

# The role of politicians' personal performance in fostering political representation

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## Abstract

This research project addresses an elusive topic for political communication research: the role of the personal in politics. Specifically, how personal attributes affect the chances of an individual becoming the representative of a group of people. Current literature does not provide clear-cut concepts for 'the personal', which in turn has prevented the emergence of methodological designs capable of grasping its most relevant features. Conceptually, the personal has been defined primarily by its assumed risk for democracy. Terms such as 'personalisation of politics', 'tabloidisation' or 'strategic framing' have denounced the presence of 'the personal' in the communication between politicians and citizens. Methodologically, quantitative longitudinal examination of news articles have indeed provided evidence of the occurrence of such trends, but their alleged impact on democracy remains inconclusive. This approach has shorn 'the personal' of any political meaning, reducing its role to strategic fabrications that politician put forwards with no intention other than deception.

This research project wants to take an alternative way. 'The personal' is defined as a performance, a concept used in social psychology and cultural sociology to describe the enactment of one's actions in front of others. An interpretive approach and an ethnographic methodology is proposed to grasp the meaning of that performance and, ultimately, its role in fostering political representation. This research design observed the production of the TV programme, *Polònia*, which has been broadcast weekly in Catalonia since 2006 and consists of satirical political impersonations. Interviews, participant observation and document analysis were conducted in 2015 and 2016. The data analysis revealed that personal attributes displayed by politicians are actually meaningful if approached in a different manner. Rather than observing or examining, participants try to experience the meanings evoked by the politician's performance. Politicians' materiality – expressed in bodily gestures, voice, gaze, clothing, and so on – trigger memories and references which are the make-up of the character acted on stage. Finally, triangulation of data demonstrates that social stereotypes are consistently evoked by politicians. Therefore personal attributes connect politicians with social stereotypes and thus they become the representative of a group of people. The implications of this conclusion for political communication research are discussed.

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## List of Abbreviations

CIU	: Convergència i Unió
CUP	: Candidatura d'Unitat Popular
ERC	: Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya
MCP	: Member of Catalan Parliament
MSP	: Member of Spanish Parliament
PP	: Partido Popular
PSC	: Partit dels Socialistes de Catalunya
PSOE	: Partido Socialista Obrero Español
SPM	: Spanish Prime Minister
UDC	: Unió Democràtica de Catalunya



## Chapter 1:

### The artificial dichotomy between ‘the personal’ and ‘the political’

#### 1.1 Introduction

Something happens when politicians interact with citizens. The very encounter of political leaders with ordinary people seems to release a fundamental energy that connects them – a force that can transform the way in which both politicians and audiences conceive of each other. Barack Obama was cheered by a massive crowd in Berlin in 2008 when he was a candidate for the US presidency. The mere presence of Donald Trump provokes something as well – something that mobilised thousands around the world to protest his election as president of the United States, and inspired thousands of others to support him. Something that can persist beyond the death of the politician, as was the case when a Francisco Franco statue was exhibited in Barcelona in 2016. The dictator died in 1975, but more than 40 years later, his figure caused angry scenes and the statues were pelted with eggs just minutes after going on display. Something that is so important that its absence also attracts attention. Witness the overwhelming apathy that marked the 2018 visit of Pope Francis to Chile, with nearly empty masses and cold receptions across the country. It is something that can even change behaviours in unexpected ways. The allegedly indifferent young citizens of the United Kingdom felt compelled to register for the Labour Party after the emergence of Jeremy Corbyn. Young supporters of Bernie Sanders in the United States felt a similar compulsion to act. Therein lies the interest of this research project: in the ‘in-between’ of politicians and citizens. In that ‘something’ that happens when they interact.

That something is similar to what is known in astrophysics as dark energy. Its very existence is a mere hypothesis but, in spite of that, it is believed that roughly 68% of the universe consists of dark matter. It was first theorised by Albert Einstein in 1917 and since then no strong evidence has proven its existence. Instead, its presence is inferred from the expansion of the universe, which cannot be explained otherwise. This is what NASA recognises when it comes to dark matter: “More is unknown than known. We know how much dark energy there is because we know how it affects the universe's expansion. Other than that, it is a complete mystery” (2017). Such a hypothesised existence is part of this research project. There is no intention to provide positive confirmation of the existence of something connecting politicians and citizens. It is rather expected to work under the assumption that there is something there that can explain the political evolution of a given society. As the expansion of the universe has provided arguments for astrophysicists to theorise about the existence of dark energy, the fact that

politics evolves can be attributed, at least in part, to the transformative energy emanating from politicians' and citizens' interactions. For example, the institutional arrangements adopted by Argentina, Chile and Peru after their independence from Spain can be attributed to the influence of José de San Martín on the process, and the specific characteristics of the transition from Apartheid in South Africa cannot be separated from the figure of Nelson Mandela.

However, heavenly bodies lack the agency that can be attributed to politicians in their interactions with citizens. This research project hypothesises that the transformative potential of politicians results from the inspirational surplus produced by the enactment of their personal attributes, which can overcome structured ideological affiliations. It is argued that the personal attributes of Lenín Moreno do make a difference compared to his predecessor, Rafael Correa, as president of Ecuador, despite the fact that Moreno was vice-president under Correa, and both of them are members of the same political party. Mariano Rajoy and José María Aznar are both members of the Partido Popular but their personal attributes are made evident in the way in which they handled similar political affairs as Spanish Prime Minister. The same was true when Hillary Clinton and Bernie Sanders ran for the US Democratic Party nomination or the differences between Tony Blair and Gordon Brown as successive British Prime Ministers and leaders of the Labour Party. Giving weight to a politician's individuality does not imply the assumption of a passive audience. Instead, citizens are regarded as holding the ability to condition what politicians can do by creating new and challenging messages. But the spark that ignites the release of the dark energy comes from politicians.

This research project specifically targets the enactment of those personal attributes. Dominant approaches in political communication have either downplayed the role of personal attributes in politics or have warned about the risks they represent. These approaches have been informed by a preferential interest in the strengthening of democracy and its values, which can be jeopardised when politics becomes more personal. Somehow, politics has been reduced to democratic processes and this is believed to be characterised by the repression of a politician's individuality. Personal attributes therefore have a mere marginal role to play in politics. This project's approach does not follow such a normative prescription. First, because politics does not disappear under a non-democratic regime. Even in the worst dictatorships, political leaders are compelled to cultivate a form of relationship with common people apart from the institutional ones. In Argentina, the military junta organised the football World Cup in 1978, and dictator Rafael Videla himself gave the opening speech – after the final match he handed the trophy to the winners. There are also non-elected leaders who can be accepted as heads of states without any democratic accountability, as is the case with European constitutional monarchies. Secondly, this research project understands that politics is a form of interpersonal

relationship that can be mediated, informed, constrained or encouraged by institutional arrangements. But the fact that politicians and audiences are human beings and their individualities have a role to play cannot be ignored.

These are the motivations informing this research project. 'The personal' and its role in turning a given individual into the very representative of a community is the main concern of this project. It is hypothesised that politicians' personal attributes can create the inspirational surplus required to release the energy to connect them with their audiences. However, concepts such as 'the personal' or 'personal attributes' lack the necessary theoretical weight to formulate a research question. That is why 'performance' is used instead. As a result, the main research question is posed as follows:

- What is the role of a politician's personal performance in fostering political representation?

The theoretical implications of 'performance' and 'political representation' are discussed throughout the thesis. The cultural-pragmatics model will be central for approaching this research question as well as for informing the methodology. However, the model proposed by Jeffrey Alexander suffers from a lack of clarity about the role of some elements in provoking the desired connection between politicians and audiences. Text, political contingencies and personal style are not properly addressed in the cultural-pragmatics model and that is why a specific research question has been formulated:

- What is the role of text, contingencies and personal style in the whole performance?

Definitions for each of these elements and the specific problems to be addressed are explained in more detail later in the thesis, in particular in Chapter 2. The next section presents a literature review regarding the role attributed in political communication research to politicians' personal attributes.

In order to answer the posed research questions, this project adopts an interpretive approach in which methods are heavily informed by the theory. The research design relies on an ethnographic approach to the production process of the political satire TV show, *Polònia*, broadcast weekly in Catalonia since 2006. The aim was to understand the production process and then pick its most relevant elements to answer the research questions. The theoretical assumptions underpinning this research design are discussed in further detail later in the thesis, but it can be said that the fact that the chosen TV programme is based on political impersonation provides the project with an experienced observation of politicians' performances.

## 1.2 'The personal' in political communication literature: A risk for democracy

'Personal' is a term with negative connotations in the dominant approach to political communication research. Its presence in the media is described as a malaise threatening the long-term sustainability of democracy. This section presents a review of the relevant literature in political communication that deals with the role of a politician's personal attributes. It is argued that there is a dominant approach in the field, informed by the normative prescriptions deduced from Jürgen Habermas' elaboration about the public sphere. It is assumed, following Habermas, that politics should conform to the ideal of an agora where the personal aspect has no role to play. Inspired by this elaboration, political communication researchers have coined concepts such as 'personalisation of politics', 'strategic framing' or 'tabloidisation', which are defined by an undesirably high presence of politicians' personal attributes. This normative approach is overwhelmingly based on a quantitative approach to news media. This kind of research seeks to measure the presence of a politician's personal attributes and their effects on democracy. Given the inconclusiveness of empirical evidence, these assumptions are discussed below.

Personalisation of political communication is the main concept used in the literature to approach the role of politicians' personal attributes in politics. Definitions of this phenomenon point to an increasing emphasis on *non-political* elements in the contact between politicians and citizens. Personalisation is taking place "in style and in formal conventions rather than in legal rules", observes McAllister (2009, p.585). For Balmas et al. (2014, p.64) personalisation is a "*change* in the presentation of politics in the media, expressed in a *heightened* focus on individual politicians and a *diminished* focus on parties, organizations and institutions" (emphasis added). As a result, politicians' characters and personal lives become more prominent than their records, ideological affiliation, and policy proposals (Langer, 2011; 2010, p.62; Rahat and Sheafer, 2007, p.68). Given its "inherent tendency to personalise political reporting, concentrating on individuals rather than abstract institutions or policies", television is to blame for this shift in emphasis (Langer, 2007, p.373). On the other hand, politicians respond by concentrating on symbolism rather than substance and "may use the potential of modern media communication techniques to bypass other executive actors in setting political agendas" (Poguntke and Webb, 2005, p.15). Personalisation would therefore be a long-lasting evolutionary process (Karvonen, 2007, p.2) whereby the media has been gradually paying more attention to individual leaders to the detriment of political content. Media emphasis is assumed to be hydraulic; if it is here it cannot be there, if media focus moves to the personal therefore it moves away from politics. As a result, 'proper' politics is disappearing from media coverage.

Methodologies used by researchers to look at the phenomena is also an expression of this assumed dichotomy. There is a preference for quantitative methods based on longitudinal studies that count the number of mentions received by a politician in a number of news articles about politics. On the Y-axis is the number of mentions of the politician while the X-axis has the number of mentions of different political issues, parties, or countries. It is taken for granted that both variables correlate negatively. Vliegthart et al. (2011, p.99) measured personalisation in news articles and headlines according to “the percentage of total attention for political actors (politicians and parties) that was devoted to politicians”. Kriesi (2012, p.830) considered news articles about general elections from 1970 to 2007 in six European countries. From each article, the headlines, lead, and first paragraph were coded sentence-by-sentence according to ‘actor–actor’ and ‘actor–issue’ categories. Personalisation increased when the actor was an individual politician and decreased if the actor was a party organisation. The same idea underpinned the analysis conducted by Lengauer and Winder (2013, p.26) when measuring the *individualisation of the representation of parties* in the 2008 Austrian election campaign. For them, the more mentions of party representatives and the fewer mentions of political party, the higher the degree of personalisation. Balmas and Sheafer (2013, p.462) brought the concept of personalisation to the analysis of foreign affairs coverage. In this case, the “relative prominence of a leader” was calculated by dividing the number of articles mentioning a particular country’s name by the number of articles that mentioned that country’s leader’s name.

Evidence is not conclusive to maintain the idea of an increasing prominence given to politicians in media coverage. On the one hand, Martin Wattenberg (1998, p.93) analysed the coverage of election campaigns in the United States between 1952 and 1996, aiming to compare the relevance gained by political leaders over political parties. His results supported the thesis that newspaper readers “have over the years been increasingly exposed to a candidate-centred view of presidential campaigns”. The same was claimed by Mughan (2000, p.40) when looking at how this phenomenon had unfolded in parliamentary democracies. For him, there has been a ‘presidentialisation’ in the presentation of campaign news in newspapers and television, that is to say that regimes led by prime ministers are becoming similar to presidential ones in terms of the relevance given to the leader, to the detriment of political parties. On the other hand, Wilke and Reinemann (2001, p.302) measured the share of articles with references to candidates in campaign coverage, and found that “no evidence is conclusive to say that there is an increasing personalisation of political communication, but it is clear that personalisation of political communication was always there”. Rahat and Sheafer (2007, p.74) found “no significant trend in media coverage of candidates’ personal characteristics and personal life”. Rather than assuming that these results meant absence of personalisation, they were attributed to the lack

of clear-cut definitions. They point out that focus on the politicians themselves and focus on their private lives are taken to be the same thing (See also Porath et al., 2014; Van Santen and Van Zoonen, 2010, p.49; Van Aelst et al., 2012, p.204; Ohr, 2013).

This approach has been informed by an assumed dichotomy between media focus on politicians' personal attributes and fostering democratic values. Prominence given to the politicians and prominence given to 'issues' are discrete variables, which correlate negatively. The theoretical roots of this dichotomy can be traced back to the normative expectancies that emerged from Jürgen Habermas' elaboration about the role of the press in democratic societies. Although references to a rationality-based political communication can also be found in the description of a "deliberative situation" ([1973] 1988, p.108), or in the concept of "communicative action" ([1989] 1984, p.286), it is in *The structural transformation of the public sphere* ([1962] 1989) where Habermas attributes a pivotal role to the press in the history of modern democracies. In his account, the public sphere – the *agora* – has no place for elements other than good reasons and arguments, and thus personal aspects should be confined to the realm of private life – the *oikos*. Inspired by Habermas' elaboration, political communication researchers have drawn a set of normative prescriptions for media studies based on the separation of the agora from the oikos, with the media expected to be the place for a contemporary agora-like form of deliberation (Brants, 2006, p.144; Dahlgren, 2005, p.148). However, it has been recognised that the boundaries between the two spheres are becoming increasingly blurred because the personal is invading the political, creating a 'Crisis of public communication', as proposed by Blumler and Gurevitch (1995) – an era in which political leaders and policy debates are 'packaged' as goods for mass consumption (Franklin, 1994) and the logic of media has 'colonised' politics (Meyer, 2002).

However, the alleged risk for democracy is also a matter of debate. Two forms of personalisation of political communication have been proposed – tabloidisation and strategic framing – and both are regarded as risks for democracy. Their definitions are also tied to the dichotomy between the personal and the political. Tabloidisation, for example, would imply a "diminished presence of hard news about politics and economics in favour of soft news such as sleaze, scandal, sensation and entertainment" (Kurtz, 1993. Cited in Esser, 1999, p.293). Sparks (2000, p.5) observed how 'panic' spread among analysts as this form of personalisation might prevent the press from rescuing "the citizens from the wilderness of political ignorance and the dangerous potential of demagogical manipulation". When it comes to strategic coverage, it has been said that the priorities of news institutions are shifting from information towards entertainment, and as a result, political competition is shown as a horse-race where slogans and personal images are more important than ideologies, debate and dialogue (Blumler, 1992, p.36).



This kind of content is “driven by ‘war and games’ language, emphasises ‘performers, critics and audiences’, focuses on candidate style and perceptions and gives weight to opinion polls” (Jamieson, 1992. Cited in De Vreese, 2005, p.284). It is assumed that by focusing on the individual, tabloid media are priming citizens to evaluate politicians according to personal characteristics such as beauty or private lives, instead of their ideological affiliations. At the same time, if the media shows political debates or election campaigns as races between individuals rather than ideas, then political cynicism and ideological disaffection will take citizens away from the agora (Cappella and Jamieson, 1997, p.19; Patterson, 1998, p.36; See also Patterson, 1994, p.65).

Empirical evidence is not conclusive to support the effects of these two forms of personalisation of political communication. Zaller (2001, p.276) demonstrated that tabloid content does not necessarily prime citizens to evaluate politicians according to personal life rather than their performance as head of state. The presence of tabloid content is not a pervasive phenomenon in media landscapes; it does not serve to hide more relevant issues and it does not lead to a distorted image of politics, observed Brants (1998, p.329). What is more, in some cases personalised content may enhance political knowledge among those who are relatively apolitical (Baum, 2003, p.187; Steenveld and Strelitz, 2010, p.543). When it comes to political disaffection, evidence contests its assumed positive correlation with strategic framing (De Vreese and Semetko, 2002, p.632; Bennett et al., 1999, p.18). Any impact of media content on political attitudes seems to be more contingent upon the nature of media outlets and citizens’ pre-existing attitudes (Avery, 2009, p.427) or reasons that go beyond the reach of media exposure (Norris, 1999, p.233). De Vreese (2005, p.294) suggested that although political cynicism may relate to news coverage it may also be “an indication of an interested and critical citizenry. It seems that citizens have the capacity to be both interested and knowledgeable about politics while at the same time critical”. Gianpietro Mazzoleni (2000, p.328) suspects that the so-called ‘politics of substance’ may be a “sufficient motivation for presidential support in the opinion polls but an insufficient factor to motivate people to leave their homes and go to the voting sites”. He regards the personal and the political as not mutually exclusive variables, and poses the challenge of verifying or invalidating his tentative hypothesis about the importance of the personalised leadership “in political participation through voting, which is one form of civic engagement, perhaps the only one at certain political and cultural latitudes” (p.328).

From this literature review it can be concluded that ‘the personal’ is part of political communication. Both its increasing prominence in the media and its allegedly damaging effects on democracy are still to be proven, but it is clear that the personal is there, whether as tabloidisation or as strategic framing. This conclusion is the starting point of this research project.

Forms of political communication based on a politician's personal attributes do exist. The aim of this thesis is to move away from the normative conceptual perspective, which has dissociated 'the personal' from 'the political'. Instead, it is sought to gain understanding of the interplay between both. The challenge posed is therefore a conceptual shift from an approach that assumes a dichotomy towards one that seeks to unveil the politics of the personal. The main elements of the proposed conceptual approach are outlined in the second chapter of this thesis. This literature review has also demonstrated the methodological propensity of this normative approach to use journalism-based forms of political communication as its main source of data. The next section explains that this research also has to distance itself from this inclination.

### 1.3 Beyond journalism: The affordances of political impersonation

The conceptualisations underpinning the dominant approach in political communication literature have resulted in a preference for journalism as a data source, relegating other genres to a secondary place. The interpretive nature of the approach taken in this thesis informs a methodology that moves away from journalism. Instead, political impersonation was considered to provide the best conditions to conduct this research. The theoretical pathway followed to arrive at this conclusion is described in Chapter 3 about methodology. This section shows how the normative prescriptions deduced from Jürgen Habermas' idea of the public sphere have informed a sort of hierarchy of genres. As noted in the previous section, this body of literature has been more concerned with the role of media in fostering democratic values. There is an assumption that genres other than journalism – mainly entertainment – have little to do in this regard. On the contrary, this perspective sees 'information' as the main contribution that media outlets can make to democracy.

The hierarchical superiority of information over entertainment is evident in the thesis of 'infotainment', described – but not subscribed to – by Kees Brants (1998). He explains that in this concept there would be a continuum from "hard and serious" news on one side and an emphasis on "taste, pleasure and lifestyle" on the other (p.327). The 'serious side' would have to do with stories about party manifestos, policy proposals, issues, and party disagreements, and the protagonists would be journalists, politicians, and experts, all of them speaking "from a certain professional distance, meant to inform and with a tone of objectivity" (p.327). On the 'entertaining side', there would be topics with a more human interest about politicians where image and drama are more important than the message, "the latter being simple, preferably light hearted and with emotional under – or even overtone" (p.327). Infotainment would be situated between "the two poles and mixes political elements in entertainment programmes, or entertainment characteristics in traditionally informative programmes" (p.328). In Brants'

account, European scholars regarded the emergence of infotainment as a disease, endemic in television journalism, which was the result of commercialisation in broadcasting. It was another expression of *Americanisation* (meaning degradation) of political communication, and, just like personalisation, represented a threat to democracy (See also Thussu, 2007).

From the two ends of Brants' continuum, information is the only one supposed to play a role in fostering democratic values, which results in journalism being located at the centre of the normative analysis. For Strömbäck (2005, p.332), media may offer many things, including entertainment. But, whatever the form democracy takes, it is journalism that provides the democratic need for an information flow for public political discussions (p.337; See also McNair, 2009). Voltmer (2006) observed the reluctance of political scientists to regard media as a relevant aspect of democratic development in spite of the fact that media are recognised for having an important impact on the functioning of other democratic institutions and also for their role in the viability of the democratic process. She observes the quality of democratic decision-making as being closely linked with the quality of information provided by the media. Gurevitch and Blumler (1990) listed eight "functions and services" that media are expected to fulfil in democracy. The functions and services they mention include: 'surveillance of the socio-political environment', providing a 'meaningful agenda', being a platform for an 'intelligible and illuminating advocacy' or to 'boost a dialogue', among others. By no means was entertainment on the list. With different names but in the same direction, Christians et al. (2009) allocated four normative roles for news media in democratic societies, which range from collecting, processing and disseminating information to promoting the popular consciousness of an elite's wrongdoings. This normative approach has even proposed the existence of "a social contract" between media and journalism and democracy (Strömbäck, 2005, p.332; See also Kieran, 1997; 2000).

The centrality of information reaches even those wondering about the role of entertainment in democracy. James Curran (2010) recognises the "democratic meaning of entertainment" (p.58). He considers that these genres offer people "heuristic devices for getting to the core of what they need to know without being overburdened with public affairs knowledge" (p.58). However, entertainment provides "information of democratic relevance" while journalism offers "information of premium democratic value", which is the "necessary input for healthy democracy". Acknowledging the importance of entertainment we "should not dispense with the need for good journalism", concludes Curran (p.58). Among entertainment genres, political satire has been recognised as a space where political mediation takes place (Richardson et al., 2013). This feature, however, has been absent in most of the studies about entertainment, which have largely focused on news parody (Baym, 2005; Baym, 2014; Baym and Jones, 2012;

Gray et al., 2009; Jones, 2010; Jones et al., 2011). In particular, research on satirical impersonation of politicians has mainly looked at its effects on audiences' candidate evaluations rather than its mediation (Baumgartner, 2008; Boland, 2012; Brewer et al., 2013; Bal et al., 2009, p.236; Holbert et al., 2011). As an example of this focus on effect, Ferré-Pavia and Gayà-Morlà (2011, p.46) looked specifically at the TV show that was studied in this thesis: *Polònia*. They aimed to assess its "influence on the political perception of viewers", which basically meant "how much knowledge of the political class was gained by viewers from the programme" (p.50). Yet again, the central question had to do with information. The authors found that "the majority of viewers are well-informed individuals with an interest in current affairs and the most well informed are those who best appreciate the informative elements of the programme" (p.56). Even when viewers do not obtain 'knowledge', they think that they are offered a "level of freedom of information that was missing in traditional news programmes" (p.47).

The normative approach has been prolific when demonstrating the presence of personalised forms of political communication. However, there has been a greater interest in measuring its effects than in unveiling its specific dynamics. It is the objective of this thesis to go a step further and explore how the personal works in politics. This requires revisiting the definitions and methodology that have underpinned research conducted about this issue. The aim is exploratory, even experimental. What is presented in the coming chapters has a lot to do with simply asking: what if? What if we go to other disciplines to look for theoretical concepts? What if we try different data collection techniques? What if we collect data from different places? What if we approach those places with different questions? It was this experimental aim what led this thesis to probe for the affordances of genres other than journalism, in particular of political satire and, more specifically, of impersonation. As mentioned in the first paragraphs of this chapter, there are so many things going on in current political affairs all over the world, and the characteristics of these phenomena are defying the assumptions of the normative approach. The idea of a rational citizen who makes considered democratic decisions based on objective journalistic information does not match the challenges posed by these political events. This thesis simply wants to propose a different way of producing answers.

#### 1.4 A not-so-odd question: Different approaches to the personal

The search for bridges joining the personal and the political is a not-so-odd question. It has been present in political communication research, but it has not been the predominant approach. There are examples of studies that have escaped the aforementioned dichotomy. Liesbet Van Zoonen and Christina Holtz-Bacha (2000) accept the presence of personalisation of political communication, but rather than looking at dichotomies, they observe that the personal and the

political, the emotional and the rational, “may merge and combine in a variety of discourses that together construct a hybrid political persona in whom these elements are integrated” (p.48). To make their point, they looked at politicians’ modes of conversation when attending television talk shows and then they categorised these according to political, personal, and mixed styles. They wanted to show how some politicians succeed or fail in meeting the “new demand and new difficulty in constructing their political persona” by “transgressing the boundaries between the public and the private” (p.55). Interestingly, for Van Zoonen and Holtz-Bacha the public and the private are valid and useful analytical categories, and they assume that politicians can somehow build bridges rather than unsurmountable barriers between both. Another noteworthy work of Liesbet Van Zoonen (2006) is her study on the challenges of being ‘feminine’ in politics. The research was conducted by examining the cases of Angela Merkel, German chancellor, and Tarja Halonen, president of Finland. She drew upon politicians’ personal biographies, media appearances, websites, clothing and hair style, and election campaign material to inform the data. She adopted an interpretive approach to the difficulties involved in being women in the celebrity-politics era when appearance and private lives are given high relevance. With these elements, Van Zoonen constructs an enriching perspective about how concepts such as femininity, motherhood, or privacy are articulated by Merkel and Halonen, and also how they defy and reconstruct (or try to) their meaning in politics.

A question about the personal and the political, however, requires a change in certain definitions. Stephen Coleman (2015p.169), for example, has approached the role of the personal in politics but in order to do so he has called for a different understanding about certain concepts, namely elections. Coleman argues that voting in an election is usually regarded as the rational expression of a citizen’s own self-interest. However, he claims that evidence demonstrates that citizens very rarely manage to weigh up the advantages and disadvantages of their vote, so that it would be very difficult for them to make a ‘rational’ decision. Instead, argues Coleman, “elections are storytelling contests in which the demos comes to be represented by identifying with competing and contested narratives about itself” (p.169). Rather than a contest for the most convenient policy proposal, politicians advance stories about *themselves* that make them appear one of *ourselves*, observes Coleman. In his words, “when politicians say ‘This happened to me’ and potential voters feel that this makes them more ‘ordinary’ – when a politician’s story seems almost to constitute an account of the lives of those hearing it – a sense of shared experience is induced” (2015, p.172). Coleman and Van Zoonen have also shown that posing questions about the personal and the political requires a more expansive understanding of politics in the media. As previously mentioned, political communication research has focused overwhelmingly on journalism. Instead, Van Zoonen, Coleman and Kuik (2011) looked at the

participation of politicians in satirical television shows as these contexts require “continuous and effortless shifts from anecdote to analysis, emotion to reason, polemic to moderation, personal to political, serious to humorous and back again” (p.146). In this case, researchers asked politicians why they participated in this kind of show and in some answers they recognised that non-journalistic genres presented the opportunity to provide “the public with a more multi-sided image of politicians” (p.152). One of the quoted interviews mentioned that “voters also want to see what kind of man or woman the politician is. And if you don’t know your bird, it becomes a bit difficult to vote for that person” (p.152). They recognised the relevance of putting forward personal aspects such as ‘looking good’, ‘sense of humour’, ‘intellectual quickness’ and ‘youth’, among others. So, a different conceptualisation of politics and the media can potentially provide a new understanding about the interplay between the personal and the political.

Apart from political communication research, the study of celebrities has demonstrated the potential of ‘the personal’ to unveil the evolution of certain ideas in society. Aparicio (1999) used the musical repertoire, performances on stage, bodily aesthetics, and public statements in interviews offered by the so-called ‘Queen of Salsa’, Celia Cruz, to reveal the tensions between Cuban-Latin identities, exile from Fidel Castro’s dictatorship, and integration into US society. Lady Gaga’s music videos are critically analysed by Fogel and Quinlan (2011) to debate whether or not she should be perceived as a symbol of female power. The authors analysed the representations of sex, violence, and power to observe an ambivalent role as a gendered warrior fighting for the advancement of women as well as a representation of hyper-sexualised violence against women in the media. For Gee (2014), David Beckham and his personal image in a series of advertisements served to illustrate how this sporting icon represents not one, but a range of forms of masculinities. The figure of this former footballer expressed the relationship between these different gender identities, and how the consumerist society offers solutions for the conflicts emerging from the discourse of a crisis of masculinity. For Roberts (2003) the body of the actress Farrah Fawcett is “a comfortable pop culture venue to mediate the issues and concerns of a postfeminist and post sexual revolution in America” (p.83). Her character on the TV series *Charlie’s Angels* embodied the active, vital, employed, and sexually free and attractive idealisation of woman as posed by feminists’ movements seeking female independence.

The history of politicians’ portraits also reveals links between the person of the rulers and their role as politicians. In *The Portrait of the King*, Marin (1988) discusses the relationship between the concept of representation and power. In Marin’s words (p.6), the first ‘effect and power’ of representation has to do with “presence instead of absence and death; the second effect and second power are the effect of subject, that is, the power of institution, authorisation, and legitimation”. The portrait of a politician holds the power to render their presence as a ruler

while also consolidating the ruler's position. As a result, "the portrait *is* in some ways and in some fashion *the person it represents*" argues Marin (1988, p.208. Italics in original). That is why any description of rulers' portraits cannot be limited to the painting technique, but also has to offer a prosopography including the ruler's personal attributes. Ultimately, observes Marin, "the king is only accessible through his qualities" (p.209). For Peter Burke (1992), French King Louis XIV is the result of a fabrication, a process in which his portrait had a critical role to play. Given that in the seventeenth century, magnificence had the political function of making people respect their rulers, "representations of Louis were commissioned to add to his glory", argues Burke (p.5). Most of Louis XIV's depictions conform to the style of the so-called 'state portraits', which are characterised by the ruler generally presented "life-size, or larger than life, standing or seated on a throne. His eye-level is higher than that of the viewer, to emphasise his superior status" (p.22). Following Marin's idea that the king's portrait constitutes the king himself, it can be understood why in these state-portraits a certain degree of decorum did not allow the ruler to be shown in everyday clothes, as observed by Burke. They have to appear wearing "armour to symbolise valour, or rich clothes as a sign of status, surrounded by objects associated with power and magnificence. His posture and expression communicate dignity" (Burke, 1992, p.22). The figure of the Swedish king, Gustavus Vasa, and the use of his portrait from the sixteenth century until the present day, is the very "personification" of state's virtues, observes Johannesson (1998). For him, the state has the inherent necessity of being represented by a "godlike or heroic man or woman. Reflecting on the name, physical appearance, clothes, and other attributes we may understand the nature and purpose of the state" (p.13). Such a personification may also create an illusion that we can communicate with the state "in a human and almost intimate way, as if we turn to a righteous father for protection or loving mother for consolations", observes the author.

A research question aiming to ascertain the role of the personal in politics is a not-so-odd one. It is the predominant approach in political communication research that provides no theoretical grounds to formulate it. The normative stream in the field has regarded the public and the private as dichotomous realms, following the Habermasian separation between *agora* and *oikos*. The work of Liesbet Van Zoonen, Stephen Coleman and others has demonstrated that with more expansive conceptualisations of both the personal and the political, it is possible to see the interplay between them. Both authors recognise the existence of the personal and the political as different categories, but rather than fencing them off from each other, they look for bridges. The analysis of celebrities shows how an individual is able to embody not only certain relevant ideals for a given society, but also the inherent tensions among those ideals. Cited celebrity studies do not even make a distinction between the personal and the political or the public and

the private. They rather regard the very person of the celebrity and the values they incarnate as indissoluble entities. This distinction is also absent in the analysis of politicians' portraits, mainly European monarchs. In the aforementioned examples, the state consists of the king and the king consists of his personal qualities and they all end up articulated in a state portrait that inspires the people to identify themselves with their monarchs. Based on these readings, it can be said that the dichotomy between the personal and the political is an artificial one, and only when this dichotomy is overcome is it possible to formulate questions about political representation. If the artificial dichotomy was real, then Lady Gaga's hair style or Louis XIV's armour would represent nothing and any question about the personal and the political would be an odd one.

This literature review aimed to examine how political communication research has approached the role of 'the personal' in politics. There has been a predominant interest in how the relevance given by the media to politicians' personal attributes can jeopardise the expansion of democratic values. It is proposed that this approach has been informed by an artificial dichotomy between the personal and the political. This approach has been prolific when it comes to providing evidence about the presence of 'personalised' forms of political communication, but its detrimental effect on democracy cannot be established. Examples have been provided of different approaches in political communication, namely the works of Liesbet Van Zoonen and Stephen Coleman, which have inspired this research design. They have demonstrated that links between the personal and the political can be better understood when using more expansive concepts of politics and media. The study of celebrities can also reveal how 'the personal' of a well-known person can be the place to understand how a given society is dealing with certain relevant ideals. The analysis of politicians' portraits helped to demonstrate that there are bridges connecting the state, the person of the king and the subjects. From these three instances it can be concluded that a question about the personal and the political is not-so-odd but at the same time demonstrates the necessity for a more interpretive and less normative approach to 'the personal'. This research design aimed to give weight to the interpretive processes triggered by the presence of the personal in political communication. Underpinning this approach are three main concepts: charisma, representation and performance, which will be discussed in Chapter 2. The next section discusses the structure of this thesis.

### 1.5 Thesis outline: What this project is – and is not – about

This thesis has a traditional structure. This introductory chapter presents the research interests, including a brief literature review and an outline of the chapters. Secondly, there is a theoretical chapter discussing the main concepts that inform the approach to the posed research question. The third chapter explains the methodology and methods used to collect and analyse data. Then



there are three empirical chapters in which data is presented in connection with relevant literature. Finally, there is a discussion chapter with specific answers to the research questions, and suggestions for further research. This section aims to present in detail the aims of each of these chapters. While explaining what it is said in each one, there also clarifications stating what cannot be expected. Generally speaking, it is the aim of this research to create distance from the aforementioned normative approach in political communication, both conceptually and methodologically. The alleged impact of personalised forms of political communication on democracy is not part of the motivations underpinning this project. This does not represent a dismissive attitude to that body of literature; on the contrary, the existence of a personalised form of political communication has been proven due to its normative concerns, and this is the starting point of this thesis.

The second chapter aims to explore the main theoretical concepts illuminating this research project. Charismatic authority, representative claims and personal performance are discussed in order to provide the theoretical grounds for the research questions. Based on Max Weber's elaboration, 'charismatic authority' is defined as the result of the interplay between a leader and a community – the latter attributing authority upon the former based on their public deeds. Those deeds are what Michael Saward defined as the 'representative claim', whereby the leader constructs the constituency which will attribute authority upon them. This chapter highlights 'the performativity' of the 'representative claim' poetic potential. The construction of a constituency relies on what Erving Goffman defined as 'personal performance', that is to say, on the activity of an individual in front of a set of observers in which the performer displays all sorts of expressive equipment in order to influence the audience. The performance of the representative claim has to succeed in constructing a constituency that finally attributes authority upon the individual. For this to happen, a 're-fusion' of the leader and the audience will be necessary, in the words of Jeffrey Alexander. Audience and leader becoming – metaphorically – one thing is the culmination of this process of building political power. It is concluded that the focus of the research questions will be on the concept of re-fusion, as coined by Alexander, because it allows for the comprehension of the interplay between a leader and their constituency.

The third chapter presents the methodology used to answer the research questions. Presented first is a conceptual elaboration concerning the focus of this research: re-fusion. Taken from Jeffrey Alexander's formulation, re-fusion is characterised as the flow emerging out of a successful performance to connect the politician and the audience. Based on the example of the Ancient Greek political comedian, Aristophanes, it is proposed that political satire is a place to observe the occurrence of this re-fusion. Following Alexander's cultural-pragmatics model,

satirists can be regarded as hermeneutical power-holders. Satirists re-interpret the re-fusing flow and to do so they have to become part of it. As the objective of this research design is to observe the occurrence of the re-fusing flow, it is proposed to use an ethnographic approach to the political satire production process as the methodological approach. The chosen political satirist for conducting this research is *Polònia*, a satirical impersonation-based TV show broadcast in Catalonia, Spain. As required for an ethnographic approach, included is a personal reflection about the methodological choices and researcher's positioning regarding the show and the political context. Also presented are the three data-collection techniques used: interviews with production staff; participant observation of rehearsals; and script analysis. The chapter ends with a description of how the data analysis was conducted in order to turn impressions into theoretical insights.

Having explained the second and third chapter's aims, it is important to let the reader know what cannot be expected from this thesis. Since representation is understood as the result of the interplay between politicians and audiences, re-fusion is not regarded as an 'effect' caused by the media or politicians on audiences. On the contrary, both politicians and audiences are seen as holding an interpretive agency that informs each other's actions. Ultimately, an audience member may become a reluctant observer and choose not to take part in the re-fusion. Although political satire and impersonation are part of the methods, this is neither research about political satire nor about impersonation. Satirists have been chosen as 'informants' given their experience and talent in observing the interplay between politicians and audiences. This project was also unexpectedly influenced by political developments taking place in Catalonia; however, this does not mean that this thesis is about Catalonia. The reader will find some contextual elements to make sense of the situation in the north of Spain, but it is far from the scope of this research to provide an explanation for them. However, the methods chapter includes a self-reflection about my own position regarding this context.

Political impersonation is recognised as a genre that gives primacy to the personal when crafting its account of politics. Those elements which define the very individuality of a politician are the raw material for these artists to construct a narration of political affairs that afterwards must be plausible for a wider audience. In this regard, impersonation provides a convenient venue to observe politics embodied/envoiced in the person of the politician. But more interestingly, political satire allows the normative expectancies posed over news genres to be bypassed. As mentioned in section 1.2, literature on political communication has approached the personal in politics by assuming that it is a risk for democracy. The inconclusiveness of empirical evidence to sustain these fears shows that the dichotomy between the personal and the political is nothing but an artificial construction that has more to do with researchers' normative ideals of

politics than a verifiable phenomenon. These normative prescriptions have obscured the role that this thesis wants to unveil and that is why it is necessary to move away from them. The research was designed under the assumption that by moving away from news genres, these prescriptions can be bypassed, and impersonation appeared to be genre in which the personal is unapologetically foregrounded.

The following three chapters find the data presented and analysed. They each include a brief review of the main concepts used for the analysis, the analysis itself, and a short specific conclusion. The fourth chapter describes the crafting process of *Polònia's* characters. It is proposed that Jeffrey Alexander's concepts of 'celebrity-icon' and 'iconic consciousness' are useful for understanding how actors and actresses approach the politician when crafting their characters. The work of *Polònia's* staff can be regarded as the disentangling of the interplay between surface and depth that structures the celebrity-icon, according to Alexander. So understood, these data suggest a different way of understanding the person of the politician as a communication device, which in political communication literature has been studied as a 'persona', a concept that implies a shallow, strategically fabricated mask. Alexander's idea of icon instead proposes that the sensuous surface of a person or object, fabricated or not, connects to deeper meanings. To an important extent, the work of *Polònia's* staff supports this idea. Impersonators also describe the examination of politicians in terms of experiencing bodily sensations rather than acquiring a given knowledge about the politician, which fits into Alexander's concept of 'iconic consciousness'.

The fifth chapter describes the role of politicians' speech in the crafting process of *Polònia's* characters and sketch production. Participants pay more attention to politicians' implicit intentions than to the literal content of their utterances. Actors and actresses aim to experience the whole politician's 'voice'. For them, 'voice' refers to intonation, words, accents, languages, pronunciation, and other elements that relate to the study of sociolinguistics. When approaching politicians' utterances, participants assume that politicians do not say what they really mean, but still provide some clues for the audience to infer their intentions. Impersonators subordinate words' literal meanings and deal with those utterances as 'implicatures' in which the intended meaning is to be worked out. It is by looking at the articulation of the aforementioned voice elements that they can bring to light the intended meanings of politicians' utterances. In this sense, *Polònia's* work may complement the tradition of 'political discourse analysis' which gives primacy to semantics as a way of understanding politicians' speeches. In *Polònia*, text is relatively important in relation to other pragmatic elements, so that how a given utterance is said may be more important than its literal meaning.

The sixth chapter analyses *Polònia*'s characters and aims to understand how they relate to the original politicians they satirise. In the fifth and sixth chapters, participants said that they do not craft exact copies of the politicians they are impersonating and, in some cases, the character is a fictional creation inspired by, albeit detached from, the original one. In this chapter it is suggested that *Polònia*'s characters are the dramatic materialisation of the social stereotypes evoked by the original politicians. This conclusion is reached after the triangulation of data from the three data-sets: interviews, participant observation and script analysis. Participants identify specific social stereotypes in every politician they want to impersonate. It is this social stereotype that provides the main constitutive elements of the character to be acted on stage. The scripts show annotations for actors and actresses to act the emotional traits of the character. Those emotional traits are consistent with the social stereotype previously identified in the original politician by actors and actresses. In the first part, the concept of stereotype is introduced and then observed in interviews. In the second part, the enactment of the social stereotypes is analysed across 10 scripts that have to do with the frustration of Artur Mas at not being appointed as president of Catalonia after winning the 2015 local election. As a general conclusion from the empirical chapter, it can be said that *Polònia* portrays politics as the struggle among social stereotypes, which materialised in the politicians' struggle for their 'self-perpetuation as a species'.

The conclusions proposed in the three empirical chapters may be not surprising for a reader familiar with drama theory or theatre studies. Crafting a play always involves the use of sensations, voice and social types to articulate engaging stories. That is why every chapter includes a short literature review relating these data to relevant research in political communication. Elements of bodily experiences or prosody have been largely overlooked by the predominant approach in the field, and the role of social stereotypes has mostly been studied assuming that their presence in politics implies discrimination over given minorities. These empirical chapters, on the contrary, suggest that what happens in audience members' bodies are the key elements for understanding the interplay between politicians and citizens. Voice can tell us more about strategies than the textual content of an utterance pronounced by a politician, and stereotypes are both rigid and ductile structures informing our relationship with certain social groups. The limitations of this study have been recognised. Conclusions cannot be generalisable to other forms of political mediation, and *Polònia*'s reception on the side of the audience can only be inferred – further audience research is required.

The seventh and final chapter relates the results shown in the previous chapters to the relevant literature. In the first section there is: a summary of the whole thesis, including the formulation of the problem and its conceptual underpinnings; an outline of the methodology and the data

collection techniques; and a brief account of the results presented in the previous three empirical chapters. The second section suggests answers for the posed research questions. For the main research question it is said that the personal performance connects politicians with ideational social stereotypes. Three tentative answers are provided for the specific research question, one for each concept. It is argued that: personal style is part of the repertoire of public deeds enacted by a politician seeking authority; contingencies do affect politicians' performances because the system of background representation is impacted by unexpected developments in political affairs; and finally, the text is relatively important to properly understand politicians' discourses because pragmatic elements of their voice also have a role to play in fostering representation.

The third section of Chapter 7 aims to contribute to the theoretical discussion about personalisation of political communication. It is argued that data presented throughout this thesis has revealed the metaphorical nature of personalised forms of political communication, so that the intended resemblance between politicians and groups of people might be one of the keys to understanding political representation. This reflection does not directly address the research questions, instead it aims to enrich the conceptualisation of the personal. It emerged out of the data analysis process and its difficulties, in particular, the translation of the original material from Castilian or Catalan into English. This posed a major challenge because rather than merely providing a literal translation, it was necessary to interpret the intention behind the literal wording. Thus, the metaphorical nature of *Polònia* was made evident. The programme uses its characters to provide a metaphorical account of political affairs. This conclusion challenges the conceptualisations underpinning the dominant approach in political communication, which sees 'information' as the main contribution that media outlets can make to democracy. *Polònia* is far from providing information for the citizens to make considered decisions; instead the programme provides metaphors from which no literal reading can be obtained. More specifically, *Polònia* offers 'experiential metaphors' based on the interplay of experience and language. *Polonia's* approach suggests that the personal in politics has nothing to do with veracity but rather with verisimilitude – the former proposing a literal approach to the content and the latter offering a figurative reading grounded in everyday experiences.

This introductory chapter has presented the main concerns inspiring this research project. It argued that it can be inferred that the personal attributes of politicians inform the political evolution of a given society. Somehow, personal aspects of political leaders give form to the institutions of the political processes experienced by a collective. However, this can only be hypothesised rather than demonstrated, given the immeasurable variety of factors converging in politics. The dominant approach in political communication has regarded the media focus on

politicians' personal attributes as a risk for democracy. Although the detrimental effect on democracy is a matter of controversy, this body of literature has provided valuable evidence to say that personal attributes are part and parcel of political communication. This is the point of departure for this thesis: if the personal is present in political communication, then it is necessary to understand its specific role. Examples of research in political communication and other fields that have overcome the dichotomy between the political and the personal have been provided. Such research has shown that with more interpretive and less normative approaches, a question about the role of the personal in politics does make sense. An outline of the thesis was also presented in order to let the reader know what can be expected from this project. Among other things, this study is neither about politicians/media effects on audiences, nor about political satire or Catalan politics. The next chapter discusses the main concepts that inform the interpretive approach to the problem and provides the theoretical grounds of the research questions.

## Chapter 2:

### Theoretical reflections on the making of a political representative: Charisma, representation and personal performance

#### 2.1 Introduction

In this chapter I explore the concepts underpinning the theoretical framework for the research questions. I said in the previous chapter that the predominant approach in political communication research downplays the role of politicians' personal attributes. As a result, there is a conceptual confusion regarding the interplay between the personal and the political. This chapter draws upon definitions coined in other fields, in particular: charismatic authority, representative claim and personal performance. 'Charismatic authority' is defined as the result of the interplay between a leader and a community, with the latter attributing authority upon the former based on their public deeds. Such deeds are what Michael Saward defined as the 'representative claim', whereby the leader constructs the constituency that will attribute authority to them. In its original definition the word 'claim' may suggest a primarily semantic understanding about the interplay between the leader and the community. In this chapter I highlight 'the performativity' of the 'representative claim' poietic potential. Bringing a constituency into being depends on what Erving Goffman defined as 'personal performance', that is to say, on the activity of an individual in front of a set of observers whereby the performer displays all sorts of expressive equipment in order to influence the audience. The performance of the representative claim has to succeed in constructing a constituency that finally attributes authority to the individual. For this to happen, a 're-fusion' of the leader and the audience will be necessary, in the words of Jeffrey Alexander. Audience and leader becoming – metaphorically – one thing is the culmination of this process of building political power. It is concluded that the methodology will be informed by the concept of re-fusion, as per Alexander, because it allows for the comprehension of the interplay between a leader and their constituency.

#### 2.2 The charismatisation of Pinochet and the poiesis of '*pinochetistas*'

Three concepts inform the formulation of the research questions: charisma, representative claim and personal performance. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the predominant approach in the examined literature downplays the role of the politician's personal attributes in political communication. This has resulted in a conceptual confusion with terms such as the 'personal' and the 'private' (Rahat and Sheaffer, 2007; Porath et al., 2014) or other derivations such as presidentialisation, privatisation, individualisation, or emotionalisation (Van Santen and Van Zoonen, 2010, p.49; Van Aelst et al., 2012, p.204; Ohr, 2013). This approach has also

emptied these concepts of political relevance, so that it is necessary to draw upon definitions coined in other fields in which 'the person' is given relevance. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the problem to be addressed is the role of an individual's personal attributes in politics. This means that any research question has to be grounded in concepts that recognise that 'the person of the politician' is a meaningful term with a role to play in the practice of political communication. The theoretical elaboration presented here crosses different fields, mainly cultural sociology, political studies, and social psychology to pick concepts which take into account the potential of 'the politician' as a research object. The first section presents Max Weber's 'charismatic authority' together with Michael Saward's 'representative claim'. Throughout this chapter, the case of the former Chilean dictator Augusto Pinochet is mentioned as an example of how these concepts can be used to understand the rise of a political leader.

Augusto Pinochet evolved from being the loyal general of the socialist president Salvador Allende in 1973 to an exemplar leader of the worldwide struggle against communism<sup>1</sup>. This evolution is shown in this chapter as a case study to discuss the theoretical concepts presented. It is not intended to be a study of the construction of Augusto Pinochet's leadership after the coup d'état in 1973. It is rather a self-selected opportunity to facilitate the reading of a theoretical elaboration. This instrumental description of Pinochet's evolution is based on three main documents: Patricia Verdugo's journalistic investigation *Los Zarpazos del Puma*, translated into English as 'Chile, Pinochet and the Caravan of Death' (2001). Also included is the discourse analysis conducted by the sociologist Giselle Munizaga in *El Discurso Público de Pinochet* (1983) and the documentary film of Marcela Said, *I Love Pinochet* (2001). These three works were all conducted by women under difficult political circumstances. Munizaga and Verdugo wrote their books under the persecution of Pinochet's dictatorship and Said produced her documentary in 1999-2000 after the British Government released the former dictator from the indictment for human rights violations dictated by the Spanish magistrate Baltasar Garzón.

By the time the Chilean armed forces were conspiring against the socialist government of Salvador Allende, the army general Augusto Pinochet was seen with suspicion by the plotters. As Patricia Verdugo narrates in *Los Zarpazos del Puma* (2001), in August 1973, General Sergio Arellano was known as 'the man' of the coup due to his gift for leadership, knowledge of politics, his anticommunism and links with the Christian Democratic Party. On the contrary, Pinochet had

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<sup>1</sup> The concepts of communism and socialism are not differentiated in this text. They are treated as the same thing because Pinochet's supporters treat them in this way, and discussing the differences is far from the objective of this research project.



been recently appointed as commander-in-chief of the army by president Allende and immediately threatened with asking for the resignations of any general not loyal to the government. Pinochet even neutralised a coup attempt on 27<sup>th</sup> August, but he did not punish the organisers. Verdugo observes that this zigzagging attitude confused the plotters so that they pushed Pinochet for a decision, which he finally made on 8<sup>th</sup> September, three days before the coup. Pinochet was in the plot. Since then the story is well-known – Pinochet and the army forces overthrew the socialist government and consolidated a neoliberal dictatorship notorious for human rights violations, parts of which were investigated by Verdugo. This general of a socialist government managed to become a symbol of the struggle against communism by the end of the dictatorship and beyond. Pinochet was defeated in a referendum held in 1988 with 44% of the vote. That is to say, 3.1 million Chileans supported him after a campaign that called for voting ‘Yes’ to his continuity in office, voting otherwise would mean ‘going back to socialism’ (Sí, 1988).

Pinochet’s leadership after the dictatorship was the result of a process of charismatisation, whereby a number of people attributes authority to a given individual by virtue of their deeds. Defined by Max Weber as one of the three types of legitimate authority, charismatic leadership rests “on devotion to specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns of order revealed or ordained by him” (1968b, p.46; 1947, p.328). Such leaders are recognised by others as holding “specific gifts of the body and spirit; and these gifts have been believed to be supernatural” (1968b, p.19). They are not only unachievable to common people, but also “regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader” (1968b, p.48). This structure may turn charisma into “the greatest revolutionary force”, as Weber says. In times of crisis, charisma “may involve a subjective or internal reorientation born out of suffering, conflicts, or enthusiasm. It may then result in a radical alteration of the central system of attitudes and directions of actions” (1968b, p.54).

The person-centred nature of charismatic authority is made more evident when compared with another form of legitimate authority described by Weber: the legality. The emergence of the legal authority results from the transformation of the charismatic leader’s community of followers into a rational form of organisation. The ideal charismatic leader described by Weber rejects any kind of private gain ([1922] 1968d, p.21) and compels followers “to live communistically in a community of faith and enthusiasm, on gifts, ‘booty’, or sporadic acquisition”. Eventually, the community of followers will turn into a more “permanent routine structure”, which leaves its anti-economic character behind to become a sort of “fiscal organisation to provide for the needs of the groups and hence to the economic conditions necessary for raising taxes and contributions” ([1922] 1947, p.396). Charismatic authority is thus

dissociated from the original leader and “embodied in an objective institutional structure so that the new holders of authority exercise it at second remove as it were, by virtue of an institutionally legitimised status or office” ([1922] 1947, p.69). The charismatic organisation becomes a rationally regulated association best exemplified in the “modern bureaucratic administration” ([1922] 1968b, p.954), a reign of the written rules where pieces of paper are obeyed.

The bureaucrat’s legal authority rests first and foremost on the written rules and his personal characteristics are wiped away by specialised training. In bureaucracies, observes Weber, the charismatic leadership “recedes as a creative force” (1968a, p.1146). Instead, those who want to exert any kind of authority have to respect, devote and adhere to rules that are already written, thoroughly described, and strictly limited by documents ([1922] 1968a, pp.66-69). The bureaucrat is the result of a trained discipline ([1922] 1968c, p.38) whereby “the psycho-physical apparatus of man is completely adjusted to the demands of the outer world, the tools, the machines”. The individual is trained in the “methodical specialisation of separately functioning muscles”, his body is shorn of his “natural rhythm” to be “attuned” to the “optimal economy of forces” ([1922] 1968c, p.38). It is difficult not to relate this description to the ultra-rationalised and disciplined factory operative in Charlie Chaplin’s *Modern Times* (1936). Especially when the protagonist executes repetitive movements with his arms to screw nuts in the assembly line. He has no time for ‘personal’ affairs like scratching his nose or going to the toilet. When Chaplin’s character goes mad trying to keep up with the ever-increasing production’s pace, he falls into the gears to symbolically become a mere piece of the incessant machine. This is a caricature of the type of individual to whom bureaucratic organisations give rise. As Weber describes it, someone harnessed to the apparatus “by his entire material and ideal existence. A single cog in an ever-moving mechanism which prescribes to him an essentially fixed rout of march” ([1922] 1968a, p.75).

While the bureaucrat provides documents as proof to claim authority, the charismatic leader relies on actual deeds to be support their claim. In Weber’s elaboration, public acts trigger the obedience of a number of followers. He mentions at least three examples of charismatic authority: the prophet, the leader in war, and the demagogue, all figures “personally recognised as the innerly ‘called’ leader of men” (1991, p.79). Followers’ obedience emanates from “personal trust in them and their revelation, their heroism or their exemplary qualities” (1991, p.79). Those leaders are continuously compelled to demonstrate their ‘state of grace’, otherwise they would be at risk of being deserted because ‘virtue is gone out of them’. Basically, if someone “wants to be a prophet, he musts perform miracles; if he wants to be a war lord, he must perform heroic deeds” (1968b, p.22). That is why charisma is not an expression of an

individual's psychological characteristics, as some authors have argued (Bhide, 2008; Jaeger, 2011; Adair-Toteff, 2014, p.8). Instead, it is a socially produced type of relationship whereby followers' "perceptions and behaviour" (Theobald, 1980, p.84) acknowledge the leader as a holder of certain "specialness" (Camic, 1980, p.9) that amalgamates power, faith and duty (Albrow, 1990, p.173). Charisma works like a "stigma" (Steyrer, 1998, p.812) that "serves as signal within a group or society to treat carriers in a way deviant from the norm". Although the genuineness of this social attribution of specialness has been contested (Swatos, 1984, p.205; Glassman, 1984, p.220; Cavalli, 1998, p.165; Friedrich, [1961] 1999, p.231; Kallis, 2006, p.32), these studies have focused on the construction of a leader's image, rather than on the acid test for charisma: "whether or not subordinates are willing to obey the master's commands when he has no power to punish the recalcitrant" (Parkin, 1982, p.85).

Pinochet was a special person for the *pinochetistas*. Upon him they attributed a form of charismatic authority primarily based on his deeds, particularly one: Pinochet himself 'defeated communism in one day'. In 1999, while Pinochet was detained in London under the indictment of magistrate Garzon, the former British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher gave a speech at the Conservative Party Conference in Blackpool to express her "outrage at the callous and unjust treatment of Senator Pinochet" (MTF, 1999). Thatcher said that "Pinochet is in truth on trial, not for anything contained in Judge Garzon's indictment, but for defeating communism". Underpinning Garzon's indictment there was a "revenge of the International Left" seeking the "legal and political assassination" of this "political prisoner". Finally, Pinochet was released by the Labour government of Tony Blair for medical reasons. In the documentary film *I Love Pinochet*, Marcela Said (2001) showed how his supporters in Chile, the '*pinochetistas*', endured the detention and release of the former dictator. They justify their support for Pinochet with phrases such as 'he is the only man in the world who has destroyed communism' and 'the left will never forgive that' and 'that is why they are trying to destroying him'. The authority of Pinochet during the dictatorship and beyond, in Chile and the UK, is the result of the interplay between his actual deeds – he actually led the coup d'état and the dictatorship – and his follower's interpretation of this act as the complete defeat of communism.

After the dictatorship, the *pinochetistas* seemed to be a consolidated group, but they did not exist as such before Pinochet took the stage. This theoretical elaboration assumes that the presence of the leader holds some poietic faculties in the sense that it brings the community of followers into being. Of course, political communities can emerge as a result of reasons other than a charismatic inspiration, as is the case with 'identity politics' groups. The focus of this research, however, is on the role of politicians themselves in fostering a community of followers; in other words, the role of Pinochet himself in the creation of *Pinochetistas*. The charismatic

authority, as proposed by Weber, results from the interplay between the leader and the followers. On the one hand, Pinochet led the coup d'état against the socialist government of Salvador Allende yet, on the other, a group of people attribute to Pinochet himself the defeat of communism once and for all. There were plotters against Allende all along, and they arguably formed the basis of his early supporters. However, paraphrasing Weber, by the end of the dictatorship, there was *devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism and exemplary character of his individual person, and of the normative patterns of order revealed or ordained* by Pinochet himself. All of this is particularly evident in the documentary film *I Love Pinochet*, where *pinochetistas* refer to him as "*Mi general*" (my general).

The poietic faculty of Pinochet's presence relates to the concept of 'the representative claim', coined by Michael Saward (2006). The representative claim is a perlocutionary act of communication between a leader and a group of people. By virtue of this act of communication, the leader characterises a group of people according to given attributes and then presents him or herself as the one that can better stand for the group. In Saward's words, "would-be political representatives, in this process of portrayal or representation of constituencies, make claims about themselves and their constituents and the links between the two; they argue or imply that they are the best representatives of the constituency *so understood*" (p.302. Emphasis in original). Through the enactment of a representative claim, Pinochet managed to make a group of *pinochetistas* out of the plotters and common people who genuinely wanted to overthrow Allende's government. This poiesis of political representation is central in Saward's definition. For him, political figures do not speak for an ontologically-given constituency. They rather are 'creative actors' with the ability to construct the represented by "the active making (creating, offering) of symbols or images [of them]" (p.301).

Saward's concept of 'the representative claim' emerged from a critique of Hanna Pitkin's account of representation. Pitkin's approach is described as a unidirectional one which regards political representation as a 'substantive acting for others'. Pitkin's focus would be "thus resolutely on the representative rather than on the represented; the latter is taken as unproblematically given", observes Saward (2006, p.300). This approach to representation is, in his words, "influentially limiting, in that it has encouraged theorists to underplay the subtle processes of constructing the represented, or that which needs to be represented". On the contrary, Saward calls for moving away from the concept of political representation as "first and foremost a given, factual product of elections". He rather highlights the continuous process of representation-making articulated in a series of acts of communication stitched together to form a "precarious and curious sort of claim about a dynamic relationship" (p.304). Representation results from a dynamic relationship rather than a unidirectional act of message-sending. So

understood, Saward recognises an interpretive agency to those being addressed by the representative-to-be, because ultimately “there is no claim to be representative of a certain group that does not leave space for its contestation or rejection by the would-be audience or constituency, or by other political actors” (p.302).

In Saward’s formulation, representation is born out of an act of communication and in this point it connects with Weber’s aforementioned idea of charismatic authority. Saward points out that not all the representative claims are bound to succeed in deploying their poietic faculties in a compelling and resonant way, instead they can be bad and unacceptable. A successful claim will be the result of the representative’s skilful agentic interaction with symbolic structures present in society. He suggests that representative claims that are compelling “will be made from ‘ready made’, existing terms and understandings which the would-be audience will recognize” (p.303). However it is up to the claim-maker to tap into these familiar contextual frameworks in the precise “style, timing and content” (p.303). Claim-makers “must repeat the familiar as well as create something new; must iterate features of political culture to cross a threshold of potential acceptability”. Representation is “produced by processes of claim-making and consequent acceptance or rejection by audiences or parts of audiences” (p.303). As per Max Weber, charismatic authority emerges from a dynamic interplay between a leader and a given audience, the former exposing their deeds and the latter judging if they are worthy of an attribution of authority. What is interesting in Saward is that he puts a name to this interplay – *the representative claim* – and that he gives weight to the poietic faculties of this act of communication.

If the poietic premise underlying the definition of the representative claim is accepted, Pinochet had to have constructed the *pinochetistas* through a series of acts of communication. At some point he had to have made claims about his supporters’ main features and about himself as the one to represent them. Although the concept of representative claim was not yet coined, the basic premises underpinning its definition can provide a new reading of the speeches pronounced by Pinochet in the first years after the coup d’état. Those speeches were analysed by Giselle Munizaga (1983) and published in the book *El Discurso Público de Pinochet* (‘Pinochet’s Public Discourse’). The analysis comprises 104 official speeches given by Pinochet from 1973 to 1976. Munizaga conducted an analysis inspired by the structural semantics of Algirdas Julius Greimas which, in short, divided sentences into subjects and predicates and then unveiled characteristics of the subject by examining the predicates. Reading *El Discurso Público de Pinochet* in the light of Saward’s concept of representative claim may help understand how Pinochet constructed the supporters that attributed upon him a charismatic form of authority.

According to Munizaga, there were two foundational categories in Pinochet's discourses: 'We, all the Chileans', and 'The No-Chileans'. The former are all "those who – rejecting the Marxist government – made the 11<sup>2</sup>". They are "loyal to the patriotic values they inherited from their forefathers and shaped our nationality". 'All the Chileans' have shown a capacity "to respond with patriotic faith, courage and determination to any Marxist aggression". Following Munizaga's analysis, 'all the Chileans' are the "origin and the consignee" of the Armed Forces' actions because "they mobilised in a solidarity born out of the instinct of conservation of race that ousted Marxism from Chile" (p.40). Soldiers, women and the youth are three main subcategories of 'We, all the Chileans'. Soldiers provide the "support for the institutional coherence of our Chile" and they form a "solid wall against which those aiming to bring back the chaos to our country will crush". Women are not a historical subject, they are rather an immanent essence determined by immutable natural laws. They collaborate by educating the "future of Chile", they also cooperate "with the government to alleviate a situation of sacrifice", but by no means are they allocated self-fulfilling duties (p.44). Finally the youth are those who in the past "fought face to face against communism" and "remained not contaminated by foreign ideologies". Young people are now working with the government to fulfil the "nationalist ideal" of "moral reconstruction of the country". To achieve this ideal, they have to "receive nationalist education" from the government (p.45).

In Pinochet's depiction of Chile, 'We, all the Chileans' were threatened by the 'No-Chileans' and he presented himself as the one to lead them to victory. The 'No-Chileans' were described as the very opposite of 'We, all the Chileans'. Despite having been born in Chile and holding Chilean citizenship, those who "attacked the essential values of our nationality" were No-Chileans. In this category, Munizaga explains, are "Marxists" whose "intrinsically perverted" nature represents a "threat to the moral and physical existence of the motherland" (p.40). Among their means are "lies, aggression, terrorism, plundering, the concealed perversion". In this context, Pinochet appears as the "generous father" aiming to build a "good personal and affective relationship" with 'all the Chileans'. His mission, is "get in touch in a direct form with the workers; pay tribute to the women, the hard-working men, to the soldiers and the wives of the soldiers" (p.49). He asks the Chileans "to trust his government" the mission of "relieving the country's situation of extreme poverty". Munizaga observed that Pinochet underlined his human qualities to show himself as a good leader. He is "strong, loyal, he stands for the weak". Pinochet is "a

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<sup>2</sup> *El once* (the 11) is a common expression to refer to 11<sup>th</sup> September 1973 when Salvador Allende was overthrown by the military coup d'état.

faithful and optimistic man, he holds sense of command and is aware of his moral responsibilities". The government of his military junta is committed to "the moral reconstruction of the motherland" in all walks of life and, in order to achieve this objective, "the government has to consider a sense of authority as a fundamental aspect of his patriotic duty" (p.46).

If there was a need for moral reconstruction then a generous, authoritative father was necessary. In the work of Gisselle Munizaga can be found elements for understanding how Pinochet articulated the representative claim that gave place to the *pinochetistas*. 'We, all the Chileans' consists of women, soldiers and youth. A missing member of this family was the father, and he offered himself to play this role. 'All the Chileans' are confronted with the 'No-Chileans' who represent first and foremost a moral threat to the essential values of society. That is why a moral upright father was needed. Following Seward, Pinochet managed to make a constituency out of the disparate opposition to Salvador Allende's government. The coup d'état ('The 11') is the foundational moment of a constituency, since they are linked to Pinochet by the moral duty of reconstructing the motherland from the socialist chaos of Salvador Allende's government. There are also essential values connecting Pinochet and his *pinochetistas*, which ought to be preserved from the Marxist ideology. This is a very succinct account of Munizaga's work, which goes into further detail on Pinochet's vision of the Chilean society at the beginning of the dictatorship. The concept of representative claim illuminates its reading and helps to understand how a leader establishes a link with a group of people in order to turn them into a constituency. Pinochet presented the coup d'état as a foundational deed and the moral reconstruction of the country as the ongoing process whereby the *pinochetistas* rejuvenated the social attribution of authority upon him.

This section aimed to present two concepts that are relevant for this research project: charismatic authority and the representative claim. The former is defined according to the seminal elaboration provided by Max Weber. It is pointed out that this form of authority emerges from the interaction of a leader and a group of followers. On the one hand, the leader presents their deeds in public, on the other hand, the followers evaluate whether they are worthy of an attribution of authority. This theoretical discussion assumes that leaders hold certain agency in triggering the process of attribution of charismatic authority. The exercise of that agency is related with the concept of the representative claim proposed by Michael Seward. His definition is particularly relevant to the poetic faculties of the claim, which is to say, the leader's act of communication can create a constituency out of a number of people. First, the leader provides a description of that constituency by pointing out its characteristics, and then presents themselves as the one to represent them. If leaders and constituencies interact, the

very point of interaction is the representative claim. The next section aims to connect this concept with that of personal performance as defined by Erving Goffman and Jeffrey Alexander.

