analyse the sentiment of the tweets published during the airing of the programs. This multi-method approach allows us to determine the level of interaction between two distinct but complementary communication rationales. Among other things, we conclude that the political candidates do not always benefit from appearing on entertainment programs. Nonetheless, the sentiment of tweets may still be positive, regardless of the outcome of the candidate's appearance.

Keywords: emotional public sphere; political infotainment; Twitter sentiment analysis; General Elections in Spain; personalization of politics; Spanish television.

Summary: 1. Introduction. Towards an emotional political arena. Twitter and television. Methodology. Selecting the television programs. Twitter data collection. Sentiment analysis of tweets. Results. Analysis of the television programs. Analysis of the emotional effects as seen on Twitter. Discussion and conclusion. References

Introduction

Certainly, what most stood out during Spain's 2015 General Elections campaign was politicians' clear leap to entertainment programs, especially lifestyle shows and talk shows. Until recently, candidates had rarely used such programs to spread political information, though at times they would participate in more informal interviews to show their personal side. In any case, Spanish politicians are appearing more frequently on television programs that do not specifically deal with politics.

In this infotainment format (Brants, 1998; Delli Caprini & Williams, 2001; Thussu, 2007), candidates can reach viewers in a laid-back way and show their human side. They strive to earn the audience's empathy and to prove to viewers they're not so different and that they have the same problems, desires, and concerns as any citizen. Moreover, Maarek (2009) showed that by appearing on such TV programs, politicians garner media attention and, above all, significantly higher levels of digital cost-effectiveness than those obtained in traditional campaign events.

We see this novel tendency arise in a media environment in which the dynamics of the traditional media are mixing with the Internet's horizontal mode of communication (Chadwick, 2013). In this system, citizens can comment upon and spread political messages, thereby moulding the online public sphere. Among social networks, Twitter stands out as the easiest for publishing messages and reacting to events in real-time.

In Spain, the battle waged on entertainment television programs is largely due to the strength of the leaders of the so-called emerging political parties: Pablo Iglesias of the left-wing Podemos (*We can*) and Albert Rivera of the liberal Ciudadanos (*Citizens*). From the onset, Iglesias and Rivera had less prejudices about these programs than other candidates. Their willingness to appear on such programs had a direct effect on the television development of the campaign. Case in point, the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE) candidate for prime minister, Pedro Sánchez, appeared on similar shows more than any other previous PSOE leader. Even the conservative People's Party (PP) and its candidate, Mariano Rajoy, despite being reluctant to play at this game during the first term of the legislature, eventually decided that they would have to change their strategy if they were to get a word in edgewise in the race for office.

In this paper, we analyse political candidates' appearances on entertainment programs and their effect on Twitter users during the pre-campaign season for Spain's 2015 General Elections. The importance of this research stems from the fact that we are witnessing the consolidation of a politics that increasingly strays from ideological considerations, and instead focuses on more emotional and personal issues.

Towards an emotional political arena

One of the major consequences of the marriage of politics and entertainment television is the growing public display of candidates' private lives. As seen in studies by Bennet (2012) and Casero (2011), among others, both the media system and the political environment itself have promoted this trend.

The rise of this phenomenon, which can be seen in the triumph of infotainment (León, 2010), brings with it an unprecedented transformation of the boundaries between what is public and what is private, as had been established since the onset of the modern age (Habermas, 1990 [1962]). Thus, as Richards (2010) puts it, an 'emotional public sphere' is arising in which it is no longer necessary to downplay one's feelings and private life to have success in politics. With the erosion of the private lives of politicians, topics traditionally associated with one's

family life or romantic relationships are displayed openly and publicly. This leads to an increasing connection between political leaders and celebrities, so much so that some politicians end up becoming part of the *star system*. This 'privatization' of politicians' lives (Holtz-Bacha, 2003) stems from the 'personalization of politics' (Bennet, 2012), but the latter involves much more.

To understand the privatization of politicians' lives on modern television programs, Casero (2011) refers to three closely-linked factors. First, the emergence of infotainment, which has led to a simplified and trivialized politics; second, the end of the 'opaqueness of power', due above all to the mediatization of politics seen during the media system's consolidation phase over the last few decades, especially with regards to television; third, the decline of the public sphere, that is, the increasing political discontent in different societies, falling levels of civic engagement and the crisis of democratic representation, factors which have given rise to a more personal and emotional conception of politics. In this context, showing one's private life has become not only an opportunity to connect with the citizenry but also a means of improving political transparency, which people tend to associate with positive things, such as the deconsecration of power and injecting new blood in the system of power.

From Casero's description, we see that sensory marketing has erupted on the political landscape, allowing intangible elements to acquire new values and overshadowing ideological or policy issues that had until now been fundamental in organizing the political arena (Maarek, 2009). Keeping these parameters in mind, politicians, encouraged by their advisers, agree to appear on entertainment television programs because the conversations therein allow them to speak in a much more relaxed, less combative way than in the interviews with journalists they are accustomed. The hosts of these shows are usually more willing to allow the candidates to answer questions uninterrupted, in such a way that the latter can better control the final message they wish to deliver to the citizenry and deal with even the most controversial topics in a relaxed setting.

In a communication environment in which candidates need to earn the viewers' confidence, the friendly, almost propagandistic treatment they receive in these formats is extremely valued by both the campaign team and the candidates themselves, as they usually receive a significant boost from such shows. The practice of *dual screening* during entertainment programs, in which, for the purposes of this study, a viewer watches a show and simultaneously Tweets about it, allows us to better measure this effect on the audience.

Twitter and television

Twitter was envisaged as a microblogging service. Messages on the platform (tweets) are limited to 140 characters. Within these messages, people can include references to other users by including an at sign (@) and create conversation threads by using a hashtag (#). These functionalities allow the social network to register high levels of activity during TV events. Moreover, the programs encourage the audience to tweet about the show using official hashtags.

The instantaneous publication of messages whilst watching a television program, combined with a constant connection with other users who use hashtags to follow comments, yields an extensive conversational space, in keeping with the mediatized events described by Dayan and Katz (1992). Some studies have analysed this simultaneous interaction during major sporting events, such as the World Cup (Yu & Wang, 2015).

When it comes to political campaigns, the televised event with the highest rating is the candidate debate. On Twitter, too, there is an increase in user activity during such events. Various studies have revealed an *online* debate on the topics discussed in the debate itself (Kalsnes, Krumsvik, & Storsul, 2014), as well as user comments on the candidates and even the media outlets involved. Nonetheless, there has been hardly any analysis of the behaviour of Twitter users during political candidates' appearances on entertainment programs.

The uncertainty surrounding Spain's 2015 General Elections inspired the contenders to take part in such programs to obtain a greater media resonance and sparked debates and comments on Twitter while such programs were on the air. Given that these shows clearly revolve entertainment, we find it particularly interesting to study the emotional dimension of the Twitter users' reactions. Against this background, we propose the following hypothesis, which we will develop throughout the paper:

H1: Infotainment television programs are a political campaign event after which the candidate's image receives a boost.

H2: A candidate's appearance on infotainment television programs leads to a more positive perception of his image as seen in Tweets.

Methodology

Selecting the television programs

We established four criteria for selecting the entertainment television programs: 1. the program had to air during prime time; 2. it had to have a political candidate on as guest; 3. the air date had to be near the general elections; and 4. the program had to have an effect on Twitter users.

In November and December 2015, many candidates were invited to appear on primetime entertainment television shows. Specifically, *El Hormiguero 3.0* (The Anthill 3.0) invited Pablo Iglesias, Alberta Rivera and Pedro Sánchez (Motos, 2015a, 2015b and 2015c). The show *En la tuya o en la mía* (My place or yours) had Pedro Sánchez and Mariano Rajoy as guests (Osborne, 2015a and 2015b). *El Hormiguero 3.0* airs on the private channel Antena 3, whereas this season of *En la tuya o en la mía* aired on La 1 (Spain's public television).