### 2.3 An interpretive approach to the performance of the representative claim

As the representative claim has been conceptualised as a 'claim', there is a temptation to understand it as a mere semantic phenomenon (De Wilde, 2013), disregarding the rest of the performative elements required to release its poietic potential. The previous section presented the case of Augusto Pinochet and how he constructed his constituency, the '*pinochetistas*', through consistent appeals to them in his speeches. The work of Giselle Munizaga approaches the semantics of these acts of communication, but her research did not aim to comprehend the whole personal performance of them, including elements such as where the speeches were given, who the audiences were, clothing, and whether they were conceived for radio, television or newspapers. Or how they related to the context of human rights violations, or economic and political repression. None of these elements can be read in *El Discurso Público de Pinochet* and, arguably, they might provide relevant information to enrich the kind of work conducted by Munizaga. This section discusses the conceptual connections between the representative claim and personal performance.

Saward himself points out the relevance of 'the performative' in the elaboration of the representative claim. He defines 'the performative' as categorically different from 'the institutional' aspects of representation. Saward argues that his conception of representation "stresses its dynamic, claim-based character, its performative aspects" and in doing so, it "stresses the performative rather than the institutional side of representation" (2006, p.300). The separation proposed by the author is merely analytical, though he maintains that the institutional and performative elements of political representation interplay somehow. Institutional elements such as electoral laws, the frequency of elections, vote-counting procedures, the number of representatives to be elected and so on are codes settled by laws which "become familiar and accepted parts of national and other political landscapes" and they "condition the styles of representative claims" (p.309). However, while 'the institutional' refers to representation as a finished product resulting from a set of unquestionable rules, the poietic faculties of the representative claims relies on 'the performative', suggests Saward. "Representing is performing, is action by actors, and the performance contains or adds up to a claim that someone is or can be 'representative'", he argues (p.302). That is why representation is not external to its "performance, but is something generated by the making, the performing, of claims to be representative" (p.302).



In this theoretical elaboration the performance of the representative claim is approached from an interpretive perspective. As was shown in the previous chapter, a normative approach has been predominant in political communication research resulting in a dismissal of 'the personal' of political leaders. This normative approach is interested in observing how the practice of political communication in the media conforms to the Habermasian agora-like ideal. So understood, the figure of the leader and its personal aspects are shorn of any relevance in the construction of political representation. This research project brings the figure of the leader back into the analysis by using the concept of performance, but with special interest in its relationship with the broader context of meaning. This approach was first introduced by Max Weber and has recently evolved towards the emergence of a cultural sociology that emphasises the relationship between meaning and the materiality of social practices. This cultural sociology gives weight to the performance whereby individuals act the meaning of their actions for others. Bringing an interpretive approach to political communication means reuniting materiality and meaning, body and ideas, social action and culture.

In an interpretive approach, the socially attributed meaning defines a social action as a research object. Established by Max Weber (1968a) in his *Interpretative Sociology*, it is characterised by its primary emphasis on interpreting the meaning of social action and thereby understanding the "causal explanation of its course and consequences" (p.4). In defining his research interest, Weber establishes that "we shall speak of 'action' insofar as the acting individual attaches a subjective meaning to his behaviour" (p.4). What is interesting as a research object is a meaningful action constituted through a process of attribution of meaning. However, in order to turn a mere behaviour into a social action that is worth studying, this attribution of meaning has to be a social process. In Weber's words "action is social insofar as its subjective meaning takes account of the behaviour of others and is thereby oriented in its course" (p.4). He also insists that "a correct causal interpretation of a concrete course of action is arrived when the overt action and the motives have both been correctly apprehended and, at the same time, their relation has become meaningfully comprehensible" (p.12).

The focus on meaning attribution sets relevant difference with the normative approach to political communication. The interpretive approach's aim is the search for an understanding about how individuals establish a relationship between meaning and their actions (Swedberg and Agevall, 2005, p.131). Interpreting social action is similar to the work conducted when interpreting a text, that is to say "to establish a relation between an observable event and an idea which existed in a human mind prior to the writing of the text and to which the latter is designed to lend expression" (Lachmann, 1970, p.18). This certainly implies an analytical separation between both, as it is in the normative approach to political communication. But,

after drawing any boundary between meaning and action, an interpretive approach should try to go a step further and look for relation between them. Another difference with the normative approach is that an interpretation suggests an active role by the individuals in attributing meaning to social action. Most of the research in political communication included in the previous chapter neglects the agency of audiences during the reception of a message. On the contrary, an interpretative approach recognises the individual “as the source of social action, as an agent” (Albrow, 1990, p.199) and the meaning they attach to the social action as its “fundamental motivation” (Lewis, 1975, p.30). Unveiling this meaning allows for explanations “of the manifest action” (Käsler, 1988, p.177) but it needs “to emphatically feel other’s modes of thought. In principle is possible for the interpretative sociologist to understand, better than the actor himself, the context in which action succeeds or fails in its intentions (Eldridge, 1970, pp.28-32).

Max Weber’s interpretative aim has not been predominant throughout the history of sociology. For Alexander et al. (2012) sociologists concerned about culture and the production and reproduction of meaning have worked as if they have to choose between a Durkhemian focus on public rituals and a Goffmanian emphasis on the everyday. As a result, there has been an unnecessary dualism between structure and contingency. Cultural sociology, or the so-called “‘cultural turn’ in the field (Inglis et al., 2007, p.5), represents an attempt to resolve this dichotomy by shifting “towards the understanding of the ‘cultural dimensions’ of fields such as the economy, organisations and political structures”. In doing so, sociology has come to be more of an “interpretative-cum-explanatory enterprise rather than to explain narrow empirical outcomes related to cultural things. For the cultural sociologist, meaning drives the entirety of life” (Alexander et al., 2012, p.9). The emergence of this interpretative shift relates to historical changes that have brought the culture to the surface as a critical element of social life. Hall et al. (2010, p.3) summarised these changes in “the broad transformation from a society organised along industrial lines to a society centrally ordered through a post-industrial logic”. This move has created conditions, for example, for leisure to gain in importance in comparison to work in defining individuals’ identities. As a result, there has been an increased valuation to self-expression through cultural choices and practice prompting, as a result, a sociological interest in the culture of everyday life. For authors, the emergence of a countercultural mode of political expression has also counted on the consolidation of the cultural turn. Non-class-based social movements such as those concerned with gender, ethnicity and environmental issues “questioned the conventional assumption that culture could be viewed as a relatively coherent societal package” (p.3).

The cultural turn in sociology has called for a displacement from the ‘sociology of culture’ towards a ‘cultural sociology’. According to those advocating for this turn, sociology of culture is concerned with objects as the result of economic processes, while cultural sociology looks for an interpretation of what those objects actually mean for a given society. Sociology of culture has succeeded in demonstrating the ways in which “political, economic, and social elements – most importantly, market structure and bureaucratic structure – impact the ‘cultural’ realm”, but has neglected the interpretation of what cultural objects themselves mean, observes Edles (2002, p.13). On the other hand, cultural sociology recognises the materiality of those objects as one of the ways in which people interact with meaning-structures by “everyday practices, such as eating, shopping, playing or watching sports, driving a motor vehicle, or listening to music” (Woodward, 2012, p.672). Alexander et al. (2012, p.18) propose that cultural sociology is in itself an acknowledgment that ideas and materiality relate, either because “material things and their uses are shaped by meanings” or because “meaning gets special power when embodied in materiality”.

Rather than further pursuing an abstract elaboration on the characteristics of the field it is worth considering the contribution that cultural sociology has made to a crucial aspect for the proposed approach to personalisation of political communication: the reconciliation of meaning and materiality. One of the most fruitful areas in which cultural sociology has contributed to this reunification is in its approach to economy, in particular how prices are fixed. Researchers have demonstrated that this process is far from being the mere expression of the most efficient relationship between material supply and material demand, as the classic economic theory contends. Zelizer (1989, p.344) examined the use of money to conclude that “not all dollars are equal”; on the contrary, people categorise them according to particular meanings. Carruthers and Babb (1996, p.1566) studied how the rhetoric used by those supporting two monetary alternatives (gold-based money and paper money) affected the post-civil war United States’ decisions on monetary policy. Similarly, Yakubovich et al. (2005, p.607) observed how conflicting actors “socially constructed” the rate systems for electricity used in the United States between 1882 and 1910. Ideas about national identity also influenced the Argentinian population and market brokers’ reaction towards the collapse of the country risk index during the financial crash of 2001 (De Santos, 2009, p.479).

This search for linkages between ideas and materiality has led researchers in the field of cultural sociology to coin the concept of cultural performance. In doing so, they aim to reconcile the materiality of individuals’ actions and the cultural background in which they are displayed. The concept of performance in social science is older than this ‘cultural’ derivation. It was used by Erving Goffman (1956) in his work *The presentation of self in everyday life*. In his words,

performance is the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by their continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers. Like an actor in a theatre, individuals use their “expressive equipment”, which consists of the “setting”, the “appearance”, and the “manner” (p.13). During this “dramatic realisation” (p.19) the performer has to take care of not committing “misrepresentation” (p.37), which emerges when the audience, which naturally tries to judge the performance as true or false, finds elements that appear to be manipulated.

Goffman’s elaboration does not neglect the cultural context in which a performance is displayed. He rather considers it as a set of symbolic resources that performers have at hand to convey their message. This idea is present in Goffman’s definition of “idealisation” (1956, p.22), a process that takes place when the individual presents themselves before others and their performance will tend to incorporate and exemplify the officially accredited values of the society, so that they express the rejuvenation and reaffirmation of the moral values of a community in itself. For Goffman, cultural context is what Swidler (1986, p.273) defined as that “tool-kit of symbols, stories, rituals and world views which people may use in varying configurations to solve different kind of problems”. In order to reach the idealisation of his performance, actors should use this tool kit of symbol and try to make their activity “resonate” with them (Snow and Benford, 1988, p.210; Benford and Snow, 2000, pp.621-622). Cultural context is merely a set of symbolic tools that the performer uses strategically to embellish the performance and to make their message more compelling.

The definition of performance proposed from cultural sociology differs from that of Goffman in how the performer relates with the cultural context. On the one hand, Goffman regards an instrumental relationship between individuals and cultural context. On the other, the concept of “cultural pragmatics” proposed by Jeffrey Alexander (2004a; 2006) assumes that a good performance ‘re-fuses’ the actor, the cultural background and, consequently, the audience. Alexander’s model suggests that performance can bring “meaning structures, contingency, power, and materiality” (2004a, p.540) conceptually together. In doing so, it can resolve the dichotomy between ideas and materiality posed by structuralist and pragmatistic approaches to social action. For Alexander, contemporary societies have become more segmented and differentiated (2004a, p.540) and their constitutive elements are de-fused. In this context, “social performances must engage in a project of *re-fusion*. To the degree they achieve re-fusion, social performances become convincing and effective. To the degree that social performances remain de-fused, they seem artificial and contrived” (2004a, p.529). Alexander explains that while the relation established between actor and text depends on “cathexis[, t]he relation

between actor and audience depends on the ability to project these emotions and textual patterns as moral evaluations” (2004a, p.531; 2006, p.34).

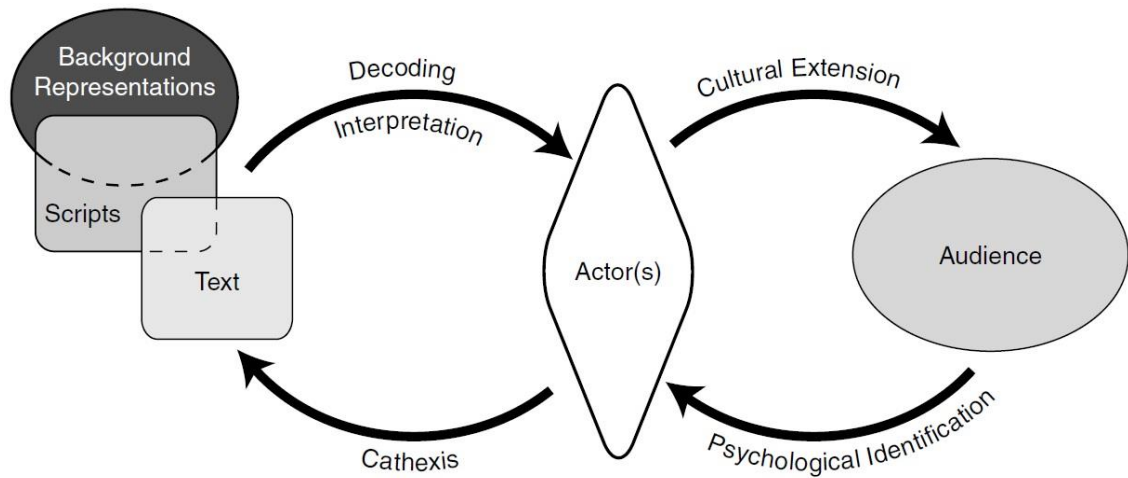


Figure 1: In a successful performance the actor manages to re-fuse all the elements in this diagram (Alexander, 2004).

In this model, culture consists of systems of collective representations that background every performative act and are articulated in scripts that guide the action (see Figure 1). When performing, an actor puts into practice “patterned representations” with referents in the “social, physical, natural, and cosmological worlds within which actors and audiences live” (p.530). On the one hand, these symbolic references provide the “deep background of collective representations for social performance; another part composes the foreground, the scripts that are the immediate referent for action” (p.530). Even if cultural representations were effectively articulated to provide guidance for the performance, these scripts cannot speak by themselves, they rather need an actor who makes them “walk and talk”, Alexander argues (2004a, p.530; 2006, p.33): “It is this need for walking and talking that makes the practical pragmatics of performance different from the cultural logic of texts. It is at this juncture that cultural pragmatics is born”. The main features of the cultural-pragmatics model will be further discussed in the next chapter, as they will inform the methodology design.

Re-fusion is where the main concepts presented in this theoretical elaboration end up converging. Based on Max Weber’s elaboration, ‘charismatic authority’ was defined as the result of the interplay between a community and a leader. On the one hand, the community attributes authority upon the leader based on their public deeds. Those very deeds inform what Michael Saward defined as the ‘representative claim’ whereby the leader constructs the constituency that will attribute authority upon them. In its original definition the word ‘claim’ may suggest a semantic understanding about the interplay between the leader and the community, however this chapter highlights the whole performativity of the ‘representative claim’. The construction

of a constituency relies on what Erving Goffman defined as 'personal performance', that is to say, on the activity of an individual in front of a set of observers in which the performer displays all sorts of expressive equipment in order to influence the audience. The performance of the representative claim has to succeed in constructing a constituency which finally attributes authority upon the individual. For this to happen, a 're-fusion' of the leader and the audience will be necessary, in the words of Jeffrey Alexander. Audience and leader becoming – metaphorically – one thing is the culmination of this process of building political power.

The adoption of Jeffrey Alexander's concepts of re-fusion and performance implies understanding politicians and political representation as embedded in the popular culture. Politics, its practices and actors, are here regarded as part and parcel of the process whereby a society produces meaning. In the words of Dahlgren (1988, p.287), the activity carried out by politicians cannot be isolated from the myriad of social processes of "making sense of the world around us, creating coherence in people's lives, and establishing an order in which to anchor our existence". This intertwining of politics and culture has been extensively explored in the field of cultural studies, revealing how meaning is inherently a matter of power, given that "dominant groups in societies seek to explain and validate their positions in particular structures" (Baldwin et al., 1999, p.17). These powerful positions can, however, be resisted in a sort of 'ideological struggle' which, in the words of Stuart Hall (1996), occurs when people contest existent meanings and try to transform them. Hall (1997, p.17) himself defined representation as an essential part of the process "by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture". In political terms, this definition could be reversed: the production and exchange of meaning is an essential part of the construction of political representation.

Political representation is therefore not regarded as a phenomenon isolated from popular culture, and this interplay is not considered to be problematic. This argument has methodological consequences, which will be discussed in the next chapter, but this theoretical framework aims to take distance from the separation of political communication and popular culture, which lies at the heart of what has been called 'pop-politics' or 'pop-democracy' (Mazzoleni and Sfarini, 2009; Tryon, 2008). Van Zoonen (2000, p.6) already brought this separation into question. For her, "politics and popular culture are constructed as each other's antagonists which seems justified by their origins in the two different social traditions of modernity on the one hand (politics) and orality on the other (popular culture)". Somehow, she adds, the popular is constructed as ruled by coincidence and marked by suspicion and sensation, which seems to collide with the modern tradition of contemporary politics and political culture, its belief in rationality, progress and the capacity of people to take control over their own destinies. In this perspective political representation and popular culture are seen as naturally

interconnected and that is why politicians' performances have to draw upon cultural background to ensure some success in fostering political representation. If politicians are compelled to project themselves "as a person of qualities", as Corner (2000, p.393) suggests, they have to pay "careful attention to popular values". And, if the context of popular culture is dominated by the logic of celebrity, the "adoption of the trappings of popular celebrity is not a trivial gesture towards fashion or a minor detail of political communication, but instead lies at the heart of the notion of political representation itself" (Street, 2004, p.447). Celebrity culture in combination with consumerism and cynicism have "restructured the field for political representation and god citizenship, downplaying traditional forms of ideological and party based allegiance, and foregrounding matters of aesthetic and style" (Corner and Pels, 2003, p.7).

This chapter provided the theoretical grounds to formulate the research questions. It presented an interpretive approach that gives centrality to the concept of re-fusion to discuss the role of personal performance in relation to political representation. Returning to the case of Pinochet and his '*pinochetistas*', with this approach one can formulate questions about moments in which the dictator managed to re-fuse himself and his followers as well as when he failed in doing so. Marcela Said's documentary *I Love Pinochet* shows that Pinochet's representative claim eventually resonated with a number of followers. His supporters can be seen celebrating that "grandpa is back" (from London), declaring their love for him "because he's a saviour, almost like a father". As in Munizaga's analysis, the film shows that *pinochetistas* regard themselves as "Chileans", while the rest are "not Chileans because they have a red, communist flag, they don't have a motherland". A former member of Pinochet's government can be seen warning a number of *pinochetistas* that although Pinochet "is back, this has not finished, the threat hangs over us just like yesterday". Almost 25 years after Pinochet made the speeches analysed by Munizaga, the main categories found by the sociologist remained present among his followers. *El Discurso Público de Pinochet* provides elements to understand how the semantics of the dictator's representative claim succeeded in creating his *pinochetistas*. This theoretical account calls for taking into account other performative elements as well. Voice, clothing, bodily gestures, for example, could be seen in terms of embodiment of pre-existent cultural symbols which foster identification between the audience and the actor. Or aspects of context can be regarded as expanding or constraining the chances of Pinochet reaching this re-fusion. Jeffrey Alexander's cultural-pragmatics provides a model to approach the performance of a representative claim.

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## 2.4 Research questions

This chapter provides the theoretical grounds for the research questions. Three concepts have been discussed: charismatic authority, representative claim and personal performance. An interpretive approach has been proposed to articulate them, that is to say, a perspective that aims to understand the social meaning attached to social action. By unlocking the meaning attributed to the personal performance given by politicians it is expected to unveil how they manage to create a constituency that will recognise them as their representative.

### 2.4.1 Main research question:

What is the role of a politician's personal performance in fostering political representation?

This question intends to look at the interplay between the personal performance given by a politician and a group of people. Theoretically speaking, the object of study is the 're-fusion' fostered by the personal performance whereby the politician enacts their representative claim in front of a set of observers. Erving Goffman's seminal concept of performance makes it difficult to narrow down the focus on what elements have a role to play in the poiesis of a constituency. This is when the cultural-pragmatics model of Jeffrey Alexander proves useful. In this model, the elements of a performance are analytically separated and the relations among them are outlined so that specific questions can be formulated.

### 2.4.2 Specific research question:

What are the roles of text, contingencies and personal style in the whole performance?

This specific research question points to three blind spots in the cultural-pragmatics model proposed by Alexander (2004a) to understand performance (see Figure 1). When it comes to text, the model presents it as scripts organising action that can be "understood as constituting the performance's immediate referential text" (p.531). Other performance elements would be subordinated to this script, which provides the organisation and coherence. For example, in Alexander's (2004b) account on the attacks against the World Trade Centre in New York on 11<sup>th</sup> September 2001, the performance succeeded in destroying the buildings only, but failed when US American citizens, media, and politicians articulated a counter-reading about the facts (2004b, p.93). In Alexander's account, at least, the script was exemplarily executed by the actors, but at the end they left the door open for a counter-reading. The problem was the absence of a text detailing the organiser's intended interpretation of the facts, typically a responsibility claim in a public statement. In *Politics as Theatre*, David Apter (2006) also emphasises the prominence of text over the whole performance. If text is "action and expression – one might speak here of

text-act rather than speech-acts” (p.228). For Apter, political discourses provide the performance with the necessary “narrative to be grounded to” (p.232).

Text can also work the other way around, that is to say, when other performative elements take over speech. In her analysis of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), Goodman (2006) mentions that the organiser wanted to represent the New South Africa as “a rainbow nation” (p.171) where different colours could cohabit and segregation was no longer acceptable. One way of materialising this idea was in the choices of places made by the TRC for holding the hearings, which mostly consisted of civic halls where black people were not allowed to enter or were banned during Apartheid. They also chose former anti-Apartheid sites of resistance such as churches and schools. The power of such places becomes more evident when considering that segregation and inclusion are ideas than can hardly be put into practice by discourse only. Enforcing racial segregation requires a visible demarcation of a material place from which people with certain characteristics are physically banned from entering; on the contrary, social inclusion needs to materially tear the demarcation down and let everyone come in. As segregation and inclusion are performative in nature, they cannot be put into practice uniquely through text. It can be said that in some cases, text guides the action, while in others, text is subordinated to other performative elements.

The role of political contingencies and personal style in the occurrence of re-fusion is also unclear. Jeffrey Alexander regards background representations as a stable system, downplaying the impact of unexpected contingences in its configuration. This specific question inquiries into this assumption and tries to ascertain how politicians balance the necessary reference to the system of background representations and their own creative agency when confronted with unforeseen developments. In the cultural-pragmatics model, Alexander defines “the challenge of *mise-en-scène*” (2004a, p.554) as the necessity for actors to put into practice the patterned representations. He explains in theatrical terms the conflict underlying this challenge. On one hand is the pre-existing script, and on the other is the interpretation made by the actor. In theatre, it is the role of the director to resolve the conflict, observes Alexander, however, there is no director organising politicians’ actions, it is rather up to them to interpret and make the background representations ‘walk and talk’. Maarten A. Hajer (2009) approaches this challenge in a slightly different manner. For him, individual performances are to be seen as part of a longer sequence (p.67). It is along this concatenation of performances that actors develop a “performative habitus” (Hajer and Uitermark, 2008, p.13) that enables them to skilfully deal with unexpected contingences. The challenge of *mise-en-scène* is then resolved by citing previous performances and the accumulation of these citations constitutes a stock of references for the social actor to draw upon ‘in case of emergency’.

This research question acknowledges the ‘challenge of *mise-en-scène*’, but also recognises that the elements to which an actor refers in their performance are an ever-changing/permanent structure. The challenge is not the reference to that structure itself, but the fact that the reference points to a moving and changing target. This interplay between structure and agency is also mentioned by Rauer (2006, p.259), who argues that performances are never new or extraordinary themselves, on the contrary “performative utterances depend on the iteration of certain textual models or scripts in order to be understood” but it is the merit of the actor to create “spontaneous invents” to challenge these symbolic structures. While background representations shape social actors and audiences’ interpretations of a performance, contingencies reconcile this “culture’s deeply constitutive power with social actor’s abilities to creatively and agentially situate and strategise vis-à-vis the symbolic structures in which they are embedded” (Mast, 2006, p.138). The concept of personal style, as used in this research question, refers to the specific ways in which each politician materialises the solutions for their own challenge of *mise-en-scène*.

Having presented the research questions and their theoretical grounds, the next chapter will present the methodology chosen to answer them. This theoretical elaboration started by reviewing the concept of charisma, then moved to the idea of the representative claim and, finally, two different approaches to personal performances were discussed. One of those two definitions, coined by Jeffrey Alexander, includes the idea of ‘re-fusion’ as the goal of any performer aiming to reach a connection with their audience. Theoretically, it has been proposed that any politician aiming to be charismatised with political representation by a group of people, must reach a certain degree of ‘re-fusion’ with them. That is how this review concluded with the concept of re-fusion as a central way of approaching the research questions. Re-fusion is the main concept informing the methodological options chosen in this project, thus this concept and its implications are analysed in-depth in the methods chapter that follows. The first part of the next chapter is a continuation of the theoretical elaboration presented here, before moving on to discussing the practicalities of data collection.



## Chapter 3: Locating Jeffrey Alexander's re-fusion in political satire: An ethnographic approach to *Polònia*'s production processes

### 3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present the methodology used to answer the research questions raised in Chapter 2. This chapter can be regarded as a continuation of the previous one because the idea of re-fusion was introduced in section 2.3 and now becomes the cornerstone of this research design. In the first part I outline a theoretical elaboration concerning re-fusion, defined as the flow emerging from a successful performance to connect the politician and the audience. Following Alexander's cultural-pragmatics model, I propose that satirists can be regarded as hermeneutical power-holders. They re-interpret the re-fusing flow, and to do so they have to become part of it. Based on the example of the Ancient Greek political comedian Aristophanes, I argued that satirical impersonation of politicians is a place to probe the re-fusing flow. Given that the objective of this research design is to observe the occurrence of the re-fusing flow, an ethnographic approach to the impersonation production process is proposed as the methodology. The chosen satirist to conduct this research is *Polònia*, an impersonation-based TV show broadcast on TV3 in Catalonia, Spain. As required for an ethnographic approach, I include a personal reflection about the methodological choices and researcher's positioning regarding the show and the political context. I describe the three data-collection techniques used: interviews with production staff, observation of rehearsals and script analysis. Finally, I show how the data analysis was conducted, in order to turn impressions into theoretical insights.

### 3.2 Cultural-pragmatics: A theory to reconcile symbolism and action

"In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God". But contemporary societies have dissociated the Word from God; they are no longer one thing. As a consequence, social actors must engage in performances aimed at re-associating them. This could be a biblical version of the argument developed by Jeffrey Alexander in his elaboration of the re-fusion concept and cultural-pragmatics model. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, in contemporary societies the elements of cultural performances have been de-fused, Alexander says. In early societies, background representations, actor, and audience were fused, however, historical transformations de-fused them and nowadays social actors who aim to succeed in displaying the meaning of their actions to others must engage in a project of re-fusion of those elements. Politicians, the concern of this research project, must achieve re-fusion with the background representations and the audience if they want to attain political power. 'Giving a

performance' before others is not enough for politicians to be charismatised with authority. Instead, it is necessary to have a continuous flow re-fusing the audience; him or herself, God and Word... as it was in the beginning.

If the achievement of re-fusion is the key factor for a group of people to regard a politician as their representative, then re-fusion is the key element of this study. This research project does not focus on the 'performance' given by a politician, but in the re-fusion fostered by that performance. This distinction takes distance from the 'nonverbal communication' studies which have largely focused either on an actor's physicality (Bucy and Grabe, 2008; Heschl, 1993; Stewart, 2010) or audience responses (Masters, 1994; Murray, 2014; Stewart et al., 2015). This project's ambition is to observe the occurrence of the re-fusion of the performance's elements, the flow connecting them. This poses a major methodological question: where to locate re-fusion? This section intends to characterise the definition of re-fusion provided by Jeffrey Alexander, and it will subsequently inform the empirical choices for a place to observe it. The first section of this chapter can be read as a continuation of the theoretical elaboration presented in the previous chapter. It was said that charismatic authority emerges from the interplay between the politicians and a group of people, that interaction is materialised in the representative claim which has to be performed in front of others. For politicians to be charismatised, the performance of that representative claim must 're-fuse' themselves with their audiences and the background representations. The following is an in-depth analysis of the concept of re-fusion and its implications for the methodology selected to answer the research questions. It starts with an overall description of the cultural-pragmatics model's theoretical grounds, from which the idea of re-fusion is taken. Then, it moves to re-fusion and its conceptual characteristics.

Jeffrey Alexander's concept of re-fusion emerges from a critical engagement with sociological theories which have dissociated agency and structure. Together with Jason Mast, Alexander (2013) describes the pathway to the 'cultural-pragmatics model', which intends to be a reconciliatory theory. It is this elaboration that provides the philosophical underpinnings of this research design. Alexander and Mast acknowledge the seminal contribution of Goffman and Austin when relating performance and speech acts to the immediate interactional context into which they are inserted. However, they "failed to account for the cultural context out of which particular signs are drawn forth by a speaker" (p.8). The everyday use of language and cultural structures began to converge when Saussure declared the 'arbitrary nature of sign' and that meaning "derives from its relations to other signs in a system of signs relations" (p.9), they observe. It was then Derrida who came to bridge them by stating that "all words cite the seemingly absent background cultural text from which they derive their meanings" (p.10). The

cultural-pragmatics model, say Alexander and Mast, emerges out of this “confluence, maintaining that cultural practice must be theorised independently of cultural symbolic, even as it remains fundamentally interrelated with it” (p.11).

A theoretical reconciliation of pragmatic action and symbolic structure also requires taking distance from critical theorists’ melancholia for more meaningful past times. Alexander and Mast stand back from the leftist cultural critics’ nostalgic claim “that nothing can ever be the same again, that capitalism or industrial society or mass society or postmodernity has destroyed the possibility of meaning” (p.14). Walter Benjamin and his rejection of the mechanical reproduction of art is mentioned as the epitome of this disenchantment. “Sacred aura is a function of distance. It cannot be maintained once mechanical reproduction allows contact to become intimate, frequent, and, as a result, mundane”, say Alexander and Mast, paraphrasing Benjamin. They also regard Jacques Baudrillard’s idea of simulacrum as another “instalment in the theoretical allegory of disenchantment” (p.16). The authors maintain that culture remains powerful even in contemporary societies because “powers are still infused with sacralising discourses [...] Secularisation does not mean the loss of cultural meaning, the emergence of completely free-floating institutions or the creation of purely self-referential individual actors” (p.14). Victor Turner is recognised as having overcome this nostalgia by stating that contemporary societies also experience rituals, although in a different way. Turner applied the concept of *liminoid* (derived from liminality) “to represent liminal-like moments and communitas-like sentiments that post-industrial actors experience in (ritual-like) social dramas that are more individualised and entered into more freely” (p.17. Italics in original).

By verifying the presence of a form of liminality in contemporary ritual-like moments, Turner opened the door for the concept of performance to reclaim centrality. Following Alexander and Mast’s account, Richard Schechner used Turner’s idea of liminality to unlock the ‘in between’ of symbolism and action through ‘performance studies’ (Alexander, 2013, p.18). Performances are now given relevance because they “precipitate degrees of liminality, they are capable of transforming social relations. The communitarian emphasis on holism, on cultural, social and psychological integration is palpable” (p.20). Alexander and Mast, however, do not engage with the ‘counter-nostalgic’ optimism that attributes performances the inherently subversive role of creating new scripts for action. They point out that this approach would lead “ineluctably to the conclusion that (subaltern) groups’ identities are constituted wholly from within, that they share no symbolic codes with the dominant culture” (p.21). On the contrary, they insist that “if subaltern performances are to creatively play upon and subvert dominant culture, subversive performers must already have internalised the hegemonic code” (p.22). The implication of this hypothesis is that the structure of cultural meaning has “relative autonomy” from the social

structure (Alexander and Smith, 2003), that modes of interpretation and representation are not necessarily determined by social stratification (See also Olick, 2010). Instead “the theory of cultural-pragmatics interweaves meaning and action in a nonreductive way, pointing towards culture structures while recognising that only through the action of concrete social actors is meaning’s influence realised”, suggests Alexander (2013, p.22).

Individuals’ action to make meaning walk and talk is the central element in the cultural-pragmatics model. With its formulation, Alexander aims to reconcile sociological theories that have dissociated symbolism and action. To do so, distance is required from the assumptions underpinning those theories, especially the nostalgia of critical theories and the counter-nostalgia of performance studies. In other words, only when the critical desolation for impossibility of meaning in contemporary societies is overcome, can one set off for an interpretive enterprise, as this research design aims to do. But at the same, it has to be recognised that individual agents presenting the actions for others must cite the social structures that they want to subvert. An individual’s agency and meaning structure are re-associated in the performance given by individuals. No performance can be given in a vacuum and no meaning can be realised in the absence of individuals materialising them. In that liminal realm where structure and agency converge rests the interest of this research design. These are the main arguments of the cultural-pragmatics model from which the concept of re-fusion emerges. The next subsection presents the specific features of this concept and its application in political studies.

### 3.3 Re-fusion: The relevance of being mistaken for someone or something else

In the cultural-pragmatics model proposed by Alexander (2004a) any social actor aiming to display the meaning of their actions should manage to re-fuse themselves with their audiences and background representations (see Figure 2). In politics, this means that the politician is compelled to become a collective representation, “a symbolic vessel filled with what citizens hold most dear. More than simply a smart, experienced, and competent politician, one needs to become a broad expression of the moods and meanings of the nation’s democratic life” Alexander (2010d, p.18). Effective politicians’ performances “so powerfully project energy and message that audiences fuse with political performers. Failed performance means that the distance between politicians and the breadth and depth of the citizen audiences remains great” (2010d, p.38). In an ideal re-fused situation there should be no distance between the politician, the citizen and the system of background representations so that an external observer would not be able to distinguish one element from another.



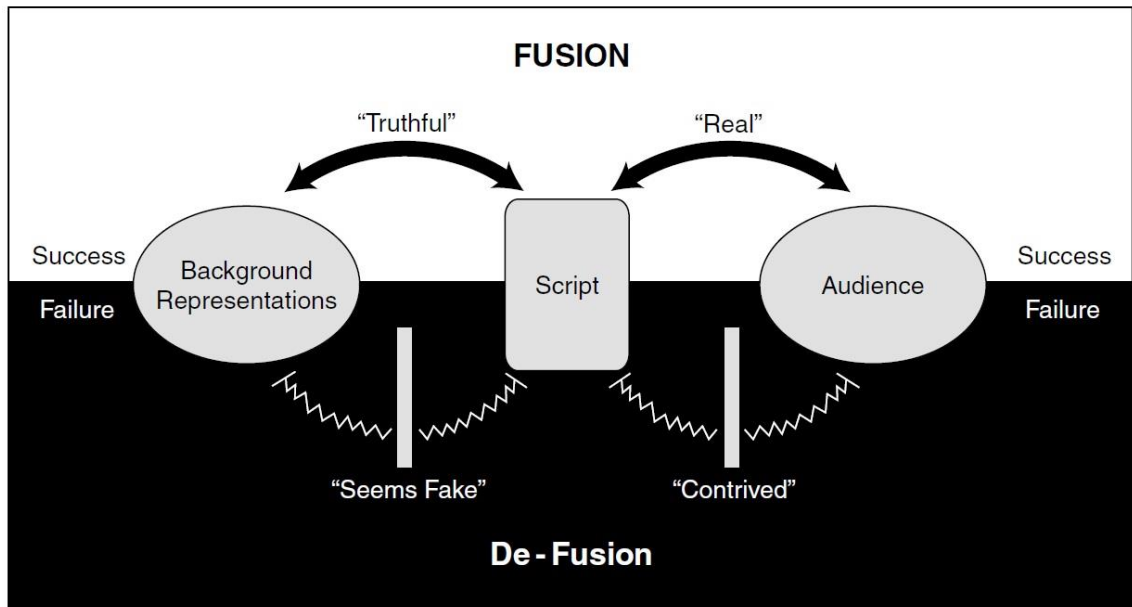


Figure 2: Fusion/De-fusion of background representation, script, and audience (Alexander, 2004).

Jeffrey Alexander describes a historiographic transition from times when creating this re-fusion was not required because performance elements were naturally fused. He draws upon the evolution of drama in Ancient Greece to demonstrate how, when a society becomes more complex, the elements of drama became de-fused. In his account, Greek theatre emerged from religious rituals in which there was no difference between actors, collective representations, and audiences, because “society were united in a putatively homogeneous, still mythical way” (Alexander, 2004a, p.541). In those days, the symbolic roles of those who participated in rituals emerged without mediation from the other social roles that actors played in different walks of life, thus re-fusion was not an issue (p.535). As Greek society became more complex, theatre included not only sacred but also secular characters and tales. Participants began to enact roles which were so differentiated from themselves that they could be written down in scripts and interpreted by different professional actors. The emergence of drama criticism differentiated the experience of the absorbed audience from that of those who judged and observed from outside the stage (p.542). In contemporary societies, observes Alexander, this process of differentiation starts with the necessity of capitalist elites persuading the non-elites to create a surplus without using material coercion. This ideological project is crystallised in the emergence of written texts which “allowed and demanded ‘the de-contextualization or generalization’ of collective representations, which in oral societies were intertwined more tightly with local social structures and meanings” (p.539).

Being perceived as authentic is particularly challenging when social actors are compelled to create re-fusion, or in Alexander’s words, to agentially re-fuse the performance’s elements. For him (2004a, p.548), in contemporary societies the puzzle confronting individual and collective

symbolic action is to infuse meaning by re-fusing performances while “being perceived as authentic”. Rather than an ontological state, authenticity is an interpretive category that “is arrived at, is contingent, and results from a process of social construction” (2013, p.13). Being authentic is an attribution made by the audience which “depends on an actor’s ability to sew the disparate elements of performance back into a seamless and convincing whole” (p.548). Failure suggests that the performance is seen as insincere and faked: “the actor seems out of role, merely to be reading from an impersonal script, pushed and pulled by the forces of society, acting not from sincere motives but to manipulate the audience” (p.548). In a successful performance, instead, “the signifiers seem actually to become what they signify. Symbols and referents are one. Script, direction, actor, background culture, *mise-en-scène*, audience, means of symbolic production—all these separate elements of performance become indivisible and invisible”, observes Alexander (2004a, p.549).

For this to happen, actors and audiences must first share a mutual belief about the meaning of the displayed actions. This blossomed more effortlessly in the rituals celebrated in early societies when all the participants shared a “mutual belief in the descriptive and prescriptive validity of the communication’s symbolic contents and accept the authenticity of one another’s intentions” (2004a, p.528). However, in contemporary societies it has become more difficult for social actors to make others believe in the validity of their strategies. To overcome that, they are compelled to offer plausible cultural performances that display for others the meaning of their social situation and lead “those to whom their actions and gestures are directed to accept their motives and explanations as a reasonable account” (p.529). As mentioned earlier, a successful performance is defined as one that makes the distinction between the actor and the evoked collective background representation disappear (p.530). However, making others believe lies beyond a cognitive process. Seeing and observing a performing actor can involve a mere learning process if the audiences do not experience “emotional or moral signification”, the author suggests (p.531). A successful performer should manage to establish the same “poetic faith” or “willing suspension of disbelief” experienced by drama audiences. Otherwise, the play “would not seem real; there could be no verisimilitude, narratives would be dismissed as fantasies, identification would fail, and there would be neither moral learning nor cathartic relief” (2010d, p.32).

The 2008 election campaign of Barack Obama as the Democrat candidate for the presidency of the United States of America offered Jeffrey Alexander a case to discuss the cultural-pragmatics model’s main elements. This application is relevant for this project as the model was first presented as a theory to make structure and agency converge, but Obama’s campaign related it to a case of an individual seeking political power. Alexander presented this analysis in the book

*The Performance of Politics: Obama's victory and the democratic struggle for power* (2010d). Despite the methodological limitations of what he called 'media ethnography' as a data-collection technique – which basically consisted of watching television – this work allows a better understanding of the proposed theory. He maintains the historical assumption that once upon a time performance's elements were fused and the evolution to contemporary societies de-fused them. In this context, as with any other social actor, politicians must re-fuse the elements by finding "a pathway that leads from the words that come from the mouths of political performers and from the pictures drawn by their hands to the eyes and ears of the citizen audience and, via these receptors, into the centre of their throbbing democratic hearts" (2010d, p.13). The contact of the candidate with the audience is everything and political rallies play an important role in making this possible. The politician is expected to "experience and channel the energy of human contact" and not just read off the argumentative claims of the audience (p.8). This is when politicians and audiences experience "fused performances in which charismatic leaders touch the voter's hands and the tremendous effervescence of the crowds flowing into the symbolic figure who is the collective political representation" (2010d, p.11).

The occurrence of re-fusion – and its precariousness – can be verified in the fact that, as soon as it is achieved, it can be spoilt. In his 'media ethnography' Alexander (2010d) provides an account of the live NBC broadcast of Barack Obama's nomination speech on 28<sup>th</sup> August 2008. The author narrates how different political actors and artists attended the ceremony to show their support for the new Democrat candidate. Before Obama came on stage, the event was described as "an undeniable demonstration of the possibility of 'concrete change'" (p.22) and also compared with the fall of the Berlin Wall or the end of Apartheid in South Africa. The nomination was succeeding in being re-fused with other major historical moments of transformation and also with ideas of freedom and struggle against racial segregation. "This inflationary framing is momentarily brought back to earth by NBC correspondent Andrea Mitchell, who reveals what she clearly believes to be the wires behind the evening's event", observes Alexander in his media ethnography (p.22). Mitchell re-described the moment as a mere 'massive recruitment effort. You get a free ticket if you agree to do six hours of volunteering'. Alexander recognises good journalism in this assertion, but in a context of ritual re-fusion: "Mitchell's observations appear discordant, symbolically out of place even if empirically true. Anchor Chris Matthews is affronted, warning, 'Andrea, this seems to me immensely Machiavellian!'" (p.23). Following Alexander's account, it can be hypothesised that Chris Matthews was part of the re-fusion triggered by Obama's performances and he felt offended when Andrea Mitchell brought him back to earth, spoiling the precarious moment.

The nature of the kind of background representations with which the politician is re-fused is also politically contentious. This is the case when, as Alexander posits, 'Obama Meets the Celebrity Metaphor' (2010a). During the 2008 election campaign, Senator Barack Obama travelled to the Middle East and Europe, which in Alexander's account allowed him to meet prominent political leaders and to be received by cheering crowds at every destination. Obama had managed to create the flow to be mistaken for an actual head of state representing the country abroad, but Republican campaigners and media counterattacked by redefining him as a mere celebrity. They aimed to downplay Obama's connection with the audience: rather than a statesman with citizens, he was merely a popular singer with his fans. Democrats first dismissed this association's importance by clarifying that Obama was a politician, not a pop singer, however, as Alexander observes, it is "the symbolic power of the celebrity advertisement that matters, not its factual accuracy. Its authority is performative, its cultural power immediately felt" (p.414). The point was that "in their democratic role as carriers of civic virtue, Americans are deeply suspicious of celebrity, contrasting narcissistic publicity seeking with true public spiritedness and polluting pseudo-fame as selfish and manipulative" (p.415). This was the cultural backdrop against which the re-fusion Obama-celebrity was created and therein lays its – temporary – success. Obama responded not with semantics but with performance. For Alexander, the drama twisted favourably in the acceptance speech. In that event, Obama turned a large football stadium into an intimate place, making every single attendee feel connected, like he was speaking to each of them personally. "The fusion Obama hero has created causes celebrity metaphor to die", he concludes (2010a, p.417).

This section characterised Jeffrey Alexander's concept of re-fusion and observed its application in political analysis. Re-fusion is a central element of the broader cultural-pragmatics model he has proposed to understand the interplay between an individual's agency and meaning structures. In this elaboration, an individual's performances connect to a liminality in which action and symbolism converge to make the materiality meaningful. Re-fusion implies breaking through this liminal ground and bringing the audience into it. Social actors, audiences and background representation are fused in one performance so that an outsider cannot distinguish one element from another. It can be argued that the goal of any performer is being re-fused with or mistaken for something or someone else. Ideally, the actor, the audiences and the background representation seem to be the same thing. In politics, leaders are compelled to re-fuse themselves with their citizen audiences. This re-fusion can occur if the politicians make believe to the citizens that their intentions are authentic, otherwise the elements remain de-fused and political success is limited or impossible. In this case, politicians should seek to be mistaken for their constituencies and their symbols. Achieving re-fusion is a contentious and

precarious process. Other social actors may spoil the moment or redirect the flow towards a background representation that is undesired by the politician. Re-fusion implies connection, energy flows, beliefs, and interplay among actors. The next section proposes a place where re-fusion can be empirically verified and methodically examined.

### 3.4 Political satire and impersonation: A probing point into the re-fusing flow

This research project probes into the flow connecting politicians, background representations and constituencies. The cultural-pragmatics model reserves a place for the role of those ‘mediating’ the connection of actors and audiences. Figure 3 illustrates the social powers that affect the conditions under which a performance is given. There are the “productive powers” controlling the “access to the appropriate means of symbolic production” (Alexander, 2004a, p.555); the “distributive power” concerning the means to make the performance “available to audiences throughout the land” (p.557); and the hermeneutical powers which engage in the dispute for the interpretation (p.558). Alexander proposes the emergence of art criticism as an exercise of this third form of power. In contemporary society can be found formal institutions of criticism (media, academies) organised to “employ, and deploy, autonomous criteria in the evaluation of social performance” (p.558). A possible point of entry into the flow re-fusing politicians and audiences might be found in the hermeneutical power-holders mediating the connection between the social actor and the audience.

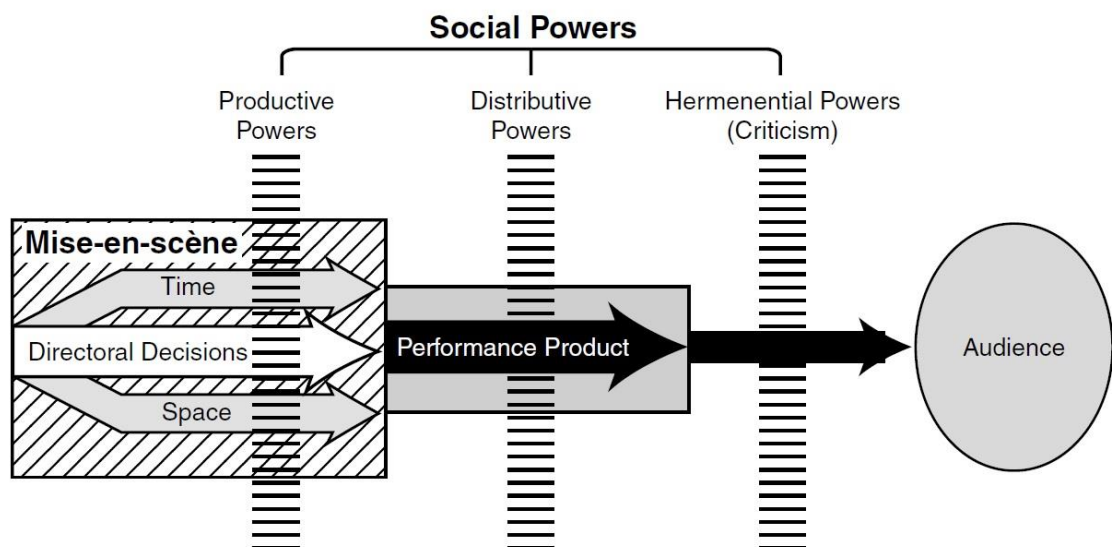


Figure 3: *Mise-en-scène* interfacing with social powers (Alexander, 2004).

Political satire and impersonation can be regarded as part of these hermeneutical powers and as such it is proposed as a place where the re-fusion can be observed. As observed in Chapter 1, the political communication research approach to the personal has been informed by a primary interest in proving its detrimental impact on democratic values. The empirical evidence to sustain this debate has been, for the most part, obtained by counting the number of mentions of politicians' personal attributes in news articles, which is in itself problematic. If journalism aspires to fulfil its part in 'the social contract' with democracy (Kieran, 1997; 2000), it has to be a depersonalised genre. Data, however, shows that there is a certain degree of personalised mentions in news articles, and also that this presence is not necessarily a risk for democracy. It is therefore concluded that the definition of the personal as a media pathology has more to do with the normative prescriptions informing the dominant approach in political communication studies, rather than the result of empirical evidence. The fact is that, despite the expectations, the personal is there and the aim of this thesis is to explore its particularities.

This research design assumes that there is a world of genres beyond news where the mediation of politics takes place. Richardson et al. (2013, p.9) surveyed a number of "no-news" formats to show how citizens access politics via journalism, but also through genres "designed to offer pleasure as much as, or even more than, to enhance their understanding of 'the political' and perhaps mobilize them to political action". They propose that if news is reframed as just one of the possibilities in a spectrum of genres, "then we can begin more carefully to unpack the ways that broadcasting's generic repertoire configures relations between citizens and embodied/en-voiced performances of politicality" (p.18). Their study includes the visuals, semantics and audience's modes of appropriation of different genres such as talk shows, docudramas, comedy, cartoons, parody, and blogs, among others. This thesis aims to consider the personal in politics without the normative burden of depersonalisation posed by journalism, thus the first step is to move away from news. Following Richardson et al. (2013, p.174), the analysis was conducted in one of those genres that shows politics as "embodied in the politician as mediated political subject". It was expected that the personal attributes of politicians are given more relevance in those genres than in news.

Satirical impersonation of politicians is regarded as one of those genres in which the personal is foregrounded, as suggested by Richardson et al. (2013). Corner et al. (2013, p.33) observe that "imitative" media genres can include comic portrayal of politicians and political activity in drama or short comic sketches, all characterised by the fact that "politicians' gestures and speech here form part of a repertoire of mediation that often involves a strong element of ridicule". In other words, this research design expected that the personal performance given by politicians would be the raw material for impersonators to produce their characters. Most of the studies

conducted on political satire have largely focused on news parody (Baym, 2005; Baym, 2014; Baym and Jones, 2012; Gray et al., 2009; Jones, 2010; Jones et al., 2011), while research on satirical impersonation of politicians has mainly looked at its effects on audience's candidate evaluations rather than its role of mediation (Baumgartner, 2008; Boland, 2012; Brewer et al., 2013; Bal et al., 2009, p.236; Holbert et al., 2011). John Corner (2012, p.1053) criticised this approach in political communication research for its "cautious, perhaps slightly patronizing, welcoming of the comic" as "possibly a 'helpful' way into political knowledge and perhaps political engagement for those groups, including the young, who might find a serious engagement with political news too demanding or boring". This research design moves away from a primary interest in effects and regards political satire as a strategic point to observe the confluence of performance elements. Here, political humour is not regarded as an anteroom to serious politics, instead it is seen as any other form of political mediation with its own potentials and shortcoming. Specifically, it is approached as a place to observe the role of the personal.

Another relevant distinction of this research designs is the focus on the 'in-between' rather than on the senders or receivers themselves. As was said in the previous section, re-fusion occurs as a result of an interplay of an actor, an audience, and the set of background representations. For this to happen a negotiation is required, rather than a mere effect caused by a sender on a receiver. The focus on the in-between is distanced from the nonverbal communication studies that have analysed the performer. These studies of the 'real-life politicians' tend to give primacy to the researcher in determining what element of the whole performance is most relevant – they also assume a universal interpretation of gestures or forms of bodily expression (Bucy and Grabe, 2008; Heschl, 1993; Stewart, 2010). Another alternative is to look at audience responses to the performance given by the politician. This kind of study has been prolific in identifying correlations between certain politicians' behaviour and observers' reactions (Masters, 1994; Murray, 2014; Stewart et al., 2015). But, for the most part, such studies are carried out by following experimental designs that create an artificial situation, which can be hardly replicated in real-life moments of reception. In order to observe the occurrence of the re-fusion flow, it is necessary to look at the in-between of the performer and the audience, rather than at each one separately and artificially isolated. This might have the advantage of looking at the interplay of two elements of the performance, but also the disadvantage of looking at none of them. Somehow, this research design locates itself in a sort of roundabout which allows it to exist in the convergence of multiple roads, but also in none of them at the same time.

Political satire can be regarded as a hermeneutical power-holder because such work depends on being part of the re-fusing flow. Although Alexander does not make this difference explicit, a hermeneutical power-holder is not the same as the reluctant observer described in the case of

the NBS journalist commenting on Obama's speech. The journalist was a reluctant observer because she was outside the re-fusing flow. She was not 'made to believe' in the 'authenticity' of the performer's intentions. A hermeneutical power-holder must experience the aforementioned 'willing suspension of disbelief', otherwise there is nothing to be interpreted. If a theatre critic, for example, says that everything on stage is not true, then there is nothing to talk about. When it comes to political satire, audiences' identification with fictional characters "is a key factor in determining not only its popularity but the potential to create meaningful critique", notes Watters (2011, p.186). Relevant in facilitating this recognition is "the confluence of visual and verbal dimensions of political communication and contextual elements" (Flowers and Young, 2010, p.49). This means that in some cases irony and satire in political narratives may "demand a far more active process of engagement on the part of the audience than does the monological and literal modality of news" (Jones and Baym, 2010, p.290). The satirist cannot spoil the connection between audiences and politicians by questioning its authenticity. Their success depends on twisting, stretching, or bending it, but by no means breaking it off, as the reluctant observer does.

To be recognised as satirists, these artists adopt a defiant attitude when playing with the connection between a politician's activities and a broader political context. Satirical impersonations can give place to "new and meaningful interpretations" of the political context because of its "intertextual nature", indicates Peifer (2013). Tsakona and Popa (2011, p.7) concede that political humour requires explicitly coherent links to political context, otherwise it cannot be processed and interpreted, "however such links are not exactly intertextual, but rather contra-textual". Only by parodying the traditional pretended seriousness of politics can a satirist break down the boundaries between different genres and defy their rules as socially constructed texts (Druick, 2009, p.306). The challenging relation to political languages also rests on its "inquiry and provocation" over comfortable ideas, which are realised by "asking questions and raising doubts but not providing answers", warns Griffin (1994, p.160). This defiant attitude is a defining feature of the genre and explains the censorship over satirists even in the so-called consolidated democracies (Gray et al., 2009) as well as its ability to overcome it in authoritarian regimes (Meng, 2011).

Politicians present themselves before an audience and satirists mediate the connection between both by offering a reinterpretation of the performance. An example of this re-interpretive role conducted by satirists is the Ancient Greek comedian Aristophanes (c.446 – c.386 BC), whose plays portrayed politicians in mock impersonations. Aristophanes also played with these re-fusing connections between politicians, audiences and political context. It is plausible to think that both Aristophanes' personal animosity (Edmunds, 1987, p.61) and audiences' reactions had



a role to play in the selection of the politicians being portrayed. Robson (2009, p.166) notes that Aristophanes' favourite characters consisted of "someone who was unpopular in the city and/or who could easily be portrayed as morally bankrupt". Something they said or did, their reputation, and their physical appearance and names were the raw material upon which Aristophanes built his characters. Chosen politicians were victims of standard allegations: corruption, foreign origins, and the possibility of prostitution in their youth were among the most common. However, not all politicians received the same treatment in Aristophanes' plays. Robson observes how the radical democrat Cleon was flatly abused on stage, while anti-democrats received good mentions, which may reveal an author's "anti-establishment bias" (p.179). Robson insists, however, that this bias was common in most of Aristophanes' artist contemporaries, which may lead to a supposition that it was also an expression of the political Athenians' anxieties and tensions.

Aristophanes managed to play with the re-fusing flow with a defiant attitude without spoiling it, as is required for the exercise of the hermeneutical power. MacDowell (1995) explains that, for the Athenians, a play was a special occasion that took place only twice a year at festivals, which were both religious celebrations and fierce competitions. Spectators consisted of a group of judges and the audience. The latter mainly consisted of those who lived near the town, could afford the admission, and were adult male citizens. MacDowell shows that Aristophanes took part in these competitions to win, that is to say, to please and impress the audience. This compelled him, "at least in his earliest plays" (p.17), to conform with certain popular conventions of form and structure and to include elements such as religion, music and dancing, obscenity, and some degree of personal ridicule, especially of prominent persons (p.26). Aristophanes succeeded in offering an amusing re-interpretation of politics to conform to certain social conventions, but his attitude was defiant enough to provoke a serious reaction from those in power. Edmunds (1987, p.60) documented that Cleon made him liable for his plays, in particular because he "criticised Athens' treatment of her allies at the Dionysia, when foreigners were present, Cleon hauled before the Boule". It can be argued that Aristophanes' plays did strike a responsive chord in Athenian politics and that he did so skilfully. The example of Aristophanes shows that political satire can be regarded as a place to probe the re-fusing flow. He offered plausible – and humorous – re-interpretations of politicians' performances, which conformed to audiences' pre-existing ideas. Rather than spoiling it, Aristophanes participated in the re-fusion flow; rather than breaking it, Aristophanes played with the re-fusion, and that is why he won competitions and was prosecuted by Cleon.

### 3.5 *Polònia*, Spain and Catalonia: An ethnographic approach to political satire and its context

The political satire selected for this research is *Polònia*, a TV show broadcast in Catalonia since 2006 which consists of impersonations of politicians. The chosen methodology consists of an ethnographic approach to its production processes. This section explains the reasons underlying these two decisions and how they were materialised. In the first subsection, it is argued that to give a proper account of the re-fusion flow it is necessary to experience its occurrence, and that is why this research design was largely inspired by an ethnographic approach. Secondly, it narrates in first-person the two consubstantial processes of: (a) making a choice for *Polònia* as a place to conduct this research; and (b) setting out my own position as a researcher regarding the programme and its context. In the third subsection, the three data-collection techniques employed are described: participant observation of rehearsals and recordings; interviews with production staff members; and document analysis. This chapter does not include a special section for the ethical review, however, the impact of these procedures in the process of approaching the participants is mentioned. The reason behind this is that ethics is not regarded as a mere bureaucratic process to conform to institutional regulations, rather it is seen as a relevant step in the construction of a respectful relationship between the researcher and those who made the project possible<sup>3</sup>.

The main argument to arrive at *Polònia* is the theoretical elaboration presented in the previous section: the focus of this research project is the concept of re-fusion of the politician with the constituency, as defined by Jeffrey Alexander. Following Alexander's cultural-pragmatics model, the understanding of re-fusion implies connection with a flow linking the audience, the politician and the background representations. It was also said that, to inquire into this flow, it is necessary to locate a probing point. Alexander's model suggests that social actors exercising 'hermeneutical powers' over the performance given by politicians can be regarded as a place to insert a probe. They are mediators re-interpreting the relationship established between politicians and citizens, but they also take part in the re-fusing flow. Based on the example of the Ancient Greek playwright Aristophanes, it was argued that political satirists can be defined

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<sup>3</sup> This research project was granted a favourable ethical opinion from the PVAC & Arts joint Faculty Research Ethics Committee on 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2015. An amendment to this opinion was approved by the Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Cultures Research Ethics Committee on 16<sup>th</sup> February 2017. For both approval letters, see Appendix 1: Ethical Approval and Appendix 3: Amendment approval. This project was also audited by the Faculty Research Ethics Committee on 26<sup>th</sup> May 2016, especially in matters concerning anonymisation and confidentiality. The Committee was satisfied. For audit report, see Appendix 4: Ethics Committee audit report.

as hermeneutical power-holders as long as they mediate and re-interpret the relationship of politicians and citizens. To do so, they do not interrupt the flow, rather they participate in it. So understood, political satirists can be viewed as a point to insert a probe into the re-fusing flow and *Polònia* was considered to be a good place to inquire into the connection between Spanish and Catalan politicians and their audiences.

At the time this research project was designed, *Polònia* was the most important TV show about politics in Catalonia in terms of audience. It was produced by the company Minoria Absoluta and aired every Thursday at prime time (9:55 pm) by the Catalan public television network, TV3. The first episode was broadcast on 16<sup>th</sup> February 2006 and when the data collection finished (December 2016) they had produced more than 400 episodes. The producers estimate that more than 300 politicians had been impersonated in those ten years. Because of its reputation, *Polònia* has received the 2007 Premios Ondas for best programme on local TV, the 2011 Academia de la Televisión de España award for best make-up, and the 2012 Zapping award for best entertainment programme in Catalonia. According to the report of Consell de l'Audiovisual de Catalunya (2016), in October 2015, two episodes of *Polònia* ranked 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> among the most watched TV programmes in Catalonia. In November 2015, one episode reached the 10<sup>th</sup> position. The episode aired on 16<sup>th</sup> January was the 22<sup>nd</sup> most watched TV show in Catalonia in the whole of 2016 (p.199). No other programme about politics ranked better than *Polònia* in the official audience figures for the study period. Only news bulletins and football transmissions scored consistently better.

It has been argued that the object of study of this research project is neither the 'performance given' by a politician, nor its 'reception' by an audience, but the interplay between both. As a result, the concept of re-fusion becomes central to defining this object of study. Re-fusion, as characterised in previous sections, is a flow connecting the social actors engaged in cultural performance. The present research design aims to make the researcher part of this flow, to have an experience as similar as possible to that of satirists. Given that two defining features of an ethnographic approach are the study of people in their naturally occurring settings "rather than on artificial situations" (Burgess, 1984, p.79) and the use of "methods of data collection which capture their social meanings" (Brewer, 2000, p.6), it is argued that an ethnographic approach to the production processes of *Polònia* might provide this experience. Apart from these two characteristics, an ethnographic data collection is also "relatively unstructured. It does not follow a structured research design" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p.3). This allows for adaptation to changing research contexts, as long as the researcher keeps the focus on the 'natural setting' and the 'social meaning'. It might combine relatively structured participant observations with interviews but also more informal conversations or "other forms of

interaction and dialogue” between researcher and participants (Atkinson, 2001, p.4). When it comes to politics, ethnography has proven to be useful to understand how individuals experience and perceive political abstractions such as justice or democracy, notes Allina-Pisano (2009, p.71).

The idea of ‘ethnographic sensibility’ was an inspiring one for this research design. According to Edward Schatz (2009), ethnography cannot be confined to a particular data collection technique, it is rather a “sensibility [...] that cares – with all the possible emotional engagement that implies – to glean the meanings that people under study attribute to their social and political reality” (p.5). Far from a strategy to merely extract information from the participants, Schatz’s definition calls for ‘engagement’ with them. Simmons and Smith (2017, p.126) observe that ethnographic sensibility “need not be – and is not – limited to the domain of ethnographers. Neither does an ethnographic sensibility require the long-term immersion in field sites and participant-observation methods typical of anthropologists”. What really matters is “how scholars approach the material gathered from these sources – that is, paying attention to the political meanings embedded in them”. For Pader (2006, p.172), an ethnographic sensibility cannot be reached without “holding respect” for both local knowledges and other competing professional knowledges, for example. This implies forgetting about “cultural determinism” and being open to “a feeling, an excitement, and an appreciation, maybe even a bit of awe” of others’ points of view. So understood, ethnographic sensibility can only be incorporated into any research project as an inspirational chimera. That is to say, any researcher’s pre-existent axiological assumptions cannot – and should not – be suspended, but this does not mean that one could not aim for the deep, meaningful connections that help to unveil the characteristics of the re-fusing flow.

Before describing how the ethnographic approach was materialised in the data collection and analysis, it is necessary to provide a reflection about my own position as a researcher. From now on, I will narrate in first person the two substantial processes of deciding that *Polònia* and its political context would be the best place to conduct this research project, as well as how my own position as observer was established in this process. This account aims to provide an account of the “internal dialogue and critical self-evaluation of researcher’s positionality as well as active acknowledgement and explicit recognition that this position may affect the research process and outcome” (Berger, 2015, p.220). This reflection is based on personal notes and memories accumulated especially during the early stages of this project, namely, the design and data collection. I never sought to detect my own biases in order to make them visible and then suspend them. The aim was to recognise them and to be aware that they affected my approach to the research process. As Ahern (1999) puts it, in this research there is no intention of objectivity, instead I attempted to “identify areas of potential bias and to ‘bracket’ them so their

influence on the research process is minimal” (p.407). LeCompte and Goetz (1982) relate this kind of personal reflection to the reliability and validity of ethnographic research. This reflection intends to approach what they called “external reliability”; that is to say, that an external reader can see that during these stages there was a genuine attempt to handle factors such as “researcher status position, informant choices, social situations and conditions, analytic constructs and premises, and methods of data collection and analysis” (p.37).

The choice of Spanish political satire responds to both practical and political context-related reasons. In practical terms, one reason is language. Castilian-Spanish is my mother tongue so it was easier to approach the participants, collect the data and proceed with the analysis. *Polònia* is produced in Catalonia and most of the sketches are in Catalan-Spanish, however, some similarities allowed mutual comprehension and participants were always willing to switch language to facilitate my job. During the first days observing the rehearsals and recordings I struggled to understand the conversations among staff members. This was resolved with time, and in the second week it became easier. Interviews were conducted in Castilian. Language was an issue in the analysis of scripts, because they were translated into English by trying to keep their comedy content (see the subsection on document analysis on p.72). It was useful that, prior to the data collection, I had watched the last three seasons of *Polònia*, which allowed me to familiarise myself with the local sense of humour as well as the language.

Among the different genres of political satire present in Spain, I chose the ones based on politicians’ impersonations. Following the conventional wisdom, and the aforementioned example of Aristophanes, it seemed reasonable to think that the creation of an imitation implies skilful observation of the performance given by the real-life person. The artist must look at as many performance elements as possible, pick the most characteristic ones and then create a fictional character that is recognisable for the audience. That is why, apart from *Polònia*, I contacted another three major impersonation-based political satirists in Spain: *El Intermedio*, a nationwide mock journalism TV show broadcast daily by *La Sexta*; *José Mota Presenta*, a TV show produced by the political impersonator José Mota, broadcast weekly by *TVE*; and Carlos Latre, a political impersonator producing theatre plays about political affairs. However, from the beginning *Polònia* was regarded as the jackpot. The wide variety of politicians impersonated by a number of actors and actresses offered an opportunity to study several politicians at the same time as well as obtaining different perspectives about political impersonation. There was also a combination of timeliness and experience that made it attractive. *Polònia* is widely recognised for managing to react quickly to political contingencies with appropriate sketches. They had also been in their business since 2006 so I expected them to have an accumulated experience of observing the evolution of Spain and Catalonia’s politicians.