In the first show, the host interviews a public figure, and then engages his guest in different segments revolving around performances, comedy and science. The second show features an in-depth interview that delves into the personal and intimate aspects of the guest's lives, and is filmed either in the home of the show's host or that of the show's guest. Furthermore, these programs usually achieve high-

audience rates. As an illustrative example, the program *En la tuya o en la mía* starred by Mariano Rajoy congregated before the television 4,350,000 people, obtaining 18.7% share. It was the highest of the strip. In addition, Rajoy's visit to the Osborne house was the most watched television content of the day and gave a new program audience record. An important fact given that this interview space was considered the revelation television program in that season, since it had an average audience of 3,477,000 viewers and an 18.5% share (Kantar Media, 2015).

We performed a content analysis of these programs focusing on the tone of the interviews, as well as the topics discussed therein. Moreover, the five episodes selected generated enough tweets for their official hashtags to become *trending topics* (TT) from the night the show aired until the following day. According to the TT tracking website Trendinalia (2015), the hashtag that spent the most time (10h25m) as TT was Mariano Rajoy's from the program *En la tuya o en la mía* (#BertinyRajoy). Pedro Sánchez's hashtag on the same show was a TT for 6h35m. On *El Hormiguero*, the hashtag of Pablo Iglesias (#PabloIglesiasEH) spent 7h30m as TT; Albert Rivera's (#RiveraEH), 6h55m; and Pedro Sánchez's (#PedroSanchezEH), 6h40m. This data confirms the Twitter community's interest in these informal interviews.

Twitter data collection

The tweets from each program were extracted from a general corpus from the 2015 election campaign and pre-campaign seasons. In order to compile our corpus, we used Twitter's API (Application Programming Interface), as it allows for real-time filtering of tweets based on key words, and Python, for data mining.

Three extraction criteria were established for data collection: a pair of general terms related to the elections (#20D and #20-D); the name and username of the four major political parties (PP, PSOE, Podemos and Ciudadanos); and the name and username of the four candidates for prime minister. Moreover, we extracted only tweets written in Spanish to facilitate the content analysis of messages. Nonetheless, this condition limited the scope of our results as we excluded comments written in Spain's regional languages.

We built one corpus of tweets for each television program from the general one. Two selection criteria were applied for this: the air time of each program and the in-tweet reference to the candidate appearing on the episode. Table 1 shows the filter applied and the size of each corpus.

Table 1. Size of the tweets corpora collected during the airing of each television program.

Date	Program	Candidate	Time slot	Tweets
3 Nov 2015	<i>El Hormiguero 3.0</i>	Pablo Iglesias	22:35-00:00	16,781
24 Nov 2015	<i>El Hormiguero 3.0</i>	Albert Rivera	22:35-00:00	37,233
8 Dec 2015	<i>El Hormiguero 3.0</i>	Pedro Sánchez	22:35-00:00	18,609
25 Nov 2015	<i>En la tuya o en la mía</i>	Pedro Sánchez	22:15-23:45	6,421
2 Dec 2015	<i>En la tuya o en la mía</i>	Mariano Rajoy	22:15-23:45	36,330

Sentiment analysis of tweets

The sentiment analysis of each tweet was performed using SentiStrength (Thelwall, Buckley, & Paltoglou, 2012; Thelwall, Buckley, Paltoglou, & Cai, 2010), a program designed to detect sentiment strength in short texts published on social networks. SentiStrength provides two values for each text analysed: the negative strength of the text and the positive strength of the text. Both values range from one to five. The simultaneous presence of contradictory emotions in one text stems from people's tendency to express mixed emotions (Berrios, Totterdell, & Kellett, 2015).

SentiStrength analyses texts based on a series of editable dictionaries that assign a pre-determined sentiment strength for words, expression and emoticons. To deal with the presence of incomplete words and colloquialisms, typical of informal conversation, the program allows the user to substitute such terms with proper words to perform a semantic analysis.

Given its versatility in analysing short texts, various researchers have employed SentiStrength to study communication on Twitter within the field of political communication (Dang-Xuan, Stieglitz, Wladarsch, & Neuberger, 2013; Guo & Vargo, 2015). The same can be said for the study of tweets written in Spanish (Alvarez, Garcia, Moreno, & Schweitzer, 2015). Vilares, Thelwall and Alonso (2015) validated the program with an extensive renovation of the dictionaries for their image analysis of a series of Spanish politicians on Twitter. The main dictionary contained 26,572 terms and the emoticon dictionary contained 186 emoticons. We used these lexicons as a foundation for adjusting the tool to our context.

To perform this adjustment, we extracted all the emoticons, hashtags and words from our campaign corpus of 8.9 million tweets. The emotional value of each element was manually determined and incorporated in the SentiStrength dictionaries. After this process, the dictionaries contained 35,549 words, 1,075 fixed expressions and 329 emoticons.

SentiStrength allows the researcher to optimize a term's weight by using a gold standard. For that end, two external scholars hand-coded two corpora. A first 1,200-tweets corpus was used as the gold standard and a second one composed of 500 tweets was served to validate the algorithm. All tweets were randomly collected. Discrepancies were discussed and resolved with the help of one of this paper's authors. Our objective was for 80 per cent of the machine-analysed tweets to obtain the manually reached value, with a margin of error of +/- 1 for each type of sentiment. Upon testing the algorithm, we obtained 81 per cent accuracy for positive sentiments and 84.8 per cent for negative sentiments.

Then, during each television program, we analysed the strength of the sentiments expressed on Twitter regarding each candidate appearing as guest. We arranged the tweets per minute, starting from the beginning of the broadcast, and for each minute we calculated two aggregate sentiment strengths using the SentiStrength algorithm.

Results

Analysis of the television programs

In general, the shows' hosts are close and friendly with the politicians, sometimes even telling jokes, in harmony with the general ambience each show strives to create. In this way, the gestures of complicity between host and guest are constant, at times as if they sought to emulate a pub conversation between mates rather than a television interview in front of an audience or a camera. One can even hear words more befitting of a colloquial register, uttered by both the hosts and the guests, as if lowering the register to such an extreme would ingratiate them with the viewers. Only with Rajoy do we see certain levels of distance maintained. The prime minister is treated in a friendly manner, but always with respect and without the buddy-buddy treatment, perhaps because of his age or because of his position at the time.

Here, the interview show hosted by the showman Bertín Osborne, *En la tuya o en la mía*, stands out. Osborne invited first Sánchez, and then, just before campaign season began, Rajoy, to his house in Madrid, where he indulged each of his guests with Spain's typical light-hearted, good-natured hospitality, inviting them to create an intimate and sincere image of themselves. During their stays, the candidates tell the audience personal stories about their lives and their political careers, some unbeknownst to the public but most having already been told on similar programs. The goal was to create self-indulgent electoral propaganda by humanizing the politicians, who were portrayed as down-home, reasonable people. Personal stories abounded. Sánchez, for example, spoke of his military service, old girlfriends and how much he is in love with his wife, not to mention his days as professional basketball player and his stay in Bosnia working with the United Nations. There was little talk of politics, perhaps to avoid a clash with the host, a self-declared conservative, which, after all, never took place. Indeed, Osborne ended up praising Sánchez, who laid out all the 'erotic capital' he is said to have.