Fortunately, *Polònia's* staff members showed good disposition to participate from first contact, which might relate both to institutional and intercultural reasons. From the first contact by email, in March 2015, *Polònia's* staff was willing to participate. In April 2015, I met the Public Relation Manager, Anna Pujol, in Barcelona to introduce myself as well as to present an early version of this research project. The other intended participants either delayed their decision long enough to make it impossible to include them in the project or they did not reply formally. The willingness to participate might tentatively be attributed to the institutional characteristics of *Polònia's* production company. From the four contacted political satirists, *Polònia* was the only one that is part of a 'bureaucracy' – the production company *Minoria Absoluta* – which does not depend on one person's willingness to make decisions. They have long experience and standard procedures to deal with these kinds of academic requests, which are very frequent, as they said. This might also be attributed to the fact that all the top-ranked staff members also work as part-time scholars and hold strong academic backgrounds in Catalan universities.

*Polònia's* willingness to participate might also be explained by intercultural reasons. This is a personal reflection I made long after the data collection. When I first approached them, I thought of myself as a Chilean student going to Spain to ask a favour, that is to say, going from the periphery to centre. I think they received my request the other way around. In several informal exchanges, they continuously asked why and how a British university became interested in a Catalan local television programme. For them, the United Kingdom higher education system is a very prestigious one and I was a British scholar coming to observe their practices. Somehow they located themselves in the periphery and myself in the centre, a perception that made them feel flattered. The conventional wisdom that British satire is a paramount form of political humour might also have had a role to play. They always mentioned *Spitting Image* and Monty Python's films as examples of the kinds of sketches they aimed to produce. Given that *Polònia's* quality is recognised even beyond Catalonia, and Barcelona's universities are the best ranked in the Spanish system<sup>4</sup>, Catalans regard themselves as connected with this British educational and satirical tradition. My interest for them could have somehow been seen as a confirmation of that self-perception.

The confidentiality of data and anonymisation of participants also helped in obtaining access. In the first meeting in person with Anna Pujol, I let her know about University of Leeds and CONICYT's procedures concerning data management. I told her that no names would be

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<sup>4</sup> In 2017 Times Higher Education ranking, the top 3 Spanish universities were: Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and Universitat de Barcelona. All are based in Catalonia.

revealed, data would be transferred and stored by encrypted and secured technologies provided by the University of Leeds, and that any change to those conditions must be approved by each participant individually. I also mentioned the informed consent forms, that each staff member could decide voluntarily about their participation, and that they could withdraw after the data collection. All these procedures surprised Anna Pujol because they were not familiar with them. During the data collection, I also provided information sheets for non-participants, members of *Polònia's* staff whose jobs did not relate to the research project (for example, camera operators, audio technicians or health and safety personnel). I was required by the University Research Ethics Committee to create a poster to be displayed in common areas of the recording studio to explain the project to non-participants (see Figure 4). The document mainly indicated that no data would be collected without their written consent (see Appendix 5: Poster for non-participants). Also, at the beginning of any interview I asked participants to read and sign the consent form. All were flattered to be treated with such seriousness and they were thus more interested in participating.



*Figure 4: Film studio cafeteria with Non-Participant Information poster on the noticeboard. This is where the management displays relevant information for the employees. I was authorised by the management to hang the poster next to data about audience.*

A sensation of uncertainty made the Spanish and Catalan context attractive for this research as it compelled political leaders to intensify the deployment of their representative claims. On 20<sup>th</sup> December 2015, the Spanish general election was held. The preceding months were marked by the rise of two new political forces: the left-wing Podemos and the centre-right Ciudadanos.

Opinion polls predicted that, for the first time since 1978, the two biggest parties, the right-wing PP and the centre-left PSOE, would together obtain less than 50% of the vote (El País, 2015c). For the first time since the end of Francisco Franco's dictatorship the so-called 'PPSOE' would need to form a coalition government. In Catalonia, the local election for the Catalan parliament had been celebrated on 29<sup>th</sup> September 2015 and resulted in a hung parliament (El País, 2015b). The right-wing party CDC and the left ERC formed the coalition *Junts pel Sí*, pledging the celebration of an independence referendum. They reached a relative majority in parliament so that they needed the support of the anticapitalistic party CUP to form a government. When the data collection was expected to take place, *Junts pel Sí* and CUP were still negotiating a pact in a process that dragged on for longer than three months. Both in Spain and Catalonia there was uncertainty about what both governments would be like. While in Spain new constituencies were in the making by emerging political figures, in Catalonia politicians appealed to their constituencies to gain the legitimacy to carry on the negotiations.

Apart from this short-term political uncertainty, a long-term economic uncertainty was palpable in the everyday conversation of Spanish and Catalans. As *Polònia* was emerging as the place to conduct this project, I got in touch with numerous people from both places, mainly students living in the UK. I learned about their personal stories of unemployment, frustrated professional careers, the obligation of seeking a better prospect abroad, and so on. These informal conversations held during 2015 gave me an account of an important political process taking place in Spain – the fall of the transition legacy. They saw themselves as the victims of corrupt post-Francoist elites who made the political arrangements to secure their powerful positions and to get hold of the country's wealth. Spain, and especially its youth, seemed to me a profoundly disenchanted nation, scrutinising their own past and condemning the political leaders who led the transition to democracy in the late 1970s. This disenchantment was supported by many corruption scandals across political parties that I had never witnessed before.

When speaking with Catalans specifically, I observed a strong nationalist sentiment which, in some cases, meant an aspiration for definitive independence from Spain. The roots of Catalan nationalism can be traced back a long way (Smith, 2014), but since 2012 it has had a major incidence in local politics (Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió, 2017). Catalans felt frustrated after the Spanish government repealed the autonomic statute in 2012, a sort of mini-constitution for Catalonia approved in 2006 that granted the local government greater degrees of administrative autonomy. Opinion polls and election results show an increase in votes for nationalist parties afterwards and everyday conversation was marked by this issue. If the disenchantment with the transition legacy was common among Spanish people across ages and sub-nationalities, the rise of Catalan nationalism resulted a very divisive topic as well. On the one hand, Spanish people



looked down upon this sentiment and regarded it a distraction used by Catalan right-wing politicians involved in corruption scandals and welfare cuts. On the other hand, Catalan people pointed to Spain as the explanation for their economic situation because they claimed to be a rich region contributing more than others to the country's budget: 'Spain is robbing us' said one nationalist. In Catalonia it was also said that the Spanish central government was using the anti-Catalan sentiment to hide its own corruption scandals. As a result, the political everyday conversation was a minefield with little place for moderation.

Although I engaged in conversations in order to familiarise myself with the political context, I managed to distance myself from this discussion, sometimes with a dismissive attitude. The rise of Catalan nationalism and the economic despair of Spanish youth seemed to me mere "first-world problems", a popular idiom used in Latin American countries that well describes my perception. During my childhood, I had first-hand experience of the economic and political repression of Augusto Pinochet's neoliberal dictatorship, and later as a teenager my own political mind-set was informed by a frustrating transition to democracy. Compared to that, the argument of an authoritarian reaction from the Spanish government against the separatist sentiment and the idea that Spain's economy was broken sounded void and even inappropriate. A moving experience, however, was to witness an eviction in Vallecas district, in the south of Madrid, in which a family was forced by the police to leave their flat after failing to pay their mortgage. This was in April 2015 when I went to Spain to get in touch with the political satirists. I contacted the grassroots movement *Plataforma Afectados por la Hipoteca - Madrid* to observe the resistance acts they organised to block the access of the police and delay the eviction. This certainly was a striking experience which made me think of the drama that thousands of families across Spain were still undergoing long after the 2008 financial collapse. But I could not disregard the fact that Spanish citizens enjoy a robust welfare system that, even after severe budget cuts, is a dream for millions in Latin America. This initial distance was even accentuated during the research project, and I think it helped me to establish a reasonably critical position desirable for this research.

The distance with the political conversation contrasts with the increasing mutual admiration that emerged between myself and *Polònia*-makers. I have always admired when someone manages to make people laugh in serious situations and that is why during the research I became a proper fan of the programme. At the beginning, when watching previous seasons I enjoyed sketches about the peace negotiation with the Basque separatist group ETA, the welfare cuts, the rise of unemployment, the treatment of the Francoism legacy and other controversial topics portrayed in a humourous way. For me, this demonstrates an admirable talent to focus on the essential rather than merely simplifying the narration to make politics easier to understand, as

the conventional wisdom dictates. On the other hand, throughout the process of data collection I had casual conversations with staff members about my research project. When the analysis was complete and some results chapters were drafted, they asked to read them and finally they wanted me to give a formal presentation of the results, which took place on 27<sup>th</sup> April 2016. This, together with the formalities of data management, resulted in an admiration from them about my work.

Access for an ethnographic approach to *Polònia*'s production processes was granted under the condition of behaving like an extra. The participation of *Polònia* in this research project was provisionally secured from April 2015, but it was not until September 2015 that Minoria Absoluta management sent a formal authorisation letter (see Appendix 2: Authorisation Letter Minoria Absoluta). They guaranteed access to the facilities of the film studio and the possibility of talking with staff members. They also set the rules when in the studio. "As any other staff member, you will have to observe a strict silence when prompted by the director and producers", stated the letter. Once in the film studio, I was required by one of the producers to "behave like any extra, that is to say, you have to keep a script in hand and be ready to help on stage if we need it". This allowed access to the ongoing conversation among directors, producers, scriptwriters, actors and actresses, makeup artists, costume designers and so on (more details about this in the subsection about participant observation on p.66). On two occasions I was actually ordered to appear on scene as an extra with a non-speaking role<sup>5</sup>. Just to be available to participate in the recording helped me to reach a better understanding with the emotions, sensations and conversations involved in the production processes. I had a first-hand experience of the practical difficulties involved in the production process such as time constraints, confusions or frustrations.

This section narrated in first person the circumstances under which *Polònia* became the chosen object of study as well as how these circumstances informed my own positioning as a researcher. Both processes have been included in one section because they occurred at the same time and informed each other. I have also mentioned the ethical review-related procedures and their impact on the relationships that I could cultivate with participants. I have argued that Spanish and Catalan politics provided an enriching political context and that *Polònia* was a suitable place to probe into the re-fusing flow connecting political actors. As I was approaching *Polònia* as a TV show I also explored a turbulent political context, marked by the uncertainty about election

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<sup>5</sup> These scenes can be watched online: <https://youtu.be/1lWPbdmalvc> and <https://youtu.be/YYjRkFprxyg>.

results, a defiant young generation of citizens contesting how their country's recent history has been told, and the emergence of nationalist sentiment across both Spain and Catalonia. When it comes to *Polònia*, the programme makers were prone to participate from the very beginning, which facilitated their selection as participants. I believe this willingness to participate has to do with intercultural and institutional reasons. They admired British political satire so they were flattered to be considered by the University of Leeds for research and secondly, the institutional anonymisation and confidentiality procedures gave them the impression of seriousness and respect. Of course, the similarity of Catalan and Spanish Castilian – my first language – had a role to play in this decision. My relation with Spanish and Catalan politics was always a distant one, even dismissive, as I never managed to detach myself from the perception that although problematic, their economic situation is a privileged one compared to that in my home country, Chile. My relation with *Polònia* as a TV show turned out differently, and gave place to a mutual admiration. I became a fan of theirs and they respected my work as an early career scholar. The next section presents the main data collection techniques used for this research project.

### 3.6 Data collection techniques: Interpreting the interpreter

Three data collection techniques were used for this research project: participant observation, interviews and document analysis. Following Jeffrey Alexander's cultural-pragmatics model, these methods are defined as hermeneutical power-holders, therefore the focus was on the interpretive process conducted by *Polònia*-makers regarding the interplay between politicians and audiences. By using these three data collection techniques a triangulation of different moments and forms of interpretations was sought. Some staff members interpret politicians' public appearances in order to craft the fictional characters to be acted on stage. Interviews were intended to inquire into this interpretation and how it was carried out. Scriptwriters also interpret politician's public appearances and the power relations among them. This aspect was approached by analysing the content of the scripts and how it related to the political developments taking place when they were written. Producers, actors, actresses, and directors also interpret politician's appearances and the evolution of political affairs, and on top of that, they interpret the dramatic content of the scripts. Participant observation was pursued to witness how this interpretation materialised on stage. In this case, interpretation has a double meaning: the hermeneutical process of reading political affairs and the concrete materialisation of a particular way of acting a part in a play.

Two field trips to Barcelona were conducted to collect data. The first took place in November-December 2015 and the second in November-December 2016. In the original research design only the first field trip was considered, however, during 2016 the necessity of a second trip

emerged. One reason was that the first trip was an overwhelming flood of impressions that required a long period of organisation. 2015 was an exploratory trip and it was difficult to identify the specific instances to pay attention to. After one year of processing the data, the most important themes were already identified and it seemed to be necessary for new data collection to focus on and develop those themes. The second trip allowed for the corroboration of the effective occurrence of those themes as well as to discard others because they lacked systematic occurrence. On the second trip I was less overwhelmed, the participants were more relaxed and the political context was less problematic. This resulted in enriching conversations and more detailed observation of rehearsals and recordings. However, no additional scripts were included on top of those collected on the first trip as they were considered enough to make sense of the situation. The next subsections describe the three data collection techniques used on both field trips.

### *3.6.1 Participant observation in rehearsals: Repetition, repetition, repetition*

Participant observation focused on rehearsals and recordings. *Polònia's* production process involves the whole week. On Monday and Tuesday the preparatory meetings are held, wherein producers, directors, and scriptwriters examine news media to look for the main political current affairs stories. They skim the most important issues and ideas at stake as well as the characteristics of politicians' public appearances. Based on this observation they propose sketches that best express the issues and debates they consider to be the most important. On Tuesday the proposed sketches are discussed by the scriptwriters and others are added if new political contingencies emerge. Wednesday and Thursday are for rehearsals and recording. This is when the ideas taken from the news analysis are put into practice. For the participant observation, the preparatory meetings held every Monday were insightful for understanding the whole production process. However, the rehearsals and recording were the most fruitful part. The interpretation of the scripts is made evident when producers prompt the actors and actress, and the main features of the fictional characters created by the cast are exaggerated on stage. Friday is for audio and video post-production, which did not appear to be relevant for this research.

Rehearsals and the recording process were approached with participant observation. This is a research strategy "whereby the researcher becomes involved in a social situation for the purpose of understanding the behaviour of those engaged in the setting" (Loftland and Loftland, 1984. Cited in Burnham et al., 2004, p.222). This immersion in a given culture is reached by approaching "simple, ritualistic behaviours" and "requires close, long-term contact with the people under study" (Fetterman, 1998, p.34). Having conducted extensive participant

observation of opera production, Paul Atkinson (2006, p.95) concluded that producers' and researchers' objectives are similar: they pursue "close observation and interpretation of action, both attempt to make sense on talk, gesture and conduct; both are thoroughly committed to taking the role of other and making sense of the social action they observe". From his research on opera companies, Atkinson emphasised the potential of the repetitious and even frustrating and tedious process of rehearsal and preparation to answer questions about "motives and meaning" (2004, p.105).

I conducted about 150 hours of effective participant observation of rehearsals and recordings on the two field trips. The first trip to Barcelona took place from 16<sup>th</sup> November to 16<sup>th</sup> December 2015. On that trip I attended the preparation of shows 381, 382, 383 and 384, to be aired every Thursday from 19<sup>th</sup> November to 10<sup>th</sup> December. This trip coincided with the campaign for the Spanish general election to be held on 20<sup>th</sup> December. On Thursday 17<sup>th</sup>, just before the election, TV3 replaced *Polònia* for an election debate, so there was no show to prepare. On the second trip, from 30<sup>th</sup> November to 15<sup>th</sup> December 2016, I observed the making of programmes 420, 421 and 422, to be broadcast every Thursday from 1<sup>st</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> December. *Polònia* is recorded on two days (Wednesday and Thursday) from 6:00 am to 4:00 pm, so that every episode implies 20 hours of work in studio. Episode 384 required three days of recording. This totaled seven shows and 150 hours of observation, from makeup preparation, costume fitting, rehearsals and recording. Unfortunately I could not participate in the scriptwriting process because it is so informal and unstructured that it did not allow me to define a moment to observe it. I could have redesigned the data collection techniques but I had no time to do so. The development of this participant observation confirmed Atkinson's ideas. The producers' constant repetition of instructions to the cast was crucial for this research. This is where their interpretation of the sketch was made evident and the fictional characters' features emerged more clearly. This was especially the case when the producers' instructions collided with the intentions of actors and actresses and each party had to reinforce their arguments to defend their position. This is also where some mistakes or confusion appeared and the conversation to sort them out gave place to insights about the 'motives and meanings' of the staged actions, as Atkinson suggested. As I was authorised – and required – to hold a copy of the script in hand, this document became useful as a field notebook. These pieces of paper facilitated the notetaking process while following the action on stage and the discussion among production staff members (see Figure 5). The notes were also taken as the recording took place so it made easier reading for the analysis. The scripts contained plenty of annotations to be realised in the recording and the notes aimed to capture the interpretation made by the cast and the producers from these annotations. The repetitive discussion among staff members revealed this

interpretation. Every scene required at least three rehearsals before the recordings and many of them provided these kinds of insights.

**G12-142P – GAG PLATÓ:**  
**“ELS ENSURTS DE LA CUP” – OK**  
**POLÒNIA / TEMPORADA 12 / PGM 420**  
**DATA GRAVACIÓ: DIMECRES, 30 NOVEMBRE 2016**

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**CÀSTING**  
 CARLES PUIGDEMONT QUECO NOVELL  
 EULÀLIA REGUANT JUDIT MARTÍN  
 ANNA GABRIEL LARA DIEZ  
 XAVIER GARCIA ALBIOL FERRMI FERNÁNDEZ

**LOCALITZACIONS:**  
 PARTS 1.3: SET PASSADÍS PARLAMENT  
 PART 2: SET REGI - PARLAMENT (DESPATX PUIGDEMONT)

**ELS ENSURTS DE LA CUP**

**DALLAS PARLAMENT + CHYRON: AL PARLAMENT, AQUESTA SETMANA...**

**1 INT. PASSADÍS PARLAMENT – DIA**  
 PUIGDEMONT PEL PASSADÍS, PARLANT PER TELÈFON.

CARLES PUIGDEMONT  
 Contentíssim: la CUP m'aprovarà els pressupostos i, el que és millor, me'ls tornarà el Constitucional! No hauré d'aplicar tots aquests impostos nous. Sóc un crack! No m'arrugo mai!

PUIGDEMONT ARRIBA DAVANT DEL SEU DESPATX I S'ADONA QUE LA PORTA ESTÀ ENTREOBERTA. SE SORPREN.

CARLES PUIGDEMONT (*espanat*)  
 Perdona un moment, t'he de deixar.

PUIGDEMONT PENJA. OBRE UNA MICA LA PORTA I GRINYOLA.

**2 INT. DESPATX PUIGDEMONT – DIA**  
 PUIGDEMONT ENTRA AL DESPATX. PITJA L'INTERRUPTOR PERÒ LA LLUM NO VA.

CARLES PUIGDEMONT  
 Hola? Hola? Hi ha algú? Hola?

PUIGDEMONT AVANÇA A POC A POC PEL DESPATX. DE SOBTE, DE DARRERE LA TALLA, APAREIX L'EULÀLIA REGUANT, DISPRESSADA COM L'IGOR, EL GERERUT DE «EL JOVENET FRANKENSTEIN», ENFOCANT-SE LA CARA AMB UNA LLANTERNA.

EULÀLIA REGUANT (*cridant*)  
 Uuuuuuuuuuuuh!

CARLES PUIGDEMONT  
 Aaaaaaaaargh!

REGUANT PERSEGUÏX EL PUIGDEMONT PEL DESPATX, UDOLANT. FINALMENT, EL PUIGDEMONT ACONSEGUEIX OBRIR ALGUN ALTRE LLUM (O DESCORRE LA CORTINA) I DESCOBREIX QUE ÉS LA REGUANT. PUIGDEMONT L'AGafa I LA FA FORA DEL DESPATX A EMPENTES.

CARLES PUIGDEMONT  
 Passa fora! Fuig d'aquí! Ja és el segon cop que m'ho fas, això! Mala bèstia!

**3 INT. PASSADÍS PARLAMENT – DIA (CONTINUACIÓ)**  
 JA AL PASSADÍS, REGUANT ES TROBA A LA GABRIEL.

ANNA GABRIEL  
 Què ha passat?

REGUANT PICA AMB EL PUNY EL PUNY D'ANNA GABRIEL.

EULÀLIA REGUANT  
 Missió acompanyada.

ANNA GABRIEL  
 Quina missió?

EULÀLIA REGUANT  
 El que vam dir a l'assemblea. Aprovevem els pressupostos, però, perquè no es contini, els fem dos ensurts cada setmana. Ha!

ANNA GABRIEL  
 Ensurts polítics, Eulàlia. Ensurts polítics.

EULÀLIA REGUANT  
 Polítics?

ANNA GABRIEL  
 Clar. Coses com insinuar que al final no votem pressupostos. O estripar les interlocutòries dels jutges. O embolicar-nos amb el Banc Expropiat. O criticar qualsevol cosa dels Mossos. O demanar homenatges a Fidel Castro. O...

*Handwritten notes in red ink:*  
 - "Eulàlia i un espasme d'afegit"  
 - "Disposició de cuberes Exposició"  
 - "Voz, silencio para dar lugar al construcciones"  
 - "No es enunciar."  
 - "No es oribollosa."  
 - "Voz oribollosa."  
 - "Gosto y voz."  
 - "Es Igor."  
 - "Ces un poco de tension con los detalles"  
 - "Primeros hay que interrumpirlos"  
 - "No es masosistematizado"  
 - "No es oribollosa."  
 - "Es Igor."

Figure 5: Example of an original script with field notes taken on 30<sup>th</sup> November 2016.

### 3.6.2 Interviews: Recalling the moments of interpretation

Interviewees were staff members whose job required some form of contact with the politicians, and the interviews aimed at recalling the interpretation of those contacts. Every episode of *Polònia* requires the participation of more than 100 employees, including production, management, technicians, artists and other roles. Not all of them are in contact with politicians as part of their jobs, for example, audio technicians, post-production personnel or those involved in managerial positions. After a week of participant observation, the activities which relied upon observing the politicians were identified as the critical ones to observe the occurrence of the re-fusing flow. In informal exchanges, actors told me that the making of their fictional characters needed constant revision of the imitated politician's public appearances. Walking around the film studio helped me to realise that scriptwriters also require a thorough inspection of news media. Their desks were covered in plenty of newspapers and magazines, and there were radio and television sets available in their offices. Make-up artists hung up-to-date pictures of the politicians on their mirrors while preparing the cast (see Figure 6), as did the costume designers. Production designers also looked at pictures of the politicians to create each

set. Participants related to these activities were regarded as “especially knowledgeable about a matter of interest” (Jorgensen, 1989, p.88) and informed the list of interviewees.

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES		
	2015	2016
Actresses	Agnès Busquets* Lara Díez	Alba Florejach Judit Martin Mireia Portas
Actors	David Olivares* Bruno Oro Francesc Novell Marc Rodriguez Pep Plaza Sergi Cervera	Cesc Casanovas David Marcé Ivan Labanda Toni Albá Xavi Serrano
Producers	Marc Martín* Xavier Ricart	
Scriptwriting	Jaume Buixó*	Manel Lucas
Backstage	Catou Verdier (Costume) Esther Alonso (Production designers) Helena Fenoy (Make-up)	
Managerial positions		Anna Pujol (PR Manager) Toni Soler (CEO)

\* Also interviewed in 2016

In total, 29 interviews were conducted: 14 on the 2015 field trip, and 12 in 2016. Four participants interviewed in 2015 were approached again in 2016 as they were regarded as the most insightful. After the analysis of the data collected in 2015, it was decided that a broader perspective of *Polònia* as a TV show was necessary, so two managerial positions were incorporated in the interview schedule. In all, this totalled 15 hours of interviews, all conducted in Castilian Spanish. Some interviews were conducted in the film studio and others in public cafés, or even in interviewees’ homes, according to the availability of each participant. In general, there was good disposition to participate, however, all were very short of time, especially those who conceded the interviews in the film studio during rest time between recordings.



Figure 6: Make-up director, Helena Fenoy, preparing actor Iván Labanda to impersonate former Spanish president Felipe González. Pictures of Felipe González can be seen on the mirror.

Participants' good disposition and a sense of affection for their job on *Polònia* turned the interviews into relaxed, insightful chats. For Holstein and Gubrium (1997, p.113), qualitative interviews are meant to be, first and foremost, a specific form of conversation. Not any kind of conversation, as noted by Kvale (1996, p.20), but one characterised by a "methodological awareness of questions forms, a focus on the dynamics of interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee, and a critical attention to what is said". When it came to formulating questions, I followed what Spradley (1979, p.17) considers the very first step of a conversational interview: learning the language. This did not mean learning Catalan-Spanish, because all the participants were fluent in Castilian-Spanish. This rather involved learning the jargon spoken among production staff. Several informal exchanges with staff members in the first week highlighted a number of idioms used among the participants to refer to their work. When they spoke about the fictional characters they acted, they said 'my', for example 'my Rajoy' or 'Bruno's Artur Mas' to refer to other colleagues' characters. 'Doing' meant acting for them, so that they said 'when I do Inés Arrimadas'. Learning a few elements of this lexicon allowed me to formulate questions in their language. This approach constructively conditioned the interaction with participants because I asked them about 'your Soraya', for example, to highlight that I wanted to talk about their own creation. As the process of creating a character requires significant emotional investment, they hold affection for their characters. As a result, they were very open to talking about this creative process. The most fruitful moments of the conversations occurred when we spoke about the characters as if they were real people, for example:



- **Interviewee:** The Antonio Baños I’m doing can’t even see Bruno’s Artur Mas. They hate each other.
- **Me:** But Bruno’s Artur Mas needs his support.
- **Interviewee:** Not only his support, his very existence! I mean, they need each other so much that after recording a sketch they’d stay for longer in the dressing room just talking politics. Because they admire each other and that’s why they hate each other. They are *kinda* weird.

To facilitate the dialogue I opted for semi-structured interviews organised around a few “grand-tour questions”. For Spradley (1979, p.86) “grand-tour questions” seek general “verbal descriptions of significant features” and allow the participant to “ramble on and on”. Some staff members thought that this research aimed at ‘unveiling the truth behind *Polònia*’ or ‘how *Polònia* brainwashes Catalan citizens in favour of independence’. I explained that this was not the case and that the research objectives could not be more different. This was not just a strategy to facilitate their participation. The interviews were meant to obtain what Kvale (1996, p.32) defined as “uninterpreted descriptions”, that is to say “subjects describe as precisely as possible what they experience and feel, and how to act”. Kvale observes that “the questions of why they experience and act as they do is primarily a task for the researcher to evaluate”. In this case, the pursued description had to do with the very moment they approached the politicians to craft their impersonations. With this idea in mind I prepared a number of semi-structured interviews which, according to May (2001, p.123), are normally based on specific question, but leave the interviewer free to “probe beyond the answers” and enter into a dialogue to “seek both clarifications and elaborations”. Interviews with actors and actresses were organised around two big questions:

- What is the politician you impersonate like?
- What is your character like?

Those who worked backstage (production designers, make-up, costume designers, scriptwriting) were also approached with the same idea:

- How do you do this politician’s set/make-up/costumes?

For those in managerial positions the approach was slightly different. Given their time constraints, it was difficult to be given a second interview to talk about missing topics. Also, both Anna Pujol and Toni Soler were the only people doing their jobs in the production company so it was impossible to leave some questions for another interview with a colleague in the same position – as was possible with actors and actresses, for example. In this case I opted for one grand-tour question and several mini-tour questions, which also sought verbal descriptions of

significant features but “deal with a much smaller unit of experience” (Spradley, 1979, p.88). These interviews were informed by questions such as:

- How would you define *Polònia*?
- What is the relationship with impersonated politicians like?

Especially with actors and actresses, body language was very important. Interviewees accompanied their descriptions with gestures, voice inflections and funny faces. That is why some interviews were video recorded in order to recall those emphases during the analysis. All of these elements conspired to turn the interviews into very enjoyable moments, even those interviews conducted in a short time. As already mentioned, I do admire humorous people, especially when they poke fun at serious topics and people. I also considered it a privilege to have the opportunity for first-hand experience with them showing me their characters, scripts, and ideas. I think they appreciated my respect for their job as well, and this could have compelled them to talk more and more.

### *3.6.3 Documents: Reading into living interpretations*

During the participant observation of rehearsals and recordings, the scripts emerged as valuable documents to be included in the data. The original research design considered the participant observation and interviews as the only two data collection techniques, however, there were questions about their usefulness for discovering the main features of the fictional characters acted on stage. As mentioned in the subsections on participant observation above, the writing process of a script proved too elusive for a systematic approach, so gaining access to the final product was regarded as a way of overcoming this difficulty. It was also mentioned that scripts were used to take field notes. In those cases, data consisted of comments I had written on the document. This subsection refers to the use of the scripts themselves as a source of data. It was the dramatic content of the script that was regarded as a relevant sample of the interpretive process conducted by the scriptwriters. At a glance, the scripts appeared to include plenty of annotations, references, catchphrases, descriptions and other elements that helped to observe how the characters crafted by the cast were meant to come alive on stage. Scripts also provided an account of fictional characters’ changes in relation to real-life politics.

Analysing documents can enrich an ethnographic approach. Bell (2014, p.107) defines a document as “a general term for an impression left on a physical object by a human being”. Documents can be found in different forms, including images, films, videos or other non-written sources, although the most common are printed or manuscript sources. For Bowen (2009, p.27), a qualitative document analysis requires an examination and interpretation aimed at eliciting

meaning, gaining understanding, and developing empirical knowledge. This is the approach informing my interest in such documents, rather than counting mentions or measuring appearances or any other quantitative data. To make the most of a qualitative document analysis, Bowen suggests their use as a form of triangulation together with other sources of evidence, that is, “to seek convergence and corroboration through the use of different data sources and methods” (p.28). *Polònia*’s scripts were not produced for this research, as would, for example, a list of staff members requested from the production company. Rather, scripts are “inadvertent sources”, that is to say, they “were used for some purpose other than that for which they were originally intended” (Bell, 2014, p.109). This characteristic might have hindered their interpretation and analysis. However, as Bowen (2009, p.31) points out, these kinds of documents are “‘unobtrusive’ and ‘non-reactive’. That is, they are unaffected by the research process”. This is an advantage when compared to interviews and participant observation, and thus ended up increasing its potential as a triangulation method.

Translation was a particular challenge posed by the inclusion of scripts as documents for this research. Any kind of qualitative research involving translation is problematic because it aims to capture the meaning of the studied social actions and “meaning can be lost in the translation” (Van Nes et al., 2010, p.313). Both interviews and field notes were translated from Castilian-Spanish to English, and it is recognised that in the process, some relevant features could be lost. However, the number of interviews conducted and the constant repetition of the rehearsals and recordings provided instances for constant double-checking and resolving confusion. With the scripts, the task was more problematic. Here, the challenge was to translate the content while keeping its humorous content so that any English reader could understand the joke. To do so, I gave a sample of translated scripts to one British student of Catalan and a Catalan person studying English, both at the University of Leeds. I gave some scripts to a retired British professor from Manchester living in Barcelona. They all made corrections to the material and enriched the translation, but they did not meet the expected standards and – in a confidentiality-related issue – I could not keep sending this material to more people. Finally, the most useful technique was inserting the translated lines as captions in the videos of *Polònia*’s sketches (see Figure 7). The convergence of the written lines with the whole sequence of actions expressed the humorous content in a better way, although recognising that any translation implies some loss of meaning (Roth, 2013).



Figure 7: Screenshot taken from the captioned video of the sketch *El Curs de Prepect*.

The political situation of Catalonia and Spain informed the selection of the scripts to be included. During the first field trip to Barcelona, I conducted participant observation of four episodes (381 to 384), which included 22 scripts to be recorded. This number was not enough to observe the main features of the characters as some of them appeared too often or had no appearance because they had no timeliness. The span was enlarged to include the 13 episodes (373 to 386) aired from 24<sup>th</sup> September 2015, the last one before the Catalan local election, until 16<sup>th</sup> January 2016, just after the Catalan separatist parties agreed the coalition government. This period also covered the campaign for the Spanish general election held on 20<sup>th</sup> December 2015 and its results. Although the 71 scripts from those 13 episodes were brought into analysis, only a group of 13 produced insightful inputs for this research:

ANALYSED SCRIPTS			
Type	Description	Title	Episode
Transicio	Scripts in which the characters appear walking around the film studio as <i>Polònia</i> 's employees.	Romeva sparring	373
		El combat pel cinturó roig	373
		Mas sobreviuré	375
		A Junqueras se li escapa el riure	375
		Felip Puig indignat	377
		Consellers vetats	379

		Baños Arrimadas	380
		El cobrador del mas	381
		Junqueras desapareix	381
		Mas-Fernàndez	383
Fictions	Scripts taking scenes or characters from movies, advertising, or songs, to describe political conflicts.	Chicago - Ciutadans	374
		El trofeu de la CUP	386
		La família unionista	373

For full translation of scripts see Appendices 7 to 19.

This section presented the methodological approach taken for the data collection process. First of all, the approach was defined as an ethnographic one. It is proposed that, in order to observe the occurrence of the re-fusing flow, it is necessary to become part of it as much as possible. An ethnographic approach aims for immersion in participants' natural settings and capturing the meaning they attribute to their own social actions. Ethnography allows for that 'sensitivity' that gives weight to participants' own perspective and knowledge about the studied situation. This immersion was materialised in participating in the production as an extra, that is to say being ready to appear in a scene with a non-speaking role if requested by production staff. The data collection process was designed with three techniques: participant observation, interviews and document analysis, conducted through two different field trips, in November-December 2015 and November-December 2016. In all, 150 hours of participant observation of rehearsals and recordings and 29 interviews were conducted, while 25 scripts were analysed. In all instances, the materials' different forms of 'interpretation' of the politicians' performances were considered. The next section shows how the collected data was analysed.

### 3.7 Data Analysis: Turning impressions into theoretical insights

The objective of the data analysis stage was to turn the impressions captured in the field into insights for political communication theory. In Chapter 1 it was observed that political communication research has either neglected or dismissed the role of 'the personal' to understand political processes. Then it was proposed that the concept of performance is useful to articulate a well-defined inquiry about 'the personal' and its relation with political representation. In particular, Jeffrey Alexander's concept of re-fusion and his cultural-pragmatics model were used to formulate specific research questions aiming to enrich the understanding on the role of politicians as communication devices. The main research question intended to locate the concept of re-fusion in political communication research and the specific research questions looked at blind spots of the cultural-pragmatics model. Data analysis worked the other way around. First the specific research question informed the search for patterns in

the data, and those patterns were contrasted with present literature in political communication. The three following empirical chapters consist of this data and its discussion. Finally, in the last chapter, the inputs from these chapters are discussed in relation to the cultural-pragmatics model and the reviewed literature in political communication.

Some aspects of this analysis were inspired by definitions taken from grounded theory data analysis. During the whole process there was interest in looking at the data while keeping an eye on the existing literature. This is a distinctive feature of grounded theory analysis, as noted by Bernard and Ryan (2010, p.271). From the very first coding until the end of the project this theoretical focus was present. The data coding was organised into two stages, as suggested by Bazeley (2013). The first stage consisted of “identification and labelling variously referred to as first-level, initial or open coding”, and the second involved “refining or interpreting to develop more analytical categories or clusters, often referred to as focused coding” (p.127). The first part resulted in a number of themes present across the three bodies of data (interviews, field notes and scripts). These themes were subject to constant comparison, an analytical procedure consisting of “forming categories, establishing the boundaries of the categories, assigning the segments to categories, summarizing the content of each category, finding negative evidence, etc. The goal is to discern conceptual similarities, to refine the discriminative power of categories, and to discover patterns” (Tesch, 1990. Cited in Boeijs, 2002, p.393).

This constant comparison was simultaneously a frustrating and enriching process. It was frustrating because it required a reading and re-reading of the existing data. In doing so, several themes which appeared to be relevant at first sight were later discarded. Just a few overcame the ‘natural selection’ of having a consistent presence across the data and being relevant for the research questions. That is why many other themes were set aside, for example, ‘good-looking politicians’, ‘nationalist identities’, and ‘backstage politics’, among others. Some themes did not allow for construction of a coherent argument for theoretical discussion. Others managed to survive the analysis only to be included as subcategories of broader themes, such as ‘masculinities’, which ended up being part of ‘social stereotypes’, or ‘gendered relations’, which fitted into ‘bodily experience’. The enriching part of this analysis was its contribution to my own personal biases regarding the data. Immediately after the fieldwork – and even before – I held some preconceived ideas or impressions about the content of the data. I thought some themes would be more important than others, or I did not expect the appearance of certain themes. The constant comparison gave the opportunity to challenge such preconceived impressions and let the data speak for itself.

The organisation of the themes first gave place to summaries and then to theoretical explanations of data. Following an inductive process, the summaries were meant to work as the

“core categories” described by Corbin and Strauss (2015). They are meant to “describe in few words what the researcher identifies as the major theme of the study. Taken together the core category and other categories provide the structure of the theory” (p.7). For example, across data-sets, politicians were described as *the typical*: ‘the typical old conservative’, ‘the typical spoilt girl’, and ‘the typical nerd’. The idea that *politicians are the typical* was salient enough to be considered as a theme. It appeared in interviews, when actors and actresses described the politicians they imitate; in the observation of recordings, when producers prompted the cast before rehearsals; and in some script annotations to describe the characters. With these summaries in hand, the literature was approached to find concepts providing a theoretical explanation. The result was: *politicians are the incarnation of social stereotypes and politics is a struggle among those social stereotypes*. This allowed for a broader discussion with existing literature in political communication and the concept of social stereotypes. The same induction was conducted for the other two main themes:

SUMMARISED THEMES	THEORETICAL INTERPRETATION
Politicians look like a typical kind of people	Politicians are the incarnation of social stereotypes and politics is a struggle among those social stereotypes
When I craft an imitation of a politician, I look at what the politician causes me, instead at what they do	Politicians are meaningful icons to be approached by a bodily experience
When I imitate what politicians say, I look at what they say and how they say it	Politicians’ discourse consists of the interplay of semantic and pragmatic elements

This analysis was roughly complete by the end of 2016, but the amount of data available was not regarded as conclusive enough. Thus a new field trip was planned for November-December 2016. This time the aim was to specifically observe the occurrence of the three main themes. In terms of the data collection techniques, there was no major innovation compared with the first field trip. Interviews and participant observation were conducted, but no new scripts were included for document analysis. As already mentioned, this second field trip was more focused on specific moments and resulted in enriching and confirming some of the ideas from the analysis, and discarding others. With this second trip, there was stronger evidence to support the three interpretations and to move on to the writing-up process. It was on this second field trip that all participants were asked to authorise the disclosure of their names in the thesis and potential academic publications (see Appendix 6: Amended Participant Consent Form). The analysis and the early drafts demonstrated that anonymisation was impossible. As soon as someone read a text like “I have been impersonating Artur Mas since...” or “when I do Albert

Rivera”, the participant is identifiable. Each staff member was asked to sign a new consent form including the name disclosure. As the interviewees regard their work on *Polònia* as “something public”, no one had reservations about the disclosure.

I also travelled to Barcelona for a third time in April 2017 to present these results to *Polònia*'s production staff members. On the second field trip I mentioned to them the early stage of the analysis and they showed such an interest that they asked me for a formal presentation of these ideas for the whole staff. This request was seen as a challenge and as an opportunity at the same time. It is always possible that participants do not recognise themselves in the results of the research, jeopardising the validity of the analysis as a result; on the contrary, a positive reception would mean that the analysis has not lost connection with the empirical occurrence of the object of study. This presentation took place on 24<sup>th</sup> April 2017 and all of the producers and directors and some of those in managerial positions attended. It was a one-hour presentation covering the theoretical pathway to arrive at *Polònia* as the place to conduct this research, along with the analysis and the preliminary results. The reception was positive and yet again they felt flattered to be examined in such depth and in relation to relevant theories.

This chapter presented the methodology used to answer the research questions posed. First there was a conceptual definition concerning the focus of this research: re-fusion. Taken from Jeffrey Alexander's elaboration, it was characterised as the flow connecting the politician and the audience which emerged from a successful performance. It was proposed that political satire is a place to observe the occurrence of this re-fusion as they can be regarded as a hermeneutical power-holder in Alexander's cultural pragmatic model. Satirists re-interpret the re-fusing flow, and to do so they have to become part of it. As the objective of this research design is to observe the occurrence of the re-fusing flow, it was proposed to employ an ethnographic approach to political satire production process as the methodology. The chosen political satirist to conduct this research was *Polònia*, a satirical impersonation-based TV show broadcast in Catalonia, Spain. The chapter then included a personal reflection about this choice and the researcher's positions regarding the show and the political context. It also presented the three data-collection techniques used: interviews with production staff, observation of rehearsals and script analysis. Finally, it described how the data analysis was conducted in order to turn impressions into theoretical insights. The next three chapters present the results of the conducted analysis.



## Chapter 4:

# Connecting bodies: The person of the politician as an icon to be experienced

### 4.1 Introduction

This is the first of three empirical chapters. Each one will describe different aspects of the crafting of *Polònia's* characters. Here I focus on the imitation of politicians' bodily expressions, in the next chapter I refer to politicians' way of talking, and in the following I show the characters' personality traits. In this chapter I propose that Jeffrey Alexander's concepts of 'celebrity-icon' and 'iconic consciousness' are useful for understanding how actors and actresses approach politicians. Following Alexander, *Polònia's* work can be regarded as the disentangling of the interplay between surface and depth that structures the celebrity-icon. So understood, I suggest a different perspective to the person of the politician as a communication device. In political communication literature, politicians have been studied as a 'persona', a concept that implies a shallow, strategically fabricated mask. Alexander's idea of icon, instead, proposes that the sensuous surface of a person or an object, fabricated or not, connects to deeper meanings. To an important extent, the work of *Polònia's* staff supports this idea, as they describe the examination of politicians in terms of experiencing bodily sensations rather than unveiling a mask. Instead of politicians' bodies, the sensations in actors and actresses' bodies are the raw material to create the fictional characters. Participants declare that their fictional characters are not crafted as 'carbon copies' of the real-life politicians, rather they construct their own personal versions based on the referents and memories triggered by the aforementioned sensations. For *Polònia's* staff, politicians are not a shallow mask, as political communication literature argues, they are rather rich, sensuous surfaces to be experienced, as Jeffrey Alexander suggests.

### 4.2 The Machiavellian persona

It was noted in Chapter 1 that 'the personal' is a bad word in political communication research. For the normative approach to the literature, the greater the role attributed to the personal, the bigger the risk for the democracy. It was proposed that this perspective's theoretical roots can be traced back to Jürgen Habermas' conceptualisation of the public sphere as an agora where citizens are expected to engage in an argumentative form of deliberation, while the personal should be confined to the *oikos*, the private. The concern caused by the intrusion of 'the personal' in politics can also be observed in Nicollo Machiavelli ([c1515] 2011), whose ideas connect with a contemporary definition of the concept of 'persona' present in political communication literature. The way 'persona' is used by different authors implies a degree of over-strategised

fabrication of a personal image to be put forward in a very calculated way. This image helps a politician to manoeuvre successfully in the liminality between being a lay person and being a politician. Machiavelli formulated this problem in terms of a leader's ability to tell when it is necessary to be 'a man' or 'a beast' (p.70). The former is expected to lawfully deliver as promised, and the latter can carry on "without worrying too much about keeping their words". A leader, for Machiavelli, must be able to act as a beast in order to prevent any risk for his position, but, in doing so, "you have to know how to disguise your slyness, how to pretend one thing and cover up another".

The leader doesn't have to possess all the virtuous qualities I've mentioned, but it's absolutely imperative that he seems to possess. I'll go so far as to say this: if he has those qualities and observed them all the time, he'd be putting himself at risk. It's seeming to be virtuous that helps; as, for example, seeming to be compassionate, loyal, humane, honest and religious. And you can even be those things, so long as you are always mentally prepared to change as soon as your interests are threatened (Machiavelli, [c1515] 2011, p.70).

"It's seeming to be that helps", said Machiavelli, to encourage the ruler to 'look like', rather than 'to be'. He advises creating an image that fits into socially acceptable values: compassion, loyalty, humanity, honesty and religiousness. Putting this in contemporary political communication terms, he suggests fabricating a socially acceptable 'persona' to be shown to other political actors with no objective other than reaffirming a politician's own position of power. The projected image of the politician is therefore merely a manufactured mask referring to nothing but itself, with nothing to be analysed but the process of its own strategic construction. The mask is so artfully designed for the 'beast' to hide the 'man' that nothing that could jeopardise the politician should be kept visible. Of course, Machiavelli was not worried about the future of democratic values – as the Habermasians are. His concerns are with the ruler's survival in his position of power. However, both concur in shearing the personal of any political meaning: normative Habermasians reduce the personal to a risk and Machiavellians only see a fabricated mask to help in the objective of a ruler's self-perpetuation.

More than 500 years on, Machiavellian ideas seem to enjoy an enviable vitality. P. David Marshall (2015) argues that we are in the "era of persona", which is defined as "the extension of the publicly produced self out of our media representations and into the everyday fabrication of a visible identity in online culture". For Marshall, persona is neither "individual nor social, but a reading and integration of the social in order to project an individual public identity for strategic and tactical purposes". Again, strategy and tactic are at the core of the definition of the fabrication of a mask to embody what is socially accepted. Marshall's elaboration is mainly based

on his extensive research on celebrity culture, but the Machiavellian concept of persona is also present in the analysis of politicians. According to Langer (2010), in contemporary politics there would be an increasing “politicisation of private persona” in which the intimate life of the politician “is used to infer and underwrite (or undermine) political values as well as to try to legitimize policy” (p.61). This body of literature saw Tony Blair, former British Prime Minister (1997-2007), as the key example of this process. He “eagerly, albeit selectively, exposed his personal life, skilfully using it in the construction of his public persona” (p.64). Collins (2014, pp.127-131) claims that politicians try to metaphorically dissolve the real distance that separates them from their electorate in order to position audiences “as contented fans seeking pleasure in discovering the real person behind the candidate”. On the other side, media outlets would take part in these fabrications of personas by drawing upon available archetypes to portray politicians. This triggers a constant negotiation between politicians and the media that informs the resultant ‘persona’ (Higgins and McKay, 2015).

Alan Finlayson (2002) also recognised the election campaign and premiership of Tony Blair as expressions of a persona that is strategically constructed with regard to the wider context. He argues that an image of leadership “requires the appearance of extraordinary ordinariness” (p.590) so that a politician’s main challenge is to skilfully move between suggesting competence for government – which relates to the extraordinary – and demonstrating credibility – which relates to the ordinariness. For him, Blair’s ‘official marketing’ overcame this challenge by publicising his intimate life in order to create a sense of intimacy between him and the audience. This was done with a focus on “style, appearance and language and how it connects to aspects of the wider British culture and is used in attempts to legitimate politics”(p.586). The connection to a wider culture is marginally discussed in the role of a tea mug in Blair’s pictures that illustrated 1997 and 2001 campaign material. Finlayson suggests that the tea mug may in itself convey ideas of social status and Englishness and when held by the candidate “is a little marker of who and what we and Blair are”, says Finlayson, to immediately remark in brackets “(so long as it never turns out to have contained a blend of Earl Grey and Jasmine)” (p.597).

The construction of a ‘mediate persona’ relates to ‘political culture’, argues John Corner (2000). For him, politicians work within three different spheres of political action. First, there is ‘the sphere of political institutions and processes’, which relates to positions and administrative duties either in the political party or the government (p.391). The second sphere is the one of ‘the public and the popular’. In Corner’s words, in this ‘stage’ politicians build their ‘demonstrable representativeness’ by ‘strategically’ putting themselves forward “as a person of qualities [...] with inflections towards what are perceived as the contours of popular sentiment or sectional value” (p.393). The third is the private sphere, consisting of the private or personal

life of a political figure. These spheres overlap and it is in these grey areas that Corner sees the construction of the mediated persona. From the sphere of the political there are “strategic projections of political identity” into the sphere of public and popular. And elements from the sphere of the private are used as a ‘resource in the manufacture’ of political identity, Corner argues (p.394).

Data included in this chapter offers a complementary view on the role of the person of the politician in political communication. From Machiavelli to Corner and Finlayson, authors recognise the presence of liminality between a politician’s private person and a politician’s public person. The man and the beast, the ordinary and the extraordinary, the public and the political are the two poles for the politician to displace. Authors assume politicians overcome this challenge by constructing a shallow mask, a persona, by strategically drawing upon the symbolic resources available in popular culture. Calculated projections of private life are crucial elements in the construction of public political identity. This argument implies the ontological acknowledgment of a private persona and public persona as discrete entities, artificially related by virtue of spin-doctor tactics. The personal has no meaning to be discussed. Instead of a shallow persona, data presented here suggests that the person of the politician is a sensuous surface to be experienced rather than ‘examined’ and therefore it can uncover the deeper meanings they incarnate. Participants did not assume separation between a politician’s private and public persons, and actually they did not look at a politician’s private life to reach an understanding of their personalities. What is present is the idea of a liminality that has been mentioned since Machiavelli; however, for these participants this is not a problem to be solved, instead, it is the very place where the experience takes place.

#### 4.3 Experiencing the politician’s sensuous surface

When crafting a character to be acted out on stage, *Polònia*’s staff try to experience the whole person of the politician rather than obtaining knowledge of their physicality. This data is based on informal exchanges and interviews conducted in 2015 and 2016 with members of *Polònia* staff. The concept of iconic consciousness coined by Jeffrey Alexander helps to understand this part of the production process. To be “iconically conscious is to understand without knowing, or at least without knowing that one knows. It is to understand by feeling, by contact, by the ‘evidence of the senses’ rather than the mind”, says Alexander (2010c, p.11). In his definition, the contact with the aesthetic surface of an icon – whether someone or something – “by sight, smell, taste, sound or touch, provides a sensual experience that transmits meaning. The iconic is about experience, not communication”, he insists. For him, persons and objects can be

understood as icons, or in his words, “symbolic condensations”, in which meaning is made visible as something “beautiful, sublime, ugly, even as the banal experience of mundane material life”.

The crafting process begins with the selection of politicians to be impersonated on the show. *Polònia*'s producers look for a mixture of timeliness and ‘something else’. The former is the simple fact that a politician has to be in a relevant position either in political parties or in the state apparatus. The latter has no definition, but all interviewees agreed on its relevance to decide who can be impersonated. They all said “I know what it is... but I don't know”. Marc Martin has worked on *Polònia*'s production since 2008 and has been its director since 2012. He said that few politicians who are important in political institutions also hold ‘something else’. If so, they are easily impersonated, but usually this is not the case. As an example, he mentioned Pedro Sánchez, the general secretary of PSOE, the second largest political party in Spain, and candidate for Spain's premiership in 2015:

Pedro Sánchez makes you feel that the party has appointed him as a candidate because he is a handsome man, he is affable, but apart from that, you do not feel something else. Compared to the previous leaders the Socialist Party had before, like Rubalcaba, who was said to be very clever, and when he talked, it was a pleasure to hear. I think Pedro Sánchez is not like this. He is tall, he is attractive, but... there is nothing else to catch him as a character (Marc Martin).

However, given his relevant position, Sánchez has to appear often in the show. The solution is to never let him be the protagonist of a sketch; on the contrary, he always appears in scenes with Miquel Iceta's character, the president of PSC, the Catalanian branch of PSOE. “Sánchez works very well as the opposite of Iceta; he seldom appears alone. It is always Miquel Iceta and Pedro Sánchez together, because Iceta is the opposite, he communicates more”, said Marc. In the sketch, *Pedro Sánchez aprèn a ballar*<sup>6</sup>, Iceta is the protagonist and offers Sánchez his dance skills to communicate the party manifesto for the 2015 election campaign. Iceta creates choreography with ‘themed steps’ to explain each policy proposal. Sánchez, a politician who is important due to his position in formal politics, needs to be shored up by someone less important, but who holds that ‘something else’, namely Iceta.

Once a given politician is selected to be portrayed, an actor is appointed to create ‘the character’, which is something different from a mere imitation of a politician's bodily language. Every interviewee said that they had their own style to approach the politician and they insisted that

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<sup>6</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/gE-LUAsWZu0>

there is no such as thing as a recipe or formula to follow. They all concurred nonetheless that an impersonation is not an imitation of the politician, but rather the materialisation of the fictional character created by them. “This means that the process depends on your personal relation, as actor, with the politician”, said Xavi Ricart, *Polònia*'s acting coach, who oversees the work of the cast. For him, the character is what emerges from the interpretation made by the actor or actress out of the clues given by the politician. The resultant interpretation is an authorial achievement so that different actors may build different characters for the same politician. “Characters made by Queco are more endearing than Bruno's, which are more perverse. We've also had characters which have not been as endearing as Queco's or as perverse as Bruno's so they lacked the strength we need in *Polònia*, they just imitated gestures and voice, but they were a soulless imitation... that's not good”, Marc Martin added. This distinction between impersonation and imitation is the reason why participants are called actors and actresses rather than imitators throughout this thesis. They create a fictional character out of the performance given by the politician, so that they are playing a role as in any other fictional production.

Actress Agnès Busquets has been on the show since the first episode in 2006. For her, crafting a character has to do with “stealing someone's soul”. “I think an imitator can make a carbon copy of the original voice or an exact copy of a bodily gesture, as well. But what I think we do here is to steal the soul, and on top of that you add your part of irony and a hint of bitchiness to make it satirical”, she said. To make clear that characters are not a copy of the politician, they refer to their creations as “our politician” as the opposite of the “real-life politician”. Both in informal conversations and in interviews, participants used phrases such as: “our Rajoy is a very affable man, I am not sure the real Mariano Rajoy is so”; “our Inés is a very rude woman, maybe too much compared to Inés Arrimadas”; “I am aware that my Montoro does not look like real Montoro”. “I mean, we have been doing some characters for so long that we already know them almost as if they were a real person. Some characters are part of the staff, one could say”, observed Marc Martin.

Participants agree with the ‘Machiavellian’ approach in that politicians try to control their public appearance by projecting a pretentious image of themselves, but this does not limit their approach:

Of course they try to pretend something, but, after eight years working in this show, I would say that politicians are very authentic in what they are. They may try to look younger or more serious or more revolutionary, but they are so exposed that it is difficult to carry on pretending for so long (Marc Martin).

There are things you cannot disguise, I mean, your gaze, your clothing, or your reactions to unexpected things. Sometimes, you see that they are overcome by the image they try to project about themselves, because power changes people, but this is not valid only for politicians but for everyone (Jaume Buixó, director and scriptwriter).

Actor Xavi Serrano agreed that:

They try to look perfect, but they cannot look perfect because perfection is unachievable, so all you have is an attempt of perfection and that attempt is *satirisable*. That attempt of perfect talking, of control, is premium quality material for us. When someone is not authentic but is just playing a role, an actor can catch it very quickly.

The presence of the mask becomes evident when actors and actresses approach the politician for the very first time and feel like facing a firmly encapsulated person, a sort of unassailable fortress of personality that impedes any chance of breaking in. Jaume Buixó recognised that:

For us, the creation of a new character is the most difficult part, because you have to start from scratch. We always take what the real-life politician gives us. This might be quite unfair sometimes, because if the real one begins with a sentence that was wrong or in her first press conference she was scratching her nose, or with a staccato talking, we take that, make it bigger and hammer home that point.

Bruno Oro, actor in *Polònia* since 2006, said that when he had to create his character of Artur Mas, former president of Catalonia (2010 to 2015):

Nobody wanted to imitate him because he was a very correct person, very Yankee style, very Kennedy style. Really bright, with a strong discourse, very straight, with little sense of humour, not much irony, this is what I mean by Yankee style; something quite robotic. And it was hard because he had no particular way of speaking, he did not have those catchphrases, those tics, those defects, he was very flat as a character.

Actress Lara Díez started working on *Polònia* in September 2015 with two characters, Inés Arrimadas, president of Ciudadanos Catalonia, and Anna Gabriel, spokesperson of CUP. She suffered from the same lack of expression in one her politicians:

When I first watched videos of Inés, I thought to myself 'I cannot do this girl. I could not find what to do, because for me she is a robot'. She is a soulless woman, like

she has nothing to empathise with. She seems like a doll, a Japanese one, in which there is nothing, no soul.

Participants accepted the existence of a fabricated mask, but in this point they distanced themselves from the assumption that this is an unsurmountable problem. *Polònia* staff's work is underpinned by the assumption that this mask can be opened and to do so they look for 'fissures' or 'disconnections'.

When you have, for example, a politician like Pedro Sánchez, with a flawless image, with a perfect voice, it is such a big challenge. Instead, a character like Josep Piqué [Former Spanish Minister, 1996-2002] with lots of flaws and tics, with a very special voice; or Joan Herrera [Member of the Parliament of Catalonia, 2004-2015] how he moves, how he takes his spectacles, always restless, that moves his head while talking and so on. All that is very helpful (Xavi Serrano, actor).

Lara Díez said that she looks at the politicians in situations:

That requires you to put more of yourself. In rallies, with many people, it is where you can see the most *disparados* [crazy, mad] tics, because if I look at them in an interview, sitting, relaxed, they do not come over at all. Then I watched them, putting their personalities aside, in their body.

By watching these videos, Lara found a disconnection in real-life Inés Arrimadas' face:

She is super serious all the time; she has a very serious rictus. Sometimes she opens wide her eyes and closes them again, but she does not move her face. In fact, I have problems to get her done because I am very expressive in general, but she just moves the lower jaw, nothing else, that's why she has that doll-like thing, she moves the lower part of her face, but not from the jaw upwards.

Agnès Busquets sees a disconnection between different parts of the body of the deputy SPM, Soraya Sáenz de Santamaría. Agnès said that this became more evident during an election debate (7<sup>th</sup> December 2015) in which politicians appeared standing and without lecterns:

It is rare to see her with a tense body because she is usually sitting, but in that debate, her standing was weird. I think she was in trouble! She was rigid, like an Ewok. I think when sitting she transmits a lot of security, but somebody had the idea of taking the lecterns off the stage and she was left like... I mean, from the waist to the head, she is fine, but from the waist down, no, she is disconnected. Anyway, this happens to many politicians, especially people who are very rational. They have this disconnection with the body. Soraya could not make a sack race; I



do not see her practicing sports because she is not an agile girl. Hers would be discourse-politics, not bodily-politics.

Another kind of disconnection found by the actor Marc Rodríguez is between body and attitude. Marc calls these disconnections “fissures” as he thought that they allow a breaking through of the walls that politicians try build around themselves. He impersonates Podemos general secretary Pablo Iglesias, who has a disconnection between his gestures and the image he wants to project about himself:

This guy had a very self-confident patina, some *vacile* [provoking, defiant attitude] and boldness. He is one of those characters who pretend something, but they cannot make it. I found them so endearing. They have a fissure between how they are seen by others and how they want to be seen and therein you can find cracks and mistakes. At first, he [Iglesias] is a slightly clumsy character but also with some bravado and self-confidence. He invests lot of energy on his words and gestures and then he has to retrace his steps because it is like, I mean, too much.

By the time of the interview (November 2015), actor Sergi Cervera was still refining his recently introduced character, Albert Rivera, president of Ciudadanos España. For him, Rivera has a sort of spatial disconnection. In Sergi’s words, Rivera looks obsessed with controlling everything around him, so his body and talk might be present, but his mind seems to be elsewhere:

While talking, he concentrates the gaze because he is controlling everything. I mean, there is one *himself* here and another *himself* outside, and the latter is controlling everything the former is doing and saying here.

Lara Díez was also crafting another character, the spokesperson of CUP and Member of the Catalan Parliament, Anna Gabriel. She said that Anna has a very well-coordinated body and gestures, “she moves naturally well, like a rap-dancer”; however, she saw a disconnection between the content of her speech and her tone of voice. For Lara, Anna has a very critical, emphatic, anti-systemic discourse:

But when she speaks, I mean, her voice sometimes sounds like a baby doing a pout. Then, sometimes she strikes me with an expression of anger and forcefulness, contrasted with a voice that is elsewhere. It does not coordinate. When she should talk like this [hard and emphatic baton gesture], she speaks like this [soft and gentle palm down gesture]. This contrast is strange; it is like she wanted not to hurt with the voice.

Once the mask has been broken, participants focus on the physical sensations they can feel in their own bodies, instead of on what goes on in politicians’ bodies themselves. “You take the air

that he gives you. Everyone has an air, a certain way of being that it is different, special”, said David Olivares, actor on *Polònia* since 2006, who was refining his new character, Antonio Baños, leader of the CUP in 2015.

There is something you feel. I don’t know, maybe this is not the answer you are looking for, but this is my first time working in impersonation and it is not like studying a fictional character. Here you have to feel something real, from a real person. Weird, isn’t? This is similar to the first time you meet someone, a first date or a job interview, for example. You look at her and you make an opinion based on your sensations, in your feelings, what you feel in your body. You say, mmm, ‘I don’t know but I got a gut feeling’ (Sergi Cervera).

Alba Florejachs, actress on *Polònia* since 2006, relies on her ‘first impression’ to craft her characters. For her, a first impression consists of:

The expectations that one has before first meeting someone, like, when you are told that guy is like this or like that, you have an expectation, and then, when you meet him, your expectation clashed with what you really see, with what that person causes you, and then you have an impression. This is what you receive.

The personal implication, however, has to do with the public image projected by the politician, rather than an inspection into a politician’s private person. Antoni Albà has been part of *Polònia* since 2006 and posits this difference as follows:

Would you mock a helpless old man, mentally-ill, who is defenceless against any attack? Personally I would never do that. But, what if his name is Pinochet? Different, isn’t it? I would mock him because he represents something that has to be mocked.

David Marcé, actor on *Polònia* since 2012, was appointed in 2016 to impersonate the former president of Catalonia, Artur Mas. This is when he realised the relevance of taking some distance from his characters:

The problem with Artur Mas is that I took pity on him, I mean: poor guy, everything has gone so wrong for you. But if I empathise with him, I cannot be cruel and this humour depends on putting the finger where it hurts. If I connected human-to-human I could not do that, and I am not that perverse.

Xavier Serrano has also been on *Polònia* from the first season in 2006. His character of the former president of UDC, Josep Duran i Lleida, is the longest-lasting in the show and has kept

appearing even after he lost his seat in the Parliament of Catalonia on 2015. To ensure due distance, Xavi Serrano tries:

To be absolutely impersonal. I mean, we are mocking the politician, what they represent, not the person. Duran i Lleida looks ambitious and frustrated, but this is his public image, and that is the role I want to connect with, but not his personal life.

Mireia Portas has been an actress on *Polònia* since 2007 and her best-known character is her impersonation of former Queen Sofía of Spain (1975-2014). She does recognise that in some cases she has reached a very personal implication with her characters:

Despite the Queen appearing to be a very laughable person, for me, she was a sad person. This is what I receive, what her image gives off. And then you empathise with her. I am not a psychologist, but this what I see. I think that at the end of the day, you have to get fond of your character if you want to do a good job; to some extent, at least.

With all these nuances, all participants recognised that reaching that connection with the real-life politician is crucial for their job:

There have been some characters that I have done with no connection at all. On the one hand it is your job, but on the other you think to yourself 'I have no point of view, there is nothing here'. This happened to me with Albert Rivera. Even my obnoxious opinion about him was not inspiring enough to produce any enthusiasm. But when you have something to say, when something happens to you because of that person, then everything comes out smoothly, the audience recognises the character and we all have fun (David Olivares).

Apart from the work of actors and actress, other staff members on *Polònia's* production also conduct their own observation of the politicians. Although they look at different aspects of the person of the politician, their approach is also based on sensorial experience. Esther Alonso has been Production Design director on *Polònia* since 2013, and her job is to design the sets where the sketches are recorded. She emphasised that:

*Polònia* is not a historical series where I have to stick to what is written, but rather you can take one politician's characteristic element and bringing it into a sharper and funnier extreme. I mean, I do not know if a politician buys his furniture in an antique shop or if he goes to Facil Mobel and has as functional kitchen as anyone else. I just try to catch what he or she provokes in me. It is what he inspires.

To do so, Esther searches for clues in the politician himself:

His dress, his personality helps out. For example, Mariano Rajoy is a right-wing guy, he is a very classic, very boring guy. Then the setting ends up being what the character itself inspires you. Nothing to do with, for example, a character from the CUP such as David Fernández, who is quite the opposite: he is the Kumbayá [African music style], the hippie, the anti-systemic, the 'blue jeans and T-shirt' and then I think about how his space is.

Esther told that the first time they prepared a setting for the CUP, they created a squat where the party members lived and the political party had its head-office<sup>7</sup>: “Obviously, that was not true, but that is what the people from that party inspire in myself”. The same was true when it came to Mariano Rajoy’s office in his capacity of SPM in Palacio de La Moncloa:

He is stale, musty. He is a man clinging against any innovation. The proof is what is happening in Catalonia. He does not care whether it is for good or for bad, he is flatly not listening; he does not want to know. This is the Constitution! This is it! And all we want is to be listened; that they open their eyes and look at what's going on in Catalonia. So, Rajoy is stale and our Rajoy’s office is a stale one. He has the same books that were there from his grandfather’s times! He has not bothered finding out what these books are about. No. He says: ‘those are and those are. Full stop’.

Esther also mentioned the case of a female politician who is number two in the political party, Inés Arrimadas. The number one is a male politician, Albert Rivera, who is believed to be so chauvinist that he diminishes the political potential of his number two. Arrimadas is supposed to be in Rivera’s shadow, so according to Esther, “she has the office given by him, with no personal touch. It is like she had no chances to decide in the party, not even regarding her office’s decoration”. With this idea in mind, they created Inés’ office in a very similar style to Albert’s (see Figure 8): “It is not the very same but with similar layout. What is more, Albert’s office has curtains, therefore, I took Inés’ curtains out, because she is below Albert. If he doesn’t want her to have curtains, she obeys”.

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<sup>7</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/-AiVrrBZqoU>



Figure 8: Inés Arrimadas' office set with no curtains.

The gaze is the main element to experience when participants look at a politician's face. Xavi Serrano said that in the gaze:

You can see many things. I don't know, it is like the gateway to the soul. They might be mere phrases, but there is some truth in it. Then, if you want to catch the politician's essence you go to the gaze to see if there is any anger, fear, is he confident, does he feel fulfilled?

Actors and actresses recognised that although they can make some gestures, the reconstruction of the gaze depends primarily on the makeup.