The conversation with Rajoy did drift towards political topics, but without going into detail. Nonetheless, in a particularly salient moment, the prime minister admitted that he had failed to communicate with the Spanish people during the economic crisis, during which the country suffered a great deal of hardship. Perhaps Rajoy was seeking to make the audience understand how difficult it can be to lead, or he might have been trying to compensate for his reluctance to share stories about a life that some may deem dull and uninspiring. Without a doubt, Rajoy delivered his political message in an interview conducted in a homey, easy-going environment in which the prime minister was rather talkative and did not disappoint the audience. He showed himself to be a master of the obvious and of involuntary puns as he detailed his travels throughout Spain and his extensive knowledge of its peoples, all to the delight of his host.

On *El Hormiguero 3.0*, we see clear differences in the way the host Pablo Motos treated Albert Rivera, on one hand, and Pablo Iglesias and Pedro Sánchez, on the other. Indeed, this discrepancy was rather criticized in the media and on social networks (Lindo, 2015; Mucientes, 2015). While interviewing Rivera, Motos

and his team were pleasant and even friendly, in keeping with the style of the show which, surely because of its laid-back and entertaining atmosphere, has connected with a large, heterogeneous audience in the competitive primetime slot. The conversation was peppered with anecdotes and pleasantries, and the host even backed some of the ideas proposed by the politician. Rather than demand clarifications of Rivera, Motos followed his lead and addressed him in colloquial language. Even the show's mascots, the ants, who are usually ironic and often put the interviewee in a predicament with their cheeky remarks, cozied up to Rivera.

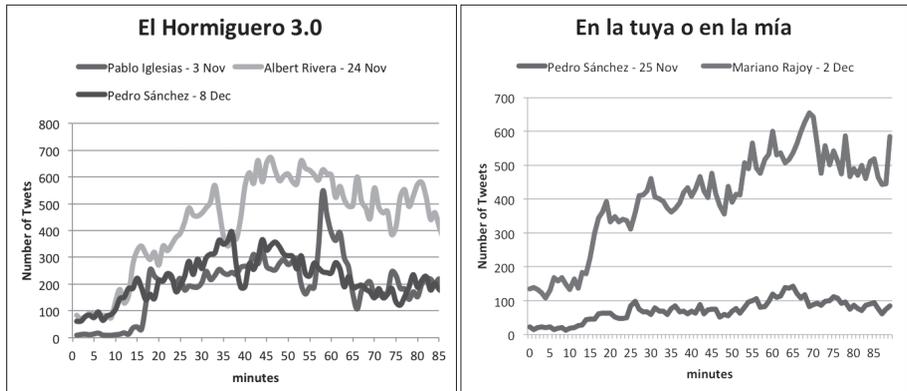
While interviewing Iglesias and Sánchez, on the other hand, Motos was much more biting and refused to indulge the candidates, especially Sánchez. During Iglesias' appearance, Motos departed from the show's nightly format, demanding answers of his guest and showing his surprise at some of his responses. It seemed the host was unable to hide his and Iglesias' differences of opinion. For this reason, Motos attempted on several occasions to maintain the friendly, pleasant tone the show is known for by asking Iglesias about his passion for fictional television series and other aspects of his personal life. Nonetheless, interviewer and interviewee also exchanged volleys of conflicting opinions and there were even a few tense moments, quite unusual for *El Hormiguero 3.0*, due to the pair's differing opinions on tax policy and electoral coalitions.

Overall, the harsh tone of the interview, as evidenced in some of the host's questions and opinions, was surprising. Nonetheless, there were some warm moments, as seen in the mutual gestures of friendship after Iglesias sang on air and when the two said goodbye. Contributing to this relaxed environment were the ants, with whom Iglesias was rather affectionate, and who gave rise to the interview's funniest moments with the outlandish personal questions they posed to the politician.

There were no light-hearted moments in Sánchez's interview, which was truly a one-eighty for both the host and the show overall. In fact, some of the tense moments on stage were unheard of and even inexplicable. Thus, Sánchez's appearance on *El Hormiguero 3.0* was a political marketing fiasco, largely due to the attitude of Motos throughout the interview. The socialist candidate for prime minister found himself before an acerbic, ironic host whose questions put the politician on the spot. Motos confronted Sánchez several times during the show, pushing his opinions on the politician and not allowing him to explain himself, fully aware that he was putting him in a bind. In short, the host's behaviour was a radical departure from the show's typical style.