I think some characters would have been impossible without the makeup, for example, my Ada Colau [mayor of Barcelona from 2015]. It was not until I saw myself in makeup with the droopy eyes, the lips and so on, that I was not fully convinced that it was ready. I dare to say that makeup is fifty percent of the character (Agnès Busquets).

Making up processes take about 40-50 minutes. As observed during the fieldwork, 25-30 minutes had to do exclusively with drawing and re-drawing eyebrows, eyes, eyelashes, or choosing the correct contact-lens colour. "What I seek is not an identical look, but capturing something from the real-life character. Something that if you stress it, then you will see the character and you will recognise the politician immediately", said Helena Fenoy, a Make Up and Hair director for *Polònia* since 2008. The process starts with the selection of pictures of the original politician's face from different angles and with different facial expressions so that the

makeup artist can see as many features as possible. From these pictures, they select those most closely related to the situation that will be enacted in the sketch. If it is a formal press conference, then they will work with pictures captured by newspapers. If it is an informal situation, then they will take screenshots from TV shows or celebrity news magazines. Those pictures are hung on the mirror to be continuously checked by the makeup artist while the actor is being prepared. Helena agrees with Xavi Serrano regarding the gaze as a shortcut to a politician's affective and psychological profile. For her, Pedro Sánchez, the general secretary of PSOE, "captivates with his eyes. He is a lady-killer, such a gallant gentleman. He takes you to his arena of conquest just by looking at you. So we try to emphasise that gallant thing he has". For her, Albert Rivera, the president of Ciudadanos España:

Has a very cold gaze. He inspires in me a sensation of obsession with control. He wants control over you and everyone else. He is like an emotion-less person. I dare to say that he has no gaze, like a robot, and that is frightening. Different from Pablo Iglesias, he has that fresh gaze of someone just coming into politics for the first time with illusion, willing to change the world, quite naïve sometimes.

The incumbent SPM, Mariano Rajoy, would have a "neutral gaze, it is like he has nothing in it. It provokes nothing, because there is very little personality in that gaze".

*Polònia's* impersonators approach the politicians as icons to be experienced rather than strategically constructed masks aimed at concealing politicians' human weaknesses. For the participants there are attempts at deception in politicians' acts of communication, but they are just another characteristic to be included in the character they will act out. Following Jeffrey Alexander, this stage of the character-crafting process can be defined as an exercise in "iconic consciousness", that is to say, a "material feeling of meaning" based on an understanding reached "by feeling, by contact, by the 'evidence of the senses' rather than the mind" (2010c, p.11). The described process has more to do with living an experience with the politician rather than inspection of their projected image. The sensations and feelings arising from these encounters with the politician as a whole are far more important than a set of data collected about the mask they may strategically project. Participants point out that the private life of a politician has nothing to do with their job, they rather try to connect with the public person of the political leaders. This means that they hold different appreciations, not necessarily conceptualisations, of the private and the personal. Authors cited in the introduction to this chapter do not make this distinction – for them, the politician needs to turn to a calculated projection of their privacy to reach a personal connection with the audiences. For *Polònia* staff, the public image of a politician has enough elements to make that connection possible and they

can dispense with the privacy to grasp the personal. The next section describes what is revealed when politicians are approached in this way.

#### 4.4 How to activate the icon: Unpacking the politician's deeper meanings

For *Polònia's* staff, a politician is what Jeffrey C. Alexander (2010b) defines as a celebrity-icon: material symbols structured by the interplay of surface and depth. "The surface of the celebrity-icon is an aesthetic structure whose sensuous qualities command attention and compels attachment", he argues. He uses the example of Roland Barthes' reflections on the face of Hollywood actress Greta Garbo to explain his argument. The beauty of Garbo-surface, says Alexander, is the "visible signifier [that] connects us to the invisible meaning of Garbo-depth, the sacred signified, the spiritual essence of the human being" (p.325). If the icon succeeds in drawing the observer into the depth of its iconic meaning, "the specifics of the object and its production fall away" because the object becomes a symbol, "not a specific referent for some specific thing but a signifier that points to all 'such things'" (2008, p.6). Jeffrey C. Alexander (2010b) also wonders if perhaps "we should not so quickly separate ourselves from ancient peoples". He asks if it might be possible to understand icons "as a sign of the primitiveness of the modern or the modernity of the primitive?" (p.324) He says that icons, either persons or objects, can be regarded as totems connecting societies with deeper meanings. Again, with the example of Greta Garbo's face, he maintains that behind its surface, there is the structure of its depth. "The beauty of Garbo-surface, the visible signifier, connects us to the invisible meaning of Garbo-depth, the sacred signified, the spiritual essence of the human being" (p.324). *Polònia's* actors and actresses seem to agree with Alexander in the assumption that there is something in the depth of the politicians waiting to be unpacked by a sensuous experience.

'What does the politician look like?' is the key question to unveil the depth of the politician. It is a strategy that actors use when crafting their characters. The answers tend to consist of fictional characters, other politicians or people from their own everyday lives. They call them 'similarities' and are part and parcel of the crafting process because they can provide the very 'personality' of the fictional character. Those similarities are triggered by the sensations experienced by the impersonator when establishing the aforementioned connection with the politician. If the actor or actress succeeds in striking the right chord, that is to say, in finding the similarity that best-resonates with the audience, then the politician is no longer the referent to be imitated. If this occurs, a good impersonation imitates the 'similarity', not the politician. The character looks like the politician in terms of costume and makeup, but its personality is set free and the audience still finds them 'the same'. This means that there is something in the depth of the politician that tells more about them than their surface.

Actors and actresses unpack the deeper meanings of politicians by looking at the similarities they recall. Francesc Novell has impersonated the SPM, Mariano Rajoy, since 2008. He describes this politician as a “very static guy. I mean, he is from Galicia, and it is always said that if you see a Galician in a staircase you cannot tell if he is going up or down. Because they are so reserved, they never take a stand, so you never know. This is Mariano Rajoy”. This lack of expressivity helped Francesc Novell to connect Mariano Rajoy with a popular character in Spain: Don Tancredo:

Long ago, before the bullfight, there were shows in the Plaza de Toros. Everything was very humiliating: dwarfs, clowns, quite demeaning. Then, there was one character that came inside a barrel rolling over the sand, Don Tancredo was his name. Rajoy reminds me Don Tancredo, a guy who is there, but he does not defend himself, he does not know how to defend himself. He does not even have skills to defend himself. It was very funny, with the bull ramming the barrel to turn it upside down with Don Tancredo inside. It was very absurd, but that was funny.

Agnès Busquets said that the deputy SPM, Soraya Sáenz de Santamaría reminds her of:

The typical girl in the school who was always sitting in the front row, that girl that studied a lot, but she also knew how to achieve something else. She is not just nerdy, a swot, I mean if it was convenient for her, she knew how to get what she needed, even negotiating with the thuggish boy in the class. She is, as a proper swot, very ambitious. She dreams big and aims high for tomorrow, but she knows that today she has to ride out this diminishing role of washing Rajoy’s dishes.

For Lara Díez, CUP spokesperson, Anna Gabriel, looks like the:

Middle sister in a family, someone who has her place and sometimes she is more on observation, in silence, she is particularly observant. And I would say that she has a point of humour and laugh by only as a self-indulgence to be at ease, but she always has a checkpoint in the gaze, something of holding out and not to chill out too much.

For Mireia Portas, the former Spanish Minister of Defence (2008-2001), Carme Chacón, had a hint of a childish lover:

In one season she was very close to Zapatero [former SPM, 2004-2011], so we did a sort of childish crush. A very naïve thing that came out of when she talked to Zapatero, she was like José [Mireia makes a girly voice]. This is what I receive from her, some puerility, a platonic love, a juvenile thing.



Sergi Cervera imitates the president of Ciudadanos España, Albert Rivera. Sergi found three referents in Rivera. Two of them are other politicians and the third is a movie character. Political referents relate to this Rivera's public career, while the film character has to do with his personality:

He looks like Kennedy and Adolfo Suárez. Kennedy was the generational renewal. In a United States just out of World War II, where presidents were old, white people, Kennedy appears as the bright young man, handsome, upper class, with resources. That's the Kennedy side. Adolfo Suárez appears because he was a centrist figure from Francoism, representing calm, reform, and youth. Suárez was a gentleman, a handsome, young, classic man, who managed to sit down former enemies around the same table. And the other thing is that Adolfo Suárez was signed by the King because he was thought to be an impressionable person, but Adolfo Suárez came out of that cliché and made his own career.

In personal terms, Albert Rivera:

Fits with James Bond. Cocky, cold, alpha male, refined, he would take a cup with two fingers for not to heat it. As Bond, he is a man of action, he rides a motorcycle, loves extreme sports and risk. They both skip the protocol if they have to. Then I see a James Bond: gentleman, refined, and with a plan to kill them all.

It can be the case that different actors find different similarities in the same politician, which relate to the authorial nature of the character mentioned in the first section. The case of the former president of Catalonia, Artur Mas, can illustrate this. Mas was impersonated by different actors on the two field trips. In 2015, the actor was Bruno Oro, who worked with the character from 2006, but he was no longer working on *Polònia* by 2016 and the character was taken over by David Marcé. Interviewed in 2015, Bruno Oro observed that when he prepared his impersonation of Artur Mas, he tried to catch his:

Bravado, because he is quite conceited, I mean, vain. I remember that I used one typical actors' exercise: an improvisation with animals. What animal would this character be? And I thought Artur Mas would be a rooster. Actually, in the early years, my interpretation was more histrionic; I used to do it like *galluno* [rooster-like]. And that is what he inspired: he is a gallant man, manly, successful with women, and with authority.

David Marcé also related Mas with an animal, but instead of a rooster, with a fox:

He is a clever man, I know that at the end everything went wrong for him, but I still see him as a foxy man. The thing is that for a long time he managed to slope off, he

gave the impression of always getting away with it in, somehow he always managed to escape with the chicken. So I do him with that foxy gaze that he provokes in me.

For David Marcé, this difference is explained by the political situation in which he took over the character: “Bruno with Artur Mas when he had a messianic thing, something like: ‘people of Catalonia, follow me! I’ll lead you to the promised land!’ While I took the character when he has to sacrifice himself for the independence, so I do him with an element of martyr”. David Marcé was referring to January 2016, when Artur Mas was forced to step down as president of Catalonia as a condition of forming a coalition government with CUP.

Once the similarity has been identified, actors try to imitate the ‘similarity’ instead of the politician. Somehow, at this point the politician disappears and the character ends up being endowed with the ‘personality’ of the similarity. Antoni Albá pointed out that:

If we do the character as the real one, it is not fun. I have to transpose it to another level if I want to cause an effect in the audience. For example, to make my character of Pope Ratzinger, of course I observed his gestures, how he presented himself and so on, but, I imitated Louis de Funès, a French comedian who pulled those funny faces, always slapping his partner. I behaved like Louis de Funès, obviously Ratzinger was not like that.

Francesc Novell also makes this transposition with his character of Mariano Rajoy. Novell explained that his Rajoy consists of Groucho Marx and Paco Martínez Soria. Groucho was an *alter ego*-character created by the US American actor and comedian Julius Marx, appearing in 26 films from 1921 to 1968. Paco Martínez Soria was a Spanish theatre and film actor whose professional career lasted from 1934 to 1981.

Paco was very famous in the 50s. In all of his films, his character was the grandfather of the village, a villager who lives in a very little town of 200 inhabitants. When he goes to the capital, Madrid, he was like ‘ooh, look at the big the houses! So many cars! That was very successful because many people identified themselves with him. [...] Once I thought to myself: this Rajoy is the sum of these two guys. He is the parochial Paco with Groucho’s follies. And when I came to this conclusion, I left everything, I just kept the voice. Then I thought ‘I have to make a mess of it’. And he got out of hand, you know, with those funny faces and gestures. Since then the character grew up, leaving behind the strict imitation (Francesc Novell).

In the cases of Ratzinger and Rajoy, the character kept the external appearance of the real-life politician, but in the case of former minister of Education, Culture and Education, José Wert (2011-2015), the character looked like something completely different. “I remember that we

discussed with the scriptwriters and we agreed that it was better to make him like Dr Evil, the bad guy in *Austin Powers*”, said David Olivares, the actor who impersonated Wert:

There was some physical similarity because they are bald, but that was not the main reason. The thing is Wert was an evil guy for Catalan culture, he was against teaching Catalan in Catalonia’s schools, and so on. So, I saw him like an evil guy and it was such a success.

Neither David Olivares nor any other participant remember if Wert was ever imitated in regular clothing, they said that he was always a Dr Evil look-alike, and on top of that they eventually created a mini-Wert, just like Mini-Me, Dr Evil’s partner in the the *sequels Austin Powers: The Spy Who Shagged Me* and *Austin Powers in Goldmember*

Despite the fact that they were imitating the ‘similarity’, actors said that the audience did recognise the real-life politicians. Francesc Novell mentioned the case of Oriol Pujol, son of Jordi Pujol, former president of Catalonia (1980-2003). Both father and son were accused of influence peddling, bribery, money laundering and public corruption in 2014. Before these allegations erupted, Oriol Pujol appeared as a duo on *Polònia* with Artur Mas, impersonated by Bruno Oro<sup>8</sup>:

Physically, I could have looked like Pujol, maybe in voice, but in personality nothing, zero. We did a gag with Artur Mas, and then another one and another one, and a pair of clowns was created: the serious one, Artur Mas, and the funny one with the red nose, Oriol Pujol. That was a hit. Did they look like the real ones? Nothing, zero, but people said: ‘Oh god, they are identical!’ People within Pujol’s party used to tell me: ‘I die of laughter because it is the same!’ And I said to them, ‘but it’s not the same. This guy is a jerk, I mean, Oriol might be many things but stupid’. Well, the audience bought the character and when a character is bought, it can be dressed like an astronaut or a ballerina and the audience will recognise him anyway.

David Olivares had a similar experience with his character of former Catalan Home Secretary, Felip Puig (2010-2012): “My Puig was nothing like the real-life one, because when I did my Puig, I did my Puig. He could have said, I don’t speak like this, I don’t walk like that, and I would say, ‘I am not imitating you’”. The most characteristic prop of Felip Puig’s impersonation was a baseball bat symbolising the law enforcement associated with a Home Secretary. “And once I received a picture of Felip Puig, the real one, in a convention, with a baseball bat in his hands, and then I

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<sup>8</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/lfmp2xl8Jsk>

realised, these guys watch the show and they recognise themselves in our characters”, said David Olivares. “It can be the case that your character is more similar to the original, than the original one”, said Francesc Casanovas to explain why some people recognise the politicians in their impersonations, despite the differences:

This might happen because in your observation you have struck a responsive chord with your instinct. I like the metaphor of the sculptor that has nothing to do because the sculpture is already inside the rock and he just has to cut off the excess. In a way this is what we do, and some people ask me ‘how do you know this politician does this?’ Well, I don’t know, I just follow my instinct, what I feel, and I stroke that chord.

The last stage of the crafting process is when the character takes over the body of the actor or actress. The amalgam of the sensations triggered in the actors’ bodies when connecting with the politician and the references and images prompted by these sensations end up condensed into a fictional character that possesses the interpreter.

When I have a character I can go shopping acting like her. When you can do that, the character is done and you disappear. I mean, when I see my Soraya or my Alicia Sánchez-Camacho, I do things that as myself, as Agnès, I would never dare to do. But you have the mask on and the characters goes on her own and you can improvise (Agnès Busquets).

Busquets describes the sensations of being possessed by the character as “listening to a little voice inside yourself”. Francesc Casanovas provides a similar description. For him, this possession has to do with “the moment when the character breaths inside yourself”. In his experience, Francesc Casanovas has felt taken over by characters such as the journalist Pilar Rahola, the mayor of Valencia, Rita Barbera, or the member of Spanish Parliament, Joan Tardà: “Eventually, you feel the character is part of you, you can notice it within yourself. It sounds like a mystical thing, and I do believe in that, it is like a mystical possession which allows you to better do your job. It is like a mask that you have put on so many times that it perfectly fits you”. Interviewees, however, pointed out that this possession cannot be experienced with all the characters. Actor Ivan Labanda felt this connection with Miquel Iceta, president of PSC, but not with Oriol Junqueras, president of ERC and former vice-president of Catalonia (2016-2017):

Junqueras is so voluptuous that I need so much stuff to look like him that it limits my interpretation, but with Iceta I go at ease and our version of Iceta allows you to do more silly things. And also you have to take into account that we are always

short of time to create or character, so you have to connect really quickly with something. With Iceta I can do that quicker.

Mireia Portas said that she:

Has been doing the character of Reina Sofía for so long that I could say that it has a life on her own. But you need time to create this connection and when you are there, the character can be done effortlessly. I could be doing Reina Sofía all day long, doing improvisations and creating on the go because it is something alive with its own energy.

This section showed what actors and actresses can find when they manage to break into the sensuous surface projected by politicians. *Polònia's* impersonators believe that politicians try to project a fabricated, pretentious mask to control their public image. At this point, they concur with the Machiavellian approach outlined in the introduction to this chapter. However, they do not mind if the materiality of the politician's mask is fabricated or not. This is not an issue unless it may provide more elements for them to craft the character. This is different from the Machiavellian understanding about the politician as a persona, that is to say, a mask strategically fabricated to conceal a politician's mortal condition. This perspective gives relevance to the production process of the shallow mask, which is assumed to be empty of any meaning. On the contrary, the ontological assumptions guiding the work of these impersonators is that politician's materiality is bound up in deeper meanings that can be unveiled by a sensuous experience. This assumption can be better analysed in the light of Jeffrey Alexander's concept of icons in which "visible signifier connects us to the invisible meaning" (2010b p.325). Once they have broken into the mask, impersonators do manage to identify a number of 'similarities'. This suggests that this sensation-based approach is indeed fruitful. They also said that they can impersonate those 'similarities' rather than the real-life politicians and the audience can still recognise the politician. Apparently, there is something in the depth of the politicians that tells more about them than what is on the surface.

#### 4.5 Conclusion: Politics as a bodily experience

Data presented in this chapter gives weight to the bodily experience as a way of understanding politics. The sensations experienced by the impersonators in their own body when connecting with the politician are raw material to craft a character. For a reader familiar with literature in drama studies or theatre this conclusion may be anything but new. However, this sensuous experience is alien to the predominant approaches to political communication research. The normative perspective in the literature borrows heavily from Habermas' idea of public sphere,

so that the personal involvement between citizens and politicians is reduced to a risk for the democracy. As a result, the body of the politician is shorn of any meaning to be interpreted. The introduction to this chapter outlined the Machiavellian approach to the person of the politician, which coincides with the Habermasian one in regard to the politician's personal attributes as something lacking in any meaning. *Polònia's* impersonators suggest the opposite. The personal attributes of the politician can provide a rich experience that allows unpacking a set of meaningful referents and images lying behind any projected mask. The challenge is to take an approach that captures that experience in its whole potential.

The bodily experience is everything in the crafting process described in this chapter. From the early stages, actors, actresses and other members of *Polònia's* staff mentioned the sensations in their own body as the key elements to grasp the most characteristic elements of the politician to be impersonated. They said that they try to connect with these sensations; some of them seek a more personal involvement with the politician, and others try to keep a distance. However, all recognised that without this connection, their characters are mere imitations, but not impersonations. There is also a thorough examination of the whole mask projected by the politician in order to locate the fissures and disconnections to penetrate it. Once they have broken into the politician's mask, they try to find similarities, that is to say, they try to identify images or referents that are familiar for them. A good character consists of the 'similarities' identified by the impersonator through their own experience. If this is the case, actors can dispense with the politician as inspiration and refer only to the 'similarities'. Finally, when the character is ready, actors' and actresses' bodies are subject to a sort of possession by their own fictional creations. The character takes over the bodies of actors and projects its own energy.

As this bodily experience cannot be properly addressed by a normative approach, the concepts of celebrity iconic consciousness and celebrity icon are very useful for the analysis. The approach to politicians undertaken by *Polònia's* impersonators is based on an iconic consciousness, as proposed by Jeffrey C. Alexander (2010c), that is to say, it is primarily based on the experience of the senses rather than the mind. Impersonators do not try to denounce or unveil the existence of the mask fabricated by the politician, instead they try to experience it. It can also be argued that politicians are icons for impersonators. Using the words of Alexander (2010b), the projected image of the politician is not a mere shallow mask, it is rather a sensuous surface that can connect to deeper meanings, which in this case consist of a number of images and referents previously experienced by the impersonators themselves. It can be seen in this chapter that Alexander's concepts might help to articulate an interpretive approach to grasp the meaning of the personal in politics, and thus to complement the normative ones.

## Chapter 5:

### Unveiling politicians' 'intentions' beyond utterances' textual meaning: The crafting of characters' voices and catchphrases

#### 5.1 Introduction

This is the second empirical chapter, and it describes the role of politicians' speech in the crafting process of *Polònia's* characters and sketch production. The main conclusion is that participants pay more attention to politicians' inexplicit intentions than to the literal content of their utterances. The production of voice imitation is essentially similar to the way in which impersonators approach a politician's physicality. I argued in the previous chapter that actors and actresses aim to experience in their own body the sensations provoked by the politician. When it comes to speech, *Polònia's* staff members try to experience the whole politician's 'voice'. For them, 'voice' refers to intonation, words, accents, languages, pronunciation, and other elements that relate to the study of sociolinguistics. When approaching politicians' utterances, participants assume that politicians do not say what they really mean but still provide some clues for the audience to infer their intentions. Impersonators subordinate the literal meanings of words and deal with these utterances as 'implicatures' in which the intended meaning is to be worked out. It is by looking at the articulation of the aforementioned voice elements that they can bring to light the intended meaning of politicians' utterances. In this sense, I suggest that *Polònia's* work may complement the tradition of 'political discourse analysis', which gives primacy to semantics as a way of understanding politicians' speeches. In *Polònia*, text is relatively important in relation to other pragmatic elements, so that how a given utterance is said may be more important than its literal meaning, or vice-versa.

#### 5.2 Implicature and power: Separating explicit from inexplicit meaning

Learning about the use of language is learning about political power, scholars concerned with political discourse analysis argue. For Chilton (2004), political activity simply does not exist without the use of language because any political process involves persuasion and bargaining. Therein lies the need to explain how "the use of language can produce the effects of authority, legitimacy, consensus, and so forth that are recognised as being intrinsic to politics" (p.4). Similarly, Fairclough and Fairclough (2012, p.18) observe that in politics, the purpose of speech is "to convince an audience that certain course of action is right or a certain point of view is true". They regard this 'intended perlocutionary effect' as intrinsically related to the act of argumentation. Van Dijk (1997, p.40) argues that by exploring the characteristics of a given discourse the main features of the broader political context can be revealed. Elements such as

the nature of prevailing norms, attitudes and knowledge among politicians or the public can be seen in how language is used. For Van Dijk, social and political constraints may discourage political speakers from expressing their intentions so that a “subtle and critical analysis should be able to make them explicit, and thus conversely contribute to our insight into the political context” (p.40).

As language and politics are related at such a fundamental level, the analysis of political discourse has been located as part of the broader literature of Critical Discourse Analysis. Van Dijk (1997, p.21) proposed that a discourse can be defined as ‘political’ only when it is directly or indirectly functional within a political process. This definition, Van Dijk argues, calls for broadening the limits of the understanding of politics beyond the official administration. It is also necessary to include primarily communicative political activities such as “propaganda, campaigning, canvassing, media interviews and influencing or being influenced by citizens or public opinion” (p.22). For him the analysis of such activities should be primarily concerned with the reproduction of “political power, power abuse or domination through political discourse, including the various forms of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance” (p.11). Van Dijk (1997, p.30) pays attention to what he calls ‘discourse structures’ used by political actors for the accomplishment of political actions. Politicians choose from certain topics to speak about, using certain semantics to emphasise positive meanings about themselves and negative meanings about others. Their strategies are materialised in lexical choices and syntactic styles that relate to text, but also by rhetorical forms, including text organisation. Van Dijk mentions the ‘expression structures’ to refer to elements such as voice volume, pitch and intonation (1997, p.36). However he attributes them a mere ‘indirect function’ in emphasising or de-emphasising meanings. For him, such ‘expression structures’ are subordinated to ‘discourse structures’ and are described in no more than one paragraph.

The Faircloughs not only agree with the main definitions provided by Teun Van Dijk, but also take them as foundations of their own approach, although with a focus on arguments. They claim that political discourse analysis should be conducted from a “critical perspective, a perspective which focuses on the reproduction and contestation of political power through discourse” (p.17). However, they supplement it with a special interest in the practical reasoning of political discourse. They say that any ‘reasonable’ decision can only emerge from a ‘systematic critical testing of reasons, claims and arguments for action’. Practical reasoning is regarded as the interface between agency and structure: “in reasoning practically, agents draw on discourses which reflect structural, institutional and moral orders, and these orders or structures provide them with reasons for action” (p.244). Approaching a political discourse critically has to do, primarily, with the arguments deployed strategically by politicians to justify their actions. This



focus is especially evident in their analysis of the budget reports presented by the chancellors of the exchequer in 2008 and 2010 before the Parliament of the United Kingdom. They conducted a detailed examination of the arguments presented to justify public spending cuts despite the abundance of expert evidence against them. However, each government managed to legitimise their strategy “in terms of shared and publicly justifiable values” by presenting their decision as having emerged from “a process of deliberation, of considering and weighing appropriate goals for actions and the values that should inform them” (p. 174).

A different approach has been proposed by Paul Chilton, whose analysis of politicians’ discourse is more concerned with the use of language either for political struggle or cooperation. Chilton sets a distinction of language as the human capacity for *language*, particular *languages* (such as English, German), and the use of language, “which we shall often refer to as discourse” (2004, p.16). Differing from approaches that give primacy to text, Chilton makes a case for a pragmatic perspective for understanding politicians’ discourse. Although he concedes that politics is a struggle among competing intentions, he also regards politics as cooperation. It is expected that individuals “will truthfully intend to communicate representations of the environment, with the back-up that everyone also has the ability to check for consistency and cheating”, he argues (p.32). This approach borrows from the Cooperative Principle in conversation, as coined by Paul Grice (1975, p.44). The basic idea is to make a conversation contribution “such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged”. Grice argues that this principle is fulfilled as long as the participants in the conversation respect the maxims of quantity and quality of their contributions as well as to make relevant interventions in an appropriate manner. Paul Grice elaborates on this cooperative principle but at the same time recognises that one of the participants may violate the maxims and the conversation can still go on. If this is the case, we are in the presence of an ‘implicature’, defined as:

Suppose that A and B are talking about a mutual friend, C, who is now working in a bank. A asks B how C is getting on his job, and B replies, *oh quite well, I think; he likes his colleagues, and he hasn’t been to prison yet*. At this point, A might well inquire what B was implying, what he was suggesting, or even what he meant by saying that C had no yet been to prison. I think it is clear that whatever B implied, suggested, meant, etc., in this example is distinct from what B said, which was simply that C had not been to prison yet (Grice, 1975, p.44).

Especially relevant for the main argument of this chapter is the separation made by Grice between literal meaning and implicit meaning. It is not the literal meaning of B’s answer which keeps the conversation going on, but the assumption made by A that B’s assertion is relevant. It

is Paul Chilton's approach that gives political significance to the concept of implicature. For him, utterances that linguistically point towards something they do not literally entail enable political actors "to convey more than they say in so many words" (p.37). Chilton argues that only if the hearer adopts a particular ideology, attitudes or values can they make the necessary inferences to save the maxims of the Cooperative Principle. The separation of literal and "inexplicit meaning" (p.61) does not imply denying reference, says Chilton, but recognising that in politics "non-existent entities can be accepted as having meaning and the way in which alternate ways of referring to the same entity can have different meaning". If meaning does not reside in words only, "in addition to referring, it is sense or representation in mind and in language-in-use that is crucial" (Chilton, 2004, p.49).

This chapter takes the concept of implicature and locates it at the centre of its analysis. Implicatures, as defined by Grice, help to understand the separation between explicit (literal) and inexplicit (conveyed) meaning in utterances made by the speaker. It also suggests that the reconciliation of both types of meaning requires an active engagement from the hearer. In this sense, the participants' approach seems to be closer to Paul Chilton's political discourse analysis than to Van Dijk or Fairclough. Chilton uses elements of pragmatics to give political weight to the inexplicit meaning in his analysis, while the latter have a more semantic focus on the literal meaning. Participants do not consider the explicit meaning in politicians' utterances, rather they aim for the inexplicit meaning because they assume that politicians do not speak in a literal way. However, *Polònia's* staff do not say that politicians tell lies. Real intentions underpinning their discourse can be understood by using clues provided by the politicians themselves. Data included in this chapter is based on interviews with *Polònia's* staff, observation of rehearsals, and recording and analysis of scripts.

### 5.3 When words are not enough to unveil politicians' intentions

*Polònia's* staff approach politicians' utterances by assuming that they are not saying what they really want to say because of the multiple constraints shaping political discourse. *Polònia's* director, Antoni Soler, maintains that the spoken or written words said by politicians are not the best place to understand what they really think. "One assumes that they are not saying what they really think", said Antoni Soler, CEO of *Minoria Absoluta*, the production company that created *Polònia* in 2006 and has produced the show ever since:

What we do, which might be either the easiest or the hardest part, is to strip the politicians and make them say, not what they say but what they are really thinking.

This is the game we play. On *Polònia*, politicians say what they really mean while in daily politics they never say what they mean. Easy, isn't it?

Participants attribute this lack of transparency in politicians' utterances to a highly constrained context. As was mentioned in the methods chapter, 2015's fourth quarter presented a political context marked by an unprecedented sensation of uncertainty. On the one hand, the separatist parties reached the majority of seats in local election for the Parliament of Catalonia, held on 29<sup>th</sup> September. However, it was not until early January 2016, after three months of political blockage, that they reached an agreement to form a coalition government. On the other hand, the Spanish General Election was expected to have the most unpredictable result since the end of Francisco Franco's dictatorship. Two new political parties emerged on the political scene with good results in previous local elections. The leftist Podemos had been founded in 2014 and they had already won the May 2015 Mayoral Elections in important cities such as Madrid, Barcelona, Cádiz and La Coruña. The centre-right Ciudadanos had never run in a general election but they had presence in previous local elections in Catalonia only. In 2012 they obtained 7.58% of votes and 9 seats in the Catalan Parliament, while in 2015 they secured 17.93% and 25 seats, becoming the second largest political party in Catalonia and the main unionist force. With these results, Podemos and Ciudadanos went into the election on 20<sup>th</sup> December 2015 aiming to challenge the primacy of the right-wing PP and the social democrat PSOE.

This sensation of uncertainty impacted on how politicians expressed themselves in public. Jaume Buixó has been *Polònia's* director since 2010 and has worked as scriptwriter since the first season in 2006. Part of his work consists of searching for politician's public appearances in media outlets and selecting situations to be resembled in the sketches. Jaume was first interviewed in December 2015, amid the uncertain political context described above. He described parties' policy proposals as unstable due to strategic reasons:

When it comes to arguments we can see an amazing level of inconsistency because nobody wants to say anything, but, as politicians, they have to say something. The arrival of Podemos has dragged the PSOE towards more leftist positions, something more alternative compared with its own tradition. The same with PP that nowadays sounds more centrist than before because they see that Ciudadanos is eating into its traditional electorate.

In Jaume's opinion, emergent political parties lack the political density to anchor their proposals while the traditional parties do hold that density but prefer moving away in order to look more up-to-date. This results in what Jaume described as a:

Day-to-day routine of political equilibrium where nobody wants to lose a vote but at the same time they want to broaden their target. This is the main feature of current political discourse we can see when writing the scripts. It is clear that everyone is afraid to be too loyal to themselves.

Both in sketches and in informal exchanges, participants mentioned that a good example of this lack of clarity was Oriol Junqueras, who was president of ERC, a traditional Catalan leftist party that openly supported and worked for Catalonia's independence. Junqueras signed a coalition, *Junts pel Sí*, with the right-wing CDC party to run together for the September 2015 local election. The coalition won the election but did not reach the absolute majority to carry out its separatist project. They negotiated the support of CUP, an anti-capitalist left party that aimed for independence, but was reluctant to ally with the conservatives of CDC. With the CUP on the left and CDC on the right fighting each other, ERC ended up in the centre, with its president Oriol Junqueras in an unexpectedly uncomfortable position. "In Catalonia there is a popular idiom: Pleasing *La Puta y la Ramoneta*<sup>9</sup>, which means that you don't commit yourself with any conflicting positions. That would be the good definition of his situation", says Ivan Labanda, actor on *Polònia* and impersonator of Junqueras since 2013. Labanda continued:

Physically, he is a very atypical person. I mean, he has some tics, some defects, sometimes he closes just one eye, for example. He is very voluptuous, fatter than me, so I have to use some prosthesis that makes difficult for me to move freely on stage. As the bodily features are difficult, this character in particular resides more in his voice and way of speaking than in his physicality.

Junqueras' way of speaking is the best expression, among other *Polònia*'s characters, of speaking a lot but saying nothing. "He is so skilled that he always manages to muddle through by saying nothing, without getting his feet wet. That is why he always draws upon the formula 'if you ask me this, I will answer that, which is not this but that'. In a way, it is a formula to control the situation", says Labanda. This formula is so characteristic of Junqueras that he was told to say it when he appeared in a cameo role in a special episode with real-life politicians<sup>10</sup>. Three politicians were asked 'do you like to be impersonated on *Polònia*?' and the real Junqueras answered:

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<sup>9</sup> *Put* means whore in Castilian and *Ramoneta* is a popular nickname to refer to old grandmothers.

<sup>10</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/Sm1OONo756k>

You ask me if I like to be impersonated... well, in a normal country it would be normal to be impersonated. But if you ask me if I like that everyone is impersonated, I would say that I usually don't make comments about impersonations of others; If you want to ask me if it is good to have an impersonation show, I will say that, of course it is good to have an impersonation show like in other places around the world, like for example in Quebec or Scotland<sup>11</sup>. And finally, if you ask me if I agree that my speech is rather convoluted and baroque and I never end up answering what I have been asked, I will answer that it is not up to me to evaluate that, but anyway, that has to be decided by the people of Catalonia themselves.

Junqueras was not only constrained by his allied parties but also by his own political prospectus. When the political blockage ended in January 2016, *Junts pel Sí* coalition formed a government with Oriol Junqueras as deputy president of Catalonia and CDC member Carles Puigdemont in the presidency. Although he was in the second place in the administration, opinion polls (Centre d'Estudis d'Opinió, 2016) showed Junqueras in the top position in leader approval ratings. Ivan Labanda observed that:

If you asked me right here, right now, in the next election, he would be the president, because he has such a high approval, also because ERC is a powerful traditional party with an important machinery and he has the support from CUP. So, he cannot be very explicit and jeopardise his own expectant position.

*Polònia's* characterisation of Oriol Junqueras is of course an exaggeration, but provides a clear example in which the omissions are more important to understand his intentions than his whole speech. The leader of ERC was openly supportive of independence in his general public interventions, but he was not that clear when required to support the investiture of his ally Artur Mas as president of Catalonia (La Razon, 2015; El Confidencial, 2015).

In other cases, a slip-up can tell more about politicians' intentions than the whole argumentation they present for an action. Jaume Buixó cites the example of Mariano Rajoy and his mistake during an interview about Catalonia's independence. Central Spanish government from Madrid deployed an anti-independence campaign emphasising what Catalans would lose if they left the country. One of the things they would lose, according to this campaign, would be their Spanish nationality and, as a result, European citizenship. Five days before the election, the Spanish

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<sup>11</sup> Junqueras used to mention Quebec and Scotland as examples of countries that have celebrated independence referenda.

president, Mariano Rajoy, gave an interview to a radio station in Catalonia<sup>12</sup>. During the interview, the journalist countered the argument about Spanish nationality loss and demonstrated that Rajoy was wrong. Finally, the president himself asked the journalist about European citizenship: “¿Y la europea?” (“And the European one?”). This made evident his ignorance on the topic. Two days after the interview, *Polònia* included its first sketch with Rajoy saying “¿Y la europea?”<sup>13</sup>. Thereafter, and during the whole period of observation, the Spanish president was constantly impersonated with the same catchphrase.

In one second the character condenses himself. That phrase alone tells more about Rajoy than the set of arguments advanced during the whole campaign. Ideally, every character would say something like ‘¿Y la europea?’, a moment in which they reveal themselves and what they think. Of course this doesn’t happen that often, otherwise our job would be easier (Jaume Buixó).

Participants, however, do not regard politicians as liars. To a certain extent, this argument is similar to the one presented in the previous chapter about the pretentious image that politicians project in public. Participants said that such projections do exist and there might be an attempt at deception, but they can find ‘fissures’ and ‘disconnections’ in such masks and then unveil what is behind them. Antoni Albá, actor in *Polònia* since 2006, observed:

At least, politicians do not lie more than other public figures, they rather offer convenient interpretations of the social reality, so to speak. But they are not lying in doing so. I mean, if they lie you can catch them very easily by comparing what they say with your day-to-day life.

Actor Sergi Cervera believes that:

It is difficult to sustain a lie with that level of exposure. What might happen is that they show the facts in a different way but you have to be able to understand what they are really saying.

Judit Martín, actress and impersonator on *Polònia* since 2016, noted that:

The thing is, there are politicians with such an amount of coaching that they can speak a lot but say nothing, it is amazing! But you, as an actress, can notice when you are in such a situation. Because there are things you cannot coach, there are

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<sup>12</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/9QBRsry3uwk>

<sup>13</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/re011b9K2-M?t=2m20s>

limits for those techniques and strategies. You can understand either what they really want to say or don't want to say but they can't help saying by means other than words.

As with the 'mask', *Polònia's* staff think that they can unveil what is behind politicians' words.

This section established that when approaching politicians' utterances, participants' concerns have to do with 'what they really *want* to say' rather than with 'what they really say'. They assume that the semantic content of any utterance has to be overridden because there are so many constraints operating over politicians that they cannot say what they really mean. It can be said that the programme-makers approach politicians' utterances as implicatures, that is to say, that there is an inexplicit meaning to be inferred from the literal composition. They make a clear separation: on the one hand, there is the literal meaning of what politicians say and what audiences can hear in daily politics; on the other, there is the inexplicit meaning said by *Polònia's* characters making politicians' real intentions evident. As with the seminal definitions of implicatures, politicians do not lie when speaking in public. They rather find different ways of referring to social reality by choosing the most convenient one for them. The next section will show the strategies of participants in bringing the 'inexplicit' to the surface of their characters.

#### 5.4 Embodying politician's voice and its impossibilities

*Polònia's* actors and actresses aim to experience the whole voice of a politician and not just the words of their utterances. This assertion coincides with data presented in the previous chapter when it was said that participants rely on the sensations experienced in their own bodies to craft their characters. In this case, they try to make their own voices be possessed by the real politician's voice. Crafting an imitation of the voice does not mean obtaining a 'carbon copy' of the original politician's voice. Actors try to catch as many voice elements as possible in order to identify the most characteristic ones. They take into account regional accents, languages, pronunciations, pitch and prosody, among others. Once the most characteristic elements are identified, actors place emphasis on them in order to create a caricature of a politician's voice. They recognise, however, certain limitations in imitating a voice, so the character voice ends up being the result of the original one combined with the actor's own limitations.

"Voice in itself has personality", said Judit Martín, actress on *Polònia* since 2016 and with previous experience of political impersonation for radio shows, "in radio, voice is everything, so if you make a good impersonation, you can express a certain way of being of the politician just with the voice. It is all about that". She continued:

I mean, there are so many things in there, I don't know, rhythm, melody, bass, middle, treble voice. Or if she speaks Castilian or Catalan, and if she is from Catalonia, you can tell what region she is from. And, this is very interesting, when you can feel certain aftertaste of a regional accent but very weak, you can tell something about his life path as well.

Francesc Casanovas also sees voice characterisation as a very important part of crafting a character:

However, rather than aiming for an exact carbon copy of the original voice, it's the curvature that helps you better portrait the politician. In my experience, accent and pronunciation, you have to go for them, absolutely. Accent and pronunciation are like his face, like a characteristic gesture.

Francesc has worked on the show since 2006, impersonating about 20 politicians. In December 2016, when this interview was conducted, he was working on Gerardo Pisarello, first secretary of Ada Colau, mayor of Barcelona:

When I do him, I do an Argentinian accent, although he is perfectly fluent in Catalan. In this case I grasp that feature because it is his picture, he can be perfectly pictured in how he mixes up Catalan and Argentinian accent.

David Olivares, however, thinks differently about voice:

If I find myself talking about a character's way of talking means that I have nothing to say about him. I do it because it is my job and that is it. I want my characters to have soul, my own point of view. Makeup helps, costume as well, but what really matters, for me, is a point of view, something to play with. Voice?... Let's wait and see.

Actor David Marcé also considers the practicalities of his job and the use of voice as a shortcut to craft a character:

On *Polònia*, we usually have to craft characters overnight. When you are told so, all you wish is for the politician to have a phonetic defect, a wrong pronunciation or bad articulation, I don't know. Something to start working with; a certain prosody; Something! Anything! Some politicians are harder than others to get them done. When you find something in the voice you are half done. If not, uff!

Antoni Albá observed that:

Of course you can use the voice to quickly craft your impersonation. Some of my colleagues on *Polònia* can make some amazing voices quickly, I can't do that. I am



not good at this but because it takes time. So, I try to go for other things. What I try to hear is the background bagpipe, everyone has a bagpipe in his voice, even if I don't speak this is what you can hear from the character. Once I got the background bagpipe, then I try to say a text with a good modulation. Often you end up exaggerating the bagpipe. The bagpipe is what helps you identify the character.

When crafting the imitation of physicality, actors and actresses explained that the resultant character emerges from a dialectic between the real-life politician and the artist's own experience. When it comes to voice, the same can be said, although in this case physical limitations have a role to play. "After so many years in this business I have concluded that as beauty is in the eye of the beholder, sounds are in the ears of the listeners" said David Olivares, also observing that:

This is so dependent on your own perceptions that you can end up engaging in discussions with you colleagues about how someone speaks. 'This guy has a more bass voice' and you say 'no, no he has a treble voice. Really? I hear otherwise'.

Francesc Casanovas agrees with David Olivares and gives the example of his character of José Bono (minister of Defence 2008-2011):

When I was told to do that character everyone told me 'this is a godsend to you'. Everyone said Bono was such an obvious character, very easy and all of them seemed to see clearly his way of talking. For me, on the contrary, it was a difficult process of listening, discarding, visualising, listening, discarding, and so on. At the beginning he sounded like a drunk man, then I started to catch him. For the rest it seemed so easy, for me it was a whole internal process.

Francesc has done several female characters, such as Rita Baberá (mayor of Valencia 1991-2015):

Sometimes I have lost my voice doing Rita, because she had that broken voice, a '*carajillo*' thing<sup>14</sup> with some masculine posture<sup>15</sup>. Another case is Pilar Rahola. She is such a clever journalist, very cultured, but when she gets angry in a debate she gets mad and shouts with a treble voice which, I am sure, any of my female colleagues could do better. I try to do my best, but I crash into my male limitations and it is difficult to incorporate more elements to the character.

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<sup>14</sup> Carajillo is a popular drink in Madrid made of spirit, rum or brandy, poured into hot black coffee.

<sup>15</sup> Watch the original online: <https://youtu.be/zVAZaFf9wGA>

Actress Agnès Busquets also copes with her own physical limitations when crafting a voice imitation:

Because I have the instrument [voice] that I have. Soraya has a very special voice marked by a constantly blocked nose. Over time she as re-educated his voice but she still has that congestion and of course I bring this to an exaggeration. I am aware that my voice is not the exact copy of Soraya's one because she makes some inflexions and voice breaks, you know, like a rooster. I can't do that. I rather go to what I can do and that is the nasal congestion.

Actors also mentioned their own personal experience as a resource to craft a character voice:

I was raised in Catalan, this is my mother tongue although I am fluent in Castilian as well. So, for me it is easier to see vocal characteristics in a Catalan speaker than in a Castilian speaker. Because in my language I can tell if someone is from Lleida, Girona or Barcelona, but in Castilian, it does not come that easy because it is difficult for me to tell if he makes mistakes or if his melody is his own personal melody or is the same regional accent. I am going to exaggerate my argument to make it clear. I don't know, with Frenches I would never know where they are from (David Marcé).

Judit Martin also uses her personal life experiences:

I don't know, if you have to do an Argentinian and you had lived for long with Argentinians it is easier, or if you know that accent because you have family in the south, so to speak; or because you have been raised in a very deprived area so that you can make a very good working-class way of speaking. If this is the case, you don't strive for that, it just comes to you.

For example, she mentions Esperanza Aguirre (former president of Madrid Autonomic Community 2002-2013):

She very much reminds me of my dad's aunt that we used to visit and, this is important, we used to laugh at her, my sister and I, so she was very present in our life. That personal experience plus voice tone plus accent and you are done.

This section described the main elements of crafting characters' voices in the words of actors. It can be argued that the process of crafting a voice is rather similar to that described in Chapter 4 relating to politicians' physicality. Here, *Polònia's* staff also aim to experience in their own bodies the stimuli given by the politicians. This is made evident when actors mention their own limitation in putting one another's voice in one's own throat and mouth. So far, words have

nothing to do in the process, because the focus is on the expressive means. However, participants' accounts reveal that relevant information to picture a politician can be found in the pragmatic elements, as the literature on sociolinguistics suggests (Addington, 1968; 1971; Moe, 1972; Willemyns et al., 1997), especially when it comes to regional accents and pronunciations (Docherty and Foulkes, 1999; Mathisen, 1999; Mees and Collins, 1999; Stuart-Smith et al., 2007). Pragmatics elements are critical on stage and, together with script lines, help to impersonate a politician's intentions.

### 5.5 The use of pragmatics elements to craft a catchphrase

The aforementioned pragmatic elements can be used to give relevance to utterances said by politicians and turn them into the character's catchphrase. This is what participants aim to do when crafting their character and looking for characteristic phrases to condense into certain particularities of the original politician. Three cases are presented in this section, in which impersonators detected one element of voice that is recognised as politically worthy and then brought to exaggeration. The first is Inés Arrimadas, spokesperson of Ciudadanos Catalonia, who is impersonated with a catchphrase with particular intonation to reveal the insistent repetition of the same argument. The second case is Albert Rivera, president of Ciudadanos Spain, the nationwide branch of Ciudadanos. He is impersonated by speaking both in Catalan and Castilian in his intention to reach the Catalan unionist position. And finally there is Eulalia Reguant, spokesperson of CUP, an anti-capitalist Catalan party, whose voice and bodily gestures reinforce the perceived intensity of her ideas.

A character's catchphrase can be the literal composition of an utterance but imitated with a specific element of voice. The politician may say this utterance so often that it becomes one of their characteristic features. But it also might be said just once, but is enough to become their portrait. In either case, the literal meaning is kept as in the original sentence, but character combines it with one element of voice, which is exaggerated to make more evident the 'intention' identified by the participants. This is the case of Inés Arrimadas, the opposition leader in the Parliament of Catalonia and, in that capacity, the most vocal opponent to the independence of Catalonia. By the time this data was collected, her character on *Polònia* had the epithet *el senyor Mas* (Mister Mas) as a catchphrase to refer to the separatist leader, Artur Mas. The original Arrimadas actually used this phrase both in interviews and official speeches in parliament (La Sexta, 2015; El Mundo, 2015c; La Sexta, 2016), but the intonation used by actor Lara Díez in her character aimed to denote the lack of more arguments.

Subdirector and scriptwriter Jaume Buixó explained that in *el senyor Mas*, text and prosody work together:

In this phrase the *cantarella* [prosodic features] is very important, it is like when a journalist has her own variation in voice tone. Together, it is a phrase that denotes that it is said just because, routinely. Lara's tone is like 'oh crap', exhausting, 'I am saying it again just to annoy you'.

In this catchphrase, he points out, they try to condense what they think is the lack of other arguments or proposals from the party led by Arrimadas:

We said that their only argument is that Artur Mas is a bad person and he has to step down. This does not go in favour of Artur Mas, but it is the character's touch: that it is all Mas' fault. Honestly, I have not heard more arguments from their side. If you listen to her it is all about '*el senyor Mas*'.

Lara had impersonated Inés Arrimadas since September 2015, two months before her interview, so she was still refining her character:

I have been watching her in rallies and the repetition is... I mean, she has five basic arguments for everything. She plays her game, I respect it because some people may remember four or five arguments said soundly and repeated endlessly. This is where this catchphrase stems from, that lack of more arguments, and repeating it like the Chinese water torture.

Inés Arrimadas' catchphrase shows a case in which text and prosody work together in materialising the intention implicit in an utterance. This catchphrase is used in several sketches, but is particularly relevant in *Transició Baños Arrimadas*, in which Inés Arrimadas meets the leader of CUP, Antonio Baños. She approaches Baños to make sure his party is not voting for Mas' investiture as president of Catalonia.

	"TRANSICIÓ BAÑOS ARRIMADAS" (V5) - OK <sup>16</sup> POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 380 <sup>17</sup>	"TRANSICIÓ BAÑOS ARRIMADAS" (V5) - OK RECORDING DATE: THURSDAY, 12 NOV 2015
43.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>
44.	Are you sure that you will not end up voting for Mas?	Segur que al final no investireu a Mas?
45.		
46.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
47.	Of course we won't. As Saint Augustine said: a man can sacrifice himself for the whole people, but...	És clar que no. Com deia Sant Agustí: un sol home es pot sacrificar per tot un poble, però...
48.		
49.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS: (INTERRUPTING HIM)</b>	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS: (L'INTERROMP)</b>

<sup>16</sup> For full translation see Appendix 16: Script Transició Baños Arrimadas.

<sup>17</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/OBCRK9WWu8k>

50.	Ok, ok. Perfect! We are having an election again and Ciutadans will rock.	Que sí, que sí. Perfecte! Tornarem a tenir eleccions i Ciutadans ho petarà.
51.		
52.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
53.	I would not be so happy. Think something: If we do not appoint him, what will you talk about next term?	Jo no estaria tan contenta. Pensa una cosa: si no l'investim de què parlareu a la pròxima legislatura?
54.		
55.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>
56.	What do you want to say?	Què vols dir?
57.		
58.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
59.	I mean, you repeat like an onion pastry: (MOCKING HER, MAKING AN ANNOYING-GIRLY VOICE) Mister Mas is an irresponsible man, Mister Mas does not want to speak about the corruption in his party, Mister Mas promises ice cream dessert for all the children.	Que us repetiu més que una piruleta de ceba: (ESCARNINT-LA, FENT VEUETA DE DONA) El senyor Mas és un irresponsable, el senyor Mas no parla de la corrupció del seu partit, el senyor Mas promet gelat de postre a tots els nens.
60.		
61.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>
62.	Hey! In Ciutadans we have a lot more arguments, eh!	Ei! Que Ciutadans tenim molts més arguments, eh!
63.		
64.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
65.	Really, which ones?	Ah sí? Quins?
66.		
67.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>
68.	None comes to my mind right now, because Mister Mas concentrates all the topics on his person.	Doncs ara no se me n'acut cap perquè el senyor Mas centralitza tots el temes en la seva persona.

In this sketch, the scriptwriters used the character of Antonio Baños to mock Inés Arrimadas and her catchphrase “*el senyor Mas*”. It is difficult to find instructions in scripts on how to pronounce this catchphrase. This might be because both scriptwriters and the actor have a good understanding about its characteristics so there is no need to give instructions. However, in line 59 of this extract there is a specific instruction to make an “annoying-girly voice”. This instruction is not for Lara Díaz impersonating Arrimadas, instead it is for actor David Olivares impersonating Antonio Baños, so it is expected that he needs a reference point to read a script line he is not familiar with. The instruction “annoying-girly voice” reinforces the descriptions provided by Jaume and Lara about its exasperating recurrence. At the same time, it is situated in a discussion about the party’s lack of arguments, which is made more evident in line 68 when she is asked to provide more ideas but goes back to “*el senyor Mas*”. And finally, in terms of intention, the scripts suggest, in line 50, that Inés Arrimadas’ insistence on blaming Artur Mas has to do with pushing him to step down in order to force a new local election in which his party might have a better result.

The case of Albert Rivera shows a politician whose main vocal characteristic is the use of different languages as part of his political strategy. “Something very characteristic of him is his ability to easily switch from Catalan to Castilian”, said Sergi Cervera, actor on *Polònia* and Rivera’s impersonator. Albert Rivera was the president of Ciudadanos political party and member of the Parliament of Catalonia from 2006 to 2015. When this data was collected, he had finished his second term and was running for MSP and consequently for SPM. Amid the rise of Catalanian separatism, Rivera made unionism an important aspect of his campaign, but with

the specificity that his anti-independence position emerged from Catalonia not from Madrid, as it was with PSOE or PP. Campaign leaflets (see Figure 9) read “we are a 21<sup>st</sup> Century political party comprised of citizens committed to changing Spain”, all written in Catalan. And then there are six numbered policy proposals, three in Catalan and three in Castilian including: “if you think that what unites the Spanish people is more important that what separates us”.

Figure 9: Albert Rivera leaflet - 2015 election campaign.

This ability to switch languages is present, for example in *Aquí, Qui Hi Viu?*, which tells that Albert Rivera’s character had moved to a television studio.

	“WHO LIVES HERE?” (V3) - OK <sup>18</sup> POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 377 <sup>19</sup>	“AQUÍ, QUI HI VIU?” (V3) - OK
1.	ALBERT RIVERA WALKS WHILE EXPLAINING HIS SITUATION. HE IS IN A SETTING OF POLITICAL DEBATE. (WE CAN SEE SOME CHAIRS LAID IN SEMICIRCLE)	
2.		
3.	ALBERT RIVERA:	
4.		
5.	I spent so many hours/ <i>tantas horas</i> / in television debates/ <i>debates</i> / of La Sexta / <i>La Sisena</i> / that at the end of the day it was more convenient to move in here. Here I have all I need:*	
6.		

<sup>18</sup> No full translation provided.

<sup>19</sup> Watch online: [https://youtu.be/8vE6PGGnq\\_I](https://youtu.be/8vE6PGGnq_I)

In line 5 of this extract the character speaks in both languages. The scriptwriter takes one or two words of the full sentence to be repeated in the other language.

Besides this ability to switch between Catalan and Castilian, Sergi Cervera noticed differences in the nature of Rivera's political positions according to the language he is using. "One thing is Rivera in Catalan and another thing is Rivera in Castilian", he says. For him, in local campaigns Rivera had defended Spanish unionism by calling for a Constitution reform:

But he knows that it is impossible, so there is a tiny trap in it. He also lies when he says that in Catalonia's schools children are indoctrinated and brainwashed [against Unionism], despite the fact that he is a son of those schools and if he speaks so well in both languages it is because of Catalonia's education.

In the national campaign Sergi sees something different:

It is different because he tells a truth, because he speaks about education, pensions, jobs, health and he has policy proposals. You may agree with them or not, but in Castilian he has a project for Spain while in Catalan he has an anti-project for Catalonia.

Also, Rivera's pronunciation of Catalan is seen by Sergi as an expression of a specific type of unionism:

When I do Rivera in Catalan I try to highlight his *chaba* thing. Chaba is working-class, someone from Barcelona who speaks Catalan but not that traditional Catalan. This is clear especially in the vowels. Traditional upper-class Catalan makes closed vowels and *chaba* is more open vowel. He also has this *quillo* thing [chavs], you know, that defiant 19-year-old that goes in a motorcycle and always speaks Castilian and goes 'what's up, fuck off'. All these accents are from areas of Barcelona where Castilian is spoken because either they migrated from other regions of Spain or are the sons of those former migrants.

In *Chicago - Ciutadans*, the scriptwriter suggests a strategic use of Castilian language as a way to connect with a certain portion of the electorate, which here is called 'the ordinary folk' (*el poble llano*). This sketch is a musical version of the press conference given by Albert Rivera and Inés Arrimadas after the good results their party secured in the local election for the Parliament of Catalonia in September 2015. This extract starts with a question from a journalist asking Rivera to take a clear political stance:

"CHICAGO - CIUTADANS" - OK <sup>20</sup> POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 374 <sup>21</sup>		"CHICAGO - CIUTADANS" - OK RECORDING DATE: WEDNESDAY, 30 SEPT 2015	
137	<b>JOURNALIST 3:</b>		<b>PERIODISTA 3:</b>
138	<i>Left or right?</i>		<i>Esquerra o dreta?</i>
139			
140	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>		<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>
141	<i>Ambidextrous.</i>		<i>Ambidextre.</i>
142			
143	<b>JOURNALIST 1:</b>		<b>PERIODISTA 1:</b>
144	<i>And, what if you don't win?</i>		<i>I si no guanya?</i>
145			
146	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>		<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>
147	<i>Bullshit!</i>		<i>¡Gillipollices!</i>
148	<i>And I tell you this in Castilian</i>		<i>Y te lo digo en castellano</i>
149	<i>For the ordinary folk to understand.</i>		<i>que lo comprenda el pueblo llano.</i>
150			
151	<i>You see, you see, you see, he has</i>		<i>Ya ves, ya ves, ya ves, él ha</i>
152	<i>You see, he has</i>		<i>Ya ves, él ha</i>
153	<i>You see, he has stopped</i>		<i>Ya ves, ha frenado</i>
154	<i>Mas, to Mas, to Mas, to Mas</i>		<i>a Mas, a Mas, a Mas, a Mas,</i>
155	<i>Watch out Rajoy, you will also</i>		<i>ojo, Rajoy, que tú también</i>
156	<i>Suck</i>		<i>pringarás.</i>

Until line 141 Albert Rivera's character pronounces his script lines in Catalan only. On line 143 the journalist is questioning the press conference's celebratory mood and casts doubt on the chances of Albert Rivera winning the upcoming General Election. On line 147 Rivera switches to Castilian "for the ordinary folk to understand" and insists on his chances of winning the Spanish presidency.

In a campaign rally organised by Ciudadanos in Barcelona, Albert Rivera did speak in both languages at the very beginning of his speech. The act took place in Nou Barris district on 6<sup>th</sup> December 2015 during the campaign for the Spanish General Election. He started by saying thank you to the audience and commenting on the weather in Catalan and then he moved on to his campaign speech in Castilian:

ALBERT RIVERA'S RALLY IN BARCELONA <sup>22</sup> ORIGINAL IN CATALAN <sup>23</sup>		DATE: SUNDAY, 06 DECEMBER 2015 TRANSLATION TO ENGLISH	
1.	Bona nit a tothom.		Good night everyone
2.	Gràcies per estar aquí aquesta nit. Freda, però en el fons bon calent.		Thank you for coming in this chilli but cosy night.
3.	Hi ha calor, hi ha humanitat i hi ha xocolata.		It is warm, there is human warmth and there is hot chocolate.
4.	Amb la qual, gràcies per estar aquí avui diumenge, dia de la Constitució.		That is why I want to thank you to be here this Sunday, the Constitution Day.
5.	Gracias por estar aquí en un día tan importante.		Thank you to be here in such an important day. (since now on he continues in Castilian)

<sup>20</sup> For full translation see Appendix 7: Script Chicago Ciudadans.

<sup>21</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/M1PTSekhmz8>

<sup>22</sup> No full translation provided.

<sup>23</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/a2hOvpfMGQo>



Lines 1 to 4 are said in Catalan and from line 5 onwards he speaks in Castilian and continues to do so for the rest of the speech. Both in the leaflet shown above (Figure 9) and at the very beginning of this rally, Albert Rivera showed an ability to switch languages that was mentioned by members of *Polònia* staff. In this case, the text is not relevant to craft the character – what really matters is pragmatic elements that can be combined with any other semantic elements. According to the participants, the political strategy of Albert Rivera lies in his use of the language rather than in the language itself.

Bodily gestures can also be used to emphasise the intentions of the politicians being impersonated. Although in most cases the use of gestures helps to portray the politician in personal terms, there are cases in which a paralinguistic element is important to reinforce collective political positions. Judit Martin impersonates Eulàlia Reguant, the spokesperson of the anticapitalist left party CUP in 2016. “She is such an intense woman” says Judit, who uses the catchphrase ‘from here, the CUP, we want to say that... (*nosaltres, desde la CUP, volem dir que...*)’. “But of course it is not the phrase alone. The thing is she is so intense and her political positions are so intense, as well, that you need more than a mere catchphrase”, explained the actress. Eulàlia Reguant was a prominent member of CUP but became more widely known after the press conference she gave on 10<sup>th</sup> January 2016. On that occasion Reguant explained the agreement with the *Junts pel Sí* coalition, which consisted of the resignation of Artur Mas to be invested as president of Catalonia<sup>24</sup>. Judit explained that the catchphrase was said very rarely by Eulàlia Reguant: “but you don’t need them to be frequent to become part of the character, it is more important if that helps you identify the politician and her ideas”.

In order to add the ‘intense’ emphasis, Judit Martin includes elements of gesture and voice while pronouncing the catchphrase. Her characteristic element is a lateral eyeball movement “with a psychopathic point, I am not saying she is a psycho but my character is”. Another element of this catchphrase is the vocalisation:

Text alone is useless, this is like a song, lyrics and music go together, and with Eulàlia, you can hear her intensity in her pronunciation. She does not merely say ‘*desde la CUP*’, instead, she says ‘*desde la HUP*’, because she is so intense that she does not pronounce the C.

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<sup>24</sup> Watch here: [https://youtu.be/DWxJ7Utar\\_I](https://youtu.be/DWxJ7Utar_I)

Judit recognises that all these elements are her exaggeration, but:

Her voice is an expression of what CUP is as a political party. Some politicians re-educate their voice with professional coaching, this girl is the opposite. She is a natural voice, forged in popular assemblies where you have to speak loudly and argue to the best of your expressive abilities otherwise nobody will hear you. That is why I do a bass, broken voice<sup>25</sup>.

The catchphrases used to craft the characters of Inés Arrimadas, Albert Rivera and Eulalia Reguant on *Polònia*, show that elements of voice and gestures might give political weight to utterances' literal meaning. In the first case, Arrimadas is merely using the name of his political rival as any other politician would have done. It is difficult to assess *a priori* the political relevance of what is simply an epithet. However, what matters is its recurrent usage in a context of a policy programme regarded as weak by *Polònia*-makers. That aspect is expressed by the 'annoying-girly voice' used by the actress Lara Díez and suggested by the scriptwriter. When it comes to Albert Rivera, the language switch might seem a triviality to an analysis focused on the semantic or literal content of the utterance. In the aforementioned rally in Nou Barris, Albert Rivera is saying nothing more relevant than 'hello, what a chilly night and thank you for coming'. However, when compared with the observation conducted by *Polònia*'s staff, an important part of his political strategy relied on the very fact that he speaks both languages, but more importantly in the fact that he is a Catalan-born who can speak Castilian fluently. Reguant's voice and eyeball movements together with a given phrase help understand the intensity of both herself and her party's positions.

## 5.6 Voice and gesture: Embodying the intention

Politicians' intentions might also be more important than an utterance's textual content when the character is being acted on stage. During the recordings and rehearsals, the director prompts actors and actresses to say their scripted lines with particular emphasis on elements of voice so that the 'intention' is made clear. Sometimes, it might be the case that actors are allowed to make textual mistakes when pronouncing their scripted lines as long as the 'intention' is properly expressed. To an important extent, the director prompts actors by providing instructions of 'intention', which are mainly expressed in the voice. Then, actors interpret these instructions with the whole body, so the 'intention' organises all the bodily actions, voice and

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<sup>25</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/Jmpsbqlduv0>

gestures. Scripts lines do not copy what the actual politicians say about daily politics, but they try to resemble their underlying intentions. That is why producer Marc Martin frequently uses some verbal formulas to prompt actors to say a scripted line. Marc uses two popular idioms to give instructions: ‘*En plan*’ and ‘*rotllo*’ which can be translated as ‘be like’ in its most informal way. He uses these idioms to ask actors for more emphasis on certain parts of the text as well as to ask for certain forms of emphasis.

In *El plá de Montoro* (extract below), the minister of Finance, Cristóbal Montoro, explains his plan to tackle tax evasion to the president Mariano Rajoy.

	<b>MONTORO’S PLAN (V2) – OK<sup>26</sup></b> POLÒNIA / SEASON 12 / EPISODE 421 <sup>27</sup>	<b>“EL PLA DE MONTORO” (V2) - OK</b> RECORDING DATE: WEDNESDAY, 7 DEC 2016
<b>6.</b>	<b>CRISTÓBAL MONTORO</b>	
<b>7.</b>	Basically we are going to be more rigorous with the cash in hand payments and corporation tax.	
<b>8.</b>		
<b>9.</b>	<b>MARIANO RAJOY</b>	
<b>10.</b>	(PUZZLED) Umm... that sounds good. (LITTLE PAUSE) But I have understood a thing of what you just said. Sorry. Eh? Honest.	
<b>11.</b>		
<b>12.</b>	<b>CRISTÓBAL MONTORO</b>	
<b>13.</b>	Follow me Mariano. In this Spain of Tambourine everyone do as they please and they are cheating us all. I will pick a company at random and you will see.	

During the first rehearsal of this sketch, actor Francesc Novell (Mariano Rajoy) said line 10 with no particular intonation, and the last three words could not be properly heard. At line 13, actor Xavi Serrano (Cristóbal Montoro) put more emphasis on ‘they are all cheating us all’ than in the rest of the sentence. For the second rehearsal, director Marc Martin asked both actors to change the stress on some words. The instructions for Francesc Novell were “first you are like, umm, good, good. You know your shit. And then be like ‘I got nothing but as I never got anything, you shouldn’t be surprised’”. Xavi Serrano was prompted to add more emphasis on ‘follow me Mariano’: “Say it like, this is Earth calling, please focus. And then you go like this fucking country is fucked”. In the second rehearsal both actors followed the instructions and changed the emphases. The third rehearsal was also the first recording and in this one, both actors followed the instructions again but introduced small changes in the scripted lines so that the sketch ended up as follows:

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<sup>26</sup> No full translation provided.

<sup>27</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/MAXlzz710AU>

	<b>MONTORO'S PLAN (V2) - OK ORIGINAL LINES IN SCRIPT</b>	<b>"EL PLA DE MONTORO" (V2) - OK ACTUAL LINES PRONOUNCED BY ACTORS</b>
9.	<b>MARIANO RAJOY</b>	<b>MARIANO RAJOY</b>
10.	(PUZZLED) Umm... that sounds good. (LITTLE PAUSE) But I have understood a thing of what you just said. Sorry. Eh? Honest.	(PUZZLED) Sounds good, sounds good (LITTLE PAUSE) I have understood a shit of what you just said but sound good. Sorry, Eh? For the honesty, I mean.
11.		
12.	<b>CRISTÓBAL MONTORO</b>	<b>CRISTÓBAL MONTORO</b>
13.	Follow me Mariano. In this Spain of Tambourine everyone do as they please and they are cheating us all. I will pick a company at random and you will see.	Mariano, Mariano, listen to me. In this Country of Tambourine everyone do as they please and they are cheating us all. I will pick a company at random and you will see.