Indeed, Sánchez was so taken aback that he reproached Motos for the tone of the interview. This, in turn, only led the host to continue with his confrontational attitude, which would have been overly aggressive even for a news program and strange for an entertainment show. Hardly any time was dedicated to personal questions, which would have been more comfortable for the interviewee, and the few Motos did ask were lost in an interview during which Sánchez had to be on top of his game. Even the ants, who normally lighten the mood, had a chilling effect on the stage and piggy-backed on the host's attacks, who repeatedly interrupted Sánchez and refuted his ideas, many times to the audience's delight.

Figure 1. Change over time in number of tweets published during the airing of each program.



Analysis of the emotional effects as seen on Twitter

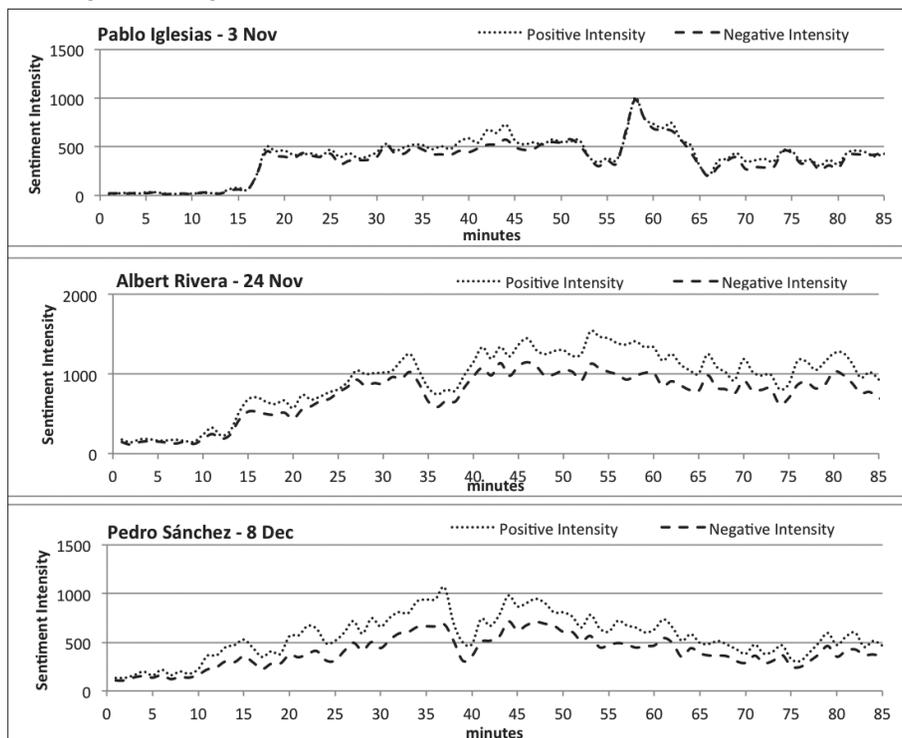
The tone of these shows and their manner of approaching political issues had an emotional effect on Twitter conversation. In the *El Hormiguero 3.0* graph of Figure 1, we see that Albert Rivera garnered more attention than any other candidate. It's worth pointing out the effect the advertisement time had on Twitter activity, as participation during those minutes fell considerably. In the program *En la tuya o en la mía*, activity on Twitter during Mariano Rajoy's appearance was much greater than during that of Pedro Sánchez.

The tweets published during the appearance of Pablo Iglesias on *El Hormiguero 3.0* represent an anomaly in terms of the pattern seen on the other episodes. We see that the positive sentiment strength is as high as the negative (Figure 2). Only for 10 minutes was there a slight difference in favour of the positive sentiment strength. Twitter participation peaked between the fifty-seventh and sixty-first minutes of the show. During this time, there was a special segment designed *ad hoc* for Iglesias called 'Trimming the Moncloa' (Spain's prime ministerial palace). The host asked Iglesias to trim back different aspects of Spanish society, such as the monarchy, bullfights, the Euro system or the Spanish government's special status agreement with the Catholic Church, all of which the candidate's party, Podemos, has criticized.

Moreover, Alberta Rivera's appearance on *El Hormiguero 3.0* stood out for achieving the highest level of positive polarity among the three episodes, in addition to generating the highest level of activity. Tweets peaked during the main segment of the episode, when the candidate was asked about different personal and political topics, and the show held a mini go-kart race representing the race for the office of prime minister.

With similar results but a radically different context, we find Sánchez's appearance on the program. Despite the interviewee's discomfort due to the host's tenacious and aggressive attitude, the sentiment strength on Twitter was predominantly positive.

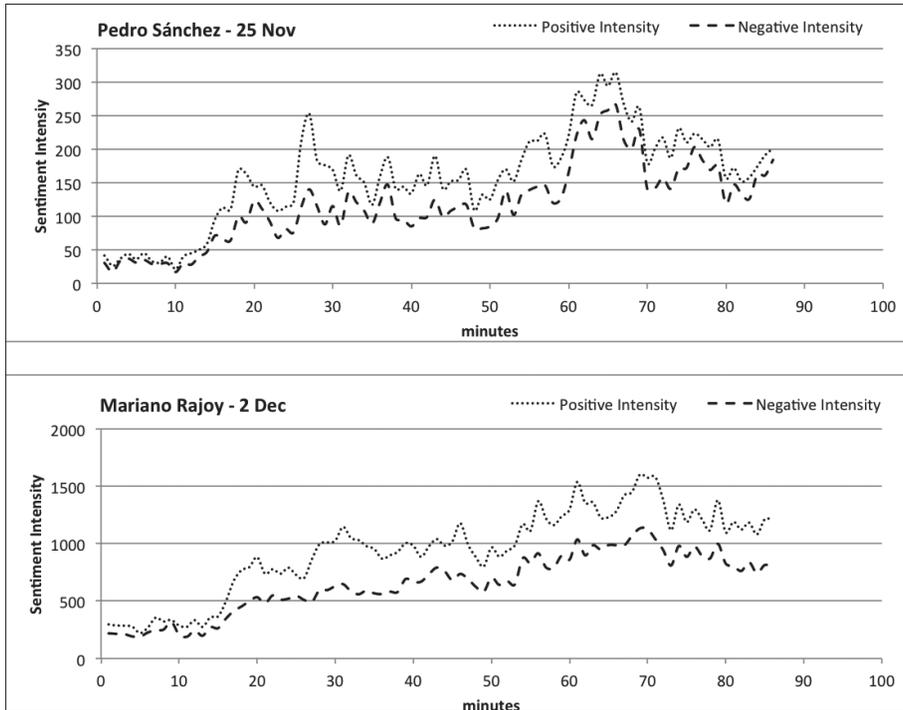
Figure 2: Change over time of the sentiment strength expressed in tweets published during the airing of *El Hormiguero* 3.0.



The opposite effect occurred when the same candidate appeared on *En la tuya o en la mía*. Here, in a much more relaxed and friendly environment, the negative polarity on Twitter increased proportionately (Figure 3). The number of tweets peaked between the sixty-third and sixty-fifth minutes of the show, when two things happened. First, while the host and Sánchez were trying to figure out how to operate a juicer, the latter said that the audience would criticize him for precisely that, a demonstration of politicians' keen awareness of the repercussions of these programs throughout the media and particularly on social networks. Second, Sánchez mentioned that he paints and draws caricatures to relax. Following this peak, the tweeting activity surged again when Osborne spoke of his career before he became a singer, which he described as disastrous because all the companies he worked for went under.