There were small changes at lines 10 and 13 made by both actors, but director Marc Martin, allowed them to go on with the recording. When the sketch was fully recorded and the cameras turned off, Xavi and Francesc asked Marc about script line changes and he said that it was fine because that was the intention. "These instructions emerge from my own vision about what I think the script is trying to explain", said Marc Martin:

They emerge from my intuition, from a feeling that this will work for a comedy. You know, we are always so tight on time and there is little preproduction, if at all, that you learn to follow your intuition in the heat of the moment. Especially when I hear something wrong and I say to myself, mmm, this is not good enough. There is something in my intuition that is not working. Then I look for something that might better work.

These instructions not only try to organise voice element but also affect the whole actor's body. This was the case of *Transició Rivera Dolgut*, about Albert Rivera waiting for a call from Mariano Rajoy:

	<b>"TRANSICIÓN RIVERA WOUNDED" – OK<sup>28</sup> POLÒNIA / SEASON 12 / EPISODE 421<sup>29</sup></b>	<b>"TRANSICIÓN RIVERA DOLGUT" – OK RECORDING DATE: WEDNESDAY, 7 DEC 2016</b>
1.	ALBERT TAKES HIS MOBILE PHONE FROM HIS POCKET AND SEES THAT MARIANO RAJOY IS CALLING. HE STARTS JUMPING, HYSTERICAL. SO DOES ARRIMADAS.	
2.		
3.	<b>ALBERT RIVERA (HYSTERICAL)</b>	
4.	Ah! It is Mariano! What I do? What I do?!	
5.		
6.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS</b>	
7.	Take it, take it! But play the tough guy, eh?	
8.		
9.	RIVERA ANSWERS AND CHANGES HIS TONE. HE SUDDENLY CALMS DOWN AND PRETENDS TO BE COOL.	
10.		
11.	<b>ALBERT RIVERA (TO THE PHONE)</b>	

<sup>28</sup> No full translation provided.

<sup>29</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/QF1J4loruzk>

12.	Yes? I mean not, because I am not engaged with anyone. (HE WINKS AT ARRIMADAS AND SHE MAKES A GESTURE OF 'WELL DONE') Mariano? Mariano? Hello? (TO ARRIMADAS) I think he has the phone in his pocket and dialled me by accident... (SHOUTING TO BE HEARD) Mariano?! MARIANO, WHAT DO YOU NEED?!
13.	
14.	ARRIMADAS TAKES THE PHONE AWAY FROM HIM FOR HIM NOT TO LOOK RIDICULOUS.
15.	
16.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS</b>
17.	Hey Albert, it is his loss.

This sketch resembles the situation of the Ciudadanos party after the negotiation of the 2017 Budget. The ruling right-wing PP reached an agreement with the centre-left PSOE, despite the offers made by Albert Rivera, president of the centre-right Ciudadanos. Albert Rivera, president of Ciudadanos had offered his party to reach the agreement as a natural ally in the right-wing, but the government preferred the bigger opposition force to secure the required quorum in the Parliament.

This extract shows a critical moment in the sketch because it made evident the metaphor in the script: that of a teenager waiting for a former girlfriend to call. In the first rehearsal, this was not made evident by the director and was not acted in this way by actors Sergi Cervera (Albert Rivera) and Lara Díez (Inés Arrimadas). Producer Marc Martin asked both actors to hold on for a while to give instructions. For line 12, Marc asked Sergi for the teenager's attitude: "You have to be excited because, well, the girl that left you alone is now calling you and you, like, you lose your dignity". Then he gives some voice instruction. "The first *Sí?* [Line 12] has to go very loudly and then complete the line more quietly because you don't want to sound desperate. But by the end, in *Mariano, what do you need?!*, yes, be desperate. She is your girlfriend!" explained Marc. In this case, the director prompted Sergi with voice instructions only, however, the actor changed his acting and incorporated gestures and bodily expressions, which reinforced the idea of an excited teenager. Sergi also added 'Mariano, if you need me I am available' at the end of line 12. Voice instructions given by Marc organised the whole bodily action to make the character's intentions more evident, which resembled the original politician's intentions to be taken into account in negotiations.

## 5.7 When the intention finally takes over

By using fictional references, *Polònia* produces a specific type of sketch in which the politician's intentions are materialised. In these kinds of sketches, scriptwriters look for fictional characters whose intentions, to some extent, match those of the real-life politician. *Polònia's* characters copy either the appearance or gestures of the fictional character so that the intentions – 'what they really want to say' – is expressed with those references. This section presents three examples in which the 'inexplicit' meaning takes over the character and the literal semantic

meaning disappears. One example is the use of a song from the musical *Chicago* in which a lawyer gives a press conference to sway public opinion in favour of his client. In this case, the sketch resembles the press conference given by Ciudadanos leaders, Inés Arrimadas and Albert Rivera, after the Catalan local election on 27<sup>th</sup> September 2015. The second case is the scene in *Monty Python's Life of Brian* (1979) that pokes fun at left-wing politics with the leader of the People's Front of Judea denying any improvement in life standards under the Roman Empire. This sketch refers to the attitude of CUP leaders trying to present the resignation of Artur Mas as a victory despite its political costs. And thirdly, there is the use of *The Addams Family* (1964) theme song to refer to the leaders of Unionist campaign against Catalonia's independence, including the threats.

*Polònia's* characters may blend themselves with other fictional characters whose intentions match those of the original politician. This is the case in *Chicago-Ciutadans* which references one scene of the musical film *Chicago* (Marshall, 2002) . The referenced scene is one in which lawyer Billy Flynn gives a press conference with his client Roxie Hart to say that she was not only innocent of her husband's murder, but also the victim of unfair press coverage. At the beginning of the scene, Flynn is a ventriloquist and Hart is his dummy, and at the end the lawyer manages to control the journalists as well, who ended up singing a song with his version of the murder: *they both reached for the gun*<sup>30</sup>. With this scene, *Polònia* resembles the press conference given by Ciudadanos leaders, Inés Arrimadas and Albert Rivera, immediately after the Catalan local election on 27<sup>th</sup> September 2015. They did not win the election, but their result was much better than in previous elections<sup>31</sup> so there was an atmosphere of celebration. Inés Arrimadas, the first speaker, was received with chants of 'Presidenta'. She started her speech by asking for Artur Mas to step down and after nine minutes she introduced Albert Rivera as the 'next president of the Spanish Government', foreseeing a favourable result in the general election to be held in December 2015<sup>32</sup>.

	"CHICAGO - CIUTADANS" - OK <sup>33</sup> POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 374 <sup>34</sup>	"CHICAGO - CIUTADANS" - OK RECORDING DATE: WEDNESDAY, 30 SEPT 2015
23.	REFERENCE TAPE:	VTR REFERÈNCIA:
24.	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C9dFKRZ8EbU">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C9dFKRZ8EbU</a>	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C9dFKRZ8EbU">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C9dFKRZ8EbU</a>

<sup>30</sup> Watch a clip from the 2002 film adaptation online: <https://youtu.be/C9dFKRZ8EbU>

<sup>31</sup> In this election, Ciudadanos obtained 17.93% of votes and 25 seats in the Parliament of Catalonia so that they became the second largest political force and the first opposition party against separatism. In 2012, this party obtained 7.58% and 9 seats.

<sup>32</sup> Watch the press conference online: <https://youtu.be/D0dHd0JF2d4>

<sup>33</sup> For full translation see Appendix 7: Script Chicago Ciutadans.

<sup>34</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/M1PTSekhmz8>

30.	JOURNALISTS WAITING FOR INÉS' ANSWERS IN FRONT OF THE STAGE.	TOT DE PERIODISTES ESPERANT LES RESPOSTES D'INÉS ARRIMADAS A BAIX DE L'ESCENARI.
31.	INÉS ARRIMADAS, ALONE, STANDING, SMILING AND SILENT. HER MAKEUP IS LIKE A VENTRILOQUIST'S DUMMY (LIKE IN THE TAPE, VERY EXAGGERATED EYES, RED LIPS AND COLOUR ON THE CHEEKS).	INÉS ARRIMADAS, SOLA, DEMPEUS, SOMRIENT I SENSE DIR RES. VA MAQUILLADA COM UN NINOT DE VENTRÍLOC (COM AL VÍDEO, ULLS MOLT MARCATS, LLAVIS VERMELLS I COLOR A LES GALTES).
63.	<b>JOURNALIST 1:</b>	<b>PERIODISTA 1:</b>
64.	<i>Who's won?*</i>	<i>Qui ha guanyat?</i>
65.	Translation note: Italic is for sung lines	
66.		
67.	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>
68.	<i>Rivera</i>	<i>En Rivera.</i>
69.		
76.	<b>JOURNALIST 3:</b>	<b>PERIODISTA 3:</b>
77.	<i>Indepe victory?*</i>	<i>Victòria indepe?</i>
78.	Translation note: <i>Indepe</i> is a derogative term for Catalonia's independence supporters.	
79.		
80.	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>
81.	<i>No way!</i>	<i>De cap manera!</i>
82.	<i>They are two millions of Catalans</i>	<i>Són dos milions de catalans</i>
83.	<i>Manipulated by mister Mas!</i>	<i>manipulats pel senyor Mas!</i>
97.	<b>JOURNALIST 1:</b>	<b>PERIODISTA 1:</b>
98.	<i>... And he doubled your votes.</i>	<i>... i el dobla en vots.</i>
99.		
100.	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>
101.	<i>Outrageous!</i>	<i>Quin escàndol!</i>
102.	<i>A convergent journalist!</i>	<i>Un periodista convergent!</i>
103.	<i>Will he get his 3%?</i>	<i>Què li han promès, un 3%?</i>
104.		
105.	THE REST OF JOURNALISTS LOOK AT JOURNALIST 1 ANGRILY AND POINT TO THEM. JOURNALIST 1 DENIES WITH THE HEAD.	ELS ALTRES PERIODISTES ES MIREN AL PERIODISTA 1 MALAMENT I L'ASSENYALEN. EL PERIODISTA 1 NEGA AMB EL CAP.
106.		
107.	<b>JOURNALIST 3: (TALKING)</b>	<b>PERIODISTA 3: (PARLAT)</b>
108.	Oh, poor girl. She has been victim of unfair media coverage and, despite that, she has won. Yesterday I watched a Spanish TV channel and she appeared 15 minutes only!	Oh, pobra noia, ha estat víctima d'una cobertura injusta i, tot i així, ha triomfat. Ahir vaig posar un canal espanyol i només sortia 15 minuts!
143.	<b>JOURNALIST 1:</b>	<b>PERIODISTA 1:</b>
144.	<i>And, what if you don't win?</i>	<i>I si no guanya?</i>
145.		
146.	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>
147.	Bullshit!	<i>¡Gillipolleses!</i>
148.	And I tell you this in Castilian	<i>Y te lo digo en castellano</i>
149.	For the ordinary folk to understand.	<i>que lo comprenda el pueblo llano.</i>
150.		
151.	<i>You see, you see, you see, he has</i>	<i>Ya ves, ya ves, ya ves, él ha</i>
152.	<i>You see, he has</i>	<i>Ya ves, él ha</i>
153.	<i>You see, he has stopped</i>	<i>Ya ves, ha frenado</i>
154.	<i>Mas, to Mas, to Mas, to Mas</i>	<i>a Mas, a Mas, a Mas, a Mas,</i>
155.	<i>Watch out Rajoy, you will also</i>	<i>ojo, Rajoy, que tú también</i>
156.	<i>Suck</i>	<i>pringarás.</i>
157.		
158.	<b>JOURNALISTS:</b>	<b>PERIODISTES:</b>
159.	<i>You see, you see, you see, he has</i>	<i>Ya ves, ya ves, ya ves, él ha</i>
160.	<i>You see, he has</i>	<i>Ya ves, él ha</i>
161.	<i>You see, he has stopped</i>	<i>Ya ves, ha frenado</i>
162.	<i>Mas, to Mas, to Mas, to Mas,</i>	<i>a Mas, a Mas, a Mas, a Mas,</i>
163.	<i>watch out Rajoy, you will also</i>	<i>ojo, Rajoy, que tú también</i>
164.	<i>Suck</i>	<i>pringarás.</i>
181.	<b>AUDIO: SONG ENDS</b>	<b>ÀUDIO. FORA CANÇÓ.</b>
182.		
183.	JOURNALISTS CLAPPING.	ELS PERIODISTES APLAUDEIXEN.
184.	RIVERA WAVES AND MAKES ARRIMADAS WAVE BY MOVING HER BACK AND FORTH.	EN RIVERA SALUDA I FA SALUDAR ARRIMADAS MOVENT-LA ENDAVANT I ENRERE.

At line 68 the scriptwriter says what Ciudadanos' conference was all about: the presentation of Albert Rivera as candidate for Spanish president at the general election to be celebrated in December 2015. At line 77, a journalist tries to make the point that Ciudadanos had not actually won the election, as Arrimadas and Rivera are saying. Rivera answers by denouncing the journalist as part of the separatist movement and the rest of his colleagues look at him angrily and now (line 108) admits that Inés Arrimadas is a victim of unfair press coverage. Rivera starts singing his triumphal song from lines 151 to 156. As in the *Chicago* scene, from line 159 onwards, journalists accept Rivera's version and start singing the same song. According to this script, Rivera and Arrimadas are trying to twist the facts in a convenient way, just like Flynn and Hart in *Chicago*. The real-life politicians' intentions are here made more evident by blending *Polònia's* character with another fictional character with matching intentions.

Fictional characters also provide *Polònia* characters with specific gestures to materialise the intentions of the actual politicians. This is the case in *The Unionist Family*, which uses the theme song of *The Addams Family* to resemble the campaign deployed by unionist politicians against Catalonia's independence. They kept the music and changed the lyrics to list the problems Catalans will face if separatism were to win the local election on 27<sup>th</sup> September 2015 according to the Unionism. A number of leaders who were vocal against independence, such as Mariano Rajoy, Barack Obama and David Cameron (El Periódico, 2015a; El Mundo, 2015b; Bloomberg, 2015; El País, 2015a), became members of *The Addams Family*.

	"THE UNIONIST FAMILY" - OK <sup>35</sup> POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 373 <sup>36</sup>	"LA FAMILIA UNIONISTA" - OK RECORDING DATE: WEDNESDAY, 23 SEPT 2015
20.	<b>REFERENCE TAPE</b>	<b>VTR REFERÈNCIA.</b>
21.	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nKEz_1C9U7Y">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nKEz_1C9U7Y</a>	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nKEz_1C9U7Y">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nKEz_1C9U7Y</a>
22.		
23.	<b>COSTUME DESIGN AND MAKEUP</b>	<b>VESTUARI I CARACTERITZACIÓ:</b>
24.	MARIANO RAJOY: RESEMBLING GOMEZ ADDAMS (NECK TIE, OLD FASHION SUIT)	MARIANO RAJOY: QUE RECORDI L'ESTIL DE GÓMEZ ADDAMS (RECLÉNIXINAT, CORBATA, TRAJE RANCI)
25.	DAVID CAMERON: WITH DAVID CAMERON WIG. HE LOOKS LIKE THE DAUGHTER.	DAVID CAMERON: AMB PERRUCA DE DAVID CAMERON, VESTIT COM LA FILLA.
26.	OBAMA: UNCLE FESTER CLOTHING.	OBAMA: VESTUARI FÉTIDO ADDAMS
27.	ISIDRE FAINÉ: DRESSED LIKE THE SON, IN A STRIPED SHIRT.	ISIDRE FAINÉ: VESTIT COM EL FILL, AMB SAMARRETA DE RATLLES.
28.	PRONOVIAS CEO: HE LOOKS LIKE MORTICIA ADDAMS. IN A BLACK DRESS, A BLACK STRAIGHT WIG. OVER THE HEAD A BRIDE VEIL.	EMPRESARI PRONOVIAS: LOOK MORTICIA AMB VESTIT NEGRE I PERRUCA LLISA MORENA. AL CAP HI DUU UN VEL DE NÚVIA.
29.	MILITARY MAN: DRESSED LIKE A MILITARY MAN BUT WITH LURCH MAKEUP.	MILITAR: VESTIT DE MILITAR PERÒ AMB MAQUILLATGE FRANKENSTEIN.

<sup>35</sup> For full translation see Appendix 9: Script La Família Unionista.

<sup>36</sup> Watch online : <https://youtu.be/Hb1rY9UVuNw>



49.	RATHER THAN SNAPPING THEIR FINGERS ALONG THE MUSIC, THEY SAY NO WITH THE INDEX FINGER.	EN COMPTES DE PICAR ELS DITS AL RITME DE LA MÚSICA, FAN QUE NO AMB EL DIT.
71.	ALL THE CHARACTERS SINGING AROUND THE SOFA.	TOTS CANTANT DES DEL SOFÀ.
72.		
73.	<b>EVERYONE:</b>	<b>TOTS:</b>
74.	<i>All the separatists</i>	<i>Tots els separatistes</i>
75.	<i>Will have sad lives.</i>	<i>tindreu vides molt tristes.</i>
76.	<i>We have listed up</i>	<i>Hem escrit una llista</i>
77.	<i>every drama you undergo</i>	<i>dels drames que vindran.</i>
86.	<b>DAVID CAMERON:</b>	<b>DAVID CAMERON:</b>
87.	<i>You will not be part of Europe anymore.</i>	<i>Ja no sereu d'Europa.</i>
88.	<i>You will not win cups anymore.</i>	<i>No guanyareu més copes.</i>
93.	<b>MILITARY MAN:</b>	<b>MILITAR:</b>
94.	<i>I will send the troops</i>	<i>Yo os envío las tropas</i>
95.	<i>Through the Diagonal Avenue</i>	<i>por la Diagonal.</i>
130.	<b>ISIDRE FAINÉ:</b>	<b>ISIDRE FAINÉ:</b>
131.	<i>We won't give you a fiver</i>	<i>No us donarem ni un duro</i>
132.	<i>To get out of the slump.</i>	<i>per sortir de l'apuro.</i>
133.	<i>When we freeze your banks</i>	<i>Quan hi hagi el corralito</i>
134.	<i>You will loss all you cash.</i>	<i>perdreu tots els calers.</i>
143.	<b>DAVID CAMERON:</b>	<b>DAVID CAMERON:</b>
144.	<i>You will flee in lifeboats</i>	<i>'nireu tots amb patera.</i>
145.	<i>We will build a wall.</i>	<i>Farem una barrera.</i>
146.		
147.	<b>MARIANO RAJOY:</b>	<b>MARIANO RAJOY:</b>
148.	<i>Just like in Budapest</i>	<i>Igual que en Budapest.</i>

The characters who take part in the sketch are listed from lines 24 to 29. All of them, except the military man, refer to real politicians or businessmen who had spoken against independence using different kinds of threats. Line 49 specifically contains instructions about how to make the gesture to materialise the intention of these politicians. Actors are asked to say 'No with the index finger', resembling the snapping fingers typical of *The Addams Family* theme song. Although this instruction is not shown again in the script, actors made this gesture ten times during the sketch. From line 71 onwards, each character makes one threat against independence, which relates to what real politicians and businessmen actually said. After every threat, they repeated the 'No' gesture with the index finger. In this case, the fiction provides *Polònia's* characters with a specific gesture to condense the intentions of these politicians. *The Addams Family* also offers the chance to make evident the intention of spreading fear among independence supporters by using political and financial threats.

Another use of a fictional character to express a politician's intentions can be found in *El Trofeu De La Cup*. However, in this case, the sketch shows the failure of the original politician's strategy in her attempt to twist the truth in a convenient way. *El Trofeu De La Cup* uses as reference the scene from the film *Monty Python's Life of Brian*, in which the leader of the anti-imperialist

movement the People's Front of Judea fails to convince the assembly about the problems caused by the Roman Empire occupation of Judea<sup>37</sup>. In a clandestine meeting, the leader tries to rouse the assembly against the Romans by questioning the contributions brought by the Empire to Judea. The assembly, however, counters his speech by numbering the improvements in life standards after the Romans' arrival. This scene is used to show how the leaders of CUP tried to present the agreement with the *Junts pel Sí* coalition as beneficial for the party. The agreement involved the resignation of Artur Mas, as demanded by CUP, but they had to make important concessions, which weakened their position as an opposition party. CUP spokesperson Benet Salellas presented the agreement at a press conference with the phrase "we have sent Artur Mas to the recycle bin of history" (Antena 3, 2015) and defended the agreement.

	"CUP'S TROPHY" - OK <sup>38</sup> POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 386 <sup>39</sup>	"EL TROFEU DE LA CUP" - OK RECORDING DATE: THURSDAY, 14 JAN 2016
21.	<b>REFERENCE TAPE:</b>	<b>VTR REFERÈNCIA:</b>
22.	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WYU5SAQwc4I">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WYU5SAQwc4I</a>	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WYU5SAQwc4I">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WYU5SAQwc4I</a>
47.	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>
48.	We have fulfilled our campaign program!	Hem complert amb el nostre programa!
49.		
50.	ALL THE COMRADES RAISE THEIR ARM.	TOTS ELS CUPAIRES AIXEQUEN EL BRAÇ.
51.		
52.	<b>COMRADE:</b>	<b>CUPAIRES:</b>
53.	No to Artur Mas! No to Artur Mas!	No a l'Artur Mas! No a l'Artur Mas!
54.		
55.	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>
56.	We promised Artur Mas' head and here you are! What else could we wish?	Vam prometre el cap d'en Mas i aquí el tenim! Què més hauríem pogut desitjar?
57.		
58.	A SECOND OF SILENCE. THEN, A COMRADE, WITH TIMID VOICE, ANSWERS.	SEGONS DE SILENCI. DESPRÉS, UNA CUPAIRE, AMB UN TO UNA MICA TÍMID, RESPON.
59.		
60.	<b>COMRADE 1:</b>	<b>CUPAIRE 1:</b>
61.	That none of our MPs would have had to resign.	Que no hagués hagut de dimitir cap diputat nostre.
62.		
63.	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>
64.	Sorry?	Com?
65.		
66.	<b>COMRADE 1:</b>	<b>CUPAIRE 1:</b>
67.	Not to be obliged to send two of our MPs to Junts pel Sí meetings.	Que no ens obliguin a enviar dos diputats a les reunions de Junts pel Sí...
68.		
69.	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>
70.	Eeeeh... yeah, that's true. That is bullshit, especially for them. But they are getting integrated. (waving at them) Comrades...	Eeeeh... sí, és veritat. Això és una putada, sobretot per ells. Però ja s'estan integrant. (saludant-los) Companys...
71.		
72.	WE CAN SEE, AMONG THE COMRADES, TWO YOUNG MEN WITH DREADLOCKS IN SUITS. THEY WAVE, SHY.	VEIEM ENTRE ELS CUPAIRES DOS NOIS AMB RASTES VESTITS AMB TRAJE, QUE SALUDEN TÍMIDS.
73.		
74.	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>
75.	You should have combed those dreadlocks backwards, eh... ok, but apart from that... what else could we wish?	Aquestes rastes us les hauríeu d'engominar cap enrere, eh... Bé, però a part d'això... què més hauríem pogut desitjar?

<sup>37</sup> Watch the scene online: <https://youtu.be/Qc7HmhrGTuQ>

<sup>38</sup> For full translation see Appendix 8: Script El Trofeu de la Cup.

<sup>39</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/QYInu3xBG2A>

76.		
77.	<b>COMRADES 2:</b>	<b>CUPAIRE 2:</b>
78.	That Baños would not have to resign. He had charisma.	Que en Baños no hagués plegat. Tenia carisma.
79.		
80.	ALL THE COMRADES AGREE.	TOTS ELS CUPAIRES ASSENTEIXEN.
81.		
82.	<b>COMRADE 3:</b>	<b>CUPAIRE 3:</b>
83.	Not having voted the same that <i>Junts pel Sí</i> on a contract-basis.	Ni haver de votar el mateix que Junts pel Sí per contracte.
84.		
85.	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>
86.	Ok, I admit. It might not be an ideal situation, but the rest...	Ja, l'acord potser no és ideal, però la rest...
87.		
88.	<b>COMRADE 1:</b>	<b>CUPAIRE 1:</b>
89.	Not receiving calls from Pilar Rahola at 3 in the morning...	No rebre trucades de la Rahola a les tres de la matinada...
90.		
91.	<b>COMRADE 2:</b>	<b>CUPAIRE 2:</b>
92.	Not having shown our internal divisions.	No airejar les nostres divisions internes.
93.		
94.	<b>COMRADE 3:</b>	<b>CUPAIRE 3:</b>
95.	Not having made evident that an assembly-based decision making system is not practical.	Ni evidenciar que el sistema assembleari no és pràctic.
96.		
97.	<b>COMRADE 1:</b>	<b>CUPAIRE 1:</b>
98.	Not having delayed that long the negotiations. We have lost popular support.	Ni dilatar tant les negociacions. Hem perdut suport popular.
99.		
100.	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>
101.	Ok, ok, enough. But, apart from the resignation, the loss of Baños, a humiliating agreement, the pressing on CUP, the internal fights, the ridiculous assemblies and the loss of popular support... what could be better than Mas' head?	Està bé, prou! Però a part de les dimissions, la pèrdua d'en Baños, l'acord humiliant, el pressing CUP, les baralles internes, el ridícul de l'assemblea i la pèrdua de suport popular... què hauria estat millor que el cap d'en Mas?

Even though Anna Gabriel did not make comments at the referenced press conference, her character is the protagonist of this sketch and appears defending the agreement before the assembly. This decision might be explained because *Polònia* has two characters related to CUP, Antonio Baños and Anna Gabriel, and by the time this sketch was produced, the former had stepped down and they only had the latter to personify the party. At line 56 she presents the 'head of Artur Mas' as a trophy and asks 'what else could we wish?' This question works as 'what have the Romans ever done for us?' in *Monty Python's Life of Brian*. From this question onwards, members of the assembly list the costs of the agreement for the CUP, making evident that the 'head of Artur Mas' did not make up for the losses involved. As the leader of the People's Front of Judea does in the film, Anna Gabriel's character insists on her point at lines 75 and 86 and the 'comrades' respond over and over. At line 101 she admits all the losses but, again, she insists on her version: 'what could be better than Mas' head?' In this sketch, the fictional character shows the stubbornness of CUP leaders by not recognising the costs of the agreement for the party, but the sketch also suggests a failure of the politician, in this case, Anna Gabriel, in convincing the assembly. This last point is an artistic license used by *Polònia's* production rather than an account of what happened in real life. In the CUP general assembly, celebrated on 10<sup>th</sup> January 2016, 73% of members supported the agreement.

This section presented three examples of sketches in which the politician's character is blended with a fictional character whose intentions match those of the original politician. In these cases, the 'inexplicit meaning' of utterances connects the real-life politician, the *Polònia* character, and the fictional character. *Polònia's* staff aims to elicit what they really meant. Inés Arrimadas and Albert Rivera wanted to appear as the election winners; the Unionism leaders aimed to inspire fear in separatist voters; and Anna Gabriel wanted to present a political defeat as a victory. All these intentions were present in the literal meaning of the original politician's utterances so, here, there is no dismissal of text, but it is not literally cited. What is rigorously expressed is the intention of these words by materialising it in the double impersonation of the politician's character and the fictional character.

### 5.8 Conclusion: Making a place for implicature and pragmatics in political discourse analysis

Perceived underlying intentions are more important than the literal meanings of politician's utterances for *Polònia's* staff when crafting sketches. Participants approach politician's speeches by assuming that they are not saying what they really want to say. They make a separation of literal meaning and intended meaning, and focus on the latter. To recall this intended meaning, or intention, as they call it, they start by identifying the most characteristic elements of politicians' voices as well as phrases actually pronounced by the real politicians. They put together pragmatic and semantic elements to create catchphrases with political force, that is to say, they exaggerate voice elements that add political weight to the text. The formulation of catchphrases can subordinate the exact citation of an utterance's semantics to the exaggeration of its pragmatics. When acting their characters on stage, actors and actress are compelled to express an intention, which resembles the intentions of the original politicians. If the catchphrase-crafting subordinates text to voice, in the acting, actors can dismiss scripted lines as long as the character's voice resembles the real-life politician's intentions. Participants also use fictional characters to be blended with their own characters, as a form to materialise and make more evident the original politician's intentions.

It is not the aim of this chapter to dismiss the relevance of an utterance's literal meaning. This data simply suggests that literal meaning is relatively important for participants. It is shown that shearing utterances of their pragmatic elements might cause the loss of important information that allows understanding of political strategies. In this sense, *Polònia's* approach to politicians' utterances may complement text-based forms of political discourse analysis. Both forms aim to understand strategies deployed by politician to attain or contest power, as suggested by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) when calling for a critical approach to politician discourse.

Participants also look for elements affecting the political processes, as is the concern of Van Dijk (1997). However, as mentioned in the introduction, the political relevance given by Chilton (2004) to the concept of implicature is very important for this chapter's argument. What really matters is the intended meaning conveyed by words, not the words themselves. Even though it is recognised that words can be a good path to get to the intended meaning, participants say that this is not always the case, and that is why they embark upon the project of understanding the politician's voice as a whole.

The concept of implicature requires the counterpart to actively engage in the conversation. The hearer is compelled to understand what Lycan (2008, p.161) defined as utterances' 'conveyed meanings', which occurs when "a speaker uses a sentence to convey something other than what that sentence literally means" . For Lycan, it does not matter if what the sentence entails is true or not, because implicatures work on the assumption "that competent hearers do grasp such conveyed meanings without ever realizing that that is what they are doing" (p.165). This concept recognises that hearers and readers tend to skip over the literal meaning of an utterance and go straight to the 'invited inference' made by the speaker (Geis and Zwicky, 1971, p.564). Another relevant element of implicatures is the fact that they can occur unwittingly, but at the same time, the speaker may openly use them on the basis that the hearer will understand. Grice (1975, p.52) provides two examples in which, "though some maxim is violated at the level of what is said, the hearer is entitled to assume that that maxim, or at least, the Cooperative Principle, is observed at the level of what is implicated". One of the examples is 'irony', in which it is clear for everyone that "the most obvious related proposition is the contradictory". Another is 'metaphor' which "characteristically involve categorical falsity but the speaker is attributing the audience a certain feature for it to resemble the mentioned substance" (p.53).

Data presented in this chapter gives weight to two concepts: implicature and pragmatics. Neither are shown to be relevant in the literature analysed in the introduction chapter. The normative approach is largely based on methodologies that give relevance to the semantics of politicians' utterances. An explanation for this bias could be that pragmatics imprints the text with a 'personal' touch, as this chapter suggests. Voice, accents, slang and so on, confer a sense of authorship on the semantics of a given sentence. They make present the person of the politician in the act of communication, which is exactly the opposite of the normative prescriptions emerging out of the idealised impersonal agora. However, pragmatic elements can be helpful to reveal politician's strategies; the challenge is to find a methodology to properly grasp them while identifying the relevance of each one. When it comes to implicature, several authors mention that it requires the counterpart to actively engage in the conversation. Data shown in this chapter – and in previous ones – suggests that this level of engagement cannot be

reached uniquely by semantic deliberation, but also by a personal bodily experience. Yet again, the primary focus on semantics reduces the chances for the normative approach to grasp this kind of engagement.

## Chapter 6: Politics as a battle among social stereotypes: What politicians are made of

### 6.1 Introduction

This is the last empirical chapter, and it posits an answer to a question that remains open from the previous two. In the fourth chapter, I said that participants do not craft exact copies of the politicians' bodily expressions and in some cases they dispose of the real-life one to end up imitating someone else. In the fifth chapter I argued that actors can also pass over the literal content of a politician's utterance. As a result, the character is a fictional creation inspired by, but detached from, the original. If the character is neither an imitation of the politician's body nor of their utterances, what is the character made of? My impression is that *Polònia's* characters are the dramatic materialisation of the social stereotypes evoked by the original politicians. Participants identify specific social stereotypes in every politician they want to impersonate. It is this social stereotype that provides the main constitutive elements of the character to be acted on stage. The scripts show annotations for actors to act the emotional traits of the character. These emotional traits are consistent with the social stereotype previously identified in the original politician by the actors. In the first part of the chapter, I introduce the concept of stereotype and then I observe its use in interviews with participants. In the second part, I analyse the enactment of the social stereotypes across 10 scripts that involve the frustration of Artur Mas at not being appointed president of Catalonia after winning the 2015 local election. As a conclusion, I suggest that affect seems to have an important role to play in connecting the politician with social stereotypes and thereby with certain groups of citizens.

### 6.2 Stereotypes: Of structure and agency

First proposed in 1922, 'stereotype' is still a relevant concept in political communication literature. Walter Lippmann (2007 [1922], p.22) inaugurated its use by proposing that human experiences are not based on direct knowledge "but on pictures made by himself or given to him". For Lippmann, when these pictures relate to other human beings and inform actions upon them, we are talking about "Public Opinion with capital letters" (p.31). Forming this opinion in "the great blooming, buzzing confusion of the outer world" might be a chimera, and that is why "we pick out what our culture has already defined for us, and we tend to perceive that which we have picked out in the form stereotyped for us by our culture" (p.81). As defined here, stereotypes are formed by a series of images acquired over the course of one's life, which come

before the eyes when in the presence of any related event. “There is economy in this. For the attempt to see all things freshly and in detail, rather than as types and generalities, is exhausting”, said Lippmann (p.88). On the contrary, stereotypes provide “an ordered, more or less consistent picture of the world [...] They may not be a complete picture of the world, but they are a picture of a possible world” (p.93). In that world, he continues, “people and things have their well-known places, and do certain expected things. We feel at home there. We fit in. We are members. We know the way around. There we find the charm of the familiar, the normal” (p.93). Printed and spoken words are mentioned as particularly important stimuli evoking stereotypes. They act as ‘actual sensations’ which blend with the ‘preconception’ as if we “looked at red through blue glasses and saw green. If what we are looking at corresponds successfully with what we anticipated, the stereotype is reinforced for the future” (p.97).

Almost a century later, Lippmann’s definition is widely used, accepted and contested in social research. Dyer (2002, p.12) recognises stereotypes “as necessary, indeed inescapable, part of the way societies make sense on themselves and actually make and reproduce themselves”. But at the same time he criticises Lippmann for suggesting that the attribution of certain traits to given social groups is “spontaneously arrived at by all members of society independently and in isolation [of power relations]”. Greenwald and Banaji (1995, p.14) do not regard stereotypes as definitive judgement about a social group. On the contrary, a stereotype may encompass beliefs “with widely diverging evaluative implications, for example, the stereotype ‘cheerleaders’ may simultaneously include being physically attractive (positive) and unintelligent (negative)” (p.14). Furthermore, authors do not regard individuals as passive reproducers of stereotypes because the degree of attention paid to certain attributes might attenuate their impact in resultant attitudes. When it comes to use of stereotypes in social research, Nichole Bauer (2013, p.26) introduces an important distinction: for her, social psychologists have “embraced a more direct focus on clarifying the process of stereotype reliance while political science is more concerned with the effects of stereotypes on political judgments”. Barker (1997 [1989], p.88) flatly concludes that “the concept of a stereotype is useless as a tool for investigation of media texts”. For him, there is an epistemological contradiction in media stereotype research: on the one hand they are believed to create a deviation from the real world (showing women eager for sex, for example), and on the other hand they might be too similar to the world outside (for example, black people living in poor conditions).

During this ongoing conceptual discussion, the main elements of Lippmann’s definition have informed part of political communication research. This is not an exhaustive literature review of this field but an account that points out the concept of stereotype still enjoys some currency. For example, Ditonto et al. (2014) observed that a candidate’s sex plays a role in determining



the information for which voters search on the internet, that is to say female candidates generate search patterns consistent with gender-based stereotypes. For Cruise (2016, p.39), the stereotypes of “the Mother, Monster, and Whore” mediate the narratives in news about women cooperating and participating in terrorism. These are the main categories used by the media when “scrutinising to determine what went wrong trying to address how they came to be this way”. Dolan (2014, p.105) found no evidence of “any direct, consistent, or substantial impact for gender stereotypes on evaluations of, or voting for, women candidates”; in contrast, it is suggested that “the impact of stereotypes suggests an influence for party stereotypes more than gender stereotypes”. The ‘cues’ of race were used by US American voters to infer that black and Hispanic representatives were more liberal and more Democratic than their white counterparts and these stereotypical biases were not moderated by the actual positions defended by politicians when discussing legislation (Jones, 2014, p.305).

Diekman and Eagly (2000, p.1183) discussed the static conception of stereotypes present in media studies. For them, rather than presenting “an image of a group merely as having certain characteristics, a stereotype can portray a group as having a trajectory over the years as its qualities change”. To make their argument they present the results about the perceived evolution of gender: “people believe that women of the present are more masculine than are women of the past and that women of the future will be more masculine than women of the present”. The experiments of Schneider and Bos (2014, p.254) show that gender stereotypes are not one-size-fits-all structures and propose a more nuanced picture. For them, the attributes associated with the stereotypes of women in general are different from the ones associated with female politicians. They found that the top five traits related to ‘women’ are feminine, emotional, talkative, caring and motherly, while for ‘female politicians’ the main adjectives were well-educated, confident, assertive, well-spoken, hardworking. Kerevel and Atkeson (2015, p.740) suggest that “the immediate presence of female executives in local government has a direct effect on sexist political attitudes, but it does not appear to last after their tenure”.

The long-lasting conceptual discussion and empirical applications have introduced some nuances to Lippmann’s seminal idea of stereotypes. It remains valid as the essential definition of predefined pictures which help individuals in the cognitive processes by categorising the outer social world. However, evidence also suggests a certain mixture of stereotype’s resistance to change and flexibility at the same time. It is also said that individuals are not passive users of such categories but rather they can actively pick up what traits will beforehand be attributed to a given group. It can be argued that there is some room for an individual’s agency when interacting with these stereotyped structures, and therein lies their “ideological” implications, as Perkins (1997 [1979], p.78) observed. A social psychology approach to stereotypes confirms

this interplay between mental structures and day-to-day agency. Hilton and Von Hippel (1996) proposed three models to understand how stereotypes may work and two of them recognised an individual's agency. In the 'prototype model', individuals store abstracted representations of a group's typical features and judge individuals based on comparisons between them and the prototype. They can also work as an 'exemplar-base model', wherein perceivers do not store abstract ideas because groups are represented through particular exemplars. One implication of this model, authors observe, is that "it should be possible to observe dramatic (if not necessarily permanent) changes in the stereotype as a result of experience with a single counter-stereotypic exemplar" (p.241; See also Smith and Zarate, 1992; and Dasgupta and Asgari, 2004). These data suggest that social stereotypes are indeed a place where agency and structure converge, specifically, the interpretive agency conducted by participants when experiencing the stereotypical structure evoked by the politician.

### 6.3 The politician as the incarnation of 'the typical' social group

Descriptions of politicians provided by participants show that they regard them as the very 'incarnation of the typical' individual from a given social group. According to actors and actresses, every politician embodies the most characteristic traits attributed to a given collective. They arrive at this conclusion after the process of bodily experience described in the previous two chapters. Rather than scrutinising their personal biographies, *Polònia's* impersonators approach politicians by inferring their personal traits from the social stereotypes they evoke. They assume the existence of common features shared by a social group and take for granted that each politician corresponds to these traits. This section is mainly based on interviews with acting coach Xavier Ricart and other actors. The present data expands some ideas mentioned in Chapter 5 when it was said that actors approach politicians as icons relating to a broader set of meanings. They mentioned fictional characters, people from their own lives, and social stereotypes as part of the memories and references evoked during their experiences with politicians. However, when data produced in those interviews is subject to triangulation with participant observation and script analysis, social stereotypes emerge as the most relevant elements to define the character.

*Polònia's* acting coach, Xavier Ricart, recognises that relating politicians to stereotypical figures dates back a long time. "More or less this has been done all along", said Xavier. He mentioned travelling theatre companies that presented plays with standard plots but slightly adapted to the reality of every village they visited:

There was the young boy and the young girl that fell in love, but the boy belongs to a rival family. So there were the authoritarian father who was miser, rich men or a doctor, the servants, the mother and so on. Then, those roles relating to power, I mean the father, the doctor, those with more money, were used by those companies to talk about political issues but with dissimulation [...]. If they arrived to a town where the king was called Artur, then they called the father Arturito and the rest of the cast more or less knew their roles, some improvisation, and to the stage. So, what we do on *Polònia* is not very different from that.

Xavier has worked for *Polònia* since 2006. His job consists of coaching actors in the preparation of their characters and prompting them during rehearsals and recordings. Together with the director Marc Martín, Xavier often gives his instructions in the form of metaphors such as ‘be like’.

The relevance of stereotypes was made evident to the data collection thanks to an inaccuracy in the script when recording the sketch *Curs Prepacte*<sup>40</sup>. Bruno Oro acted as the candidate to the presidency of Catalonia, Artur Mas, and David Olivares was Antonio Baños, leader of CUP political party, which had the parliamentary seats that Mas needed for his investiture. The plot is that Mas and Baños were attending a prenatal yoga lesson to give birth to an investiture pact<sup>41</sup>. Marc and Xavier were prompting actors to act as parents-to-be, and while giving their instructions they realised that the script did not clearly indicate who was the father and mother. Two or three minutes of confusion and a brief chat with the scriptwriter and the situation was resolved: Artur Mas was the anxious first-time father and Baños the reluctant mother. Marc and Xavier needed a clear stereotypical referent to organise their job. This necessity was more or less transparent to the observation until there was a ‘power cut’ in the natural flow of instructions from the script to the cast. A similar situation happened in the recording of the sketch *La reintroducció de Rajoy*<sup>42</sup>. Agnès Busquets was acting her character of Soraya Sáenz de Santamaría, the deputy SPM, and Francesc Novell was the SPM, Mariano Rajoy. Soraya had to ask Mariano to exit his office. In the first rehearsal, Agnès was “too boss-alike, I need something more maternal, like ‘hey son, let’s go out, come on’”, said Xavier to Agnès. The word ‘son’ was

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<sup>40</sup> Watch online: [https://youtu.be/KqHjzb\\_5PEc](https://youtu.be/KqHjzb_5PEc)

<sup>41</sup> In Catalan ‘part’ means ‘birth, labour and delivery’ and rhymes with ‘pact’, which means ‘agreement, pact’. ‘Pre-part’ yoga lessons are usually offered for parents-to-be to prepare for labour. In this sketch ‘pre-pact yoga lessons’ are for a couple trying to reach a political alliance.

<sup>42</sup> Watch online: [https://youtu.be/-Rz\\_Y3NkhK4](https://youtu.be/-Rz_Y3NkhK4)

not in the original script and Agnès did not include it in the sketch, but it served to clarify the instruction in terms of the mother-son stereotypical relation they wanted to express.

Given the relevance of Xavier's job for this theme, he was interviewed specifically to inquire into the use of these stereotypical referents. This was the most challenging interview as it required a rethink of the whole questionnaire on the spot. At first, the questionnaire was about the politicians themselves and how they are or how they look, however, the answers were too descriptive. To go deeper, the questions were presented in a hypothetical fashion: 'if you had to write a play with the four candidates. How would their characters be?' Xavier answered:

Rajoy would not be a character with leadership traits. He would be that man from a small village, a servant. Let's suppose the play is set in a building. Rajoy would be that doorman giving the good mornings and good afternoon to the passer-by. Albert Rivera would be the very ambitious young man. He would come from a well-off family, with money, something like a typical daddy's boy, plenty of ambition and aiming power. If I would make Pablo Iglesias... he would be a university student, not a good one. He would be one of those hippies that are still missing the May 1968; a revolutionary, but not a very clever one. Anyway, he would be someone with a very good mood. Those who have read lots of books and say what those book say. When the people say what they know, but they don't know what they say... you know what I mean? That neighbour who smokes some weed and is in a good mood. For me, Pedro Sánchez would be the contrapuntal character of Rivera. Sánchez is Rivera's rival in terms of what he can grow into, but Sánchez lacks the skills to. He is one of those men that tries to launch his business, a shop, but the things don't go well, at least not as well as for Albert Rivera. Sánchez would have to work very hard to get the same that Albert Rivera obtains easily because of his networks and his family. Albert Rivera would be an unpleasant guy, although a successful lady-killer. He would be an achiever, although morally questionable. On the contrary, with Sánchez I would agree with his way of thinking but 'my friend you have to work really hard to reach your goals.

Stereotypical referents mentioned by Xavier are intersectional. "It is not only the socio-economic status which defines a character, you also have, I don't know, an erotic profile or their geographical origins. You can use all those elements that the politician gives you", he explained. As an example, when it comes to erotica, Xavier mentioned that Albert Rivera inspires certain perversions:

Someone with a twisted mind. He seems to be one of those persons who live according to strict dogmatism, lacking inner peace, he is insecure so he cannot chill

out and fell in love. He would project that insecurity in complex relationships, in the necessity of domination, dominate and being dominated. Something like seeking pleasure where there is none, which results in a permanent frustration.

When it comes to Mariano Rajoy, Xavier relates to the “typical dirty-old-man. He would like to play games with young girls but from a very childish attitude. He is not a Robert Redford, a sensible old man with sex-appeal, no, he would be sitting in the park benches looking at the girls asses”. Even though Pedro Sánchez was widely recognised as a handsome man, Xavier sees no sexual attraction in him: “He is handsome but as an athlete, he does not project a complex sexuality, he would rather be quite boring. He fell in love, had sex with his partner like a natural need, like eating, he does not take sexual risks”.

Geographical references also play a role in the character-crafting process. In this case, the stereotypes mentioned by Xavier do not necessarily match the biographies of the real-life politicians. Mariano Rajoy would be a person from a little village, said Xavier, and the actually SPM grew up in Pontevedra, a little town in Galicia with 80,000 inhabitants. “He would come to the big city and says ‘oh my’. He would not have the city’s tempo, quickly going places in the metro, not looking at someone else’s eyes. No. Rajoy would enter the metro looking at your eyes”. Albert Rivera was born and raised in Barcelona, the second largest city in Spain (1.6 million people), which matches Xavier’s description as “a big city’s character, those who do not look at your eyes, focusing on himself. He is the city to extremes, where many people live and do not know your next-door neighbour”. Pablo Iglesias’ description does not match his biography. He grew up in Soria, a small town in the north of Spain with 40,000 inhabitants, but for Xavier he is:

A man of a city but from the more deprived districts. Areas with immigrants, sort of ghettos, there not good jobs on his districts, that is why he does not master the language of political and economic circles. When he goes to the city centre he is amazed with the prosperity, but not like Rajoy who is pure, naive, Iglesias is resentful because he wishes being part of this but he can’t.

Pedro Sánchez evokes someone from a:

Medium-size city, such as Soria or Burgos”, said Xavier, despite the fact he was born and raised in Madrid. “But he is like those small cities which are very proud of their history where the people aiming high has to move to bigger cities. He would be provincial with very affable traits.

It can be seen that some descriptions provided by Xavier Ricart do match some of those given by other members of production staff in previous chapters. Mariano Rajoy as the villager who is surprised when he arrives in the capital city is similar to the description provided by his

impersonator, Francesc Novell. In Chapter 5 he related Rajoy to Paco Martínez Soria's characters as a parochial guy, and the phrases used by Francesc are quite the same as those used by Xavier Ricart. Albert Rivera is described by Xavier Ricart as someone who holds the impersonality of big cities, an emotional detachment that was also present in the description provided by the makeup director Helena Fenoy, and also the actor Sergi Cervera when he mentioned his similarity with the film character James Bond. Pablo Iglesias was described as an endearing character by the actor Marc Rodríguez because he is very intense in his words and he has to retrace his steps. For Xavier Ricart, Iglesias would be a revolutionary university student who still wants to be part of the system he criticises. The erotic description provided by Xavier Ricart of Pedro Sánchez is basically a boring one, with not much to explore. This relates to the lack of 'something else' that director Marc Martín attributes to the Sánchez character. Some minor differences mean that descriptions do not always fit exactly. The interviews provided a high level of consistency to indicate that characters are also collectively created, and that they are the materialisation of not only one, but the sum of several interactions with social stereotypes.

This section has been based on Xavier Ricart's interview because of the relevance of his position in *Polònia's* production. In general, he holds a well-defined idea of different politicians and expresses them by referring to stereotypical traits. He uses words like "the typical" or "he is one of those", which assumes the existence of a given kind of people and some correspondent attributes. He also suggests that the stereotypes politicians evoke also depend on how they relate. Pedro Sánchez is defined as the opposite of Rivera, or Iglesias as the opposite of Rajoy. This interview also shows that one individual may activate several stereotypes at the same time so that the approach is intersectional, however, the evoked features may or may not match the biographical information of the original politicians. There is considerable consistency between Xavier Ricart's accounts and descriptions provided by other staff members in previous chapters. It can therefore be said that a character is the result of the convergence of several observations where each staff member brings in their own personal interplay with the ideational structure lodged in their cultural background.

#### 6.4 *Transició*: The pressure of contingences on *Polònia's* characters

The social stereotypes evoked by politicians provide the most consistent features for the character to be acted on stage. The following sections present a case in which the stereotypical attributes associated with some social groups are observed in two politicians, and then those attributes inform the characters' traits on stage. The case is the negotiations for the investiture of Artur Mas as president of Catalan government, conducted from September 2015 to January 2016. In the next subsection there is a description of the two politicians involved in the plot,

which are mainly based on different social stereotypes. Then there will be an analysis of 10 scripts in which these two characters are the protagonists. It is aimed to show the extent to which their traits are consistent with the ones included in the politician's descriptions. The scripts included in this section correspond to *transiciós*, a very particular type of sketch originally created by *Polònia's* staff for time-efficiency reasons, but which became the show's most characteristic sketches. Before the introduction of the characters and the scripts, this section includes a brief introduction to *transiciós* and the peculiarities that make them suitable for analysis.

Due to its specific time constraints and the nature of the plots, no other type of sketch makes evident the character's traits better than *transiciós*. The very first sketch of *Polònia*, on 16<sup>th</sup> February 2006, was a *transició*<sup>43</sup>. Assistant director Joan Rufás appeared, attaching a microphone to actor Francesc Novell, who was impersonating the then-president of Catalonia, Pasqual Maragall. The scene carries on with a long take travelling around the studio. Rufás exits and *Polònia's* director, Toni Soler, enters, acting as himself. Soler addresses Maragall as "president" and then they discuss the sketch that he will have to record next. During the discussion, a makeup artist enters to make a touch-up of Maragall and immediately exits. Soler shows Maragall the script lines he has to say in the sketch. Maragall dismisses the script and decides to improvise, walks onto the set of the next sketch, and Soler looks at the camera, panicking about the result of Maragall's improvisation. Here are the main elements of a *transició*: a long take with the camera travelling through the studio showing backstage; actors and actresses being in character even backstage; characters are depicted as member of staff working in *Polònia's* production; there is a negotiation going on.

Apart from these narrative features, the most relevant characteristic of *transiciós* for this analysis are its time constraints. Not only are they meant to be recorded more quickly than any other kind of sketches but the scripts also have to be written faster to react to political contingences. The former came about because *transiciós* were created to save time for other sketches. "You have to record a 30 minute show in two days, this is mad", said Marc Martín, *Polònia's* director. Usually a sketch takes about 120 minutes to be rehearsed and recorded while *transiciós* can be done in 45 to 60 minutes. They are less time-consuming for pre-production because they do not need scenography and post-production – it is done in only one take to be edited. The pressure here is on the actors because they are compelled to make the whole scene

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<sup>43</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/vt1YheorL6A>

in one take. During the recordings they can be seen expressing frustration when the take fails and they have to start over. This makes the recording of a *transició* an instance of tension for the staff. “For me these are the most existing sketches because it is just like theatre, you have one chance and you can’t fail and, when it goes well, uff is such a relief because you can keep working less stressed”, said David Olivares, actor on *Polònia* since 2006.

Alongside the necessity for quick production, *transicions* receive pressure from their political contingency. Participants said that they allow a time-efficient pre-production so they are used to creating sketches to respond to unexpected political events. As usual, the recording agenda for Thursday 3<sup>rd</sup> December 2015 was emailed to every staff member the previous night about 9:00 pm. It was roughly the same agenda discussed in the planning meeting on Monday, however in the email there was a note: “Warning: there will be changes in our plans. Due to controversial statements said by David Fernández, we are to include them in the sketch *Mas Enganxat a la Cadira*. New version of this script will be written tomorrow. It will be sent to everyone soon”. This situation emerged after the CUP former Member of the Parliament of Catalonia, David Fernández, published an opinion piece in the digital newspaper *Ara* (2015b). Fernández asked his party, CUP, to support the investiture of Artur Mas as president of Catalonia, becoming the first prominent member of the anti-capitalist party to express support for the right-wing politician. This opinion contradicted the position of the CUP board and, given the relevance of Fernández in the political party, could represent the end of three months of political blockage. As a result, actor Francesc Casanovas was included in the recording agenda with his character of David Fernández in a redrafted version of the script *Mas Enganxat a la Cadira*, however this option involved too much preproduction and altered the direction of its original plot. The decision made about 9:00 am was to write a *transició* from scratch and postpone the recording of *Chacón i els Empresaris* to the following week.

Time constraints not only affect scriptwriters, actors, actresses, and recording staff but also the fictional characters: they have to be acted more energetically than in other kinds of sketch. “In regular sketches you have a plot going on, here they are just walking along the corridors and discussing something, this demands the characters to go full steam ahead”, said Marc Martin, *Polònia*’s director. “Characters cannot walk and talk just because, there have to be one that is in urgent need, that needs something the other character has, this compels the character to bring out the best of their personality traits”, explained Marc. This relates to the relatively high number of trait annotations present in this kind of sketch. While in other kinds of sketch there might be scripts with no instructions about traits at all, in every *transició* recorded during the period of observation there were at least two annotations (see scripts in Appendix 10: Script Transi Romeva Sparring to Appendix 19: Script Mas – Fernandez). Jaume Buixó, producer and



script director, did not have an explanation for the presence of annotations but he believed that “perhaps, as you are short of time, the scriptwriter tries to be very concise so that there is less room for confusion in the recording”.

This section explained why the following analysis will be based on scripts of *transiciós*. This kind of sketch seems to be the best to observe the main features of *Polònia*'s characters. Time constraints compel production staff to be clear about the traits they want the actors to express on stage. These time constraints stem from the specific expectation *Polònia*'s staff has about the show production time as well as from contingences emerging from ongoing political affairs. It is argued that this close connection between political contingency and *transiciós* make this kind of sketch an appropriate genre to analyse the character. This is consistent with literature on drama theory. When defining the ontological status of fictional characters, contingency is everything. They are “contingent objects. That is, they do not exist necessarily. Rather, they owe their existence to particular human activities through which they are created” (Reicher, 2011, p.116). In drama there is the creation of a play which gives birth to a character, in this case, the political evolution of a society. But they are also contingent objects within the play, because, as Pfister (1988, p.179) claims, the identity of a dramatic figure takes shape and evolves “in the series of configurations in which it participates, and the contrasts and correspondences that develop between one particular figure and the others become clear when they are meaningfully juxtaposed on stage”.

#### 6.5 The conservative paterfamilias and the fulfilled intellectual face-to-face

In the first section it was said that *Polònia*'s staff use a social stereotypes-based approach to observe politicians. That section was based on an interview with acting coach Xavier Ricart. He described politicians as the incarnation of social stereotypes. He assumed the existence of certain social groups and that those social groups could be characterised according to certain shared traits. This subsection shows interviews with two actors, Bruno Oro and David Olivares, as well as further quotations from Xavier Ricart. They are meant to delineate what kind of social stereotypes are evoked by the politicians Artur Mas and Antonio Baños, the protagonists of the ten scripts that will be analysed later. Bruno and Antonio conduct the same approach to the politicians they impersonate: they see them as the walking-talking expression of a social stereotype. According to their descriptions, Artur Mas is a conservative patriarch who evokes the values attributed to the traditional Catalan bourgeoisie. Antonio Baños is a liberal intellectual who inspired the arrogant complacency associated with left-wing critical consciousness.

Artur Mas has the essence of that part of Catalonia that is the conservative Catalonia. Not conservative in terms of backwards-looking though. He is rather someone who tries to act correctly, to be polite and respectful with others. He reminds that thing of 'let's be quite, let's resolve our problems within the family, you know? He is that middle-class Catalonia that was born in the post-war era in a period of poverty and household austerity. A bourgeoisie that had some possibilities, tough. If they saved money, what most of them actually did, they could go on holidays abroad. Those families could send their sons to the University, which was an amazing achievement, because when Artur Mas went to the University, higher education was an elitist privilege the rest of the people did what their parents ordered. Artur Mas' parents would have dreamed with the university instead of spending their whole life in the family business. That generation got access to cultural consumption, learning foreign languages or travelling abroad. In Catalonia those are very important class-distinction habits because in context of poverty and censorship their access was hard and expensive. Anyway, everything under a very austere and sober context (Xavier Ricart).

In Xavier's description, social class is the main characteristic, overcoming political militancy:

People such as Artur Mas or socialists such as Pasqual Maragall's are from the same kind of families. They went to the university roughly at the same time, so get access to the same social networks and share more or less the same liberal thinking but marked by that conservative thing of austerity.

Actor Bruno Oro was impersonating Artur Mas when his interview was conducted:

He is a handsome, quite attractive as women say. He is a seducer men, but very righteous, calculated, he contains himself. I mean, he exerts a very paternal form of leadership. He is very much a family man with a righteous role model of soberness, of not showing-off. He would be the good example of a paterfamilias who does not waste money. I don't know, perhaps this soberness and righteous became more evident because of the number of corruption scandals in his party but, so far, he has not been involved. Anyway, I do notice a change since he first won the presidency [in 2010]. With this patriarchal thing, he gets along with power. Since then he has gained in self-confidence, all the institutional thing fits very well in him. And you can see that in his body. His hands move more confidently, he moves more organically, so to speak. I would say he is leading this independence process just by chance, he was not part of the independentism before, but as he is so paternal that he has taken on the responsibility.

The rival is Antonio Baños, leader of the CUP political party. For Xavier, the political awareness of his generation imprinted in Baños a sense of fulfilment and boldness:

He looks like a very much fulfilled man. In terms of social strata, he is similar to Artur Mas, but when he was born there was not that tradition of father-doctor, son-doctor anymore. He was freer to make life choices. That is the generation that went to the university and studied liberal arts, for example. He has been journalist, playwright, always close to literature. A generation marked by 'Paris, May 1968', nostalgic of those events. They dealt with the social problems inside the university, because the university was no longer a privilege as it was in Mas' years. He gives the impression of that generation that did not set limits to his sexual life, they explored different experiences but in a good mood. All these elements resulted in a generation less self-conscious to express themselves which made them more defiant with traditional authority.



Figure 10: Antonio Baños and Artur Mas' characters face-to-face recording *Junqueras Desapareix* on 19<sup>th</sup> November 2015.

Actor David Olivares sees in Antonio Baños the characteristics of his political party:

He is annoyingly calm. I mean, they [the CUP party] did not know that they would obtain such a high number of votes, they have this assembly-based decision-making process, they did not want to be part of the government, they wanted to be there just to say ‘yes, yes, no, no’. So, their position was very calm. Like ‘I don’t really care, I mean, I care but not that much’. A badass attitude, but in the sense that he has a very clear political target, I mean ‘I know the truth, I got the truth; my comrades and I got the truth. It is you guys who don’t know the truth and none of you are prepared for us and our truth, you know what I mean’. He gives me that impression of superiority, but a calm one. [...] He transmits the calmness of a man that does not seek political power. In a way this is also the spirit if his party because at the end of the day, every decision is made by an assembly, so we are one, from the people upwards. It is an ideology of anarchy, of assemblies, anti-systemic, anti-capitalist. And there is another influence from the party. They have an internal rule that no one can be re-elected, no matter your performance in office. Actually, the previous leader has the best approval ratings and he could not run for a second term. I think that all that influence their attitude.”



*Figure 11: Artur Mas (sitting on bench) and Antonio Baños (walking) in the Parliament of Catalonia at the investiture, 12<sup>th</sup> November 2015.*

## 6.6 The patriarch’s frustration: Drama in ten acts

This section presents the drama of Artur Mas seeking support to be appointed as president of Catalonia. The right-wing politician won the Catalan election in September 2015, but his party did not secure the required majority to obtain the investiture. He had the support of his party, CDC, and the left-wing ERC party, making 62 seats altogether, however, a majority of 68 was

needed for investiture. The anti-capitalist CUP party was not in a coalition with CDC and ERC, but they were also pro-Catalonian independence so that despite their differences, there was a chance for an agreement. If that had been the case, CUP would have given its 10 votes in the parliament, reaching an absolute majority of 70 out of 135 seats. It was not that easy, though. CUP leaders were reluctant to support the investiture of Artur Mas, whose figure was associated with welfare budget cuts and a party involved in corruption scandals. CUP was keen to support CDC in exchange for a social plan and effective measures against corruption, but the very presence of Artur Mas became a stumbling block. This drama is presented through the analysis of the scripts of 10 *transicions* that show how the negotiations unfolded.

*El Combat Pel Cinturó Roig* was recorded the week before the election, during the last days of the campaign. This *transicio* is very short and appeared after a longer sketch in which the leaders of the unionists parties fought in a boxing ring. Artur Mas appears sitting next to acting coach Xavi Ricart, looking at the sketch from the recording station.

	“FIGHTING FOR THE RED BELT” (V2) OK <sup>44</sup> POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 373 <sup>45</sup>	“EL COMBAT PEL CINTURÓ ROIG” (V2) OK RECORDING DATE: THURSDAY, 24 SEPT. 2015
131.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
132.	Four losers fighting for just one party political broadcast. Can you see? This is what happens when parties are not united.	Quatre “lúzers” lluitant per un sol espai electoral. Ho veus, això és el que passa quan no hi ha unitat entre partits.
133.		
134.	<b>XAVI RICART:</b>	<b>XAVI RICART:</b>
135.	Cut! It is good!	Talleu, és bona!
136.		
137.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
138.	Eh... by the way. Do not unmount the ring. It may be useful next week with Romeva and Junqueras to decide who will be the president.	Eh... d'això. No desmunteu el ring. Pot ser que l'haguem de fer servir la setmana que ve amb en Romeva i en Junqueras per decidir qui és el president.

At line 132 Artur Mas appears relaxed, looking at the fight from a distance. If the rest are the losers, then he sees himself winning the election the coming Sunday. At line 138, however, Mas foresees a fight with Raül Romeva and Oriol Junqueras, his allies, to decide who will be the president. He can also be seen relaxed in the sketch *Romeva Sparring*, broadcast during the same episode (see below). He appears walking with an upset Raül Romeva, who complains because since he was appointed as the main CDC candidate he had been criticised due to the cuts in Artur Mas's government and the corruption of a party of which he was not a member. It

<sup>44</sup> For full translation see Appendix 11: Script *El combat pel cinturó roig*.

<sup>45</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/SueJUh84dOQ>

was Artur Mas who pinched the girl's bum but she gave the smack to Romeva (line 81). At line 90 it is made clear that Artur Mas is having a good time with the campaign.

	“TRANSI ROMEVA SPARRING” - OK <sup>46</sup> POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 373 <sup>47</sup>	“TRANSI ROMEVA SPARRING” - OK RECORDING DATE: WEDNESDAY, 23 SEPT 2015
79.	THEY COME ACROSS A VERY SEXY GIRL. MAS STARES AT HER, IMPRESSED.	ES CREUEN AMB UNA NOIA MOLT SEXY. MAS LA MIRA ADMIRAT.
80.		
81.	Oh my...	Caram...
82.		
83.	ON THE SLY, MAS PINCHES HER BUM. SHE TURNS AROUND, OFFENDED.	DISSIMULADAMENT, MAS LI PICA EL CUL. LA NOIA ES GIRA, OFESA.
84.		
85.	<b>SEXY GIRL</b>	<b>NOIA SEXY:</b>
86.	You...!	Seràs...!
87.		
88.	THE GIRL GIVES A SMACK TO ROMEVA AND EXITS, ANGRY.	LA NOIA LI CLAVA UNA BUFETADA A ROMEVA I MARXA, INDIGNADA.
89.		
90.	<b>ARTUR MAS: (smiles, happily)</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS: (somriu, molt satisfet)</b>
91.	(sighs) I love this campaign...	(SOSPIR) <i>M'encanta aquesta campanya...</i>
92.		
93.	MAS EXITS. ROMEVA, PUZZLED, REMAINS IN, TOUCHES HIS ACHING FACE.	MAS MARXA. ROMEVA, PERPLEX, ES QUEDA TOCANT-SE LA CARA, ADOLORIT.

The election took place two weeks earlier and Artur Mas had not managed to form a government. In *Transició Mas Sobreviuré* the character is coming from a sketch in which his political allies tried to betray him by looking for another president. This sketch is a mixture of a *transició* and a musical because Artur Mas sings Gloria Gaynor's *I Will Survive* while walking around the film studio looking for staff members' support.

	“TRANSICIÓ MAS I WILL SURVIVE” (V2) - OK <sup>48</sup> POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 375 <sup>49</sup>	“TRANSICIÓ MAS SOBREVIUÉ” (V2) - OK RECORDING DATE: WEDNESDAY, 7 OCT 2015
23.	<b>COMING FROM THE SKETCH G11-42P</b>	VENIM DEL GAG G11-42P “REUNIÓ CLANDESTINA”.
24.	<b>“CLANDESTINE MEETING”</b>	
25.	MAS CLOSES THE DOOR, ANGRY AT HIS PARTISANS, SETS OUT TO WALK ALONG THE FILM STUDIO.	MAS TANCA LA PORTA EMPRENYAT AMB ELS SEUS I COMENÇA A CAMINAR PEL PLATÓ.
26.		
27.	<b>AUDIO: “I WILL SURVIVE”</b>	ÀUDIO: “I WILL SURVIVE”.
28.		
29.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
30.	<i>What a lazy guys</i>	<i>Quins galifardeus.</i>
31.	<i>What a humiliation</i>	<i>Quina indignitat.</i>
32.	<i>Four verminous CUP guys</i>	<i>Quatre pollosos de la CUP</i>
33.	<i>have pissed me off.</i>	<i>els han atabalat.</i>

<sup>46</sup> For full translation see Appendix 10: Script Transi Romeva Sparring.