Mariano Rajoy's appearance on the show stood out not only for the high number of tweets published, but also for their elevated positive polarity. The second-highest peak, between the fifty-ninth and sixty-second minutes of the episode, arose when the host asked Rajoy about his desire to be prime minister again after his long career in government. Nonetheless, between the sixty-sixth and seventy-first minutes, when Osborne and Rajoy were discussing the prime minister's Galician roots, his cameo on a television show and his habits as a stu-

Figure 3: Change over time of the sentiment strength expressed in the tweets published during the airing of *En la tuya o en la mía*.



dent—all the while steaming a batch of mussels for dinner—we see the highest level of Twitter activity throughout our study. During the seventieth minute, while Rajoy shared a story about how all his workmates went in on some lottery tickets and won the prize without him, Twitter participation hit its zenith.

Discussion and conclusion

The candidates' appearances on *El Hormiguero 3.0* saw different fates both in terms of the show's development and the reactions of people on Twitter. During Rivera's performance, the host is mostly friendly, whereas while he has Iglesias on, a few awkward moments arise. During Sánchez's appearance, the host's disposition becomes aggressive enough to create palpable moments of tension. On Twitter, we see that the appearance of Iglesias elicits extremely polarized comments from users, which can be explained by the disruptive discourse his party normally espouses. This polarization, recorded on Twitter, largely reflects the polarized opinions Spaniards have about Iglesias.

In general, the *El Hormiguero 3.0* audience reacts favourably on Twitter to the candidates, who appear in a friendly, informal environment. One might think that the interviewer's positive attitude leads to positive emotional responses in tweets, especially in Rivera's case, with whom many people sympathize and view as a moderate, consensus politician.

But even when Motos presses Sánchez, people on Twitter respond with a more positive sentiment. The candidate's vulnerability during the show is obvious. One possible explanation for Twitter users' behaviour here is that the situation may elicit empathy, thereby causing the opposite effect to the one intended by the interviewer.

On *En la tuya o en la mía*, what most stands out is the amount of attention garnered by Rajoy, perhaps because before the show the citizenry had but few opportunities to listen to him. Rajoy was reluctant to appear in public during his first term in the preceding legislature, which gave rise to a negative view of his communication style. Moreover, his party has not been particularly active on social networks. For this reason, it's surprising that the positive reactions of Twitter users to the prime minister so outweighed the negative ones.

Thus, we can confirm that Twitter activity increases when the shows deal with the candidates' private lives, even when the topics—such as how the candidates like to cook—are trivial for political purposes.

The fact that the emotional reactions in these messages are largely positive suggests that most of the audience that tweets during a given program agree with the candidate's discourse and enjoy having access to his private life. Regarding H1, the qualitative analysis of these five programs does not allow us to confirm this hypothesis in its entirety. At times the politicians do not benefit from their appearance on entertainment programs, mostly due to the interviewer's attitude. Consequently, participating in these programs is not always a wise electoral marketing decision and can be counter-productive. Regarding H2, the sentiment analysis of tweets published during the airing of the episodes confirms the positive effect these programs have on the candidate's image. Moreover, when the politician interviewed espouses a more polarized discourse, the emotional reactions on Twitter follow suit.

Another explanation for the higher levels of positive sentiment in tweets could be the use of irony. Sentistrength performs analyses based on dictionaries. Thus, it mostly evaluates words using a few basic rules. The tool can also analyse set phrases, but in a wide-ranging conversation about television, like the one seen on Twitter during infotainment programs, we might quite reasonably expect Twitter users to employ ironic expressions. This, in turn, is one of our study's limitations.

Finally, we must point out that the size of the TV corpus we analysed is a limitation of our study. Future research could analyse the topics contained within the tweets published during the airing of such programs. It would also be interesting to compare these analyses with people's reactions on Twitter during electoral debates. Exploring these topics will allow researchers to more precisely analyse the effects of a politics in which emotional factors play an increasingly important role.

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