<sup>47</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/wXxb6h4ntFA>

<sup>48</sup> For full translation see Appendix 12: Script Mas Sobreviuré.

<sup>49</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/yCLO6vd8bsM>

62.	MAS TRIES TO MAKE A CIRCLE BY GRABBING STAFF MEMBERS FROM THE SHOULDERS TO FINISH SINGING THE SONG'S FINAL PART. IN AN "EVERYONE-DRUNK-PARTY" MOOD. HE FAILED TOO: EVERYONE PASSES BY.	MAS INTENTA FER UN CERCLE AGAFANT GENT DE L'EQUIP PER L'ESPATLLA PER CANTAR LA PART FINAL, ROTLLO "FESTA DE MINORIA AMB TOTHOM BORRATXO". NO HO ACONSEGUEIX GAIRE: TOTHOM PASSA D'ELL.
63.		
64.	<b>ARTUR MAS: (GETTING HIS DIGNITY BACK. ANNOYED)</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS: (RECUPERANT LA DIGNITAT. MOLEST)</b>
65.	Enough! I don't need your support to dance! I can do it all by myself!	Està bé! No necessito el vostre suport per ballar!! Puc fer-ho sol.

For the first time at line 25 Artur Mas is described as angry at his partisans. They tried to betray him but he wants to survive. In the lyrics Mas has words for CUP leaders: lazy and verminous (lines 30 and 32). In the climactic moment of the song he looks for a dance partner, but nobody wants to get involved. At lines 64 and 65 he explodes in frustration because nobody is following his leadership. From now on, Artur Mas will be on the edge of despair.

The original Junqueras and Mas formed the coalition *Junts pel Sí* to run for the election. Junqueras was the president of ERC and he was always regarded as the second-ranked member of the coalition, in other words, Artur Mas' replacement. In *Precareta – A Junqueras Se Li Escapa El Riure*, Artur Mas and Oriol Junqueras' characters are recording a regular sketch in which the former is asking assurance that the latter will support him. They are watching TV news and the anchorman says that the CUP has not reached an internal agreement to support Artur Mas.

	<b>"PRE-SKETCH – JUNQUERAS CAN'T HELP LAUGHING" – OK<sup>50</sup></b> POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 375 <sup>51</sup>	<b>"PRECARETA - A JUNQUERAS SE LI ESCAPA EL RIURE" - OK</b> RECORDING DATE: THURSDAY, 8 OCT 2015
37.	<b>ORIOI JUNQUERAS: (VERY SERIOUS):</b>	<b>ORIOI JUNQUERAS: (MOLT SERIÓS)</b>
38.	Keep calm Artur. You are my candidate and you have all my suppor... (HE CAN'T FINISH THE SENTENCE AS HE STARTS LAUGHING)	Tranquil, Artur, ets el meu candidat i tens tot el meu supor... (NO POT ACABAR LA FRASE PERQUÈ SE LI ESCAPA EL RIURE)
39.		
40.	PRODUCER ENTERS TO THE SET. RECORDING PAUSES	ENTRA EL REGIDOR. EL GAG S'INTERROMP.
41.		
42.	<b>PRODUCER:</b>	<b>REGIDOR:</b>
43.	Cut!	Talleu!
44.		
45.	WE CAN SEE THE CAMERAS, ETC. MAS AND JUNQUERAS LEAVE THE ACTING.	VEIEM ELS CÀMERES, ETC. MAS I JUNQUERAS ABANDONEN L'ÀCTING DE GAG.
46.		
47.	<b>ARTUR MAS (ANGRY):</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS: (EMPRENYAT)</b>
48.	Oriol, please. This is not serious! It is the third time.	Oriol. Això no és seriós! És la tercera vegada.
49.		
50.	<b>ORIOI JUNQUERAS:</b>	<b>ORIOI JUNQUERAS:</b>
51.	Sorry, so sorry, I don't know what's going on with me.	Perdó, perdó, és que no sé què em passa.
52.		

<sup>50</sup> For full translation see Appendix 13: Script A Junqueras se li escapa el riure.

<sup>51</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/Or9sFeg6SWg>

53.	<b>PRODUCER: (SNORTS):</b>	<b>REGIDOR: (ESBUFEGA)</b>
54.	Ok, fine. Relax. Everyone back, we are resuming. Let's resume in the petrol station.	Està bé. Calma. Tots a lloc que repetim. Des de la benzinera.
55.		
56.	EVERYONE BACK TO ACTING	TOTS TORNEN A ÀCTING DE GAG.
57.		
58.	<b>PRODUCER (OFF CAMERA)</b>	<b>REGIDOR (FORA DE CAMP):</b>
59.	Action.	Acció.
60.		
61.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
62.	I want to be the president of Catalonia but I need to know if you are standing by me and you won't let me abandoned in a petrol station when I go out to pee.	Jo vull ser el president de Catalunya però necessito saber que esteu al meu costat i que no m'abandonareu mai en una benzinera aprofitant que he sortit a fer un pipí.
63.		
64.	<b>ORIOL JUNQUERAS: (WITH SOLEMNITY)</b>	<b>ORIOL JUNQUERAS: (MOLT SOLEMNE)</b>
65.	Keep calm Artur. You are my candidate and you have all my suppo... (TRIES TO KEEP SERIOUS BUT FINALLY STARTS LAUGHING). I can't, I can't with this joke.	Tranquil, Artur, ets el meu candidat i tens tot el meu su... (MIRA D'AGUANTAR PERÒ FINALMENT ESCLATA A RIURE). És que no puc, no puc amb aquest acudit.
66.		
67.	<b>UNMOUNT THE SET AGAIN.</b>	DESMUNTADA DE NOU.
68.		
69.	<b>ARTUR MAS: (ANNOYED):</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS: (ENFADAT)</b>
70.	This not a joke.	És que no és cap acudit.

The fictional sketch cannot be recorded because Oriol Junqueras does not manage to finish the sentence at line 38. He is unable to express clear support for Artur Mas for the third time (line 48) and the script includes an annotation for Artur Mas to be angry at line 47. At line 64 Junqueras makes another attempt, with 'solemnity', but he fails again as he cannot help laughing. At line 69, as at line 47, Artur Mas demands Junqueras take the situation more seriously.

Not only are his allies in other parties disobeying Artur Mas, but so are members of his own party and cabinet. On 19<sup>th</sup> October the former Home Secretary of Artur Mas, Felip Puig, gave a speech at a business summit (El Mundo, 2015a) in which he hinted at the impossibility of a coalition government with the CUP. In *Felip Puig Indignat*, Artur Mas is coming from a sketch in which he had an argument with his allies in *Junts pel Sí*. He is already angry when he comes across Felip Puig walking in the studio.

	"TRANSICIÓ – ANGRY FELIP PUIG" - OK <sup>52</sup> POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 377 <sup>53</sup>	"TRANSICIÓ – FELIP PUIG INDIGNAT" - OK RECORDING DATE: WEDNESDAY, 21 OCT 2015
20.	ARTUR MAS, QUITE ANGRY, COMING FROM THE SKETCH G11-58P "ORGANISING THE PARLAMENT". FELIPE PUIG APPEARS IN THE SCENE.	ARTUR MAS MIG EMPRENYAT, SURT DE L'SKETCH G11-58P "ORGANITZANT EL PARLAMENT". S'HI AFEGEIX EN FELIP PUIG.
21.		
22.	<b>FELIP PUIG:</b>	<b>FELIP PUIG:</b>
23.	Hey! Artur! Artur!	Ei, Artur! Artur!
24.		
25.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>

<sup>52</sup> For full translation see Appendix 14: Script Felipe Puig Indignat.

<sup>53</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/jkrzf-980OY>



26.	Oh Holy crap...	Hosti, el que faltava...
43. 44.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b> How can you say we are not to come to an agreement with them? Making them angry is not a good idea. They are like Gremlins, but even hairier.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b> Com se t'acut dir que no arribarem a cap acord amb ells? No ens convé fer-los enfadar, són com gremlins però una mica més peluts.
55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75.	ARTUR GIVES UP AND TRIES TO GET AWAY. PUIG CATCHES HIM.  Hey Artur! Let's show them who is in charge: we have more MPs, we are more experience, more kick-ass, more... <b>ARTUR MAS:</b> (interrupts) And, what the do you want me to do? The got me by the balls! I can only wait for them to make a move, a response.  WE CAN SEE THEY ARE GETTING NEXT TO ANNA GABRIEL, WHO IS STILL ON A PLATFORM, LIKE A HUMAN STATUE IN LA RAMBLA. SHE HAS A POT TO THROW SOME COINS INSIDE.  Do you think I have not tried? That I am not putting pressure on them? But, no way. They are such a pigheaded.  ARTUR MAS STARTS MAKING QUESTIONS AND, AT EVERY TIME, HE THROWS A COIN.  Will we agree a government system? (Anna stands still) Will we reach a deal before December 20th? (Anna stands still) Will everything end up with new elections? (Anna stands still) Do you like Romeva? (Anna stands still) Will you make me president?  ANNA GABRIEL STARTS MOVING LIKE A HUMAN STATUE IN LA RAMBLA AND MAKES THE "FUCK YOU" GESTURE WITH THE MIDDLE FINGER.  <b>ARTUR MAS:</b> Akdjafkdfjakdfjaldfjkl!  ARTUR MAS AND FELIP PUIG EXIT ANGRY.	L'ARTUR EL DÓNA PER PERDUT I INTENTA MARXAR. EN PUIG L'ATRAPA DE NOU.  Ei, Artur, de debò. Hem de demostrar qui mana: tenim més diputats, més experiència, més puteria, més...  <b>ARTUR MAS:</b> (interromp) I què vols que faci?! Ens tenen agafats pels collons! Només podem esperar que ells moguin fitxa, que responguin.  VEIEM QUE HAN ARRIBAT AL COSTAT D'ANNA GABRIEL, QUE ESTÀ IMMÒBIL SOBRE UNA PLATAFORMA, COM SI FOS UNA ESTÀTUA HUMANA DE LA RAMBLA. DAVANT, UN CALAIX PER TIRAR-HI MONEDES.  Et penses que no ho he intentat? Que no els hi estem fotent pressa? Però no hi ha manera, són discrets de mena.  ARTUR MAS COMENÇA A FER PREGUNTES I, CADA VEGADA, TIRA UNA MONEDA.  Pactarem un model de Govern? (anna roman immòbil) Arribarem a un acord abans del 20 de desembre? (anna roman immòbil) Tot això acabarà amb noves eleccions? (anna roman immòbil) Us cau bé el Romeva? (anna roman immòbil) Em fareu President?  L'ANNA GABRIEL COMENÇA A MOURE'S COM UNA ESTÀTUA DE LA RAMBLA I ELS HI FA EL "FUCK YOU" AMB EL DIT.  <b>ARTUR MAS:</b> Akdjafkdfjakdfjaldfjkl!  ARTUR MAS I FELIP PUIG MARXEN EMPRENYATS

Artur Mas has run out of patience. He is always angry in the film studio, and in the encounter with Felip Puig his helplessness is made evident. At line 44 he reprimands Puig for making CUP angry, so he recognises he cannot say a word to them without risking their support. At line 57 Felip Puig proposes to make a display of power against CUP but Mas recognises he is powerless. "They got me by the balls", he says. From line 61 onwards, Mas tries to move Anna Gabriel, the CUP spokesperson, but he sees no result other than a 'fuck you' gesture. The reaction at line 73 denotes frustration for the impossibility of a favourable result in the negotiations. So far, *Polònia's* Artur Mas is angry and frustrated. He seems powerless to reach an agreement with the CUP political party. Not only is he not being obeyed but he cannot even give a command. At the beginning, Oriol Junqueras and Raul Romeva were expected to be the impediment to his investiture as president of Catalonia. At this point he has understood that the problem is the CUP and the lack of a decision by its leaders.

By the end of October the investiture was expected to take place in the Parliament on 10<sup>th</sup> November. However, neither Antonio Baños nor Anna Gabriel gave public support to Artur Mas and postponed their decision to the party assembly to be held on 29<sup>th</sup> November. In the next script there emerges the figure of Antonio Baños, and the pressure for an agreement will be increasingly on him. Artur Mas and Antonio Baños' characters had interacted in previous sketches, but this is the first time they appeared together in a *transició*. This one was recorded after CUP spokesperson Anna Gabriel announced a list of ministers of Artur Mas' government who were vetoed (El Periódico, 2015b). They included prominent members of Mas' party, such as the Home Secretary Felip Puig, and Boi Ruiz, Secretary of State for Health who was involved in cuts and privatisation of the healthcare system. Germà Gordó, Secretary of State for Justice, was also vetoed for his alleged participation in corruption scandals. For the first time, CUP led the way and set red lines for an eventual negotiation.

In *Consellers Vetats*, Artur Mas' character confronts Antonio Baños because the CUP has put a veto on the participation of some of his ministers on *Polònia*. Artur Mas learns about a situation in the Department of Health and asks the minister Boi Ruiz to come.

	PRE-SKETCH – VETOED MINISTERS - OK <sup>54</sup> POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 379 <sup>55</sup>	“PRECARETA – CONSELLERS VETATS” - OK RECORDING DATE: WEDNESDAY 4, NOV 2015
48.	A DOORS OPENS AND A WHEELED MANNEQUIN APPEARS (SOMEONE HAS TO PUSH IT FROM OUTSIDE). MAS STARES AT IT IN SHOCK.	S'OBRE UNA DE LES PORTES DEL PASSADÍS I ENTRA UN MANIQUÍ AMB RODETES (ALGÚ L'EMPENY DES DE FORA). EN MAS S'HO MIRA AMB ESTUPOR.
49.		
50.	What the hell is this?	Què coi és això?
51.		
52.	<b>SECRETARY (CARME):</b>	<b>SECRETÀRIA – CARME:</b>
53.	A mannequin that will be Boi Ruiz. CUP has vetoed his presence in <i>Polònia</i> .	Un maniquí que farà de Boi Ruiz. La CUP ha vetat la seva presència al Polònia.
54.		
55.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
56.	This is it! Enough is enough!	Ah no! Per aquí sí que no hi passo!
57.		
58.	MAS SEES ANTONIO BAÑOS PASSING BY AND CALLS HIM	EN MAS VEU L'ANTONIO BAÑOS QUE PASSA PER ALLÀ I EL CRIDA.
59.		
60.	Baños! You can't veto my ministers!	Baños! No em pots vetar consellers!
61.		
62.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
63.	Ha! Of course I can. Here you are the list. I don't even want to see those ones.	I tant que puc. Aquí tens la llista. A aquests no els vull ni veure.
64.		
65.	HE PASSES A PIECE OF PAPER TO MAS	LI DÓNA UN PAPERET A EN MAS.
66.		
67.	<b>ARTUR MAS: (READING)</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS: (LLEGEIX)</b>
68.	Boi Ruiz, Felip Puig, Germà Gordó... listen to me you (xato). This is politics. We are not playing a Taboo game.	Boi Ruiz, Felip Puig, Germà Gordó... Escolta xato, estem fent política, no una partida al Tabú!
69.		
70.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
71.	Either you play my rules or I don't support your government.	O juguem així o m'enduc el suport al teu govern.

<sup>54</sup> For full translation see Appendix 15: Script Consellers Vetats.

<sup>55</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/vrvLUyrSiSU>

72.		
73.	A TECHNICIAN ENTERS WITH TWO TEDDY BEARS IN SUIT.	ENTRA UN TREBALLADOR AMB DOS OSSOS DE PELUIX VESTITS AMB TRAJE.
74.		
75.	<b>POLÒNIA TECHNICIAN:</b>	<b>TREBALLADOR POLÒNIA:</b>
76.	Where do I leave Felip and Gordó?	On deixo en Felip i en Gordó?
77.		
78.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
79.	Right here, thank you.	Aquí mateix, gràcies.
80.		
81.	TECHNICIAN LEAVES THEM ON THE FLOOR AND EXIT.	EL TREBALLADOR ELS DEIXA A TERRA I MARXA.
82.		
83.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
84.	Don't you see the people will complain? These ministers have a strong popular support.	No ho veus que la gent es queixarà? Aquests consellers tenen molt de suport popular.
85.		
86.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
87.	Of course they have! They are queuing in Sant Jaume square to take selfies with Gordó.	Ui sí! La gent fa cua a la Plaça Sant Jaume per fer-se selfies amb en Gordó.
101.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
102.	I want to talk with Polònia director! Where is Toni Soler?	Vull parlar amb el director! I en Toni Soler?
103.		
104.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
105.	Vetoed. We have put a vet on any form of authority. Since now on Roomba will take one his place.	Vetat. Hem vetat qualsevol autoritat. Ara la roomba ocuparà el seu càrrec en funcions.
106.		
107.	HE CROUCHES AND TURNS A ROOMBA VACUUM CLEANER ON.	S'AJUP I ENCÉN UNA ASPIRADORA ROOMBA.
108.		
109.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
110.	But, but. (HE SPINS AROUND TO TALK WITH HIS SECRETARY). Can you believe th...?	Però... però! (ES GIRA PER PARLAR AMB LA SECRETÀRIA) Et pots creure qu...?
111.		
112.	WHEN HE HAS SPUN AROUND, INSTEAD OF HIS SECRETARY THERE IS A FEMALE MANNEQUIN DRESSING LIKE HER.	QUAN EN MAS ES GIRA, AL LLOC DE LA SECRETÀRIA HI HA UN MANIQUÍ DE DONA VESTIDA IGUAL.
113.		
114.	Where is Carme?	On és la Carme?
115.		
116.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
117.	Vetoed, because it is sexist. Why is a secretary always a woman? Why can't it be a male-secretary?	Vetada, per sexista. Per què sempre ha de ser una dona qui fa de secretària? Per què no pot ser un secretari?
118.		
119.	MAS MAKES A QUIFF SHAKING. HE WALKS AWAY AND ON HIS WAY HE FINDS A GOOD-LOOKING, WELL-DRESSED MANNEQUIN. MAS LOOKS AT IT. CONFUSED.	TREMOLOR DE TUPÈ DE MAS. MARXA I A MIG CAMÍ DESCOBREIX UN MANIQUÍ BEN PLANTAT I BEN VESTIT. EN MAS SE'L MIRA, COFOI.

The first time Artur Mas addresses Antonio Baños is to give him an order (line 60), which Baños disobeys (line 63). What is more, Baños is more defiant and goes further with a full list of vetoed ministers. At line 68 Artur Mas lectures Baños on some political realism and he answers with blackmail, showing no respect for his authority. At line 84 Artur Mas appeals to the popular support of the vetoed characters and Antonio Baños answers with sarcasm (line 87). At line 102 Mas looks for *Polònia's* director Antoni Soler to try and impose authority, but he just realises that Antonio Baños has taken control by putting a veto on Soler and his secretary (line 105). The reaction at line 119 is similar to the one at line 73 of *Felip Puig Indignat*. Then he could say nothing but “Akdjafkdfjakdfjaldfjkl!”, while here there is a quiff shaking to express the character's self-control when in a frustrating situation.

The same day *Transició Baños Arrimadas* was recorded it was expected that the second attempt of Artur Mas' investiture in the Parliament of Catalonia would take place. On 10<sup>th</sup> November there was the first failed inaugural debate and, as expected, CUP did not give support to Artur Mas. As a result, a second attempt had to be held on Thursday 12<sup>th</sup>. If Mas was not appointed again, it was very likely a new election would be called. Mas offered to form a coalition government with CUP and call for a motion of no confidence against his own government in 10 months' time. Despite these concessions, he did not manage to obtain CUP support and there was a real chance to go back to the polls (La Vanguardia, 2015). The debate finished about 3:30pm and the following *transició* was recorded roughly at the same time. Antonio Baños' character is coming from another recording and comes across Inés Arrimadas, president of the unionist Ciudadanos, the second largest party in the election.

	"TRANSICIÓN BAÑOS ARRIMADAS" (V5) - OK <sup>56</sup> POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 380 <sup>57</sup>	"TRANSICIÓN BAÑOS ARRIMADAS" (V5) - OK RECORDING DATE: THURSDAY, 12 NOV 2015
23. 24. 25. 26. 27.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b> Baños, Banys. (Baños is toilets in Castilian and Banys in Catalan) <b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b> Surnames are not translated.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b> Baños, Banys. <b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b> Els cognoms no es tradueixen.
43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b> Are you sure that you will not end up voting for Mas? <b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b> Of course we won't. As Saint Augustine said: a man can sacrifice himself for the people, but... <b>INÉS ARRIMADAS: (INTERRUPTING HIM)</b> Ok, ok. Perfect! We are having elections again and Ciudadans will rock. <b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b> I would not be so happy. Think something: If we do not appoint him, what will you talk about next term? <b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b> What do you want to say? <b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b> I mean, you repeat like an onion pastry: (MOCKING HER, MAKING AN ANNOYING-GIRL VOICE) Mister Mas is an irresponsible man, mister Mas does not want to speak about the corruption in his party, mister Mas promises ice cream dessert for all the children.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b> Segur que al final no investireu a Mas? <b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b> És clar que no. Com deia Sant Agustí: un sol home es pot sacrificar per tot un poble, però... <b>INÉS ARRIMADAS: (L'INTERROMP)</b> Que sí, que sí. Perfecte! Tornarem a tenir eleccions i Ciudadans ho petarà. <b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b> Jo no estaria tan contenta. Pensa una cosa: si no l'investim de què parlareu a la pròxima legislatura? <b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b> Què vols dir? <b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b> Que us repetiu més que una piruleta de ceba: (ESCARNINT-LA, FENT VEUETA DE DONA) El senyor Mas és un irresponsable, el senyor Mas no parla de la corrupció del seu partit, el senyor Mas promet gelat de postre a tots els nens.
93. 94. 95. 96.	ARRIMADAS LEAVES WHILE BAÑOS REMAINS IN, ASTONISHED. <b>ORIOI JUNQUERAS:</b> Can I ask you something? Will you vote for Mas in next debate?	ARRIMADAS MARXA MENTRE BAÑOS ES QUEDA ALLÀ, DESCOL·LOCAT. <b>ORIOI JUNQUERAS:</b> Et puc fer una pregunta? Investireu Mas a la pròxima votació?

<sup>56</sup> For full translation see Appendix 16: Script *Transició Baños Arrimadas*.

<sup>57</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/OBCRK9WWu8k>

97.		
98.	ANTONIO BAÑOS: (SNORTS, FED UP WITH THE SAME QUESTION)	ANTONIO BAÑOS: (ESBUFEGA, FART DE LA MATEIXA PREGUNTA)
99.	Nooooo.	Nooooo.

At lines 23-27 Antonio Baños makes a linguistic correction to Inés Arrimadas, giving the character the opportunity to show off his educational background. The same can be seen at line 47 when citing Saint Augustine to make his point. Another character trait can be observed at line 59 when he mocks Inés Arrimadas' voice and her obsession with the figure of Artur Mas. This connects with the annotation at line 87 in the script of *Consellers Vetats* where he answered Artur Mas with sarcasm. From line 93 onwards it be seen that the character is under pressure. For the first time Antonio Baños expresses some tediousness with the question about Artur Mas. In this sketch he was already questioned by Inés Arrimadas and he answers normally (line 46), but in the second instance the script has a 'fed up' annotation (line 98).

Artur Mas and Antonio Baños are face-to-face again in *Junqueras Desapareix*, also recorded on 19<sup>th</sup> November. This is the first sketch broadcast in Episode 381 and shows Artur Mas and Oriol Junqueras waiting on the set for the recordings and reading their scripts. The mood between Mas and Junqueras is good but as soon as Baños enters, Artur Mas gets angry.

	“PRE-SKETCH – JUNQUERAS DISAPPEARS” <sup>58</sup> POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 381 <sup>59</sup>	“PRECARETA – JUNQUERAS DESAPAREIX” RECORDING DATE: THURSDAY, 19 NOV 2015
24.	PRIOR TO THE RECORDING. TECHNICIANS CAN BE SEEN FINISHING THE SET PREPARATION AND HAVE GOT EVERYTHING DONE TO START THE RECORDING. ARTUR MAS AND ORIOL JUNQUERAS ENTERS THE SET. MAS IS IN A VERY GOOD MOOD AND SAYS HELLO TO EVERYONE.	MOMENT PREVI A LA GRAVACIÓ DEL GAG. VEIEM ALS TÈCNICS QUE VAN AMUNT I AVALL ACABANT DE PREPAR-HO TOT PER COMENÇAR A GRAVAR. ENTREN ARTUR MAS I ORIOL JUNQUERAS. MAS ESTÀ DE MOLT BON HUMOR I SALUDA A TOTHOM.
25.		
26.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
27.	Good morning, everyone. Hey Lluís! Marta, How you doing today? (To Junqueras) What are you doing here? You are not recording yet?	Bon dia, companys! Ei, Lluís! Què tal, Marta? (a Junqueras) Què fas tant d'hora al plató, si encara no et toca gravar?
28.		
29.	<b>PRODUCER:</b>	<b>REGIDOR:</b>
30.	Attention please! Sandwiches are served in two minutes!	Nois, en dos minuts surten els entrepans!
31.		
32.	JUNQUERAS RUBS HANDS TOGETHER.	JUNQUERAS ES FREGA LES MANS.
33.		
34.	<b>ARTUR MAS (smiling):</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS: (somrient)</b>
35.	Oh, I see...	Ah, és clar...
36.		
37.	PRODUCER APPROACHES MAS TO GIVE HIM A SCRIPT.	<b>EL REGIDOR S'ACOSTA I LI DÓNA UN GUIÓ A MAS.</b>
38.	(He has a quick look on his script and says, annoyed) Oh crap, another sketch with Baños?!	(fa un ràpid cop d'ull al guió i esclata, empenyat) Collons, un altre gag amb en Baños?!
39.		

<sup>58</sup> For full translation see Appendix 18: Script Junqueras desapareix.

<sup>59</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/uBYKQu1IVTM>

40.	ANTONIO BAÑOS ENTERS BRINGING HIS OWN SCRIPT AND APPROACHES MAS. HIS VOICE IS SARCASTIC.	ENTRA ANTONIO BAÑOS AMB EL SEU GUIÓ I VA CAP A MAS. EL SEU TO ÉS SARCÀSTIC.
41.		
42.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
43.	Oops, it seems that someone is annoyed. Write a tweet to complain, as Convergents do.	Ui, sembla que algú s'ha enfadat. Escriu un tuit i queixa't, com feu els convergents.
44.		
45.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
46.	Or much better: an assembly to decide if I am lazy or too lazy to go... (He moves his hands like making a sign language for applause).	Molt millor una assemblea per decidir si em fa mandra o molta mandra fer-ho... (mou les mans com els aplaudiments dels sordmuts)
47.		
48.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
49.	Take it easy, men. We'll have fun.	Relaxa't, home... que ens ho passarem bé.
50.		
51.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
52.	Leave me in peace?	Deixa'm en pau, vols?
53.		
54.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
55.	Come on, don't be silly. At the end of the day you love this song... Hey listen, if don't like it, you go.	Va, tonto, si en el fons et va la marxa... Escolta, i si no t'agrada... te'n vas.
56.		
57.	TENSE SILENCE. MAS CONFRONTS BAÑOS. JUNQUERAS REMAINS IN BETWEEN LIKE A SPECTATOR.	SILENCI TENS. MAS S'ENCARA A BAÑOS. JUNQUERAS QUEDA AL MIG DE TOTS DOS, D'ESPECTADOR.
58.		
59.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
60.	You go. Fuck you!	Vés-te'n tu. A cagar a la via!
61.		
62.	SLYLY, JUNQUERAS STARS WALKING BACKWARDS.	DISSIMULADAMENT, JUNQUERAS COMENÇA A CAMINAR CAP ENDARRERE.
63.		
64.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
65.	Hey, cut it here. Or should I say "cuts"? You are very good at that.	Ei, talla't una mica. O hauria de dir... "retalla't", que d'això en saps molt.
66.		
67.	<b>ARTUR MAS</b> (offended)	<b>ARTUR MAS: (ofès)</b>
68.	Oh! You... you (inaudible).	Oh! Seràs... seràs... (no se li acut res)
69.		
86.		
87.	AFTER A SECOND OF HESITATION. JUNQUERAS DECIDES TO TAKE A STEP FORWARDS TO LEAVE THE WALL. HE IS "VISIBLE" AGAIN.	DESPRÉS D'UNS SEGONS DE DUBTE, JUNQUERAS DECIDEIX FER UN PAS ENDAVANT I ABANDONAR LA PARET. TORNA A SER "VISIBLE".
88.		
89.	<b>ORIO JUNQUERAS:</b>	<b>ORIO JUNQUERAS:</b>
90.	(WITH SOME RELUCTANCE) Ooook. I am with you, Artur. You are our candidate.	(UNA MICA A CONTRACOR) D'acooord. Estic amb tu, Artur. Ets el nostre candidat.
91.		
92.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
93.	(PLEASED) Thank you.	(SATISFET) Gràcies.
94.		
95.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
96.	Bah!	Bah!
97.		
98.	BAÑOS EXITS. MAS AND JUNQUERAS REMAIN ALONE. MAS HUGS JUNQUERAS WITH ONE ARM SURROUNDING HIS BACK. THEY START WALKING AWAY TOGETHER WHILE MAS SAYS:	BAÑOS MARXA. MAS I JUNQUERAS ES QUEDEN SOLS. MAS ENVOLTA JUNQUERAS PER L'ESQUENA AMB UN BRAÇ I COMENCEN A SORTIR MENTRE MAS DIU:

Despite his defeat in Parliament, Artur Mas is in a good mood and is very kind with everyone in the studio. His relationship with Oriol Junqueras is good as he voted for him in the inaugural debate. What annoys Mas' mood is the mere presence of Antonio Baños. As soon as he knows he will have to record a sketch with him he gets angry. At line 40 there is an annotation for Baños

to have a sarcastic voice and his line 43 is defiant with Mas. At line 46 Artur Mas responds, mocking the assembly-based decision-making process of the CUP. He is no longer a self-controlled man, now he leads the way with a certain degree of sarcasm as well. At line 48 Antonio Baños tries to calm him down but is told to shut up. Mas' hands are not as tied as they were in previous sketches, such as *Consellers Vetats* and *Felip Puig Indignat*, and that is why he can confront him at line 57 and even insults him at line 60. At line 65, Antonio Baños goes back to his sarcasm and Artur Mas to his self-control. In this sketch Oriol Junqueras shows hesitation in supporting his ally Artur Mas or going back to his left-wing roots and negotiating with the CUP. At line 89 Junqueras, 'with some reluctance', expresses his support for Artur Mas. Mas acts pleased at line 92 and Baños shows his frustration and exits (line 95). Baños is better at handling a bottom-up situation of power by annoying Artur Mas, but gets easily frustrated when he cannot obtain others' support. Mas is pleased when he is obeyed.

One day before the second attempt at investiture, former singer Lluís Llach asked CUP to support Artur Mas (Ara, 2015a). Llach was now Member of Parliament in Catalonia in the pro-independence coalition *Junts pel Sí* led by Mas. Llach was part of *Nova Cançó*, an artistic movement with musical expressions which emerged in Catalonia during the late 1950s and early 1960s in opposition to Francisco Franco's dictatorship. Since then, Llach has cultivated a profile as a singer and activist, first against the dictatorship and more recently in favour of Catalan independence. He ran for Parliament in the 2015 election and won. He urged CUP to appoint Mas to carry on with independence from Spain.

In *El Cobrador del Mas* the character of Lluís Llach appears chasing Antonio Baños around the film studio. By singing his songs, Llach pesters Antonio Baños to support Artur Mas' investiture.

	“TRANSICIÓ –MAS’ COLLECTOR” (V3) – OK <sup>60</sup> POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 381 <sup>61</sup>	“TRANSICIÓ – EL COBRADOR DEL MAS” RECORDING DATE: THURSDAY, 19 NOV 2015
21.	ANTONIO BAÑOS IN THE CORRIDORS WITH A VERY ANGRY FACE. DESPERATE. HE IS CHASED BY LLUÍS LLACH IN HIS USUAL CLOTHING AND BRINGS A BRIEFCASE. HE GOES AFTER BAÑOS SINGING ALONG “IF I SING SADLY”.	ANTONIO BAÑOS PEL PASSADÍS AMB CARA DE MOLT EMPRENYAT, DESESPERAT. EL SEGUEIX LLUÍS LLACH AMB VESTUARI HABITUAL. DUU UN MALETÍ. VA DARRERE EN BAÑOS CANTANT-LI SENSE PARAR “I SI CANTO TRIST”.
22.		
23.	<b>LLUÍS LLACH:</b> (SINGING)	<b>LLUÍS LLACH:</b> (CANTANT)
24.	<i>“I don't like the fear, I don't want it for tomorrow either.</i>	<i>“Jo no estimo la por, ni la vull per demà,</i>
25.	<i>I don't want it today, I don't want a remembrance either</i>	<i>no la vull per avui, ni tampoc com record.</i>
26.	<i>I like a smiley child...”</i>	<i>Que m'agrada el somris d'un infa...”</i>
27.		
28.	BAÑOS SUDDENLY TURNS BACK, FED UP.	EN BAÑOS ES GIRA DE COP, FART.
29.		
30.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>

<sup>60</sup> For full translation see Appendix 17: Script El Cobrador del Mas.

<sup>61</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/D579lgdxwo0>

31.	Shut up! Enough! How long will it take?	Calla! Prou! Fins quan durarà, això?
32.		
33.	<b>LLUÍS LLACH:</b>	<b>LLUÍS LLACH:</b>
34.	I will keep singing all of my songs if you don't make Mas president. This is my job, (SHOWS A BRIEFCASE LABELLED "MAS' COLLECTOR") I am Mas' collector.	Et perseguiré cantant-te totes les meves cançons fins que no feu a Mas president. És la meva feina, sóc (ENSENYA EL MALETÍ ON HI HA ESCRIT "EL COBRADOR DEL MAS), "el cobrador del Mas".
48.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS</b>
49.	I mean, I cannot understand what is going on with you and Mas. He is such a snooty! But now I can see you are the same thing.	És que no entenc què t'ha agafat amb el Mas. Si és un pijo! Clar que ja he vist que tu també toques pela llarga...
50.		
51.	<b>LLUÍS LLACH:</b>	<b>LLUÍS LLACH:</b>
52.	That information was slanderous!	Aquella informació era una infàmia!
53.		
54.	BAÑOS CARRIES ON WALKING. LLACH TAKES THE OPPORTUNITY –BAÑOS IS NOT LOOKING AT HIM- TO TAKE A WOOLLEN HAT WITH DIAMONDS OUT OF HIS POCKET AND TRIES TO GET RID OF IT.	BAÑOS CONTINUA CAMINANT. LLACH APROFITTA QUE NO EL MIRA PER TREURE'S DE LA BUTXACA UN GORRET DE LLANA PLE DE DIAMANTS ENGANXATS I EL TIRA PER DESFER-SE'N.
55.		
56.	<b>LLUÍS LLACH:</b>	<b>LLUÍS LLACH:</b>
57.	"And If I siiiiiiiiiiing"	"I si caaaaaaaaanto..."
58.		
59.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS: (TURNS AROUND, FED UP)</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS: (ES GIRA, FART)</b>
60.	What has Mas promised you? Tell me what is and if you shut up I will double his bet. What is more, if you want we propose your name as a consensual president.	Què t'ha promès, en Mas? Diga'm què és i si calles et juro que doblo l'oferta. És més, si vols et proposem a tu com a President de consens.
77.	LLUÍS LLACH LEAVES RUNNING, HAPPY.	EN LLUÍS LLACH MARXA CORRENT, FELIÇ.
78.		
79.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
80.	Thank God! Or wherever the equivalent atheist expression. Some peace of mind, at last...	Gràcies a Déu! O la que sigui l'expressió atea equivalent. Una mica de tranquil·litat, per fi...

In the second attempt at investiture, Artur Mas made concessions to CUP, as mentioned earlier. Even if he failed in obtaining support, he moved the pressure onto Antonio Baños. This sketch features Baños' character reaction when he has to make decisions. He was fed up at the end of *Transició Baños Arrimadas* (line 99) and in this sketch, a week after the failed investiture, he is angry from the very beginning at line 6. At line 13 he reacts and tries to get rid of Llach and fails. At line 49 Baños tries again, but now by throwing his support for "such a snooty" back in his face. Lluís Llach starts over with his songs at line 57 but Antonio Baños cannot stand him anymore and is willing to do anything to stop him. At this point Baños is not happy with the situation, he is no longer the sarcastic and defiant character who was in control of the situation two weeks ago, in *Consellers Vetats*. Both in this sketch and in *Junqueras Desapareix* (included in the same episode) Baños seems to be good at dealing with the authoritative and frustrated Artur Mas, but when it comes to finding support from Oriol Junqueras or withstanding the pressure from Lluís Llach, he is weak and easily frustrated.

At this point Catalonia was suffering a political blockage. After two failed attempts at investiture on 10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> November, Artur Mas continued to make concessions and the CUP was entrenched in its refusal to appoint Mas as president. There was no option other than waiting



for the CUP general assembly to be celebrated on 29<sup>th</sup> November in which all the party members would vote for or against the investiture. 883 voted for “looking for an alternative to Artur Mas”, 574 for new elections and 434 opted to “accept Mas”. This resulted in a mandate to the party leaders to keep negotiating for Artur Mas to step down (20 Minutos, 2015). A new assembly was arranged for 27<sup>th</sup> December, which meant another month of standby time. In this scenario the former Member of Parliament, David Fernàndez published an opinion piece in *Ara* newspaper (2015b). He suggested that his party should consider the possibility of appointing Artur Mas to carry on with the independence process.

The same day this piece was published on paper, *Transició Mas-Fernàndez* was recorded, with Artur Mas happily reading the good news. Artur Mas has just recorded a musical sketch in which he gives an ultimatum to CUP: either appoint him or there would be another election in which CUP would lose seats.

	“TRANSICIÓ MAS-FERNÀNDEZ” - OK <sup>62</sup> POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 383 <sup>63</sup>	“TRANSICIÓ MAS-FERNÀNDEZ” - OK RECORDING DATE: THURSDAY, 3 DEC 2015
24. 25.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b> (READING) “Two votes for the process...” (SURPRISED) I can’t believe my eyes... (LOOKING FOR SOMETHING WITH THE GAZE) David! David, where are you? Come here!	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b> (LLEGINT) “Dos vots al procés...”. (SORPRÈS) No m'ho puc creure... (BUSCANT AMB LA MIRADA) David! David, on ets? Vine!
26. 27.	MAS WALKS ALONG LOOKING FOR FERNÀNDEZ. HE FINDS HIM IN A CORNER TALKING WITH A TECHNICIAN.	MAS CAMINA BUSCANT FERNÀNDEZ. EL TROBA A UN RACÓ PARLANT AMB UN TÈCNIC.
28. 29.	Hey, listen, I mean, all I said in the musical... Just kidding, ah? I love the CUP people, but you know <i>Polònia</i> 's guys. (OPENING HIS ARMS) Come on, come to my arms!	Eiii, escolta, res, que tot això que he dit al musical era broma, eh? A mi m'encanta, la CUP, però ja saps com són, els del “Polònia”. (OBRINT ELS BRAÇOS) Va, vine als meus braços!
30. 31.	<b>DAVID FERNÀNDEZ:</b> (GETS BACK A LITTLE BIT. SURPRISED)	<b>DAVID FERNÀNDEZ:</b> (S'APARTA UNA MICA, ESTRANYAT)
32.	What are you doing, Artur?	Què fas, Artur?
48. 49.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b> Ah, that is true. You have to agree with all of your cronies. Ok, fine, call them. I will wait.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b> Ai, és veritat que ho has de consensuar amb tots els teus amiguets. Va, truca. M'espero.
50. 51.	<b>DAVID FERNÀNDEZ:</b> Hey, just a little patience.	<b>DAVID FERNÀNDEZ:</b> Ei, una mica de paciència.
52. 53.		
54. 55.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b> Of course... a little patience. (BURSTS OUT IN ANNOYANCE) I HAVE BEEN WAITING FOR TWO MONTHS!!! ARE YOU VOTING FOR ME O NOT, CRAP?!	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b> Sí, clar... una mica de paciència. (ESCLATA) PORTO MÉS DE 2 MESOS ESPERANT!! PENSEU INVESTIR-ME O NO, COLLONS?!
56. 57.	<b>DAVID FERNÀNDEZ:</b>	<b>DAVID FERNÀNDEZ:</b>
58.	Let's see. My opinion is important in the assembly...	A veure, la meva opinió té pes dins l'assemblea...

<sup>62</sup> For full translation see Appendix 19: Script Mas – Fernandez.

<sup>63</sup> Watch online: <https://youtu.be/gOd8aDD66ZU>

59.		
60.	AUDIO: "ALTHOUGH" SONG.	ÀUDIO: MÚSICA "TOT I QUE".
61.		
62.	Although it is not a conclusive one... although today CUP's stance is less locked up that some days ago... although we won't find out until next 27... although we may postpone it because of an overdose of nougat... although it may be a No because celebrating Christmas is too capitalist...	tot i que no és definitiva... tot i que avui la posició de la CUP està menys enrocada que fa uns dies... tot i que no ho sabrem fins el dia 27... tot i que igual ho hem de posposar perquè ens hem empatxat amb els torrons... tot i que potser no perquè celebrar el Nadal és molt capitalista...
63.		
64.	MAS MAKES A QUIFF SHAKING AND GETS ANGRY, THROWS THE NEWSPAPER ON THE FLOOR AND EXITS. FERNÁNDEZ STAYS LOOKING AT HIM UNDERSTANDING NOTHING.	MAS VA FENT TREMOLOR DE TUPÈ FINS QUE S'EMPRENYA, LLENÇA EL DIARI A TERRA I MARXA. FERNÁNDEZ SE'L QUEDA MIRANT SENSE ENTENDRE RES.

At line 29 Artur Mas seems to be so happy that he wants to give David Fernández a hug, which he rejects on the spot. At line 48 Mas seems to understand that further negotiation within the CUP is necessary and is willing to wait for them to reach an agreement. He now sees light at the end of the tunnel, but when Fernández demands a 'little patience' he cannot control himself anymore and burns out. At line 62 Fernández goes back to the indecision and at line 64 Artur Mas ends up with another 'quiff shaking' to express frustration and he exits. Unfortunately, this drama denouement was not told in a *transició*, so the analysis has to finish here.

Across the 10 analysed *transicions* can be seen how political contingences affected the traits of the characters involved in the drama. At the beginning Artur Mas is confident, enjoying the campaign and feeling optimistic about the result, although he foresees competition with his allies Oriol Junqueras and Raül Romeva to be appointed as president of Catalonia. Two weeks after the election Mas is already frustrated because of the lack of support and has dismissive words for the CUP members. He still holds some optimism. What breaks Mas' temperament is that nobody, including members of his party and government, is doing what he wants. He has to recognise his helplessness, especially when Antonio Baños takes the initiative and puts a veto on Mas' decisions. Baños came into the scene with sarcasm, defiance, and to a certain extent, enjoying his position of power over the 'snooty' Artur Mas. This only increases Mas' frustration: he is angry at everyone but at the same time he is obliged to exercise self-control. After the failed investitures in November, and the concessions made by Artur Mas to obtain CUP support, the pressure was now on Antonio Baños. *Polònia's* Baños shows his limits. He gets angry more quickly and he loses his sarcastic and carefree attitude. Whenever he is asked to give Artur Mas support, Baños appears fed-up, exasperated or willing to do anything in exchange for some peace of mind. Mas now dares to confront him, but Baños always manages to corner him with defiance. However, Baños now loses his own control and walks off. Finally, Mas can be seen clinging on to any chance of support to only end up frustrated all over again.

### 6.7 Political contingencies: Characters at extremes

There is consistency between the social stereotype evoked by a politician and their character on *Polònia*. Participants described Artur Mas and Antonio Baños by referring to a given social group whose existence they took for granted. They associated these social groups with a set of attributes assumed to be shared by their individual members. Those attributes then inform the main traits of the character that is acted on stage. Artur Mas is described as part of a very specific part of conservative Catalonia, and this makes him a role model of soberness, self-control, paternal leadership, and someone who seeks political power. Antonio Baños is described as part of a generation of Catalans less self-conscious in their relations with figures of authority; his political militancy imprints on him the calmness and carelessness of someone who does not seek political power. In the scripts, Baños shows his defiance with figures of authority mainly with his sarcastic or even 'badass' attitude, but at the same time, he cannot handle a position of power or authority.

The emotional traits were the most helpful to observe the connections between the evoked social stereotypes and the fictional characters crafted on *Polònia*. Those connections were made more evident or even exaggerated by the political contingencies that the characters had to endure across the analysed drama. How Artur Mas handled his frustration made clear the emotional self-control attributed to the 'conservative Catalan'. When he is on the edge of a fit of rage he controls himself, while Antonio Baños gives up quickly because he just wants the peace of mind of an 'intellectual man'. In the case of Baños, his most definite traits evolved from defiance to weariness, being fed-up; Mas moved from optimism, to frustration, eagerness, self-control. The emotional traits that appeared were dependant on the contingences. The very presence of Antonio Baños altered Artur Mas' mood, Antonio Baños' attitude was different according to his partner on stage: stronger with Mas than with Lluís Llach or Inés Arrimadas. Different disciplines have shown the use of emotional traits for the construction of social stereotypes as well as its impact on social life (Fabes and Martin, 1991; Heesacker et al., 1999; Fischer, 1993; Plant et al., 2000; Brescoll, 2016). In this regard, *Polònia* demonstrates its potential as a place to understand how social stereotypes can "portray a group as having a trajectory over the years as its qualities change" (Diekman and Eagly, 2000, p.1183).

The emotional traits of *Polònia's* characters are the materialisation of what has been called 'affect'. *Polònia* does not approach emotions as a form of effect on audiences caused by media content, as an important body of research has suggested (Brantner et al., 2011; Brader, 2005; Lerner et al., 2003; Gross, 2008; Rudolph et al., 2000). Instead, the data presented in this chapter shows that emotions also have a role to play in establishing a connection between a social stereotype and the politician. Together with the bodily expressions described in Chapter 4 and

the elements of voice analysed in Chapter 5, emotional traits are used by *Polònia*'s staff to reveal the kinds of 'deeper meaning' that are behind the 'sensuous surface' of the 'politician-icon'. Following Seigworth and Gregg (2009), emotions in *Polònia* are not an effect but an *affect*, something that "arises in the midst of in-between-ness: in the capacities to act and be acted upon". That "body's capacity to affect and to be affected" by "intensities that pass body to body [...] Affect is in many ways synonymous with force or forces of encounter" (p.3). Sarah Ahmed (2009, p.29) defines affect as "sticky": "Affect is what sticks, or what sustains or preserves the connection between ideas, values, and objects". Emotions such as fear of one another, she argues, "works to secure the relationship between [those] two bodies, it brings them together and moves them apart through the shudders that are felt on the skin, on the surface that surfaces through the encounter" (2004, p.63). Ahmed does not regard affect as a merely organic reaction of the body, instead, she says, it relates to greater structures in society acting upon the individual, which allows one body to be constructed as apart from another body (p.69) – therein lies the politics of affect.

This affective role of emotions emerged as part of the analysis and leaves more questions open for further research. The concepts of affect and re-fusion, as defined throughout this document, share the idea of the *in-between*, of something that happens as a result of encounters between people. The work of *Polònia*'s staff suggests that bodily expression, voice and affect had a role to play in fostering re-fusion between the politician and citizens. The fictional character crafted by participants somehow materialises the occurrence of re-fusion. Unfortunately this thesis cannot provide a deeper analysis in this regard, but it recognises the potential of this concept of affect – together with bodily experience and implicature mentioned in previous chapters – to understand the complexities of political communication. Kevin Barnhurst (2011, p.574) called for a displacement from media effect to 'media affect', towards an understanding of "the passions and moral judgments that drive political learning and socialization, political commitment and involvement, and political mediation and criticism". Barnhurst recognises aspects that have a major role to play in fostering representations but "seemed beyond the reach of social research before recent movements in social thought" (p.574).

An outcome of these three empirical chapters indicates that *Polònia* shows politics as the battle between different social stereotypes. In Chapter 5, participants said that they do not aim to imitate the real-life politician, they rather try to find what the politician looks like and then craft their impersonations based on that similarity. In Chapter 6 it was argued that *Polònia*'s staff do not care about the actual content of real-life politicians' utterances. Instead they are more interested in their own interpretations of what politicians say. If they do not imitate politicians or what they say, then what do they imitate? The answer is the social stereotype evoked by the

politician. This evocation is triggered by a bodily experience between politicians' bodies and their utterances' pragmatics elements. This is where the characters emerge from. Rather than from a thorough, systematic inspection of politicians' performances, impersonators pursue a lived introspection into their own personal experiences. The contact between impersonators and politicians is based on the connection of their personal attributes. As seen in this final empirical chapter, this approach can indeed provide an enriching account about the ongoing political processes. The next chapter returns to the research questions to provide answers in the light of these three empirical chapters, and it will discuss their contributions to political communications literature.



## Chapter 7:

# Personalisation of political communication: A tale of metaphors and social stereotypes

### 7.1 Introduction

This is the final chapter of the thesis, where I intend to make connections between the results shown in the previous chapters and relevant literature in political communication. In the first section I provide the reader with a reminder of the main ideas discussed in the early chapters. I offer: a summary of this document, including the formulation of the problem and its conceptual underpinnings; an outline of the methodology and the data collection techniques; and a brief account of the results presented in the previous three empirical chapters. Based on these results, I show in the second section the tentative answers for the posed research questions. For the main research question I answer that personal performance connects politicians with ideational social stereotypes. For the specific research question I give three answers, one for each concept: personal style is the part of the deeds for the politician to be charismatised with authority; contingencies do affect a politician's performance, because the system of background representation is impacted by unexpected developments in political affairs; and finally, I say that the text is relatively important to properly understand a politician's discourse because pragmatic elements of their voice also have a role to play in fostering representation. In the third section of this chapter I aim to contribute to the theoretical discussion about personalisation of political communication. My final argument is that data presented in this thesis has revealed the metaphorical nature of personalised forms of political communication so that the intended resemblance between politicians and groups of people might be one of the keys to understanding political representation.

### 7.2 Summary

This research project aimed to understand the role of politicians' personal attributes in the process of becoming the representative of a group of people. In Chapter 1 it was said that political communication literature had provided evidence to maintain that 'the personal' is indeed part of the contact between politicians and citizens. Concepts such as personalisation, tabloidisation or strategic framing have shown that, to a greater or lesser extent, media coverage of politics does include a personal ingredient. However, the normative nature of the dominant approach to this phenomenon has either downplayed its relevance or denounced its assumed detrimental effects for democratic values. This has prevented researchers uncovering the specific role of the personal in politics, and that is why it was proposed to adopt a less

normative and more interpretive approach. The theoretical elaboration presented in Chapter 2 argued that the role of the personal in politics was already observed by Max Weber in his concept of *charisma*, defined as the authority that a group of people attributes to an individual by virtue of their deeds. More recently, Michael Saward proposed that politicians' and audiences' interplay depends on a felicitous *representative claim* whereby the latter brings the former into being so that they become the one to stand for them. The articulation of that representative claim is materialised in a performance, as defined by Ervin Goffman, that is to say, in the activity of a politician in front of an audience. If the performance succeeds in motivating the audience to attribute authority to the politician, then a *re-fusion* is reached. Coined by Jeffrey Alexander, this concept implies a connection between the politician, the audience and the cultural symbols of a society. By putting together these three concepts, this thesis intended to look at how the personal attributes articulated in a performance can turn an individual into a political representative.

The concept of re-fusion, as defined by Jeffrey Alexander, informed the research design of this project. Chapter 3 offered an extensive revision of this concept and its implications for a methodology choice. Re-fusion's concept indicates that in simpler societies, the connection between leaders and followers occurred effortlessly because social actors, the system of cultural symbols, and the audiences were fused in a homogenous composite. However, as societies have become more complex, its elements have *de-fused*, so that social actors are compelled to *re-fuse* them by giving a convincing performance in front of others. A politician is therefore urged to make others believe that he or she, the background representations and the addressees are all the same thing. If this is the case, the performance is successful and the politician is charismatised with authority. The aim of the research design was to inquire into this re-fusing flow. Following Alexander's model to analyse social performances, it was proposed that a probing point into this flow can be located in political humour. Thus it was suggested that *Polònia*, a Catalan satirical TV show based on political impersonation, would be a good place to conduct this research. The methodology consisted of an ethnographic approach to *Polònia's* production. It was intended to gain a deep understanding of the interpretive process conducted by the programme-makers when crafting their impersonations and recording sketches. Methods involved interviews with production staff members, participant observation of recordings and rehearsals, and qualitative analysis of scripts. Data collection took place in 2015 and 2016, a period marked by uncertainty, two elections, and political negotiations, which impacted on the characteristics of the material gathered. Finally, the analysis was carried out with the intention of turning the impressions obtained in the field into valuable theoretical insights for the literature in political communication.



The analysis resulted in three empirical chapters in which data was presented in relation to relevant concepts taken from fields other than political communication. The results of those chapters are summarised as follows:

- Politicians are meaningful icons to be approached by a bodily experience

Chapter 4 described how *Polònia*-makers approached the body of the politician when crafting their impersonations. They said that the raw material for their characters does not reside in the politician's bodily expressions. Instead, they capture the sensations that they themselves experience in their own body as a consequence of the memories evoked by the politician's performance. It was proposed that politicians are not strategically fabricated shallow masks, instead, they are icons to be experienced. Participants try to have an embodied experience with the sensuous surface of the politician in order to connect with deeper meanings evoked by the surface.

- Politicians' discourse consists of the interplay of semantic and pragmatic elements

Chapter 5 described how actors craft the imitation of politicians' discourse. They neither produce a carbon copy of a politician's voice nor a strict citation of what they say. Politicians' speech is imitated first and foremost by looking at the intentions behind the words. Participants assume that politicians do not say what they really mean, but still provide some clues for the audience to infer their intentions. Impersonators subordinate words' literal meanings and deal with these utterances as 'implicatures' in which the intended meaning is to be worked out. By looking at the articulation of pragmatic elements, they can bring to light the intended meaning. This data complements the predominantly semantic-oriented analysis of politicians' discourse by giving weight to pragmatic elements of voice.

- Politicians incarnate social stereotypes, and politics is a struggle among those social stereotypes

Chapter 6 analysed *Polònia*'s characters. Participants neither imitate the politicians when crafting their characters nor copy their voices and textual content of their utterances. So, what is a character made of? Data triangulation showed that politicians' impersonations are the enactment of a social stereotype. Actors and actresses described politicians as 'the typical' kind of people, and the attributes of those stereotypes are consistent with the characters' traits acted on stage. The incessant emergence of political contingencies forces characters to change ideological positions, but at the same it makes more evident their connection with social stereotypes. As a conclusion of these three empirical chapters, it can be said that *Polònia* presents politics as the struggle between social stereotypes. Neither the politicians themselves

nor the content of their discourse is relevant for participants crafting their characters; they are rather mere inputs triggering memories of past experiences.

This section presented a brief summary of the main elements of this thesis. It included the formulation of the problem, the methodology and the results of the three empirical chapters. With this summary I complete the presentation of *Polònia's* production process. Its examination was aimed at characterising the interpretation process conducted by a hermeneutical power-holder, as defined by Jeffrey Alexander. As was noted in the introduction, the approach to political impersonation was merely instrumental because the focus of this project has been on politicians in connection with audiences. The previous three empirical chapters were designed to provide elements to comprehend politicians' personal performances, rather than comprehending impersonations of politicians. It would be welcome if readers drew from this thesis elements that will enrich their knowledge about political satire, but that is not what the research was about. In the next section I will connect what I have learnt from this ethnography with the research questions and the theoretical concepts informing them.

### 7.3 Research questions and tentative answers

This section provides tentative answers for the posed research questions. This project sought answers for a general question and also for a specific one. Data to sustain the answers is taken from the features of *Polònia's* production process described in the previous three empirical chapters. Research questions can be approached as follows:

#### *7.3.1 What is the role of a politician's personal performance in fostering political representation?*

The personal performance connects the politician with ideational social stereotypes, thereby connecting them with real-life groups of people. This connection relies, first and foremost, upon the embodied experience triggered by the politician's performance. Data presented in the previous three chapters about *Polònia's* production revealed that the performance given by a politician triggers memories of past experiences in the impersonator's body. These memories refer primarily to certain groups of people whose existence is taken for granted by actors and actresses, and the members of those groups are described according to assumedly shared characteristics. When crafting the characters to be acted on screen, participants match the sensations provoked by the politician in their own bodies with the ones experienced in previous contacts with individuals regarded as exemplars of a group of people. The experience with politicians can be described as twofold: on the one hand, there is an inspection of politicians'

personal attributes, and on the other is an introspection of participants' own memories. The point where the two meet is where re-fusion occurs. In *Polònia's* case, re-fusion resides in the bodily experience of these hermeneutical power-holders. This is where the politician becomes the best exemplar of a group of people.

The implications for political representation can be properly assessed when considered in connection with the conceptual framework presented in Chapter 2. For example, it was said that the cultural turn in sociology seeks an interpretation of those links between meaning and materiality that have been neglected by discipline (Edles, 2002, p.13). Cultural sociologists regard the materiality of everyday practices as the place for people's interaction with meaning structures (Woodward, 2012, p.672). Ideas and materiality are not discrete entities – they relate either because “material things and their uses are shaped by meanings” or because “meaning gets special power when embodied in materiality” (Alexander et al., 2012, p.18). If this fundamental assumption is accepted, then the ideational social stereotype evoked by the politicians connects them with people in real life. Politicians become the representative of a given group of people as long as their personal performance can replicate the material sensations that audience members have experienced in previous contacts with exemplars of that group. For this to happen, neither the politician nor the audience members should question the pre-existence of that group, they should rather share the *mutual belief* about their presence (Alexander, 2004a, p.528). *Polònia*-makers work under the assumption of the mutual belief in that idea, and the fact that their characters are recognised by the audience suggests that they are correct in this regard. It can be argued therefore, that a politician's representation emerges out of their ability to make the audience believe they are in fact the best exemplar of a stereotypical group, in other words, their ability to converge materiality and ideas.

A complementary reading can be suggested by using the concepts of ‘the representative claim’, coined by Michael Saward (2006). The representative claim is an act of communication between a leader-to-be and a group of people. By virtue of this act of communication, the leader characterises the group according to certain attributes and then presents him or herself as the one than can better stand for them. In Saward's words, “would-be political representatives, in this process of portrayal or representation of constituencies, make claims about themselves and their constituents and the links between the two; they argue or imply that they are the best representatives of the constituency *so understood*” (p.302. Emphasis in original). The representative claim, as defined by Saward, suggests that politicians hold poietic faculties, that is to say, they can bring a constituency into being by the act of representing it. The reading proposed in the previous paragraph is based on the assumption that the social stereotypes are pre-existent symbolic tool-kits (Swidler, 1986, p.273) with which the politician's performance

resonates (Snow and Benford, 1988, p.210; Benford and Snow, 2000, p.621-622). Instead, politicians' poietic faculty suggests that would-be representatives are compelled to agentially create ideational social stereotypes, and not merely draw upon them. So understood, politicians become representatives as long as they create the idea of a social stereotype. They can do so by triggering a material sensuous experience to make the audience believe in the plausibility of this idealisation. *Polònia's* work materialises the social stereotype intended by the politician by showing its bright side but also its limitations and contradictions.

Further research would be required to establish whether the social stereotype is created or cited by the politician's performance. Either way, the answer proposed for this research question remains: the personal performance connects the politician with social stereotypes and the connection takes the form of sensuous bodily experiences. This conclusion cannot be generalised. As with any other piece of research, its results are informed by the chosen methodology and its theoretical underpinnings. The construction of a fictional character in drama depends on bodily experience. *Polònia's* actors have to use their whole body to craft their impersonations. Perhaps a different case study would have prompted different results, for example if this project had involved political photographers or portrait-painters, the answer could have been different. However, the aim for generalisation is not at the core of an ethnographic approach. Instead, there has been the intention of bringing a genre which has been neglected into the discussion about personalisation of political communication, and its potential has been demonstrated (for further discussion see section 7.4). Political impersonation uses the personal attributes of politicians to create a plausible account of political affairs. *Polònia* is a highly personalised form of political communication with little place for normative approaches such as those outlined in Chapter 1. Here, the personal is everything.

### *7.3.2 What are the roles of text, contingencies and personal style in the whole performance?*

For this research question, three answers will be provided, one for each concept included. This specific research question addressed three blind-spots in the cultural-pragmatics model proposed by Jeffrey C. Alexander (2004a) to analyse performances. The roles of personal style, contingencies and text are not clear in the model. This specific research question can be answered as follows:

*Personal style: The charisma is in the details*

Not only do heroic deeds and incredible miracles prompt the attribution of charismatic authority, but very small details do too. The question about personal style emerged from one of the blind-spots of the cultural-pragmatics model proposed by Jeffrey Alexander to analyse performances. The author defines “the challenge of *mise-en-scène*” (2004a, p.554) as the necessity for actors to put into practice pre-existent patterned representations, but he does not consider the possibility that different actors can perform the same representation in different ways. For Maarten A. Hajer (2009) this challenge is overcome if individual performances are seen as part of a longer sequence (p.67), along which actors develop a “performative habitus” (Hajer and Uitermark, 2008, p.13). In this case, the personal is crushed by external circumstances that discipline the personal performance. The concept of personal style, as used in this research question, refers to the specific way in which each politician materialises the solutions for their own challenge of *mise-en-scène*. Data provided by the participants suggests that this challenge is overcome by the display of a countless number of small details consisting of bodily gestures, clothing, voice and more, which, when put together, helps the politician to become the walking and talking materialisation of a social stereotype. *Polònia*-makers, however, do not regard this enactment as a thoughtful strategy to cope with a difficult challenge, they rather think that the politicians’ connection with background representations emerges naturally in the fissures, disconnections, or contradictions present in a politician’s performance. These are the gateways to the liminality between the extraordinary and the ordinary (Finlayson, 2002) or the political and the popular (Corner, 2000).

This conclusion can be attributed to the natural bias of political satirists trained to locate humorous mistakes, but can still contribute to political communication research. The centrality attributed to personal style by participants is not present in the existing literature. Some authors mention that relevance given to a politician’s personal style in the media might represent democratic debate dumbing down (Kurtz, 1993. Cited in Esser, 1999, p. 293; Blumler and Gurevitch, 1995; Franklin, 1994; Meyer, 2002). This is also the assumption underlying the idea of the ‘Machiavellian mask’ mentioned in Chapter 4, with authors assuming that by looking more personal, politicians strategically try to draw citizens’ attention away from substantial politics. A definition of personal style and its political relevance is provided by Dick Pels (2003, p.45), who suggests that style refers to an ensemble of ways of speaking, acting, looking, displaying, and handling things, “which merge into a symbolic whole that immediately fuses matter and manner, message and package, argument and ritual”. It has political significance because in itself it offers means for political persuasion such as rhetoric, expression of sentiments and presentational techniques. On the side of the citizens, Pels also sees that judgements of personas and their

policy proposals normally have a holistic character expressed in phrases such as ‘she is not my type’, ‘that face does not inspire a lot of trust in me’, and ‘I don’t feel for such a view’. Pels also believes in the strategic use of personal style for political goals. For example, Pim Fortuyn, a Dutch politician assassinated during the 2002 national election campaign, “capitalised on his personality as a brand, radically blurring the boundaries between private life and public showtime. The human being behind the politician was so immediately foregrounded as to be effectively indistinguishable from the latter” (p.43).

For *Polònia*-makers, a politician’s personal style neither represents a risk for democracy nor is a strategic Machiavellian mask. Instead, it is part and parcel of politics and it emerges naturally in the awkwardness of politicians’ performances. It can be theorised that personal style helps politicians to be charismatised, to be attributed authority by virtue of their public actions. The definition provided by Max Weber and explained in Chapter 2 acknowledges the role of the performance for an individual to be charismatised. In Weber’s elaboration, public acts are what trigger the obedience of a number of followers. He mentions at least three examples of charismatic authority: the prophet, the leader in war, and the demagogue, all of whom are figures “personally recognised as the innerly ‘called’ leader of men” (1991, p.79). Followers’ obedience emanates from “personal trust in them and their revelation, their heroism or their exemplary qualities” (p.79). Those leaders are continuously compelled to demonstrate their ‘state of grace’, otherwise they would be at risk of being deserted because ‘virtue is gone out of them’. Basically, if someone “wants to be a prophet, he must perform miracles; if he wants to be a war lord, he must perform heroic deeds” (Weber, 1968b, p.22). Weber’s idea of charisma gives weight to the magnificence and grandiosity of politicians’ actions to prompt obedience; *Polònia* complements this by drawing attention to the simple and awkward small details of politicians’ performances.

*Contingencies: Politicians are contingent objects*

Political contingencies define the existence and the features of politicians. This part of the research question also addressed the ‘challenge of *mise-en-scène*’, but also recognises that the elements to which an actor refers in their performances are an ever-changing/permanent structure. In the cultural pragmatic model, Jeffrey Alexander regards background representations as a stable system, downplaying the impact of unexpected contingences in its configuration. This question considers this assumption and tries to ascertain how politicians materialise the necessary reference to the system of background representations that are moving and changing targets. The data has shown that the system of background representations is indeed dynamic. Different political dramas create different political

contingences, which reorganise politicians' positions within the constellation of power relations. Certain attributes of politicians are obscured or made more evident depending on their relation with other politicians. What is more, political contingencies can determine the very existence of a politician as a public person. The attributes of a politician are not only contingent on a specific context, but their very public existence is too.

This contingent nature of politicians is particularly evident in Chapter 6, where the negotiations between Antonio Baños and Artur Mas were examined. Both politicians were described by actors as the materialisation of a social stereotype and those descriptions are consistent with the characters' traits included in the script annotations. There is the permanent substrate consisting of the social stereotypes evoked by Baños and Mas, but the expression of their traits depends on who they are confronted with. Baños' defiant attitude is evident when confronted with the conservative patriarch represented by Mas; Mas' emotional self-control is typical of the former Catalan bourgeoisie, made clear when talking with his potential ally, Baños. But Antonio Baños is not so careless when he is confronted with less powerful characters, such as Lluís Llach or Inés Arrimadas, and Artur Mas' emotional repression gives place to anger when he has to talk with Raül Romeva or Felip Puig. It can be suggested that politicians connect with certain aspects of social stereotypes depending on the nature of the drama in which they are engaged. But there is a second element revealed by this data. Politicians exist only in certain dramas and disappear when that drama concludes. Antonio Baños' character was created only after his election as MCP and disappeared when the negotiations with Mas concluded. Artur Mas also lost importance in the show when his appointment as president of Catalonia failed. Artur Mas and Antonio Baños existed as such only in the negotiations drama – other than that, they were insignificant.

*Polònia* reveals that politicians can be regarded as 'contingent objects', a concept used by Maria Reicher (2011) to discuss the ontology of fictional characters in drama. "They do not exist necessarily", she says, "rather, they owe their existence to particular (human) activities through which they are created" (p.116). Reicher does recognise the limitation of this concept, because a character can be created without the necessity of a story, or the same character can appear in different stories. That is why she proposes a second definition: "characters are contingently existing incompletely determined abstract objects [which] can be considered to be parts of other contingently existing incompletely determined abstract objects, namely of works" (p.119). In other words, characters and stories inform each other. In the referenced case, Antonio Baños and Artur Mas needed the negotiations drama to exist in a particular form, but also the negotiations drama could not exist without the specific traits of Baños and Mas. Both the drama and the character are incomplete without each other. Again, the poietic faculties of politicians'

performances bubbles up. Not only can the representative claim create constituencies, but political dramas can also come into existence because of a politician's presence. Finally, it can be concluded that the system of background representations included in Jeffrey Alexander's model is dynamic. Political contingencies can affect its internal configuration. The position of a given social stereotype in this constellation of power relations changes and the salience of certain attributes of that social stereotypes also changes according to the nature of the ongoing drama. The ways in which politicians can precipitate new dramas or change the fate of ongoing ones can be a matter for further research.

*Text: Politics shall live not by semantics alone*

Text's role in the performance is relatively important in relation to other performative elements. This question intended to clarify the relevance of text in the whole personal performance. Jeffrey Alexander's model presents it as scripts organising action that can be "understood as constituting the performance's immediate referential text" (p.531). Other elements would be subordinated, because it is the text that provides the organisation and coherence, as Alexander (2004b) suggests in his account of the attacks on New York on 11<sup>th</sup> September 2001. David Apter (2006) also gives weight to text because it provides the performance with the necessary "narrative to be grounded to" (p.232). Goodman (2006) demonstrated that text can also work the other way around: other performative elements might take over speech as some political ideas than can hardly be put into practice by discourse only. Data included in the previous chapters, in particular Chapter 5, showed that text is relatively important in the whole performance. Actors and actresses can even dispense with the literal content of politicians' utterances to pay attention to their pragmatic features. The reason for them to disregard semantics is the distrust in politicians' textual messages. They assume that they are not saying what they really mean so there is no point in reading their text – as a result, they comprehend the whole voice of the politician.

This conclusion reinforces the observation made by Michael Saward when defining the representative claim. Saward recognises that institutional aspects (such as electoral laws, the frequency of elections, and vote-counting procedures) inform political representation; however, he gives more relevance to 'the performative' in the elaboration of the representative claim. Saward's conceptualisation of political representation "stresses its dynamic, claim-based character, its performative aspects", and in doing so, it "stresses the performative rather than the institutional side of representation" (2006, p.300). "Representing is performing, is action by actors, and the performance contains or adds up to a claim that someone is or can be 'representative'", he argues (p.302). The re-refusing flow captured by participants is made up of



a whole performance in which text is merely one constitutive element. Pragmatics can be even more important than semantics for establishing the connection between the politician and the social stereotype. Descriptions provided by actors stress the voice, accent and languages as the elements to consider when crafting their impersonations. Following Saward, such performative elements are also part of the representative claim, so there is also poetic potential in them. It might be the case that a politician manages to create a constituency with pragmatics rather than with semantics. This suggestion can also be a matter for further research; for example, to assess the impact of Albert Rivera's ability to shift languages from Catalan to Castilian in the Ciudadanos party's rise as a nationwide political force, or the role of paralinguistic features of Eulalia Reguant's public statements in the reception of CUP messages.

This section has presented the answers to the posed research questions. It was noted that personal performance connects the politicians with social stereotypes by means of a sensuous bodily experience. The small details of a politician's personal style help to prompt the re-fusing connection, especially when the awkwardness and simplicity of their contradictions and mistakes are made evident for the audience. Political contingences do affect the system of background representations to which politicians are compelled to refer in their performances. The power relations among social stereotypes are dynamic and the salience of their attributes is also contingent on the nature of the ongoing political drama in which politicians are involved. Text is not the only way for the politician to connect with the social stereotype in their discourses, instead, pragmatics plays a major role. The scripts for action include not only lines to be spoken, but also instructions on how to say them. Having answered the research questions, the next section presents a reflection about this thesis' contribution to the definition of personalised political communication.

The extent to which these conclusions can be applied to real-life politicians can be matter of debate. At the beginning of this thesis, it was stated that the interest was in the in-between of politicians and audiences. Lately, it was said that locating the cultural-pragmatics model as the centre of the research design implies understanding political representation as part of broader meaning-making processes present in society. The politician is therefore regarded as in relation to the background representations, as suggested in Jeffrey Alexander's model and finally, politics is seen as embedded in popular culture. This means that the real-life politicians were not relevant as a category of analysis from the very beginning of this research project. What really mattered was the way in which they relate to the broader cultural background and the audience. This interest was confirmed when participants made a clear distinction between imitation and impersonation. Imitation has to do with 'being like' the real-life politician, while impersonating was all about crafting a fictional character out of the politician. For participants, the real-life

politician is a mere input which must be analysed in relation to other referents, and this is how they manage to unlock what the politician represents. Political representation does not emerge out of the politicians themselves, but from how they are positioned in constellation of meaningful relation with other cultural symbols. So, can these conclusions be applied to real-life politicians? Maybe, but it was not the aim of this project. What is more, I would go so far as to say that the 'real politician' is useless as analytical category. Instead it would be more enriching to incorporate to political communication analysis this idea of character to name that something that happens in between of politicians and audiences.

#### 7.4 Personalised political communication as a metaphor of our everyday experiences

Data presented in this thesis reveals the metaphorical nature of personalised forms of political communication. This reflection does not directly address the research questions, instead it aims to enrich the conceptualisation of the personal. It emerged out of the data analysis process and its difficulties, in particular, the translation of the original material from Castilian or Catalan into English. In the interviews, actors described the participants by using figurative language, the same with the annotations present in the scripts and the instructions given by producers to the cast during the rehearsals. This posed a major challenge because rather than merely providing a literal translation, it was necessary to interpret the intention behind the literal wording of material collected in another language. From this process, the metaphorical nature of *Polònia* was made evident. The programme uses its characters to provide a metaphorical account of political affairs. The whole process, from the very first approach of the politician to be impersonated to the enactment of the characters is based on figurative language. The implications of this feature for the study of politics will be discussed in this section.

The dominant approach in political communication literature has not grasped this metaphorical nature of genres beyond journalism. As noted in Chapter 1, this body of literature has been more concerned with the role of entertaining genres in fostering democratic values. The assumption is that 'information' is the main contribution that media outlets can make to democracy, so that entertainment has little to do in this regard. What can be concluded from the analysis conducted throughout this thesis is that *Polònia* does far more than just provide information for citizens to make considered decisions. The programme provides metaphors from which no literal information can be obtained. Although the negotiation between Antonio Baños and Artur Mas did exist, they never engaged in the conversations enacted in the analysed sketches. Several politicians were imitated by uttering catchphrases they had never pronounced, or wearing clothes they had never worn. This does not mean that *Polònia's* producers were telling lies, they

were merely referring to something other than the real-life politicians themselves: they referred instead to audiences' own experiences with social stereotypes.

What *Polònia* provides is experiential metaphor, as defined by Lakoff and Johnson. Metaphor is widely recognised as a phenomenon occurring in language, used to "refer to something other than it was originally applied to, or what it 'literally' means, in order to suggest some resemblance or to make a connection between the two things" (Knowles and Moon, 2006, p.3). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) go beyond this definition and connect the creation and use of metaphors with individuals' everyday experiences. For them, the "essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (p.5). This "experiential basis" (Knowles and Moon, 2006, p.44) of metaphors can be explained with two examples provided by Lakoff and Johnson: the metaphor 'more is up' correlates with the experience of adding more of a substance and seeing the level of the substance rise. This would be an 'experiential co-occurrence'. The second example is the metaphor 'Life Is a Gambling Game' where the possible consequences of actions in life are perceived as winning or losing. In this case, there is an 'experiential similarity' (p.155). The creation of a metaphor also informs how new experiences are conceptualised into new metaphors, say Lakoff and Johnson. For example, 'swallowing food' exists in its own right, but the 'swallowing ideas' metaphor exists once the '*Ideas Are Food*' metaphor is conceived (p.148).

The interplay of experience and language in the formulation of metaphors has consequences in politics. Lakoff himself elaborates on the relationship of using certain metaphorical concepts and the course of action taken by political actors. In his analysis of how US conservatives use metaphors to refer to morality, Lakoff (1995) finds explanations for their policy proposals. One of the formulas used by conservatives is Moral as Strength (p.186), in which evil is a force that can make people commit immoral acts, "thus, to remain upright, one must be strong enough 'to stand up to the evil'. Hence, morality is conceptualised as strength, as having the 'moral fibre', or 'backbone' to resist evil". If this moral strength has to do with *internal* evils, continues Lakoff, the 'self-control' arises as a virtuous opposite to the immoral 'self-indulgence'. Morality as Strength underlies conservative opposition to the provision of condoms among youngsters in order to control teen pregnancy, or giving clean needles to drug addicts as part of HIV control and prevention policies. "This is seen as promoting the evil of self-indulgence; the morally strong should be able to 'just say no'. The morally weak are evil and deserve what they get", explains Lakoff (p.188).

The observed production process of *Polònia* revealed itself to be a place where experience and language converge. It was argued in Chapter 4 that the approach conducted by actors to craft their characters is based on an "iconic consciousness", as defined by Jeffrey Alexander (2010c).

This lived experience activates the “deeper meanings” lying below the “sensuous surface” of the politician-icon. In Chapter 5 it is said that politicians speak through implicatures, that is to say, by utterances conveying an inexplicit meaning that has to be worked out. The meaning is not obvious, as is the case with metaphors. Paul Grice (1975, p.53) has recognised metaphors as a form of implicature, which “characteristically involve categorical falsity but the speaker is attributing the audience a certain feature for it to resemble the mentioned substance”. Yet again, the experience with a politician’s voice plays a key role in helping participants to unveil the inexplicit. The combination of the multiple experiences of actors, make-up artists, costume designers, scriptwriters, producers and others are finally materialised in the fictional characters interacting on screen. The production of *Polònia*’s language is mediated by a lived experience, or as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) suggest, the crafting of the show is based on “understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (p.5). In this case, *understanding and experiencing* the interaction among politicians in terms of social stereotypes.

*Polònia* demonstrates the potential of genres other than journalism to grasp the metaphorical side of personalised political communication. There are studies about political cartoons that have explored this potential as a device for ‘visual rhetoric’ (Morris, 1993), or the use of metaphors in their production (Popa, 2013) and the role of figurative language in the audience’s reception of those fictions (El Refaie, 2009). To exploit such potential it is necessary to bring into question certain categories. As Kees Brants (1998) mentions, in the field of political communication, media genres can be situated along a continuum running from information to entertainment. Van Zoonen (2005) criticises those who maintain this distinction, firstly because their “arguments reproduce an authoritarian distinction between elites and masses, or at least propose that democracy will be better off if the masses think and act like elites” (p.15). And secondly, because information and entertainment are approached as media effect. Instead Van Zoonen calls for an examination of how entertainment enables audience members to perform as citizens. Delli Carpini and Williams (2001, p.165) observe that “the difficulty of even naming both categories highlights the artificiality of this distinction”. They also point out that this “structural walling off of news from nonnews reified what was essentially a socially constructed distinction”, which served to privilege certain gatekeepers – journalists, policy experts, public officials, academics – and genres in the process of constructing political reality.

To understand the metaphor of political communication, genres should be categorised in a different continuum: one running from veracity-oriented genres to verisimilitude-oriented ones. The former proposing a literal approach to their content and the latter offering a figurative reading grounded in everyday experiences. The use of metaphors makes any literal reading of *Polònia*’s sketches impossible at a structural level (Way, 1994, p.14). *Polònia*’s sketches are

purely verisimilitude-oriented, from which no literal reading can be conducted. Again, following Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p.4), “our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature”. According to the authors, the use of figurative language emerges spontaneously so that verisimilitude would be a less contrived form of communication than veracity. As a result, *Polònia* brings politics back from the literal, veracity-oriented journalism to a more natural form of figurative communication. *Polònia*, as a verisimilitude-oriented genre, is not a place to seek veracity, instead, its contribution for political communication research lies in its potential to understand the metaphorical and its role in politics.

Political representation has a metaphorical component whereby a person means a group of people and the personalised form of political communication, such as *Polònia*, reveals how this process takes place. However, the assumptions of the normative approach are what turns this into a political risk. As noted in Chapter 1, the main perspective in the field assumes a dichotomy between the personal and the wellbeing of democracy. Instead of dichotomy, media content about politics that gives prominence to the politician’s personal attributes exploits the resemblance, the meaningful relations between the personal and the political. It could be hypothesised that the metaphorical representation of a group of people carried out by a politician is what explains popular enchantment with politics, rather than the rational choice among different alternatives to administer conflicting interests. Regardless, this is merely a suggestion for further research to discuss the metaphorical side of political representation.

In the opening lines of this thesis it was said that something happens when politicians interact with citizens – that a fundamental energy is released in such encounters between political leaders and ordinary people – an energy that connects them – that can transform the ways in which both politicians and audiences conceive of each other. Continuing with the aforementioned idea that politics can be regarded as a metaphor of our lives, it can be hypothesised that audiences see themselves in the political theatre. This is not suggesting that politics is mere posturing, instead, it suggests that audiences’ engagement with politics has to do with the metaphorical nature of their relationship with politicians. When doing their job, politicians are portraying us and other groups of our interest, and also the power relations among them. Of course this will trigger popular attention whatever the political system in which this happens. Whether in democracy, dictatorship, or monarchy, everyone will want to hear of what is being said about them, and politics seems to be the forum to attend to this desire. Personalised political communication exposes politicians as the resemblance of groups, not just as cognitive shortcuts, but also as devices to have the vicarious experience of participating in this theatre.

Without considering these metaphorical elements and the personal resemblance of politicians and supporters, it is difficult to understand phenomena such as those mentioned in Chapter 1. Perhaps protesting Donald Trump's election as president of the United States is protesting the rise of the typical male chauvinist US businessman, and for the same reason, others might decide to defend him. Perhaps Barack Obama was cheered in Berlin as if he himself was all the discriminated people overcoming the inequalities of a racist society. Pelting the statue of Francisco Franco with eggs might have felt like humiliating the typical Francoists who abound in Spain, and the indifference with Pope Francis could have been a sort of punishment to those typical Chilean Curia members who have denied or downplayed the child abuse committed by Catholic priests. With the data presented in this thesis, this projection can only be hypothesised and further research can be suggested. However, this was the initial aim of this project: hypothesising the existence of something that manifests itself in consequences of the interplay between politicians and common people.



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## Appendix 1: Ethical Approval

Performance, Governance and Operations  
 Research & Innovation Service  
 Charles Thackrah Building  
 101 Clarendon Road  
 Leeds LS2 9LJ Tel: 0113 343 4873  
 Email: [ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk](mailto:ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk)



**UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS**

Mario Álvarez Fuentes  
 School of Media and Communication  
 University of Leeds  
 Leeds, LS2 9JT

**PVAC & Arts joint Faculty Research Ethics Committee  
 University of Leeds**

2 June 2015

Dear Mario

**Title of study**      **The post-protest politician: Challenges for the personal performance given by politicians that led protests and now aim to become part of the government. The case of Podemos in Spain<sup>64</sup>.**

**Ethics reference**   **PVAR 14-057, amendment May 2015**

I am pleased to inform you that your amendment to the research application listed above has been reviewed by the Deputy Chair of the Arts and PVAC (PVAR) Faculty Research Ethics Committee and following receipt of your response to the Committee's initial comments, I can confirm a favourable ethical opinion as of the date of this letter, with the following comments:

- This is approved on the condition that you obtain formal agreement in writing (email or letter) from each company separately (which needs to be kept on file) and do not start collecting data until the point that you have this agreement.

The following documentation was considered:

Document	Version	Date
PVAR 14-057 amendment May 2015 researcher's response.txt	1	01/06/15
PVAR 14-057 amendment May 2015 Amendment_form (2).doc	2	13/05/15
PVAR 14-057 amendment May 2015 signed form.pdf	1	13/05/15
PVAR 14-057 amendment May 2015 APPENDIX I RECRUITMENT EMAIL (2).docx	2	13/05/15
PVAR 14-057 amendment May 2015 APPENDIX II PARTICIPANT CONSENT (2).docx	2	13/05/15

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<sup>64</sup> This was the original project's title used to obtain the authorisation from the Research Ethics Committee to start approaching potential interviewees in May 2015. In August 2015, the committee authorised a new project's title: "How do ideas and performances relate in politics?" No additional amendment was required.

PVAR 14-057 amendment May 2015 APPENDIX III INFORMATION SHEET (2).docx	2	13/05/15
PVAR 14-057 amendment May 2015 APPENDIX IV NP INFORMATION SHEET (2).docx	2	13/05/15
PVAR 14-057 amendment May 2015 APPENDIX V NP POSTER.docx	1	13/05/15

Please notify the committee if you intend to make any further amendments to the original research as submitted at date of this approval as all changes must receive ethical approval prior to implementation. The amendment form is available at <http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAmendment>.

Please note: You are expected to keep a record of all your approved documentation, as well as documents such as sample consent forms, and other documents relating to the study. This should be kept in your study file, which should be readily available for audit purposes. You will be given a two week notice period if your project is to be audited. There is a checklist listing examples of documents to be kept which is available at <http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAudits>.

We welcome feedback on your experience of the ethical review process and suggestions for improvement. Please email any comments to [ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk](mailto:ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk).

Yours sincerely

Jennifer Blaikie  
Senior Research Ethics Administrator, Research & Innovation Service  
On behalf of Dr Kevin Macnish, Chair, [PVAR FREC](#)

CC: Student's supervisor(s)

## Appendix 2: Authorisation Letter Minoria Absoluta



Registre Mercantil de Barcelona, volum 32202  
foli 200, full 0, 207088, minoria 2ª  
NIF: B90398824, Domicili fiscal  
c/ Doctor Trias i Pedra 175, 3r. 08005 Barcelona

Estimado Mario Alvarez,

Por medio de esta carta te autorizamos para realizar el trabajo de campo para tu proyecto de investigación de doctorado en las instalaciones de la productora Minoria Absoluta en Barcelona, España.

La autorización comprende la posibilidad de que realices observación participante en las reuniones de preparación, ensayos y grabaciones del programa Polonia, así como también para que puedas negociar con miembros del equipo de producción para que ellos, individualmente, te concedan entrevistas sobre la producción de los personajes de Polonia. Las fechas específicas para realizar tu trabajo de campo dependerán de cuándo se realicen las elecciones generales españolas.

Podrás estar presente en las reuniones de producción y realizar preguntas de clarificación si lo estimas necesario. Si miembros del equipo estiman que no es conveniente su presencia en la reunión, se te solicitará que te retires de la sala. Lo mismo aplica para ensayos y grabaciones. Tal como los demás miembros del equipo, deberás permanecer en estricto silencio cuando el director o coordinador de estudio lo soliciten. Deberás procurar no entorpecer el trabajo de los miembros del equipo, incluyendo actores, camarógrafos, técnicos, quienes te pueden solicitar retirarte de ciertos lugares para realizar su trabajo.

Si estás interesado en realizar entrevistas con miembros del equipo, deberás solicitarlas individualmente con ellos y cada uno deberá autorizarte. Esta carta no representa la voluntad de otros miembros del equipo para conceder entrevistas. La realización de esas entrevistas no debe entorpecer el desarrollo de sus actividades en Minoria Absoluta.

Barcelona, a 4 de septiembre de 2015

Atentamente:

Anna Pujol  
Responsable de prensa y comunicación  
MINORIA ABSOLUTA

FOR FULL TRANSLATION SEE NEXT PAGE

Dear Mario Álvarez

This letter is the authorisation for you to conduct the fieldwork for your Phd research project within the facilities of the producing company Minoría Absoluta located in Barcelona, Spain.

This authorisation involves your participation in the preparatory meetings, rehearsals, and recordings of the TV show *Polònia* as well as for you to approach other staff-members to know if they are keen to concede individuals interviews about the production of *Polònia's* characters. The specifics dates to conduct this fieldwork will depend on when the Spanish General Election takes place.

You will be allowed to take part in the meetings and ask some specific questions to clarify when you think it is necessary. If any staff-member considers your presence is inconvenient for the meeting, you will be required to leave the room. The same applies for rehearsals and recordings. As any other staff-member, you must remain strictly silent when it is required by either the director or studio coordinator. You do not have to disturb the job of any other staff-member, including actors, cameramen, technicians, and others. They may ask you to go away from some places if they fill disturbed or interrupted in their duties.

If you are interested in conducting interviews with other staff-members, you will have to negotiate them individually and each participant will have to authorise. This letter does not represent the willingness of other staff-members to give you an interview. The conduction of these interviews must not interrupt interviewees' activities in Minoría Absoluta

Barcelona, September 4, 2015

Yours sincerely,

(Signature)

Anna Pujol

Press and communication manager

MINORÍA ABSOLUTA



## Appendix 3: Amendment approval

Research & Innovation Service  
 Level 11, Worsley Building  
 University of Leeds  
 Leeds, LS2 9NL  
 Tel: 0113 343 4873  
 Email: [ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk](mailto:ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk)



**UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS**

Mario Álvarez Fuentes  
 School of Media and Communication  
 University of Leeds  
 Leeds, LS2 9JT

**Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Cultures Research Ethics Committee  
 University of Leeds**

16 February 2017

Dear Mario

**Title of study**            **The post-protest politician: Challenges for the personal performance given by politicians that led protests and now aim to become part of the government. The case of Podemos in Spain.**

**Ethics reference**        **PVAR 14-057 amendment Nov 2016**

I am pleased to inform you that the above research application has been reviewed by the Faculty of Arts, Humanities and Cultures Research Ethics Committee and following receipt of your response to the Committee's initial comments, I can confirm a favourable ethical opinion as of the date of this letter. The following documentation was considered:

Document	Version	Date
PVAR 14-057 amendment Nov 2016 Amendment NOV 2016 (2).doc	1	23/11/2016
PVAR 14-057 amendment Nov 2016 APPENDIX VI AMENDEMENT REGARDING ANONIMITY.docx	1	23/11/2016
PVAR 14-057 amendment Nov 2016 Appendix VI amendment - Model Participant Consent Form. Version Nov-2016.docx	1	23/11/2016
INFORMATION SHEET.docx	1	10/02/2017
PVAR 14-057 amendment Nov 2016 further information requested.msg	1	10/02/2017

Committee members made the following comments about your application:

- The amended information sheet is clear, with further details re: confidentiality and anonymity, however there are still issues with the consent form.

It states:

*Please, read the following statements and the questions below. If you agree, tick on the box YES, if you disagree, tick on the box NO. If you have agreed in all the questions, write your name and sign the form at the end of the document.*

If one needs to agree to ALL the questions to sign the form off, then the prospective participant would need to agree to both Q11 (yes I'm happy to be identified) and Q12 (I'd prefer not to be identifiable) which doesn't make sense.

- Please revise the consent form so 1) there are Yes/No boxes, and 2) there is no ambiguity for the participant, i.e. the instruction needs changing to 'once you have ticked your response to all statements, please write your name and sign the form' to allow for possible 'No' they don't want to be identified.

Please notify the committee if you intend to make any amendments to the information in your ethics application as submitted at date of this approval as all changes must receive ethical approval prior to implementation. The amendment form is available at <http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAmendment>.

Please note: You are expected to keep a record of all your approved documentation, as well as documents such as sample consent forms, and other documents relating to the study. This should be kept in your study file, which should be readily available for audit purposes. You will be given a two week notice period if your project is to be audited. There is a checklist listing examples of documents to be kept which is available at <http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAudits>.

We welcome feedback on your experience of the ethical review process and suggestions for improvement. Please email any comments to [ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk](mailto:ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk).

Yours sincerely

Victoria Butterworth  
Research Ethics Administrator, Research & Innovation Service  
On behalf of Dr Kevin Macnish, Chair, [PVAR FREC](#)

CC: Student's supervisor

## Appendix 4: Ethics Committee audit report

Performance, Governance and Operations  
 Research & Innovation Service  
 Charles Thackrah Building  
 101 Clarendon Road  
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**UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS**

## Faculty Research Ethics Committee audit report template

### Instructions for the auditors:

*Any potential conflicts of interest should be declared to the FREC chair and Senior Research Ethics Administrator in advance of the audit.*

*Introduce yourselves and explain the purpose of the audit (to update the Ethics Committee on how your project progressed and whether any unforeseen ethical or wider research issues were raised and also to give you the opportunity to give feedback to the Committee.)*

*Obtain answers to the questions below. It is preferable to ask the researcher what they are doing rather than whether what they are doing differs from their ethics application. Eg for question 3 you could ask them to talk through the process used for recruiting participants.*

*NB these comments will be returned to the researcher.*

Name (first name, surname)	Mario Álvarez Fuentes (Supervisors: Stephen Coleman & Kevin Barnhurst)
Title of study	The post-protest politician: Challenges for the personal performance given by politicians that led protests and now aim to become part of the government. The case of Podemos in Spain.
Ethics reference (eg AREA 13-085)	PVAR 14-057
Research end date	31/12/2018

1. Check the project file using the [audit checklist](#) and make a note of any missing documents. Comments:

No missing documents. The documentation was kept in the project file which is stored in a locked cabinet in the researcher's work place.

2. Have there been any changes to the way the project is carried out since the project received ethical approval?

Yes [ ]      No [ N ]

If yes, please provide brief details.

3. Were the participants recruited in accordance with the description in the ethics application form?

Yes [ Y ]      No [ ]

If not, please provide brief details

4. Was informed consent obtained in accordance with the description in the ethics application form?

Yes [ Y ]      No [ ]

If not, please provide brief details

The researcher had an approx. 5 mins briefing session with potential participants prior to the interviews and those who agreed to take part in the study signed the written consent forms.

5. Are the methods of maintaining confidentiality or anonymity different from those in your application?

Yes [ ]      No [ N ]

If yes, please explain how they have changed

6. Was the data collected in accordance with the description in the ethics application form?

Yes [ Y ]      No [ ]

If not, please provide brief details

7. Are the research data and participants' personal data being stored in accordance with the description in the ethics application form?

Yes [ ]      No [ N ]

If not, please provide brief details

While interview transcripts are being stored on the M drive (as indicated in the application form), large data files are stored on OneDrive given the capacity of M drive is insufficient. This storage is similarly secure.

Some personal data (names and length of the participant's association with the show) are not currently stored separately from research data. Specifically, identifying information is embedded in some material such as interview transcripts and identifiable videos.

The researcher commented that he would contact the ethics committee for further advice about identifiable data.

8. Did any unforeseen ethical issues arise during the research?

Yes [ ]      No [ N ]

If yes, please provide brief details.

9. Any comments on the ethical review process

The researcher commented that that the process was useful, making him more aware of the ethical dimensions of his research. He also commented that potential participants in Spain were impressed by the rigour of the ethical approach, which further encouraged their participation.

He also commented that it had been an interesting challenge to take into consideration the ethical needs of 'non-participants' in the observational component of his work.

The researcher commented that he did not receive much communication from his supervisor during fieldtrips, and this was a concern as it impacted on the monitoring of his safety. While safety monitoring was an outcome of the risk assessment for the project, the researcher wanted to raise that more could be done by the university/ supervisor to monitor the safety of PhD students on fieldtrips.

10. Auditors' additional comments

--

Name of auditor(s): \_\_\_\_\_ Freya Bailes \_\_\_\_\_

Name of auditor(s): \_\_\_\_\_ Vien Cheung \_\_\_\_\_

Date completed: \_\_\_\_\_ 26<sup>th</sup> May 2016 \_\_\_\_\_

*Note for auditors: Within one week of the audit taking place the completed form should be emailed to the FREC Chair, with a copy to the Senior Research Ethics Administrator, [J.M.Blaikie@leeds.ac.uk](mailto:J.M.Blaikie@leeds.ac.uk) as well. Copies of FMH audit reports should also be sent to [FMHUniEthics@leeds.ac.uk](mailto:FMHUniEthics@leeds.ac.uk).*

**To be completed by the FREC Chair:**

Audit outcome

Satisfactory [ X ]

Requires improvement [ ]

Comments:

This is a very encouraging audit. Good to see that the research was carried out in accordance with the initial application and great to hear a) that the researcher gained from the process; and b) that the care taken encouraged participation by potential participants.

Give details of any actions required of the researcher(s)

Regarding personal data, the researcher should refer to the University's Information Protection Policy

The researcher should also feed back to his supervisor (if he has not already done so) regarding the lack of communication. If this is a common concern then it could be worth flagging this also to the Head of School and Faculty Health and Safety in order that better procedures can be put in place in the future to help prevent this from happening again to other researchers.

Name of FREC Chair: \_\_\_Dr Kevin Macnish\_\_\_\_\_

Date completed: \_\_\_26/05/16\_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix 5: Poster for non-participants

(Translated version)

(Mario's picture)

Who is that guy?

He is Mario Alvarez Fuentes, a Phd student in Communication Studies from the University of Leeds, England.

What is he doing here?

Mario is here to conduct the fieldwork of his research project The post-protest politician: Challenges for the personal performance given by politicians.

What does it mean?

Mario will conduct a number of interviews with several members of the staff and in some cases he will take part in staff's activities such as meetings, rehearsals, discussions, and evaluations.

What about me?

If Mario has not approached you to explain the project it means that he is not primarily interested in your job so that he not authorised to collect data about you and your activities. You will not be mentioned in any report.

What if he changes his mind about me?

Mario cannot collect data about you and your activities without your formal authorisation. If Mario changes his mind and wants to include you in his project he has to give you an information sheet designed for participants, explain in-depth the project's features and he has to give you an Informed Consent Form for you to sign it if you want to take part.

Who did authorise this?

Mario's presence here has been authorised by the company's management. Anyway if he is disturbing your activities do not hesitate to let him know and he will do as you ask him.

If you have any question or you require any further information about the project, please do not hesitate to ask me or my Phd supervisor. Find our details below



## Appendix 6: Amended Participant Consent Form

**Model Participant Consent Form for Polònia's staff****CHANGES IN RED FONT**

Project's title: How do performance and ideas relate in politics.

Researcher name: Mario Antonio Álvarez Fuentes

Student ID: 200665121

Involved institution: University of Leeds

Please, read the following statements and the questions below. If you agree, tick on the box YES, if you disagree, tick on the box NO. If you have agreed in all the questions, write your name and sign the form at the end of the document.

- I. This PhD research project is about the challenges for the personal performance given by politicians. The mains political leaders in Spain and Catalonia are the case study. You are being requested to take part as member of the Polònia production company Minoría Absoluta. What is expected from you is a number of interviews about your professional practices as well as permission to take part and observe your daily routines while the show is produced.
  1. Do you understand what this project is about?
  2. Do you understand what you participation consist of?
  
- II. You have been given an information sheet with more details about the project and you have had a conversation with the researcher to clarify further questions. The researcher will be also available to answer any other question whether while this fieldwork takes place or once it has finished.
  3. Have you received enough information to understand the project?
  4. Do you know that you can keep asking questions and requiring more information even after having decided to take part in the research?
  
- III. For any reason you can withdraw from the project and you do not have to justify your decision. You can withdraw from the project up to 12 months after interviews and observation have finished, in that case any information provided and collected about you will be destroyed.

5. Do you understand that you can stop taking part if you change your mind?
6. Do you understand that you do not need to justify your withdrawal?

**IV.** This project focuses on your professional practices as member of the Minoría Absoluta production company. All the interviews and observations will strictly focus on these practices. You can limit the access of the researcher to certain places or conversations that you think are not suitable for the research

7. Do you understand that during the observation you can limit the access of the researcher to certain places or conversations that you think are not suitable for the research?
8. Do you understand that during the interviews you don't have to answer any questions you don't want to?
9. Do you understand that you do not have to justify these decisions?

**V.** All the data collected about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. Any data-transfer will be made by University of Leeds encrypted system. Data will be made accessible only for the project supervisor, Professor Stephen Coleman, and co-supervisor, Doctor Katy Parry.

10. Do you understand that the information you provide will be confidential?
11. Do you give permission for Professor Coleman and Doctor Parry to access the data?

**VI.** Only if you accept, your name, your position and the time you have been working in Polònia would be included in conference presentations, academic publications and the final thesis (i.e: Rubén Marcos, actor in the TV show since 2015). If you don't want to be identified, you will be cited with pseudonyms (i.e. participant 1). Recordings and notes of your activities will be used only for analysis. No other use will be made of recordings and notes without your written permission, and no one outside the project will be allowed access to the original recordings.

11. Do you accept be identified in conference presentations, academic publications and the final thesis?
12. Do you prefer not to be identifiable at all and be cited with pseudonyms?
13. Do you understand that the researcher has to obtain your written permission for using your personal data in instances not mentioned in question 11?

**VI.** If during the interviews or during the observation of your routines some sensitive issues arise you do not have to answer questions, disclose information, or let the researcher have access to activities, discussions or any other instance that you think may be sensitive for you, your position in the production company, and for the company in general. If you still want let the researcher have access to sensitive issues, you can ask him for additional anonymisation procedures that conform to your concerns.

12. Do you understand that you do not have to answer questions about issues that you consider sensitive?

13. Do you understand that you can restrict the access of the researcher to instances or places where you think that sensitive issues may arise?

14. Do you understand that you can require additional anonymisation procedures if any sensitive issue arises?

15. Do you want to take part?

This consent for is signed by me (Name and surname). I work in the production company Minoría Absoluta in Barcelona, Spain. This consent represents only my willingness to take part in the aforementioned research project. Other members have to sign their own consent if they want to take part.

Name

Position

Date

Signature

## Appendix 7: Script Chicago Ciutadans

1.	<b>Watch here:</b> <a href="https://youtu.be/M1PTSekhmz8">https://youtu.be/M1PTSekhmz8</a>	
2.		
3.	G11-28P – MAIN STAGE:	G11-28P – GAG PLATÓ:
4.	<b>“CHICAGO - CIUTADANS” - OK</b>	<b>“CHICAGO - CIUTADANS” - OK</b>
5.	POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 374	POLÒNIA / TEMPORADA 11 / PGM 374
6.	RECORDING DATE:	DATA GRAVACIÓ:
7.	<b>OFF:</b> JOURNALIST 1 SONG AND RIVERA – WEDNESDAY, 30 SEPTEMBER 2015	<b>OFF</b> CANÇÓ PERIODISTA 1 I RIVERA – DIMECRES, 30 SETEMBRE 2015
8.	REST OF THE SKETCH – THURSDAY, 1 OCTOBER 2015	RESTA GAG – DIJOUS, 1 OCTUBRE 2015
9.	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////
10.		
11.	<b>CAST:</b>	<b>CÀSTING:</b>
12.	INÉS ARRIMADAS                      LARA DíEZ	INÉS ARRIMADAS                      LARA DíEZ
13.	ALBERT RIVERA                        SERGI CERVERA	ALBERT RIVERA                        SERGI CERVERA
14.	JOURNALIST 1                            IVAN LABANDA	PERIODISTA 1                            IVAN LABANDA
15.	JOURNALIST 2                            ORIOL VILA	PERIODISTA 2                            ORIOL VILA
16.	JOURNALIST 3                            AGNÈS BUSQUETS	PERIODISTA 3                            AGNÈS BUSQUETS
17.	JOURNALISTS                            EXTRAS	PERIODISTES                            FIGURACIÓ
18.		
19.	<b>SET:</b>	<b>LOCALITZACIÓ:</b>
20.	CYCLORAMA – SET CIUTADANS’ PRESS CONFERENCE AT ELECTION NIGHT.	SET CICLORAMA - ESCENARI CIUTADANS RODA DE PREMSA DE LA NIT ELECTORAL
21.	<a href="http://6www.ecestaticos.com/imagestatic/clipping/6c8/c69/529/6c8c69529c0ec8307a2e22828cce44b1.jpg?mtime=1443435836">http://6www.ecestaticos.com/imagestatic/clipping/6c8/c69/529/6c8c69529c0ec8307a2e22828cce44b1.jpg?mtime=1443435836</a>	<a href="http://6www.ecestaticos.com/imagestatic/clipping/6c8/c69/529/6c8c69529c0ec8307a2e22828cce44b1.jpg?mtime=1443435836">http://6www.ecestaticos.com/imagestatic/clipping/6c8/c69/529/6c8c69529c0ec8307a2e22828cce44b1.jpg?mtime=1443435836</a>
22.		
23.	<b>REFERENCE TAPE:</b>	<b>VTR REFERÈNCIA:</b>
24.	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C9dFKRZ8EbU">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C9dFKRZ8EbU</a>	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C9dFKRZ8EbU">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C9dFKRZ8EbU</a>
25.		
26.	<b>CHICAGO - CIUTADANS</b>	<b>CHICAGO - CIUTADANS</b>
27.		
28.	<b>INT. NIGHT</b>	<b>INT. NIT</b>
29.		
30.	JOURNALISTS WAITING FOR INÉS’ ANSWERS IN FRONT OF THE STAGE.	TOT DE PERIODISTES ESPERANT LES RESPOSTES D’INÉS ARRIMADAS A BAIX DE L’ESCENARI.
31.	INÉS ARRIMADAS, ALONE, STANDING, SMILING AND SILENT. HER MAKEUP IS LIKE A VENTRILOQUIST’S DUMMY (LIKE IN THE TAPE, VERY EXAGGERATED EYES, RED LIPS AND COLOUR ON THE CHEEKS).	INÉS ARRIMADAS, SOLA, DEMPEUS, SOMRIENT I SENSE DIR RES. VA MAQUILLADA COM UN NINOT DE VENTRÍLOC (COM AL VÍDEO, ULLS MOLT MARCATS, LLAVIS VERMELLS I COLOR A LES GALTES).
32.		
33.	<b>JOURNALIST 1:</b>	<b>PERIODISTA 1:</b>
34.	Mrs Arrimadas, any opinion about the election results?	Senyora Arrimadas, quina valoració fa dels resultats?
35.		
36.	INÉS ARRIMADAS DOES NOT REACT. SHE KEEPS SMILING, STARING VACANTLY, ABSOLUTLY IMMOBILE.	INÉS ARRIMADAS NO REACCIONA. SEGUEIX SOMRIENT AMB LA MIRADA PERDUDA, COMPLETAMENT IMMÒBIL.
37.		
38.	JOURNALISTS LOOK AT EACH OTHER, THEY DON’T UNDERSTAND ANYTHING.	ELS PERIODISTES ES MIREN SENSE ENTENDRE RES.
39.		
40.	<b>JOURNALIST 2:</b>	<b>PERIODISTA 2:</b>
41.	Inés, do you see yourself as the leader of the opposition?	Inés, es veu com a cap de l’oposició?
42.		
43.	SHE KEEPS THE SAME.	ELLA SEGUEIX IGUAL.
44.		
45.	<b>JOURNALIST 2:</b>	<b>PERIODISTA 2:</b>
46.	Are you saying something?!	Però que no dirà res?!
47.		
48.	ENTER ALBERT RIVERA, RUNNING, LIKE ARRIVING LATE. STANDS BEHIND ARRIMADAS, AS RICHARD GERE DOES ON THE TAPE.	ENTRA ALBERT RIVERA CORRENT, COM SI ARRIBÉS TARD. ES POSA DARRERE D’ARRIMADAS, COM RICHARD GERE AL VÍDEO.
49.		
50.	<b>ALBERT RIVERA: (TO THE JOURNALISTS)</b>	<b>ALBERT RIVERA: (ALS PERIODISTES)</b>
51.	Sorry, I was in the tailor shop. I mean, my ego is so inflated that they have had to tailor all my suits. Questions please, Ines will solve all your doubts.	Disculpeu, estava a la sastreria. És que tinc l’ego tan inflat que m’han hagut d’ajustar tots els trajes. Pregunteu que la Inés resoldrà tots els vostres dubtes.
52.		
53.	HE PUTS HIS HAND ON HER BACK. HE MAKES HER TURN HER HEAD AND LOOK AT EACH OTHER.	LI POSA LA MÀ PER DARRERE. FA QUE GIRI EL CAP I SE’L MIRI. TORNA A GIRAR EL CAP PERQUÈ MIRI ELS PERIODISTES.

	THEN, SHE TURNS THE HEAD BACK TO LOOK AT THE JOURNALISTS.	
54.		
55.	She has my full confidence.	Confio totalment en ella.
56.		
57.	<b>Audio:</b> "We both reached for the gun".	<b>Àudio:</b> "we both reached for the gun".
58.		
59.	SINCE NOW ON, RIVERA WILL MAKE INES TALK AS SHE WAS A VENTRILOQUIST'S DUMMY, TRYING TO MAKE US BELIEVE THAT SHE IS TALKING. HE MOVES HIS LIPS SLYLY.	D ES D'ARA EN RIVERA FARÀ ANAR LA INÉS COM SI FOS UN NINOT DE VENTRÍLOC, INTENTANT FER CREURE QUE LA QUE PARLA ÉS ELLA. ELL MOURÀ DISCRETAMENT ELS LLAVIS.
60.		
61.	<b>LIGHTS:</b> DIM LIGHTS DOWN TO MAKE THE SET LOOK LIKE A CABARET.	<b>IL·LUMINACIÓ:</b> BAIXEN LES LLUMS PER FER-HO MÉS CABARET.
62.		
63.	<b>JOURNALIST 1:</b>	<b>PERIODISTA 1:</b>
64.	<i>Who's won?*</i>	<i>Qui ha guanyat?</i>
65.	<b>Translation note:</b> Italic is for sung lines	
66.		
67.	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>
68.	<i>Rivera</i>	<i>En Rivera.</i>
69.		
70.	<b>JOURNALIST 2:</b>	<b>PERIODISTA 2:</b>
71.	<i>And you? How have you helped out?</i>	<i>I vostè com hi ha ajudat?</i>
72.		
73.	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>
74.	<i>Taking pictures</i>	<i>Fent-me fotos.</i>
75.		
76.	<b>JOURNALIST 3:</b>	<b>PERIODISTA 3:</b>
77.	<i>Indepe victory?*</i>	<i>Victòria indepe?</i>
78.	<b>Translation note:</b> Indepe is a slightly derogative term for Catalonia's independence supporters.	
79.		
80.	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>
81.	<i>No way!</i>	<i>De cap manera!</i>
82.	<i>They are two millions of Catalans</i>	<i>Són dos milions de catalans</i>
83.	<i>Manipulated by mister Mas!</i>	<i>manipulats pel senyor Mas!</i>
84.		
85.	<b>JOURNALIST 2:</b>	<b>PERIODISTA 2:</b>
86.	<i>What do you demand from him?</i>	<i>Què li exigeix?</i>
87.		
88.	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>
89.	<i>That he resigns.</i>	<i>Que dimiteixi.</i>
90.		
91.	<b>JOURNALIST 1:</b>	<b>PERIODISTA 1:</b>
92.	<i>But he has not been yet appointed...</i>	<i>Però si no ha estat investit...</i>
93.		
94.	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>
95.	<i>It does not matter.</i>	<i>No m'importa.</i>
96.		
97.	<b>JOURNALIST 1:</b>	<b>PERIODISTA 1:</b>
98.	<i>... And he doubled your votes.</i>	<i>... i el dobla en vots.</i>
99.		
100.	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>
101.	<i>Outrageous!</i>	<i>Quin escàndol!</i>
102.	<i>A convergent journalist!</i>	<i>Un periodista convergent!</i>
103.	<i>Will he get his 3%?</i>	<i>Què li han promès, un 3%?</i>
104.		
105.	THE REST OF JOURNALISTS LOOK AT JOURNALIST 1 ANGRILY AND POINT TO THEM. JOURNALIST 1 DENIES WITH THE HEAD.	ELS ALTRES PERIODISTES ES MIREN AL PERIODISTA 1 MALAMENT I L'ASSENYALEN. EL PERIODISTA 1 NEGA AMB EL CAP.
106.		
107.	<b>JOURNALIST 3: (TALKING)</b>	<b>PERIODISTA 3: (PARLAT)</b>
108.	Oh, poor girl. She has been victim of an unfair media coverage and, despite that, she has won. Yesterday I watched a Spanish TV channel and she appeared 15 minutes only!	Oh, pobra noia, ha estat víctima d'una cobertura injusta i, tot i així, ha triomfat. Ahir vaig posar un canal espanyol i només sortia 15 minuts!
109.		
110.	<b>JOURNALIST 3: (SINGING AGAIN)</b>	<b>PERIODISTA 3: (CANTANT DE NOU)</b>
111.	<i>Do you want to be president?</i>	<i>Vol ser presidenta?</i>
112.		
113.	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>
114.	<i>I wish it.</i>	<i>Ho desitjo.</i>
115.		
116.	<b>JOURNALIST 2:</b>	<b>PERIODISTA 2:</b>
117.	<i>With 25 MPs?</i>	<i>Amb 25 escons?</i>
118.		
119.	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>

120.	<i>More than others.</i>		<i>Més que els altres.</i>
121.			
122.	<b>JOURNALIST 1:</b>		<b>PERIODISTA 1:</b>
123.	<i>And Rivera?</i>		<i>I en Rivera?</i>
124.			
125.	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>		<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>
126.	<i>To La Moncloa.</i>		<i>A la Moncloa.</i>
127.	<i>I believe wholeheartedly that he is the best,</i>		<i>Crec de tot cor que és el millor,</i>
128.	<i>so handsome, young, and Spanish.</i>		<i>tan guapo, jove i espanyol.</i>
129.			
130.	<b>JOURNALIST 2:</b>		<b>PERIODISTA 2:</b>
131.	<i>Will you live at Madrid?</i>		<i>Viurà a Madrid?</i>
132.			
133.	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>		<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>
134.	<i>In La Sexta.</i>		<i>A la Sexta.</i>
135.	<b>Translation note:</b> La Sexta is one of the most important TV network in Spain, notorious for its coverage of political affairs.		
136.			
137.	<b>JOURNALIST 3:</b>		<b>PERIODISTA 3:</b>
138.	<i>Left or right?</i>		<i>Esquerra o dreta?</i>
139.			
140.	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>		<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>
141.	<i>Ambidextrous.</i>		<i>Ambidextre.</i>
142.			
143.	<b>JOURNALIST 1:</b>		<b>PERIODISTA 1:</b>
144.	<i>And, what if you don't win?</i>		<i>I si no guanya?</i>
145.			
146.	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>		<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>
147.	<i>Bullshit!</i>		<i>¡Gillipoleces!</i>
148.	<i>And I tell you this in Castilian</i>		<i>Y te lo digo en castellano</i>
149.	<i>For the ordinary folk to understand.</i>		<i>que lo comprenda el pueblo llano.</i>
150.			
151.	<i>You see, you see, you see, he has</i>		<i>Ya ves, ya ves, ya ves, él ha</i>
152.	<i>You see, he has</i>		<i>Ya ves, él ha</i>
153.	<i>You see, he has stopped</i>		<i>Ya ves, ha frenado</i>
154.	<i>Mas, to Mas, to Mas, to Mas</i>		<i>a Mas, a Mas, a Mas, a Mas,</i>
155.	<i>Watch out Rajoy, you will also</i>		<i>ojo, Rajoy, que tú también</i>
156.	<i>Suck</i>		<i>pringarás.</i>
157.			
158.	<b>JOURNALISTS:</b>		<b>PERIODISTES:</b>
159.	<i>You see, you see, you see, he has</i>		<i>Ya ves, ya ves, ya ves, él ha</i>
160.	<i>You see, he has</i>		<i>Ya ves, él ha</i>
161.	<i>You see, he has stopped</i>		<i>Ya ves, ha frenado</i>
162.	<i>Mas, to Mas, to Mas, to Mas,</i>		<i>a Mas, a Mas, a Mas, a Mas,</i>
163.	<i>watch out Rajoy, you will also</i>		<i>ojo, Rajoy, que tú también</i>
164.	<i>suck</i>		<i>pringarás.</i>
165.			
166.	IMITATE CHOREOGRAPHY IN 1:38 OF TAPE.		IMITAR COREOGRAFIA A PARTIR 1:38 DEL VÍDEO.
167.			
168.	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>		<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>
169.	<i>Ciudadanos, yeah. Ciudadanos, yeah.</i>		<i>Ciudadanos, sí. Ciudadanos, sí.</i>
170.	<i>Regeneration and no corruption.</i>		<i>Regeneración y sin corrupción.</i>
171.			
172.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>		<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>
173.	<i>Jordi Cañas, joops! Jordi Cañas, joops!</i>		<i>Jordi Cañas, ¡ay! Jordi Cañas, ¡ay!</i>
174.			
175.	ALBERT RIVERA COVERS HER MOUTH		ALBERT RIVERA LI TAPA LA BOCA.
176.			
177.	<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>		<b>ALBERT RIVERA:</b>
178.	<i>Do you see why it is much better</i>		<i>¿Lo ves por qué es mucho mejor</i>
179.	<i>your voice be me?</i>		<i>que tu voz sea yo?</i>
180.			
181.	<b>AUDIO. SONG ENDS.</b>		<b>ÀUDIO. FORA CANÇÓ.</b>
182.			
183.	JOURNALISTS CLAPPING.		ELS PERIODISTES APLAUDEIXEN.
184.	RIVERA IS WAVING AND MAKES ARRIMADAS WAVE BY MOVING HER BACK AND FORTH.		EN RIVERA SALUDA I FA SALUDAR ARRIMADAS MOVENT-LA ENDAVANT I ENRERE.
185.	ONCE HE HAS MADE HER WAVE A COUPLE OF TIMES, HE THROWS HER TO THE GROUND AND KEEPS WAVING ALONE.		QUAN L'HA FET SALUDAR UN PARELL DE COPS, LA TIRA A TERRA I ES QUEDA SALUDANT ELL SOL.
186.			

## Appendix 8: Script El Trofeu de la Cup

1.	<b>Watch here:</b> <a href="https://youtu.be/QYlnu3xBG2A">https://youtu.be/QYlnu3xBG2A</a>	
2.		
3.	G11-188P – MAIN STAGE:	G11-188P – GAG PLATÓ:
4.	<b>“CUP’S TROPHY” - OK</b>	<b>“EL TROFEU DE LA CUP” - OK</b>
5.	POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 386	POLÒNIA / TEMPORADA 11 / PGM 386
6.	RECORDING DATE: THURSDAY, 14 JANUARY 2016	DATA GRAVACIÓ: DIJOURS, 14 GENER 2016
7.	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////
8.		
9.	<b>CAST:</b>	<b>CÀSTING:</b>
10.	ANNA GABRIEL	LARA DÍEZ
11.	ARTUR MAS	BRUNO ORO
12.	ANTONIO BAÑOS	DAVID OLIVARES
13.	COMRADE 1	MIREIA PORTAS
14.	COMRADE 2	IVAN LABANDA
15.	COMRADE 3	DAVID MARCÉ
16.	COMRADES	EXTRAS
17.		
18.	<b>SET:</b>	<b>LOCALITZACIÓ:</b>
19.	SET OFFICE – CUP HEAD OFFICE	SET OFI - SEU DE LA CUP
20.		
21.	<b>REFERENCE TAPE:</b>	<b>VTR REFERÈNCIA:</b>
22.	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WYU5SAQwc4I">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WYU5SAQwc4I</a>	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WYU5SAQwc4I">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WYU5SAQwc4I</a>
23.		
24.	<b>CUP’S TROPHY</b>	<b>EL TROFEU DE LA CUP</b>
25.		
26.	<b>INT. DAY</b>	<b>INT. DIA</b>
27.		
28.	ANNA GABRIEL SPEAKING TO THE REST OF THE COMRADES, THEY ARE SITTING, LISTENING TO HER. HER TONE IS OF TIRADE, OF TRIUMPHANT SPEECH. SHE IS EUPHORIC.	ANNA GABRIEL PARLANT DAVANT DE LA RESTA DE CUPAIRES, ASSEGUTS ESCOLTANT-LA. EL TO ÉS D’ARENÇA, DE DISCURS TRIOMFANT. ESTÀ EUFÒRICA.
29.		
30.	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>
31.	... Everyone knew that negotiations would be tough. They said no, that they would not give in. they told us that one Israeli’s head worth 10 Palestinian’s heads. However, so far, the only head that has fallen... is his!	... tots sabem que les negociacions van ser dures. Ens deien que no, que no cedirien. Ens van dir que el cap d’un israelià valia el cap de 10 palestins. Però de moment, l’únic cap que hi ha aquí... és el seu!
32.		
33.	THE COMRADES CLAPPING AND CELEBRATING.	ELS CUPAIRES APLAUDEIXEN I HO CELEBREN.
34.		
35.	WE CAN SEE THAT IN THE WALL IS HANGING ARTUR MAS’ HEAD, TAXIDERMIED, LIKE A HUNT TROPHY. ANNA GABRIEL ASK THE COMRADES TO CALM DOWN TO CONTINUE TO SPEAK.	DESCOBRIM QUE A UNA PARET DE LA SEU HI HA PENJAT EL CAP D’ARTUR MAS DISSECAT, COM SI FOS UN TROFEU DE CAÇA. ANNA GABRIEL DEMANA CALMA ALS CUPAIRES PER SEGUIR XERRANT.
36.		
37.	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>
38.	Comrades!! We did it! We have sent Artur Mas to history recycle bin!!!	Companyes! Ho hem aconseguit! Hem enviat Artur Mas a la paperera de la història!!!
39.		
40.	THEY CLAP AGAIN. SUDDENLY, SOMEONE COUGHING CAN BE HEARD. EVERYONE TURN AROUND AND SEE THAT ARTUR MAS’ HEAD IS ALIVE.	TORNEN A APLAUDIR. DE COP, SE SENTEN UNS ESTOSSECS. TOTS ES GIREN I VEUEN QUE EL CAP D’ARTUR MAS ESTÀ VIU.
41.		
42.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
43.	Sorry, but when you send a document to the recycle bin, you are asked “Are you sure you want to delete this file?” In 18 months we will see what the people say.	Perdoneu, però quan tires un document a la paperera, després et pregunten “està segur que vol eliminar-lo?”. D’aquí 18 mesos a veure què diu la gent.
44.		
45.	GABRIEL TAKES A PIECE OF DUCT TAPE AND SEALS ARTUR’S MOUTH. MAS COMPLAINS BUT IT IS UNAUDIBLE. SHE TURNS BACK TO THE ASSEMBLY.	LA GABRIEL AGAFA UN TROS DE CINTA AMERICANA I TAPA LA BOCA DE L’ARTUR. MAS PROTESTA PERÒ NO SE L’ENTÉN. TORNA A ADREÇAR-SE A L’ASSEMBLEA.
46.		
47.	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>
48.	We have fulfilled our campaign program!	Hem complert amb el nostre programa!
49.		
50.	ALL THE COMRADES RAISE THEIR ARM.	TOTS ELS CUPAIRES AIXEQUEN EL BRAÇ.
51.		
52.	<b>COMRADE:</b>	<b>CUPAIRES:</b>
53.	No to Artur Mas! No to Artur Mas!	No a l’Artur Mas! No a l’Artur Mas!

54.			
55.	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	Vam prometre el cap d'en Mas i aquí el tenim! Què més
56.	We promised Artur Mas' head and here you are! What else could we wish?		hauríem pogut desitjar?
57.			
58.	A SECOND OF SILENCE. THEN, A COMRADE, WITH TIMID VOICE, ANSWERS.		SEGONS DE SILENCI. DESPRÉS, UNA CUPAIRE, AMB UN TO UNA MICA TÍMID, RESPON.
59.			
60.	<b>COMRADE 1:</b>	<b>CUPAIRE 1:</b>	Que no hagués hagut de dimitir cap diputat nostre.
61.	That none of our MPs would have had to resign.		
62.			
63.	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	Com?
64.	Sorry?		
65.			
66.	<b>COMRADE 1:</b>	<b>CUPAIRE 1:</b>	Que no ens obliguin a enviar dos diputats a les reunions de <i>Junts pel Sí</i> ...
67.	Not to be obliged to send two of our MPs to Junts pel Sí meetings.		
68.			
69.	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	Eeeeh... sí, és veritat. Això és una putada, sobretot per ells. Però ja s'estan integrant. (saludant-los) Companys...
70.	Eeeeh... yeah, that's true. That is bullshit, especially for them. But they are getting integrated. (waving at them) Comrades...		
71.			
72.	WE CAN SEE, AMONG THE COMRADES, TWO YOUNG MEN WITH DREADLOCKS IN SUITS. THEY WAVE, SHY.		VEIEM ENTRE ELS CUPAIRES DOS NOIS AMB RASTES VESTITS AMB TRAJE, QUE SALUDEN TÍMIDS.
73.			
74.	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	Aquestes rastes us les hauríeu d'engominar cap enrere, eh... Bé, però a part d'això... què més hauríem pogut desitjar?
75.	You should have combed those dreadlocks backwards, eh... ok, but apart from that... what else could we wish?		
76.			
77.	<b>COMRADES 2:</b>	<b>CUPAIRE 2:</b>	Que en Baños no hagués plegat. Tenia carisma.
78.	That Baños would not have to resign. He had charisma.		
79.			
80.	ALL THE COMRADES AGREE.		TOTS ELS CUPAIRES ASSENTEIXEN.
81.			
82.	<b>COMRADE 3:</b>	<b>CUPAIRE 3:</b>	Ni haver de votar el mateix que <i>Junts pel Sí</i> per contracte.
83.	Not having voted the same that <i>Junts pel Sí</i> on a contract-basis.		
84.			
85.	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	Ja, l'acord potser no és ideal, però la rest...
86.	Ok, I admit. It might not be an ideal situation, but the rest...		
87.			
88.	<b>COMRADE 1:</b>	<b>CUPAIRE 1:</b>	No rebre trucades de la Rahola a les tres de la matinada...
89.	Not receiving calls from Pilar Rahola at 3 in the morning...		
90.			
91.	<b>COMRADE 2:</b>	<b>CUPAIRE 2:</b>	No airejar les nostres divisions internes.
92.	Not having shown our internal divisions.		
93.			
94.	<b>COMRADE 3:</b>	<b>CUPAIRE 3:</b>	Ni evidenciar que el sistema assembleari no és pràctic.
95.	Not having made evident that an assembly-based decision making system is not practical.		
96.			
97.	<b>COMRADE 1:</b>	<b>CUPAIRE 1:</b>	Ni dilatar tant les negociacions. Hem perdut suport popular.
98.	Not having delayed that long the negotiations. We have lost popular support.		
99.			
100.	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	Està bé, prou! Però a part de les dimissions, la pèrdua d'en Baños, l'acord humiliant, el pressing CUP, les baralles internes, el ridícul de l'assemblea i la pèrdua de suport popular... què hauria estat millor que el cap d'en Mas?
101.	Ok, ok, enough. But, apart from the resignation, the loss of Baños, a humiliating agreement, the pressing on CUP, the internal fights, the ridiculous assemblies and the loss of popular support... what could be better than Mas' head?		
102.			
103.	<b>ARTUR MAS (OFFCAMERA):</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS (FORA DE CAMP):</b>	Djackfdfkja... dfjadfkjafd...
104.	Djackfdfkja... dfjadfkjafd...		
105.			
106.	ARTUR TRIES TO TALK BUT THE TAPE ON HIS MOUTH MAKES IT INAUDIBLE.		L'ARTUR MAS INTENTA PARLAR PERÒ AMB LA CINTA A LA BOCA NO SE L'ENTÉN.
107.			
108.	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	Tu què vols?
109.	What do you want?		
110.			
111.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	Dfadf dakfjdaf...
112.	Dfadf dakfjdaf...		
113.			
114.	GABRIEL TAKES THE TAPE OFF HIS MOUTH.		LA GABRIEL LI TREU LA CINTA DE LA BOCA.
115.			
116.	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	



117.	What?!	Què?!
118.		
119.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
120.	Don't complain. Can't you see? You have signed a pact, have won, have lost, you have insulted each other, you have been insulted... you have become a proper political party! Congratulations!	No us heu de lamentar. Que no ho veieu? Heu pactat, heu guanyat, heu perdut, us heu insultat, us han insultat... us heu convertit en un partit polític de debò! Enhorabona!
121.		
122.	ANNA GABRIEL AND THE COMRADES LOOK AT EACH OTHER FOR SOME SECONDS AND THEN THEY COMPLAIN.	ANNA GABRIEL I ELS CUPAIRES ES MIREN UNS SEGONS I DESPRÉS ES LAMENTEN.
123.		
124.	<b>COMRADES:</b>	<b>CUPAIRES:</b>
125.	Nooooooooooooooooooooo!	Nooooooooooooooooooooo!
126.		
127.	SUDDENLY, ENTERS ANTONIO BAÑOS, ASTONISHED.	DE COP, ENTRA ANTONIO BAÑOS, DESUBICAT.
128.		
129.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
130.	Hey, sorry be late Basté. Ah, no, this is not a meeting. Being hasty again? What time is it? Where should I go? Sorry I don't know, I am so bad at timing...	Ei, perdó Basté, faig tard. Ah no, és una reunió. Ara m'he tornat a precipitar? Quina hora és? On he d'anar? Aix no ho sé, controlo fatal els tempos...
131.		

## Appendix 9: Script La Família Unionista

1.	<b>Watch here:</b> <a href="https://youtu.be/Hb1rY9UVuNw">https://youtu.be/Hb1rY9UVuNw</a>	
2.		
3.	G11-20P – MAIN STAGE:	G11-20P – GAG PLATÓ:
4.	<b>“THE UNIONIST FAMILY” - OK</b>	<b>“LA FAMÍLIA UNIONISTA” - OK</b>
5.	POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 373	POLÒNIA / TEMPORADA 11 / PGM 373
6.	RECORDING DATE: WEDNESDAY, 23 SEPTEMBER 2015	DATA GRAVACIÓ: DIMECRES, 23 SETEMBRE 2015
7.	//////////////////// ////////////////////	//////////////////// ////////////////////
8.		
9.	<b>CAST</b>	<b>CÀSTING:</b>
10.	MARIANO RAJOY                      QUECO NOVELL	MARIANO RAJOY                      QUECO NOVELL
11.	DAVID CAMERON                      XAVI SERRANO	DAVID CAMERON                      XAVI SERRANO
12.	BARACK OBAMA                      DAVID OLIVARES	BARACK OBAMA                      DAVID OLIVARES
13.	ISIDRE FAINÉ                      JORDI RIOS	ISIDRE FAINÉ                      JORDI RIOS
14.	PRONOVIAS CEO                      JORDI MARTÍNEZ	EMPRESARI                      JORDI MARTÍNEZ
15.	MILITAR                      ORIOL VILA	MILITAR                      ORIOL VILA
16.		
17.	<b>SET:</b>	<b>LOCALITZACIÓ.</b>
18.	SET REGI – HORROR HOUSE DINING ROOM	SET REGI - MENJADOR TERRORÍFIC
19.		
20.	REFERENCE TAPE	<b>VTR REFERÈNCIA.</b>
21.	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nKEz_1C9U7Y">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nKEz_1C9U7Y</a>	<a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nKEz_1C9U7Y">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nKEz_1C9U7Y</a>
22.		
23.	<b>COSTUME DESIGN AND MAKEUP</b>	<b>VESTUARI I CARACTERITZACIÓ:</b>
24.	MARIANO RAJOY: RESEMBLING GOMEZ ADDAMS (NECK TIE, OLD FASHION SUIT)	MARIANO RAJOY: QUE RECORDI L'ESTIL DE GÓMEZ ADDAMS (RECLINXINAT, CORBATA, TRAJE RANCI)
25.	DAVID CAMERON: WITH DAVID CAMERON WIG. HE LOOKS LIKE THE DAUGHTER.	DAVID CAMERON: AMB PERRUCA DE DAVID CAMERON, VESTIT COM LA FILLA.
26.	OBAMA: UNCLE FESTER CLOTHING.	OBAMA: VESTUARI FÉTIDO ADDAMS
27.	ISIDRE FAINÉ: DRESSED LIKE THE SON, IN A STRIPED SHIRT.	ISIDRE FAINÉ: VESTIT COM EL FILL, AMB SAMARRETA DE RATLLES.
28.	PRONOVIAS CEO: HE LOOKS LIKE MORTICIA ADDAMS. IN A BLACK DRESS, A BLACK STRAIGHT WIG. OVER THE HEAD A BRIDE VEIL.	EMPRESARI PRONOVIAS: LOOK MORTICIA AMB VESTIT NEGRE I PERRUCA LLISA MORENA. AL CAP HI DUU UN VEL DE NÚVIA.
29.	MILITARY MAN: DRESSED LIKE A MILITARY MAN BUT WITH LURCH MAKEUP.	MILITAR: VESTIT DE MILITAR PERÒ AMB MAQUILLATGE FRANKENSTEIN.
30.		
31.	<b>THE UNIONIST FAMILY</b>	<b>LA FAMÍLIA UNIONISTA</b>
32.		
33.	<b>PART A</b>	<b>PART A</b>
34.		
35.	<b>TEXT</b>	<b>GRAFISME</b>
36.		
37.	IMAGES OF LA MONCLOA IN BLACK AND WHITE AS IF IT WAS THE ADDAMS FAMILY MANSION.	IMATGE DE LA MONCLOA EN BLANC I NEGRE, COM SI FOS LA MANSIÓ DELS ADDAMS (INICI CARETA)
38.	TEXT: THE UNIONIST FAMILY	SOBREIMPRESSIÓ: THE UNION FAMILY
39.		
40.	<b>PART B</b>	<b>PART B</b>
41.		
42.	<b>INT. DAY</b>	<b>INT. DIA</b>
43.		
44.	<b>ART:</b> BLACK AND WHITE – OLD FASHION	<b>REALITZACIÓ.</b> BLANC I NEGRE – LOOK ANTIC
45.	ALL THE CHARACTERS ARRANGED AROUND THE SOFA AS IN THE FILM.	TOTS ELS PERSONATGES DISPOSATS AL SOFÀ COM A L'INICI DE LA CARETA (NO FEM L'ÀVIA).
46.		
47.	<b>Audio:</b> The Addams Family	<b>Àudio.</b> la família addams
48.		
49.	RATHER THAN SNAPPING THEIR FINGERS ALONG THE MUSIC, THEY SAY NO WITH THE INDEX FINGER.	EN COMPTES DE PICAR ELS DITS AL RITME DE LA MÚSICA, FAN QUE NO AMB EL DIT.
50.		
51.	<b>CUT TO:</b>	<b>tall a:</b>
52.		
53.	CLOSE-UP TO MARIANO RAJOY	PRIMER PLA DE MARIANO RAJOY
54.		
55.	<b>TEXT:</b> STARRING: MARIANO RAJOY	<b>GRAFISME:</b> PROTAGONITZAT PER MARIANO RAJOY
56.		
57.	<b>CUT TO:</b>	<b>TALLA:</b>

58.		
59.	CLOSE-UP TO THE MILITARY MAN	PRIMER PLA DEL MILITAR.
60.		
61.	<b>TEXT:</b> A MILITARY MAN	<b>GRAFISME.</b> UN MILITAR
62.		
63.	<b>CUT TO:</b>	<b>TALL A:</b>
64.		
65.	CLOSE UP TO CAMERON	PRIMER PLA DE CAMERON.
66.		
67.	<b>TEXT:</b> DAVID CAMERON	<b>grafisme.</b> david cameron
68.		
69.	<b>CUT TO:</b>	<b>TALL A:</b>
70.		
71.	ALL THE CHARACTERS SINGING AROUND THE SOFA.	TOTS CANTANT DES DEL SOFÀ.
72.		
73.	<b>EVERYONE:</b>	<b>TOTS:</b>
74.	<i>All the separatists</i>	<i>Tots els separatistes</i>
75.	<i>Will have sad lives.</i>	<i>tindreu vides molt tristes.</i>
76.	<i>We have listed up</i>	<i>Hem escrit una llista</i>
77.	<i>every drama you undergo</i>	<i>dels drames que vindran.</i>
78.		
79.	<b>CUT TO:</b>	<b>TALL A:</b>
80.		
81.	A MAP OF EUROPE HANGING IN THE WALL	UN MAPA D'EUROPA PENJAT A LA PARET.
82.	CAMERON CROSSES CATALONIA OUT	EN CAMERON TATXA CATALUNYA DEL MAPA.
83.		
84.	MARIANO RAJOY HOLD A FOOTBALL, SMILING, STABS A KNIFE IN THE BALL. ( <u>THIS ACTION RUNS OVER THE PHRASE ABOUT THE FOOTBALL CUPS</u> )	MARIANO RAJOY AGUANTA UNA PILOTA DE FUTBOL, SOMRIENT. CLAVA UN GANIVET A LA PILOTA. ( <u>AQUESTA ACCIÓ SOBRE LA FRASE DE LES COPESES</u> )
85.		
86.	<b>DAVID CAMERON:</b>	<b>DAVID CAMERON:</b>
87.	<i>You will not be part of Europe anymore.</i>	<i>Ja no sereu d'Europa.</i>
88.	<i>You will not win cups anymore.</i>	<i>No guanyareu més copes.</i>
89.		
90.	<b>CUT TO:</b>	<b>TALL A:</b>
91.	PICKING UP THE HEADSET OF A VERY OLD FASHION TELEPHONE.	DESPENJA UN TELÈFON DE GÓNDOLA ANTIC I TRUCA.
92.		
93.	<b>MILITARY MAN:</b>	<b>MILITAR:</b>
94.	<i>I will send the troops</i>	<i>Yo os envío las tropas</i>
95.	<i>Through the Diagonal Avenue</i>	<i>por la Diagonal.</i>
96.		
97.	<b>CUT TO:</b>	<b>TALL A:</b>
98.		
99.	CLOSE UP TO ISIDRE FAINÉ	<b>PRIMER PLA D'ISIDRE FAINÉ.</b>
100.		
101.	<b>TEXT:</b> ISIDRE FAINÉ	<b>GRAFISME.</b> ISIDRE FAINÉ
102.		
103.	ISIDRE FAINÉ	ISIDRE FAINÉ:
104.	<i>Fatal!</i>	<i>Fatal!</i>
105.		
106.	<b>CUT TO:</b>	<b>TALL A:</b>
107.		
108.	CLOSE UP TO OBAMA	PRIMER PLA D'OBAMA.
109.		
110.	<b>TEXT:</b> BARACK OBAMA	<b>GRAFISME.</b> BARACK OBAMA
111.		
112.	<b>BARACK OBAMA:</b>	<b>BARACK OBAMA:</b>
113.	<i>No, you can't!</i>	<i>No, you can't!</i>
114.		
115.	<b>CUT TO:</b>	<b>TALL A:</b>
116.		
117.	CLOSE UP TO THE BUSINESSMAN	PRIMER PLA DE L'EMPRESARI.
118.		
119.	<b>TEXT:</b> BUSINESSMAN FROM WEDDING SECTOR	<b>GRAFISME:</b> EMPRESARI DEL SECTOR NUPCIAL.
120.		
121.	<b>PRONOVIAS CEO:</b>	<b>EMPRESARI PRONOVIAS:</b>
122.	<i>Business!</i>	<i>Patronal!</i>
123.		
124.	<b>CUT TO:</b>	<b>TALL A:</b>
125.		
126.	FAINÉ SITTING IN THE SOFA SORROUDED BY BANKNOTES.	FAINÉ ASSEGUT AL SOFÀ RODEJAT DE BITLLETS.
127.		

128.	RAJOY WITH AN ESTELADA FLAG COVERING HIS HEAD LIKE A GHOST, CHASING OBAMA WHO RUNS AWAY FROM HIM.	RAJOY AMB UNA ESTELADA TAPANT-LI EL CAP, COM SI FOS UN FANTASMA, PERSEGUINT A OBAMA, QUE FUIG D'ELL.
129.		
130.	<b>ISIDRE FAINÉ:</b>	<b>ISIDRE FAINÉ:</b>
131.	We won't give you a fiver	<i>No us donarem ni un duro</i>
132.	To get out of the slump.	<i>per sortir de l'apuro.</i>
133.	When we freeze your banks	<i>Quan hi hagi el corralito</i>
134.	You will loss all you cash.	<i>perdreu tots els calers.</i>
135.		
136.	<b>CUT TO</b>	<b>TALLA:</b>
137.		
138.	EVERYONE AT THE SOFA.	TOTS AL SOFÀ.
139.		
140.	<b>MARIANO RAJOY:</b>	<b>MARIANO RAJOY:</b>
141.	What a mess!	<i>Què lío que os espera.</i>
142.		
143.	<b>DAVID CAMERON:</b>	<b>DAVID CAMERON:</b>
144.	You will flee in lifeboats	<i>'nireu tots amb patera.</i>
145.	We will build a wall.	<i>Farem una barrera.</i>
146.		
147.	<b>MARIANO RAJOY:</b>	<b>MARIANO RAJOY:</b>
148.	Like in Budapest	<i>Igual que en Budapest.</i>
149.		
150.	<b>AUDIO: MUSIC OFF</b>	<b>ÀUDIO. FORA MÚSICA.</b>
151.		
152.	FROM A LITTLE BOX THAT LAYS OVER A TABLE, NEXT TO THE SOFA, APPEARS THING (THE DISEMBODIED HAND). IT WAVES.	D'UNA CAIXETA QUE HI HA SOBRE UN MOBLE, AL COSTAT DEL SOFÀ, SURT "COSA" (LA MÀ DELS ADDAMS QUE VA SOLA). SALUDA.
153.		
154.	<b>MARIANO RAJOY:</b>	<b>MARIANO RAJOY:</b>
155.	Aww... look, what a lovely... it is Thing. Hello, what do you want?	<i>Ayy... mira qué cuca... Es cosa. Hola bonita, ¿qué quieres?</i>
156.		
157.	THING TAKES A BALLOT PAPER FROM THE BOX.	COSA TREU DE LA CAIXA UN VOT (UNA PAPERETA).
158.		
159.	<b>MARIANO RAJOY:</b> (frightened)	<b>MARIANO RAJOY:</b> (espantat)
160.	AAAAHHH! She wants to vote? She wants to vote! Hit her! Hit her!	<i>¡AAAAHH! ¡Quiere votar! ¡Quiere votar! ¡Dale, dale!</i>
161.		
162.	THE MILITARY MAN TAKES A BASEBALL BAT AND HITS THING UNTIL SHE IS KNOCKED OUT.	EL MILITAR AGAFA UN BAT DE BÉISBOL I LI FOT COPS A "COSA", FINS QUE LA DEIXA ESTABORNIDA.
163.		
164.	<b>DAVID CAMERON:</b>	<b>DAVID CAMERON:</b>
165.	Sorry but, maybe she didn't want to vote independence.	<i>Escolta, però potser no volia votar independència.</i>
166.		
167.	<b>MARIANO RAJOY:</b>	<b>MARIANO RAJOY:</b>
168.	Prevention is better than cure.	<i>Es mejor prevenir que curar.</i>
169.		
170.		

## Appendix 10: Script Transi Romeva Sparring

1.	Watch here: <a href="https://youtu.be/wXxb6h4ntFA">https://youtu.be/wXxb6h4ntFA</a>	
2.		
3.	G11-17P – MAIN STAGE:	G11-17P – GAG PLATÓ:
4.	“TRANSI ROMEVA SPARRING” - OK	“TRANSI ROMEVA SPARRING” - OK
5.	POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 373	POLÒNIA / TEMPORADA 11 / PGM 373
6.	RECORDING DATE: WEDNESDAY, 23 SEPTEMBER 2015	DATA GRAVACIÓ: DIMCRES, 23 SETEMBRE 2015
7.	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////
8.		
9.	<b>CAST</b>	<b>CÀSTING:</b>
10.	ARTUR MAS                      BRUNO ORO	ARTUR MAS                      BRUNO ORO
11.	RAÛL ROMEVA                  SERGI CERVERA	RAÛL ROMEVA                  SERGI CERVERA
12.	ORIOI JUNQUERAS              IVAN LABANDA	ORIOI JUNQUERAS              IVAN LABANDA
13.	PRODUCTION                    EXTRAS	AUXILIAR DE                      FIGURACIÓ PRODUCCIÓ
14.	POLICEMAN                      XAVI CARRERAS	MOSSO D'ESQUADRA            XAVI CARRERAS
15.	SEXY GIRL                        CLÀUDIA FONT	NOIA SEXY                        CLÀUDIA FONT
16.	OFF ANGRY VOICE               CLÀUDIA FONT	OFF ESBRONCADA                CLÀUDIA FONT
17.		
18.	<b>SET: TRANSICIÓ</b>	<b>LOCALITZACIÓ: TRANSICIÓ</b>
19.		
20.	<b>TRANSI ROMEVA SPARRING</b>	<b>TRANSI ROMEVA SPARRING</b>
21.	INDOORS NIGTH TRANSICIÓ	INT. NIT TRANSICIÓ
22.		
23.	ARTUR MAS AND RAÛL ROMEVA HAVE JUST RECORDED THE SKETCH “MAGIC TRICK”. BEHIND THEM, ORIOI JUNQUERAS PASSES DOING NONSENSE WITH THE SWORD	ARTUR MAS I RAÛL ROMEVA ACABEN DE GRAVAR EL GAG “EL TRUC DE MÀGIA”. PER DARRERE, ORIOI JUNQUERAS PASSA FENT XIMPLERIES AMB L'ESPASA.
24.		
25.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
26.	Come on Romeva, just another day and the campaign is over. Almost there!	Vinga, Romeva, un dia més i s'haurà acabat la campanya. Ja ho tenim això!
27.		
28.	<b>RAÛL ROMEVA:</b>	<b>RAÛL ROMEVA:</b>
29.	Oh yes, finally. Honestly it has not been that easy to be your substitute. I have become the scapegoat. People throw in my face the cuts, the 3%...	Sí, per fi. La veritat és que no ha estat gens fàcil substituir-te. M'he convertit en l'ase dels cops. Em tiren en cara les retallades, el 3%...
30.		
31.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
32.	Please, it is not that hard...	Bah, no serà tant...
33.		
34.	<b>RAÛL ROMEVA:</b>	<b>RAÛL ROMEVA:</b>
35.	Of course it is. I have to be justifying yourself all along.	Que sí, que sí. T'he d'estar justificant tota l'esto...
36.		
37.	<b>AUDIO: TELEPHONE RINGS</b>	<b>ÀUDIO: MELODIA MÒBIL.</b>
38.		
39.	MAS TAKES HIS MOBILE TO TAKE THE CALL.	MAS TREU EL SEU MÒBIL I DESPENJA.
40.		
41.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
42.	(To Romeva) Sorry. (To the phone) Hi love. How you...?	(a Romeva) Perdona. (Al mòbil) Carinyo, què ta...?
43.		
44.	<b>AUDIO: ANGRY AND FAST-TALKING VOICE. INAUDIBLE</b>	<b>ÀUDIO: ESBRONCADA AMB VEU ACCELERADA. NO S'ENTÉN EL QUE DIU.</b>
45.		
46.	ANNOYED. MAS GETS THE PHONE AWAY OF HIS EARS AND PASSES IT TO ROMEVA.	FASTIGUEJAT, MAS S'APARTA EL MÒBIL DE L'ORELLA I LI PASSA A ROMEVA
47.		
48.	My wife. It is for you.	La meva dona. És per tu.
49.		
50.	<b>RAÛL ROMEVA:</b> (to the phone, surprised)	<b>RAÛL ROMEVA:</b> (al mòbil, descol·locat)
51.	Yes? Really? He left a wet towel on the bed? Dear, please, he was in a hurry... please, don't take this so seriously. I promise, this will not happen again (He hangs up and gives the phone back to Mas). Done, tonight I will sleep in the couch.	Sí? Com? Que s'ha tornat a deixar la tovallola mullada sobre el llit? Dona, igual anava amb presses... Va, no li tinguis en compte. Et prometo que no ho tornarà a fer. (penja i li torna el mòbil a mas) Arreglat. Aquesta nit dormo al sofà.
52.		
53.	MAS BREATHS DEEP RELAXED. A FEMALE PRODUCTION ASSISTANT WITH A TRAY OF CROISSANTS PASSES BY. ROMEVA TRIES TO GET A CROISSANT. MAS BEATS HIS HAND.	MAS RESPIRA ALLEUJAT. PASSA UN AUXILIAR DE PRODUCCIÓ AMB UNA SAFATA DE CROISSANTS. ROMEVA FA PER AGAFAR UN CROISSANT. MAS LI PICA LA MÀ.
54.		
55.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b> (annoyed)	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b> (enfadat)

56.	What are you doing? My blood sugar level is too high!	Què fas? Que tinc el sucre pels nívols!
57.		
58.	A POLICEMAN GETS IN WITH A PENALTY CHARGE NOTICE.	ENTRA UN MOSSO D'ESQUADRA AMB UN TALONARI DE MULTES.
59.		
60.	<b>POLICEMAN:</b>	<b>MOSSO D'ESQUADRA:</b>
61.	Mister president, you have double parked the official car. I will have to ticket you.	President, ha estacionat el cotxe oficial en doble fila. L'hauré de multar.
62.		
63.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
64.	No problem, officer. Do as you have to do.	Cap problema, agent. Faci el que hagi de fer.
65.		
66.	POLICEMAN WRITES THE PENALTY CHARGE NOTICE AND GIVES THE TICKET TO ROMEVA, WHO TAKES IT SURPRISED.	EL MOSSO ESCRIU AL TALONARI I LLIURA LA MULTA A ROMEVA, QUE L'AGAFA DESCOL·LOCAT.
67.		
68.	<b>POLICEMAN:</b>	<b>MOSSO D'ESQUADRA:</b>
69.	Here you are. It is €200	Aquí té. Són 200 €.
70.		
71.	<b>POLICEMAN DOES A MILITARY SALUTE AND LEAVES.</b>	<b>EL MOSSO S'ACOMIADA FENT LA SALUTACIÓ MILITAR I SURT.</b>
72.		
73.	<b>RAÛL ROMEVA:</b> (looking at the ticket)	<b>RAÛL ROMEVA:</b> (mirant-se la multa)
74.	B... but, Artur, this is going too far...	P-però, Artur, això és massa...
75.		
76.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
77.	Ah, and if you do not pay soon, you will get an extra charge.	Ui, i si no la pagues aviat, et vindrà amb recàrrec.
78.		
79.	THEY COME ACROSS A VERY SEXY GIRL. MAS STARES AT HER, IMPRESSED.	ES CREUEN AMB UNA NOIA MOLT SEXY. MAS LA MIRA ADMIRAT.
80.		
81.	Oh my...	Caram...
82.		
83.	ON THE SLY, MAS PINCHES HER BUM. SHE TURNS AROUND, OFFENDED.	DISSIMULADAMENT, MAS LI PICA EL CUL. LA NOIA ES GIRA, OFESA.
84.		
85.	<b>SEXY GIRL</b>	<b>NOIA SEXY:</b>
86.	You...!	Seràs...!
87.		
88.	THE GIRL GIVES A SMACK TO ROMEVA AND GOES AWAY, ANGRY.	LA NOIA LI CLAVA UNA BUFETADA A ROMEVA I MARXA, INDIGNADA.
89.		
90.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b> (smiles, happily)	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b> (somriu, molt satisfet)
91.	(SIGHS) I love this campaign...	(SOSPIR) <b>M'encanta aquesta campanya...</b>
92.		
93.	MAS GOES AWAY. ROMEVA, PUZZLED, REMAINS IN, TOUCHES HIS ACHING FACE.	MAS MARXA. ROMEVA, PERPLEX, ES QUEDA TOCANT-SE LA CARA, ADOLORIT.
94.		

## Appendix 11: Script El combat pel cinturó roig

1.	<b>Watch here:</b> <a href="https://youtu.be/SueJU84d0Q">https://youtu.be/SueJU84d0Q</a>	
2.		
3.	G11-21P –MAIN STAGE:	G11-21P – GAG PLATÓ:
4.	<b>“FIGHTING FOR THE RED BELT” (V2) OK</b>	<b>“EL COMBAT PEL CINTURÓ ROIG” (V2) OK</b>
5.	POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 373	POLÒNIA / TEMPORADA 11 / PGM 373
6.	RECORDING DATE: THURSDAY, 24 SEPTEMBER 2015	DATA GRAVACIÓ: DIJOURS, 24 SETEMBRE 2015
7.	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////
8.		
9.	<b>CAST</b>	<b>CÀSTING:</b>
10.	MÍQUEL ICETA	IVAN LABANDA
11.	PEDRO SÁNCHEZ	PEP PLAZA
12.	INÉS ARRIMADAS	LARA DÍEZ
13.	XAVIER GARCÍA	FERMÍ FERNÁNDEZ
	ALBIOL	
14.	LLUÍS RABELL	CESC CASANOVAS
15.	ANNOUNCER	ORIOL VILA
16.	ARTUR MAS	BRUNO ORO
17.	XAVI RICART	
18.	TECHNICIANS	TÈCNICS
19.		
20.	<b>SET:</b>	<b>LOCALITZACIÓ:</b>
21.	CYCLORAMA + MAIN STAGE – BOXING RING + MAIN STAGE	SET CICLORAMA + PLATÓ - RING COMBAT DE BOXA + PLATÓ
22.		
23.	<b>FIGHTING FOR THE RED BELT</b>	<b>EL COMBAT PEL CINTURÓ ROIG</b>
24.	INDOORS DAY – BOXING RING	INT. DIA RING COMBAT DE BOXA
25.		
26.	THE ANNOUNCER IN THE CENTRE OF THE RING, WITH THE CLASSIC BOX MICROPHONE, THOSE THAT HANG FROM THE CEILING WITH A WIRE. HE MAKES THE INTRODUCTION.	UN LOCUTOR AL MIG DEL RING, AMB UN MICRO D’AQUELLS CLÀSSICS DE COMBAT, DELS QUE PENGEN D’UN CABLE DEL SOSTRE. FENT LA PRESENTACIÓ.
27.		
28.	<b>ANNOUNCER:</b>	<b>LOCUTOR:</b>
29.	Good night and welcome to the fight to decide the Metropolitan area vote: The fight for the Red Belt.	Bona nit i benvinguts al combat per decidir el vot de l’àrea metropolitana: el combat pel Cinturó Roig.
30.		
31.	ICETA IS SEEN NEXT TO THE RING. HE WEARS A RED ROBE. HE HOLDS UP A BELT, LIKE THOSE ONES OF THE BOXING CHAMPIONS, RED. HE SHOWS IT TO THE AUDIENCE, WALKING AROUND THE RING. BEHIND HIM, OUTSIDE THE RING, IS PEDRO SÁNCHEZ WITH A SPANISH FLAG IN THE NECK, AS IF IT WAS A TOWEL.	VEIEM ICETA, A UN CANTÓ DEL RING. PORTA UN BARNÚS VERMELL. AIXECA UN CINTURÓ, COM ELS DELS CAMPIONS DE BOXA, DE COLOR VERMELL, I L’ENSENYA AL PÚBLIC, DONANT LA VOLTA, DARRERA SEU, FORA DEL RING, HI HA PEDRO SÁNCHEZ, AMB UNA BANDERA ESPANYOLA AL COLL, COM SI FOS UNA TOVALLOLA.
32.		
33.	<b>ANNOUNCER:</b>	<b>LOCUTOR:</b>
34.	To our left... ok, left to say something. (ICETA TURNS AROUND, ANNOYED). The belt defender, undefeated over last 37 years. The Foal of Nicaragua. Miquel Iceeeeeeeeta!	A l’esquerra... bé, esquerra per dir alguna cosa. (ICETA ENTOMA, MOLEST) El defensor del cinturó, invicte durant els últims 37 anys. El potro de Nicaragua. Miquel Iceeeeeeta!
35.		
36.	ICETA SITS IN A STOOL, NEXT TO PEDRO SÁNCHEZ. SÁNCHEZ PUTS THE SPANISH FLAG ON ICETA’S NECK AND GIVES HIM A MASSAGE.	ICETA S’ASSEU AL TAMBORET, AL COSTAT DE PEDRO SÁNCHEZ. SÁNCHEZ LI POSA LA BANDERA ESPANYOLA PER SOBRE I LI FA MASSATGE.
37.		
38.	<b>PEDRO SÁNCHEZ:</b>	<b>PEDRO SÁNCHEZ:</b>
39.	I am nervous, Míquel.	Estoy nervioso, Míquel.
40.		
41.	<b>MIQUEL ICETA:</b>	<b>MIQUEL ICETA:</b>
42.	Nervous? You? It is me who is facing this.	Nerviós, tu? Però si sóc jo qui dona la cara.
43.		
44.	<b>PEDRO SÁNCHEZ:</b>	<b>PEDRO SÁNCHEZ:</b>
45.	That is why.	Pues por eso.
46.		
47.	<b>ANNOUNCER:</b>	<b>LOCUTOR:</b>
48.	In the opposite corner, the Red Belt challenger.	A l’altra cantonada, l’aspirant al Cinturó Roig.
49.		
50.	INÉS ARRIMADAS IS SEEN IN AN ORANGE ROBE.	VEIEM INÉS ARRIMADAS AMB UN BATÍ TARONJA.
51.		
52.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS: (INTERRUPTING THE ANNOUNCER)</b>	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS: (INTERROMPENT EL LOCUTOR)</b>

53. To the Red Belt and to the entire Catalonia.  
 54.  
 55. **ANNOUNCER:**  
 56. Ciutadans' most promising rookie.  
 57.  
 58. **INÉS ARRIMADAS: (INTERRUPTING THE ANNOUNCER)**  
 59. Ciudadanos, because Castilian also exists in Catalonia.  
 60.  
 61. **ANNOUNCER:**  
 62. Could you please stop interrupting me? This is not a debate.  
 63.  
 64. **INÉS ARRIMADAS:**  
 65. Sorry, I am used to it.  
 66.  
 67. **ANNOUNCER:**  
 68. Inééééééés Arrimadas.  
 69.  
 70. **INÉS ARRIMADAS:**  
 71. This belt will be mine.  
 72.  
 73. SHE TAKES THE BELT AND PUTS IT ON AS IF WAS A MISS UNIVERSE SASH. ALBIOL ARRIVES WEARING A BLUE ROBE AND GETS IN THE RING.  
 74.  
 75. **XAVIER GARCÍA ALBIOL:**  
 76. Eh! Hang on a minute!  
 77.  
 78. **ANNOUNCER:**  
 79. Oops! It seems that we have another challenger. He comes from Badalona. The Hammer of the Constitutional. Xavier García Aaaaaaalbioooooool.  
 80.  
 81. ICETA SWALLOWS SALIVA  
 82.  
 83. **XAVIER GARCÍA ALBIOL:**  
 84. I will win the Red Belt. If you do not think so, listen to the silent majority.  
 85.  
 86. ALBIOL LENDS HIS EAR. THERE IS A SILENCE. NOTHING CAN BE HEARD. ALBIOL COVERS HIS MOUTH AND STARTS SHOUTING: "ALBIOL, ALBIOL".  
 87.  
 88. **ANNOUNCER:**  
 89. Ok, good. So we can start the figh...  
 90.  
 91. **LLUÍS RABELL:**  
 92. Wait a moment!  
 93.  
 94. RABELL INTERRUPTS WEARING A WHITE AND PURPLE ROBE. HE GETS INTO THE RING.  
 95.  
 96. **ANNOUNCER: (SHOUTING TO OUTSIDE THE FRAME)**  
 97. Security! We have a pitch invader.  
 98.  
 99. LLUÍS RABELL TALKS INTO ANNOUNCER'S EAR  
 100.  
 101. Oh no! He is Podemos's candidate. (HE RESUMES THE INTRODUCTION) To the left, a man who does need an introduction: Lluís Rabeéééééell. Title aspirants, go to the ring.  
 102.  
 103. ALL OF THEM TAKES THE ROBES OFF AND GATHER AT THE CENTRE OF THE BOXING RING. THEY LOOK AT EACH OTHER (NOT ONLY ICETA) WITH BITCHINESS.  
 104.  
 105. **ANNOUNCER:**  
 106. Don't forget we are in an electoral campaign period. So I want you to play dirty with low blows and daggers in the back.  
 107.  
 108. **LLUÍS RABELL:**  
 109. Eh, not in belly please. I just come from a feast.  
 110.

Al Cinturó Roig i a tot Catalunya.  
**LOCUTOR:**  
 La nova promesa de Ciutadans.  
**INÉS ARRIMADAS: (INTERROMPENT EL LOCUTOR)**  
 Ciudadanos, que el castellano en Catalunya también existe.  
**LOCUTOR:**  
 Vols deixar d'interrompre'm? Això no és un debat.  
**INÉS ARRIMADAS:**  
 Perdó, és el costum.  
**LOCUTOR:**  
 Inééééééés Arrimadas.  
**INÉS ARRIMADAS:**  
 Aquest cinturó serà meu.  
 AGAFA EL CINTURÓ I SE'L POSA COM SI FOS UNA BANDA DE MISS. ARRIBA ALBIOL, AMB UN BATÍ BLAU I PUJA AL RING.  
**XAVIER GARCIA ALBIOL:**  
 Eh! No tan de pressa!  
**LOCUTOR:**  
 Vaja! Sembla que tenim un altre aspirant. Vingut de Badalona. El martell del Constitucional. Xavier García Aaaaaaalbioooooool.  
 ICETA EMPASSA SALIVA  
**XAVIER GARCIA ALBIOL:**  
 Jo seré el guanyador del cinturó Roig. I si no em creieu, escolteu què diu la majoria silenciosa.  
 ALBIOL PARA L'ORELLA. ES FA EL SILENCI. NO SE SENT RES. ALBIOL ES TAPA LA BOCA I COMENÇA A CRIDA: "ALBIOL, ALBIOL".  
**LOCUTOR:**  
 Molt bé, doncs ja pot començar el com...  
**LLUÍS RABELL:**  
 Un moment!  
 INTERROMP RABELL, VESTIT AMB UN BATÍ BLANC I LILA. PUJA AL RING.  
**LOCUTOR: (CRIDANT FORA CAMP)**  
 Seguretat! Se'ns ha colat un espontani.  
 LLUÍS RABELL LI DIU UNA COSA A CAU D'ORELLA.  
 Ah no! És el candidat de Catalunya Sí que es pot. (TORNANT A PRESENTAR) A l'esquerra, un home que sí necessita presentació: Lluís Rabeéééééell. Aspirants, al centre del Ring.  
 TOTS ES TREUEN EL BATÍ I S'AJUNTEN AL CENTRE DEL RING. ES MIREN ENTRE ELLS (NO NOMÉS A L'ICETA) AMB CARA DE MALA LLET.  
**LOCUTOR:**  
 Recordeu que estem en campanya electoral. Per tant vull joc brut, cops baixos i punyals a l'esquena.  
**LLUÍS RABELL:**  
 Ei, però a la panxa no, que vinc d'una calçotada.



111.	<b>ANNOUNCER:</b>	<b>LOCUTOR:</b>
112.	Ok, then. May the most demagogue win	Molt bé doncs, que guanyi el més demagog.
113.		
114.	AUDIO: A BELL RINGS	ÀUDIO: SONA UNA CAMPANA.
115.		
116.	THE ANNOUNCER GETS AWAY AND ALL THE CANDIDATES STAY INSIDE THE RING	EL LOCUTOR S'APARTA I ES QUEDEN TOTS AL RING.
117.		
118.	<b>PEDRO SÁNCHEZ: (CHEERING UP)</b>	<b>PEDRO SÁNCHEZ: (ANIMANT)</b>
119.	Don't let them to punch you. Dance, Míquel, dance	No dejes que te golpeen. Baila, Míquel, baila.
120.		
121.	ICETA STARTS DANCING, AS HE DID IN POLITICAL RALLIES.	ICETA COMENÇA A BALLAR, COM HO FEIA ALS MÍTINGS.
122.		
123.	Not like that, you idiot. Dance like Rocky	Però así no, idiota! Como Rocky.
124.		
125.	EVERYONE POUNCE AND START A MAD FIGHT ALL AGAINST ALL.	TOTS S'ABRAONEN I INICIEN UN COMBAT MOLT BOIG DE TOTS CONTRA TOTS.
126.		
127.	<b>CUT A:</b>	<b>TALL A:</b>
128.		
129.	ARTUR MAS LOOKING AT THE SKETCH FROM THE RECORDING STATION. NEXT TO XAVI RICART. IN THE DISTANCE, CANDIDATE'S "OUCHS" AND "OHS" CAN BE HEARD. THEY SEE THE FIGHT ON THE DIRECTOR'S SCREEN.	ARTUR MAS MIRANT EL GAG AL COMBO, AL COSTAT DEL XAVI RICART. DE FONTS SE SENTEN "AIS" I "UIS" DELS CANDIDATS. A LA PANTALLA VEIEM LA CONTINUACIÓ DEL COMBAT.
130.		
131.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
132.	Four losers fighting for just one electoral quota. Can you see? This is what happens when parties are not united.	Quatre "lúfers" lluitant per un sol espai electoral. Ho veus, això és el que passa quan no hi ha unitat entre partits.
133.		
134.	<b>XAVI RICART:</b>	<b>XAVI RICART:</b>
135.	Cut! It is good!	Talleu, és bona!
136.		
137.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
138.	Eh... by the way. Do not unmount the ring. It may be useful next week with Romeva and Junqueras to decide who will be the president.	Eh... d'això. No desmunteu el ring. Pot ser que l'haguem de fer servir la setmana que ve amb en Romeva i en Junqueras per decidir qui és el president.
139.		

## Appendix 12: Script Mas Sobreviuré

1.	<b>Watch here:</b> <a href="https://youtu.be/yCLO6vd8bsM">https://youtu.be/yCLO6vd8bsM</a>	
2.		
3.	G11-45P – MAIN STAGE:	G11-45P – GAG PLATÓ:
4.	“TRANSICIÓ MAS I WILL SURVIVE” (V2) - OK	“TRANSICIÓ MAS SOBREVUIRÉ” (V2) - OK
5.	POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 375	POLÒNIA / TEMPORADA 11 / PGM 375
6.	RECORDING DATE: WEDNESDAY, 7 OCTOBER 2015	DATA GRAVACIÓ: DIMECRES, 7 OCTUBRE 2015
7.	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////
8.		
9.	<b>CAST</b>	<b>CÀSTING:</b>
10.	ARTUR MAS                      BRUNO ORO	ARTUR MAS                        BRUNO ORO
11.	ORIOI JUNQUERAS              IVAN LABANDA	ORIOI JUNQUERAS                IVAN LABANDA
12.	STAFF	GENT DE L'EQUIP
13.		
14.	<b>SET:</b>	<b>LOCALITZACIÓ:</b>
15.	TRANSICIÓ	TRANSICIÓ
16.		
17.	<b>SONG:</b>	<b>CANÇÓ:</b>
18.	HTTPS://WWW.YOUTUBE.COM/WATCH?V=ZBR2G-I I3-I	HTTPS://WWW.YOUTUBE.COM/WATCH?V=ZBR2G- I3-I
19.		
20.	<b>TRANSICIÓ MAS I WILL SURVIVE</b>	<b>TRANSICIÓ MAS SOBREVUIRÉ</b>
21.	INDOORS NIGHT TRANSICIÓ	INT. NIT TRANSICIÓ
22.		
23.	COMING FROM THE SKETCH G11-42P “CLANDESTINE MEETING”	VENIM DEL GAG G11-42P “REUNIÓ CLANDESTINA”.
24.		
25.	MAS CLOSES THE DOOR, ANGRY AT HIS PARTISANS, SETS OUT TO WALK ALONG THE FILM STUDIO.	MAS TANCA LA PORTA EMPRENYAT AMB ELS SEUS I COMENÇA A CAMINAR PEL PLATÓ.
26.		
27.	AUDIO: “I WILL SURVIVE”	ÀUDIO: “I WILL SURVIVE”.
28.		
29.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
30.	What a lazy guys	Quins galifardeus.
31.	What a disaster	Quina indignitat.
32.	Four CUP lousy commies	Quatre pollosos de la CUP
33.	have pissed me off.	els han atabalat.
34.		
35.	If I have endured all this time	Si els he aguantat tot aquest temps
36.	-and I really dislike some of them, by the way-	-i això que alguns no em molen gens-
37.	I am will not give up	no és per plegar
38.	I have to face this.	ara que toca sucra pa.
39.		
40.	I will survive.	Sobreviuré.
41.	Of course, I will.	I tant que sí.
42.	I have not get into this tight spot	No m'he ficat en un jardí
43.	to be said now “get out of here”.	perquè ara em diguin: “fuij d'aquí”.
44.		
45.	I have got over the 3 per cent	He superat el 3 per cent
46.	and Pujol's case smoothly,	i el cas Pujol perfectament,
47.	and when PP helped to be president.	i que el PP em va ajudar a ser president.
48.		
49.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
50.	I will survive.	Sobreviuré.
51.	Everything will be fine.	Tot 'nirà bé.
52.	If it is necessary I will make statements	Si cal faré declaracions
53.	either in Terribas or in Basté's shows.	a la Terribas o a en Basté.
54.		
55.	As Companys I will be admired,	Com en Companys seré admirat,
56.	but with no bloodshed, I am not insane.	prò sense sang, no estic xalat.
57.	I will not stop	No pararé
58.	until they dedicate a street to me.	fins que em dediquin un carrer!
59.		
60.	La, lara lala, lara lara lara, etc.	La, lara lalà, lara lara larà, etc.
61.		
62.	MAS TRIES TO MAKE A CIRCLE BY GRABBING STAFF MEMBERS FROM THE SHOULDERS TO FINISH SINGING THE SONG'S FINAL PART. IN AN “EVERYONE-DRUNK-PARTY” MOOD. HE FAILED TOO: EVERYONE PASS BY.	MAS INTENTA FER UN CERCLE AGAFANT GENT DE L'EQUIP PER L'ESPAITLLA PER CANTAR LA PART FINAL, ROTLLO “FESTA DE MINORIA AMB TOTHOM BORRATXO”. NO HO ACONSEGUEIX GAIRE: TOTHOM PASSA D'ELL.
63.		

<p>64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82.</p>	<p><b>ARTUR MAS: GETTING HIS DIGNITY BACK. ANNOYED)</b> Enough! I don't need your support to dance! I can do it all by myself!</p> <p>ENTERS ORIOL JUNQUERAS.</p> <p><b>ORIOL JUNQUERAS:</b> What a shame...</p> <p><b>ARTUR MAS:</b> Yes mate, they don't want to appoint me, don't want to dance with me...</p> <p><b>ORIOL JUNQUERAS:</b> If you fancy I sacrifice myself and I can bear to be the president. What do you think?</p> <p><b>ARTUR MAS:</b> Oh, marvellous. Thank you very much, Oriol (EXITS).</p> <p><b>ORIOL JUNQUERAS:</b> (surprised) Eh... you are welcome (thoughtful pause) Aaaaah, it was ironic (leaves).</p>	<p><b>ARTUR MAS: (RECUPERANT LA DIGNITAT. MOLEST)</b> Està bé! No necessito el vostre suport per ballar!! Puc fer-ho sol.</p> <p>ARRIBA ORIOL JUNQUERAS.</p> <p><b>ORIOL JUNQUERAS:</b> Quina pena...</p> <p><b>ARTUR MAS:</b> Sí, noi, no em volen investir, no volen ballar amb mi...</p> <p><b>ORIOL JUNQUERAS:</b> Si vols em sacrifico i em menjo jo el marron de ser president. Què et sembla?</p> <p><b>ARTUR MAS:</b> Oh, magnífic. Moltes gràcies, Oriol (MARXA).</p> <p><b>ORIOL JUNQUERAS:</b> (sorrès) Eh... De res (pausa pensativa) Aaaaah, era irònic. Ja deia jo (marxa).</p>
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## Appendix 13: Script A Junqueras se li escapa el riure

1.	<b>Watch here:</b> <a href="https://youtu.be/0r9sFeg6SWG">https://youtu.be/0r9sFeg6SWG</a>	
2.		
3.	G11-39P – MAIN STAGE:	G11-39P – GAG PLATÓ:
4.	<b>“PRE-SKETCH – JUNQUERAS CAN’T HELP LAUGHING” – OK</b>	<b>“PRECARETA - A JUNQUERAS SE LI ESCAPA EL RIURE” - OK</b>
5.	POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 375	POLÒNIA / TEMPORADA 11 / PGM 375
6.	RECORDING DATE: THURSDAY, 8 OCTOBER 2015	DATA DE GRAVACIÓ: DIJOURS, 8 OCTUBRE 2015
7.	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////
8.		
9.	<b>CAST:</b>	<b>CÀSTING:</b>
10.	ARTUR MAS: BRUNO ORO	ARTUR MAS: BRUNO ORO
11.	ORIOI JUNQUERAS: IVAN LABANDA	ORIOI JUNQUERAS: IVAN LABANDA
12.	PRODUCER: ORIOI VILA	REGIDOR: ORIOI VILA
13.	OFF TV: PEP PLAZA	OFF TV: PEP PLAZA
14.	TÈCHNICIANS	TÈCNICS
15.		
16.	<b>SET:</b>	<b>LOCALITZACIÓ:</b>
17.	SET REGI – <i>JUNTS PEL SÍ</i> MEETING ROOM	SET REGI – SALA <i>JUNTS PEL SÍ</i>
18.		
19.	<b>PRE-SKETCH – JUNQUERAS CAN’T HELP LAUGHING</b>	<b>PRECARETA - A JUNQUERAS SE LI ESCAPA EL RIURE</b>
20.	INDOORS NIGHT - <i>JUNTS PEL SÍ</i> MEETING ROOM	INT. NIT SALA <i>JUNTS PEL SÍ</i>
21.		
22.	MAS AND JUNQUERAS ARE WATCHING TV <i>JUNTS PEL SÍ</i> .	MAS I JUNQUERAS MIRANT LA TELE A UNA SALA DE <i>JUNTS PEL SÍ</i> .
23.		
24.	<b>OFF TV:</b>	<b>OFF TV:</b>
25.	We are still waiting for the press conference that CuP will give to announce its proposals for the new government. I looks like they will continue to deny appointing Mas as president, tough.	Seguim a l’espera de la conferència política que la CUP oferirà per anunciar les seves propostes sobre el nou govern, però tot fa pensar que seguiran negant-se a fer Mas president.
26.		
27.	MAS TURNS THE TV OFF	MAS APAGA LA TELE.
28.		
29.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
30.	I can’t watch. I am so nervous. I do not understand why they are so mad at me?	No puc mirar, estic molt nerviós. No ho entenc: per què em tenen tanta mania?
31.		
32.	JUNQUERAS WANTS TO ANSWER BUT MAS STOPS HIM WITH HIS GAZE.	JUNQUERAS FA INTENCIÓ DE CONTESTAR PERÒ MAS L’ATURA FULMINANT-LO AMB LA MIRADA.
33.		
34.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
35.	It was a rhetoric question. I want to be the president of Catalonia but I need to know if you are standing by me and you won’t let me abandoned in a petrol station when I go out to pee.	Éra una pregunta retòrica. Jo vull ser el president de Catalunya però necessito saber que esteu al meu costat i que no m’abandonareu mai en una benzinera aprofitant que he sortit a fer un pipí.
36.		
37.	<b>ORIOI JUNQUERAS (VERY SERIOUS):</b>	<b>ORIOI JUNQUERAS: (MOLT SERIÓS)</b>
38.	Keep calm Artur. You are my candidate and you have all my suppo... (HE CAN’T FINISH THE SENTENCE AS HE STARTS LAUGHING)	Tranquil, Artur, ets el meu candidat i tens tot el meu supor... (NO POT ACABAR LA FRASE PERQUÈ SE LI ESCAPA EL RIURE)
39.		
40.	PRODUCER GETS IN THE SET. RECORDING PAUSES	ENTRA EL REGIDOR. EL GAG S’INTERROMP.
41.		
42.	<b>PRODUCER:</b>	<b>REGIDOR:</b>
43.	Cut!	Talleu!
44.		
45.	SHOW THE CAMERAS, ETC. MAS AND JUNQUERAS LEAVE THE ACTING.	VEIEM ELS CÀMERES, ETC. MAS I JUNQUERAS ABANDONEN L’ÀCTING DE GAG.
46.		
47.	<b>ARTUR MAS (ANGRY):</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS: (EMPRENYAT)</b>
48.	Oriol, please. This is not serious! It is the third time.	Oriol. Això no és seriós! És la tercera vegada.
49.		
50.	<b>ORIOI JUNQUERAS:</b>	<b>ORIOI JUNQUERAS:</b>
51.	Sorry, so sorry, I don’t know what’s going on with me.	Perdó, perdó, és que no sé què em passa.
52.		
53.	<b>PRODUCER (SNORTS):</b>	<b>REGIDOR: (ESBUFEGA)</b>
54.	Ok, fine. Relax. Everyone back, we are resuming. Let’s resume in the petrol station.	Està bé. Calma. Tots a lloc que repetim. Des de la benzinera.
55.		
56.	EVERYONE GET BACK TO ACTING	TOTS TORNEN A ÀCTING DE GAG.
57.		

58.	<b>PRODUCER (OUTSIDE THE FRAME)</b>	<b>REGIDOR (FORA DE CAMP):</b>
59.	ACTION.	Acció.
60.		
61.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
62.	I want to be the president of Catalonia but I need to know if you are standing by me and you won't let me abandoned in a petrol station when I go out to pee.	Jo vull ser el president de Catalunya però necessito saber que esteu al meu costat i que no m'abandonareu mai en una benzinera aprofitant que he sortit a fer un pipí.
63.		
64.	<b>ORIOI JUNQUERAS:</b>	<b>ORIOI JUNQUERAS: (MOLT SOLEMNE)</b>
65.	Keep calm Artur. You are my candidate and you have all my suppo... (TRIES TO KEEP SERIOUS BUT FINALLY START LAUGHING). I can't, I can't with this joke.	Tranquil, Artur, ets el meu candidat i tens tot el meu su... (MIRA D'AGUANTAR PERÒ FINALMENT ESCLATA A RIURE). És que no puc, no puc amb aquest acudit.
66.		
67.	UNMOUNT THE SET AGAIN.	DESMUNTADA DE NOU.
68.		
69.	<b>ARTUR MAS (ANNOYED):</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS: (ENFADAT)</b>
70.	This not a joke.	És que no és cap acudit.
71.		
72.	<b>ORIOI JUNQUERAS:</b>	<b>ORIOI JUNQUERAS:</b>
73.	So I am peeing myself. Sorry, I need five minutes.	Doncs jo em pixo. Perdó, necessito 5 minuts.
74.	JUNQUERAS GETS OUT THE SET, LAUGHING.	JUNQUERAS SURT DEL SET RIENT.
75.		
76.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
77.	(Goes after him) The revolt of smiles was something different! You fat man!	(surt darrere d'ell) Lo de la revolta dels somriures era una altra cosa! Gordu!
78.		
79.	PRODUCER, WHO HAD COME IN THE SET TO CALM THEM DOWN, IS LEFT ALONE IN THE SET. LOOKS AT THE CAMERA, RESIGNING HIMSELF.	EL REGIDOR, QUE HAVIA ENTRAT A POSAR PAU, ES QUEDA SOL AL MIG DEL SET. MIRA A CÀMERA, RESIGNAT.
80.		
81.	<b>PRODUCER:</b>	<b>REGIDOR:</b>
82.	Carry on with the show.	Entreu careta.
83.		

## Appendix 14: Script Felipe Puig Indignat

1.	<b>Watch here:</b> <a href="https://youtu.be/jkrzf-9800Y">https://youtu.be/jkrzf-9800Y</a>	
2.		
3.	G11-74P – MAIN STAGE:	G11-74P – GAG PLATÓ:
4.	“TRANSICIÓ – ANGRY FELIP PUIG” - OK	“TRANSICIÓ – FELIP PUIG INDIGNAT” - OK
5.	POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 377	POLÒNIA / TEMPORADA 11 / PGM 377
6.	RECORDING DATE: WEDNESDAY, 21 OCTOBER 2015	DATA GRAVACIÓ: DIMECRES, 21 OCTUBRE 2015
7.	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////
8.		
9.	<b>CAST:</b>	<b>CÀSTING:</b>
10.	ARTUR MAS                      BRUNO ORO	ARTUR MAS                      BRUNO ORO
11.	FELIP PUIG                      DAVID OLIVARES	FELIP PUIG                      DAVID OLIVARES
12.	ANNA GABRIEL                LARA DíEZ	ANNA GABRIEL                LARA DíEZ
13.		
14.	<b>SET:</b>	<b>LOCALITZACIÓ:</b>
15.	TRANSICIÓ	TRANSICIÓ
16.		
17.	<b>TRANSICIÓ – ANGRY FELIP PUIG</b>	<b>TRANSICIÓ – FELIP PUIG INDIGNAT</b>
18.	INDOORS NIGHT TRANSI	INT. NIT TRANSI
19.		
20.	ARTUR MAS, QUITE ANGRY, COMING FROM THE SKETCH G11-58P “ORGANISING THE PARLAMENT”. FELIPE PUIG APPEARS IN THE SCENE.	ARTUR MAS MIG EMPRENYAT, SURT DE L’SKETCH G11-58P “ORGANITZANT EL PARLAMENT”. S’HI AFEGEIX EN FELIP PUIG.
21.		
22.	<b>FELIP PUIG:</b>	<b>FELIP PUIG:</b>
23.	Hey! Artur! Artur!	Ei, Artur! Artur!
24.		
25.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
26.	Holy crap, the final straw...	Hosti, el que faltava...
27.		
28.	<b>FELIP PUIG:</b>	<b>FELIP PUIG:</b>
29.	So, come with me to beat those CUP guys? As in the old times: Convergent against lousy Commies! I no longer have the bat, now I use it only in the ESADE conferences.	Què, véns amb mi a <i>rajar</i> de la CUP? Com als vells temps: convergents contra pollosos! Ja no tinc el bat, ara faig servir les conferències d’ESADE.
30.		
31.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
32.	Can you please stop heating up the political environment? If you want to criticise, do so in private. In politics, honesty gets you nowhere.	Vols deixar de caldejar l’ambient? Si els has de criticar, ho fas en privat. En política no s’ha arribat enlloc amb la sinceritat per davant.
33.		
34.	<b>FELIP PUIG:</b>	<b>FELIP PUIG:</b>
35.	Ok, fine. Don’t get angry, it is not a big deal. Give one reason you believe I am barking the wrong tree.	Au, no t’enfadis que tampoc n’hi ha per tant. Diga’m un sol motiu pel qual creus que he pixat fora de test.
36.		
37.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
38.	Unió has agreed with you.	Unió ha dit que estava d’acord amb tu.
39.		
40.	<b>FELIP PUIG:</b> (admiting)	<b>FELIP PUIG:</b> (entoma)
41.	Ok, 1 – 0.	Val. 1 a 0.
42.		
43.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
44.	How can you say we are not to come to an agreement with them? Making them angry is not a good idea. They are like Gremlins, but even hairier.	Com se t’acut dir que no arribarem a cap acord amb ells? No ens convé fer-los enfadar, són com gremlins però una mica més peluts.
45.		
46.	<b>FELIP PUIG:</b>	<b>FELIP PUIG:</b>
47.	Artur, you can’t be so confident. This CUP guys are indecent people! Do remember the Rubber Bullets case?	Artur, no te’n pots refiar. Aquesta gent de la CUP són uns indecents! Te’n recordes del cas de les pilotes de goma?
48.		
49.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
50.	OH! It was them?	OH! Van ser ells?
51.		
52.	<b>FELIP PUIG:</b>	<b>FELIP PUIG:</b>
53.	No. They demanded my resignation! Can you believe?	No, van demanar que dimitís! Tu creus?
54.		
55.	ARTUR GIVES UP AND TRIES TO GET AWAY. PUIG CATCHES HIM.	L’ARTUR EL DÓNA PER PERDUT I INTENTA MARXAR. EN PUIG L’ATRAPA DE NOU.
56.		
57.	Hey Artur! Let’s show them who is in charge: we have more MPs, more experience, more <i>putería</i> , more...	Ei, Artur, de debò. Hem de demostrar qui mana: tenim més diputats, més experiència, més <i>puteria</i> , més...
58.		

59.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b> (interrupts)	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b> (interromp)
60.	And, what the do you want me to do? The got me by the balls! I can only wait for them to make a move, a response.	I què vols que faci?! Ens tenen agafats pels collons! Només podem esperar que ells moguin fitxa, que responguin.
61.		
62.	WE CAN SEE THEY ARE GETTING NEXT TO ANNA GABRIEL, WHO IS STILL ON A PLATFORM, AS IF SHE WAS A HUMAN STATUE IN LA RAMBLA. SHE HAS A POT TO THROW SOME COINS INSIDE.	VEIEM QUE HAN ARRIBAT AL COSTAT D'ANNA GABRIEL, QUE ESTÀ IMMÒBIL SOBRE UNA PLATAFORMA, COM SI FOS UNA ESTÀTUA HUMANA DE LA RAMBLA. DAVANT, UN CALAIX PER TIRAR-HI MONEDES.
63.		
64.	Do you think I have not tried? That I am not putting pressure on them? But, no way. They are such a closed-minded.	Et penses que no ho he intentat? Que no els hi estem fotent pressa? Però no hi ha manera, són discrets de mena.
65.		
66.	ARTUR MAS STARTS MAKING QUESTIONS AND, AT EVERY TIME, HE THROWS A COIN.	ARTUR MAS COMENÇA A FER PREGUNTES I, CADA VEGADA, TIRA UNA MONEDA.
67.		
68.	Will we agree a government system? (Anna stands still) Will we reach a deal before December 20 <sup>th</sup> ? (Anna stands still) Will everything end up with new elections? (Anna stands still) Do you like Romeva? (Anna stands still) Will you make me president?	Pactarem un model de Govern? (anna roman immòbil) Arribarem a un acord abans del 20 de desembre? (anna roman immòbil) Tot això acabarà amb noves eleccions? (anna roman immòbil) Us cau bé el Romeva? (anna roman immòbil) Em fareu President?
69.		
70.	ANNA GABRIEL STARTS MOVING LIKE A HUMAN STATUE IN LA RAMBLA AND MAKES THE "FUCK YOU" GESTURE WITH THE MIDDLE FINGER.	L'ANNA GABRIEL COMENÇA A MOURE'S COM UNA ESTÀTUA DE LA RAMBLA I ELS HI FA EL "FUCK YOU" AMB EL DIT.
71.		
72.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
73.	Akdjafkdfjakdfjaldfjkl!	Akdjafkdfjakdfjaldfjkl!
74.		
75.	ARTUR MAS AND FELIP PUIG LEAVE ANGRY.	ARTUR MAS I FELIP PUIG MARXEN EMPRENYATS.
76.		
77.	ANNA GABRIEL SMILES, GETS OFF THE PLATFORM AND TAKES THE POT WITH THE COINS.	ANNA GABRIEL SOMRIU, BAIXA DE LA PLATAFORMA I AGAFA EL CALAIX AMB ELS DINERS.
78.		
79.	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>	<b>ANNA GABRIEL:</b>
80.	This money if the comrades in the Ateneu Llibertaru. (SHE STOPS AND THINK) or maybe I get an Iphone.	Això, per les companyes de l'Ateneu Llibertari. (S'ATURA I S'HO PENSA) O potser em pillo un Iphone
81.		

## Appendix 15: Script Consellers Vetats

1.	<b>Watch here:</b> <a href="https://youtu.be/vrvLUyrSiSU">https://youtu.be/vrvLUyrSiSU</a>	
2.		
3.	G11- 93P – MAIN STAGE	G11-93P – GAG PLATÓ:
4.	<b>VETOED MINISTERS - OK</b>	<b>“PRECARETA – CONSELLERS VETATS” - OK</b>
5.	POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 379	POLÒNIA / TEMPORADA 11 / PGM 379
6.	RECORDING DATE: WEDNESDAY 4, NOVEMBER 2015	DATA GRAVACIÓ: DIMECRES, 4 NOVEMBRE 2015
7.	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////
8.		
9.	<b>CAST:</b>	<b>CÀSTING:</b>
10.	ARTUR MAS: BRUNO ORO	ARTUR MAS: BRUNO ORO
11.	SECRETÀRIA (CARME): LARA DíEZ	SECRETÀRIA (CARME): LARA DíEZ
12.	ANTONIO BAÑOS: DAVID OLIVARES	ANTONIO BAÑOS: DAVID OLIVARES
13.	POLÒNIA TECHNICIAN: XAVI CARRERAS	TREBALLADOR XAVI CARRERAS POLÒNIA:
14.	POLÒNIA TECHNICIANS	TÈCNICS POLÒNIA
15.		
16.	<b>SETTING:</b>	<b>LOCALITZACIÓ:</b>
17.	INDOORS DAY - GENERALITAT’S CORRIDORS	SET PASSADÍS – PASSADÍS GENERALITAT
18.		
19.	<b>VETOED MINISTERS</b>	<b>PRECARETA – CONSELLERS VETATS</b>
20.	INDOORS DAY - GENERALITAT’S CORRIDORS	INT. DIA PASSADÍS GENERALITAT
21.		
22.	MAS ARRIVES TO WORK. WHEN HEADING TO HIS OFFICE DOOR, IS APPROACHED BY HIS SECRETARY BRINGING A FOLDER WITH TODAY’S AGENDA.	MAS ARRIBA A TREBALLAR. MENTRE CAMINA CAP A LA PORTA DEL SEU DESPATX, SE LI AFEGEIX AL COSTAT UNA SECRETÀRIA AMB UN DOSSIER AMB L’ORDRE DEL DIA.
23.		
24.	<b>SECRETARY (CARME):</b>	<b>SECRETÀRIA (CARME):</b>
25.	Good morning, mister president.	Bon dia, President.
26.		
27.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
28.	Good morning, Carme.	Bon dia, Carme.
29.		
30.	CARME OPENS THE AGENDA TO READ IT. MAS KEEPS HER.	LA CARME OBRE EL DOSSIER PER LLEGIR-LI I EN MAS L’ATURA.
31.		
32.	Hold on! Are these news about the Pujols? (SECRETARY MAKES A NO GESTURE) Any legal action against me? (SECRETARY MAKES A NO GESTURE) Has Quico written a poem to say that he will miss me when in Madrid? (SECRETARY MAKES A NO GESTURE). Perfect, then proceed to read.	Espera’t! Aquests papers són notícies sobre els Pujol? (LA SECRETÀRIA FA QUE NO) Algú m’ha imputat o denunciat? (LA SECRETÀRIA FA QUE NO) En Quico m’ha escrit un altre poema per dir-me com em trobarà a faltar quan sigui a Madrid? (LA SECRETÀRIA FA QUE NO) Perfecte, pots llegir, doncs.
33.		
34.	<b>SECRETARY (CARME):</b>	<b>SECRETÀRIA (CARME):</b>
35.	This is today’s agenda. Now you have a meeting with minister Boi Ruiz to discuss the pharmacies’ issue. (SHE PASSES THE AGENDA TO HIM). Here you are the figures.	És l’ordre del dia. Ara té reunió amb el conseller Boi Ruiz per parlar del tema de les farmàcies. (LI DONA EL DOSSIER) Aquí té les xifres.
36.		
37.	ARTUR MAS OPENS THE FOLDER. READ THE FIRST PAGE.	ARTUR MAS OBRE EL DOSSIER I LLEGEIX LA PRIMERA PÀGINA.
38.		
39.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS</b>
40.	Whose telephone number is this?	De qui és aquest telèfon?
41.		
42.	<b>SECRETARY (CARME):</b>	<b>SECRETÀRIA (CARME):</b>
43.	No. This is the amount we own them.	No, això és el que els hi debem.
44.		
45.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
46.	Holy Mother of God! (LOOKING OFFCAMERA). Boi! Boi! Come here, right now!	Mare de Déu santíssima! (CAP AL FORA DE CAMP) Boi! Boi vine aquí ara mateix!
47.		
48.	A DOORS OPENS AND A WHEELED MANNEQUIN APPEARS (SOMEONE HAS TO PUSH IT FROM OUTSIDE). MAS STARES AT IT IN SHOCK.	S’OBRE UNA DE LES PORTES DEL PASSADÍS I ENTRA UN MANIQUÍ AMB RODETES (ALGÚ L’EMPENY DES DE FORA). EN MAS S’HO MIRA AMB ESTUPOR.
49.		
50.	What the hell is this?	Què coi és això?
51.		
52.	<b>SECRETARY (CARME):</b>	<b>SECRETÀRIA – CARME:</b>



53. A mannequin that will be Boi Ruiz. CUP has vetoed his presence in *Polònia*.  
54.  
55. **ARTUR MAS:**  
56. This is it! Enough is enough!  
57.  
58. MAS SEES ANTONIO BAÑOS PASSING BY AND CALLS HIM  
59.  
60. Baños! You can't veto my ministers!  
61.  
62. **ANTONIO BAÑOS:**  
63. Of course I can. Here you are the list. I don't even want to see those ones.  
64.  
65. HE PASSES A PIECE OF PAPER TO MAS  
66.  
67. **ARTUR MAS: (READING)**  
68. Boi Ruiz, Felip Puig, Germà Gordó... listen to me you (xato). This is politics. We are not playing a Taboo game.  
69.  
70. **ANTONIO BAÑOS:**  
71. Either you play my rules or I don't support your government.  
72.  
73. A TECHNICIAN GETS IN WITH TWO TEDDY BEARS IN SUIT.  
74.  
75. **POLÒNIA TECHNICIAN:**  
76. Where do I leave Felip and Gordó?  
77.  
78. **ANTONIO BAÑOS:**  
79. Right here, thank you.  
80.  
81. TECHNICIAN LEAVES THEM ON THE FLOOR AND GETS OUT.  
82.  
83. **ARTUR MAS:**  
84. Don't you see the people will complain? These ministers have a strong popular support.  
85.  
86. **ANTONIO BAÑOS:**  
87. Of course they have! People is queuing in Sant Jaume square to take selfies with Gordó.  
88.  
89. **ARTUR MAS:**  
90. What if you veto Ciureneta? Nobody knows him? And he also have "CIU" in his name. It's a double veto!  
91.  
92. **ANTONIO BAÑOS:**  
93. We'll veto anyone who has to do with austerity cuts or engaged in alleged corruption cases!  
94.  
95. **ARTUR MAS:**  
96. OH COME ON, THIS IS CONVERGÈNCIA!!! Even Tato will be vetoed!  
97.  
98. **ANTONIO BAÑOS:**  
99. Tato is also vetoed.  
100.  
101. **ARTUR MAS:**  
102. I want to talk with the director! Where is Toni Soler?  
103.  
104. **ANTONIO BAÑOS:**  
105. Vetoed. We have vetoed any form of authority. Since now on Roomba will take one his place.  
106.  
107. HE CROUCHES AND TURNS A ROOMBA VACUUM CLEANER ON.  
108.  
109. **ARTUR MAS:**  
110. But, but. (HE SPINS AROUND TO TALK WITH HIS SECRETARY). Can you believe th...?  
111.  
112. WHEN HE HAS SPUN AROUND, INSTEAD OF HIS SECRETARY THERE IS A FEMALE MANNEQUIN DRESSING LIKE HER.  
113.
- Un maniquí que farà de Boi Ruiz. La CUP ha vetat la seva presència al *Polònia*.  
**ARTUR MAS:**  
Ah no! Per aquí sí que no hi passo!  
EN MAS VEU L'ANTONIO BAÑOS QUE PASSA PER ALLÀ I EL CRIDA.  
Baños! No em pots vetar consellers!  
**ANTONIO BAÑOS:**  
I tant que puc. Aquí tens la llista. A aquests no els vull ni veure.  
LI DÓNA UN PAPERET A EN MAS.  
**ARTUR MAS: (LLEGEIX)**  
Boi Ruiz, Felip Puig, Germà Gordó... Escolta xato, estem fent política, no una partida al Tabú!  
**ANTONIO BAÑOS:**  
O juguem així o m'enduc el suport al teu govern.  
ENTRA UN TREBALLADOR AMB DOS OSSOS DE PELUIX VESTITS AMB TRAJE.  
**TREBALLADOR POLÒNIA:**  
On deixo en Felip i en Gordó?  
**ANTONIO BAÑOS:**  
Aquí mateix, gràcies.  
EL TREBALLADOR ELS DEIXA A TERRA I MARXA.  
**ARTUR MAS:**  
No ho veus que la gent es queixarà? Aquests consellers tenen molt de suport popular.  
**ANTONIO BAÑOS:**  
Uí sí! La gent fa cua a la Plaça Sant Jaume per fer-se selfies amb en Gordó.  
**ARTUR MAS:**  
I si veteu el Ciureneta, que no el coneix ningú? I a més porta "Ciu" al nom, és un doble veto!  
**ANTONIO BAÑOS:**  
Vetarem a tot aquell que tingui a veure amb les retallades o amb suposats casos de corrupció!  
**ARTUR MAS:**  
QUE SÓM CONVERGÈNCIA, COI! No quedarà ni el tato!  
**ANTONIO BAÑOS:**  
El tato també està vetat.  
**ARTUR MAS:**  
Vull parlar amb el director! I en Toni Soler?  
**ANTONIO BAÑOS:**  
Vetat. Hem vetat qualsevol autoritat. Ara la roomba ocuparà el seu càrrec en funcions.  
S'AJUP I ENCÉN UNA ASPIRADORA ROOMBA.  
**ARTUR MAS:**  
Però... però! (ES GIRA PER PARLAR AMB LA SECRETÀRIA) Et pots creure qu...?  
QUAN EN MAS ES GIRA, AL LLOC DE LA SECRETÀRIA HI HA UN MANIQUÍ DE DONA VESTIDA IGUAL.

114.	Where is Carme?	On és la Carme?
115.		
116.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
117.	Vetoed, because it is sexist. Why a secretary is always a woman? Why can't it be a male-secretary?	Vetada, per sexista. Per què sempre ha de ser una dona qui fa de secretària? Per què no pot ser un secretari?
118.		
119.	MAS MAKES A QUIFF SHAKING. HE WALKS AWAY AND ON HIS WAY HE FINDS A GOOD-LOOKING, WELL-DRESSED MANNEQUIN. MAS LOOKS AT IT. CONFUSED.	TREMOLOR DE TUPÈ DE MAS. MARXA I A MIG CAMÍ DESCOBREIX UN MANIQUÍ BEN PLANTAT I BEN VESTIT. EN MAS SE'L MIRA, COFOI.
120.		
121.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
122.	And this good-looking mannequin? Who is it? Who else have you vetoed? (HE REALISES IT IS HIMSELF). Ah, ok, ok. Sorry, sometimes I still hope this is a bad joke.	I aquest maniquí tan ben plantat? De qui farà, a qui més heu vetat? (SE N'ADONA QUE ÉS ELL) Ah, és clar, és clar... Perdó, de vegades encara espero que tot plegat sigui una broma de mal gust.
123.		

## Appendix 16: Script Transició Baños Arrimadas

Watch here: <a href="https://youtu.be/0BCRK9WWu8k">https://youtu.be/0BCRK9WWu8k</a>		
2.		G11-101P – GAG PLATÓ:
3.	G11-101P – MAIN STAGE:	“TRANSICIÓ BAÑOS ARRIMADAS” (V5) - OK
4.	“TRANSICIÓ BAÑOS ARRIMADAS” (V5) - OK	“TRANSICIÓ BAÑOS ARRIMADAS” (V5) - OK
5.	POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 380	POLÒNIA / TEMPORADA 11 / PGM 380
6.	RECORDING DATE: THURSDAY, 12 NOVEMBER 2015	DATA GRAVACIÓ: DIJOUS, 12 NOVEMBRE 2015
7.	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////
8.		
9.	<b>CAST:</b>	<b>CÀSTING:</b>
10.	DAVID OLIVARES                      ANTONIO BAÑOS	DAVID OLIVARES                      ANTONIO BAÑOS
11.	LARA DÍEZ                                INÉS ARRIMADAS	LARA DÍEZ                                INÉS ARRIMADAS
12.	IVAN LABANDA                        ORIOL JUNQUERAS	IVAN LABANDA                        ORIOL JUNQUERAS
13.	TECHNICIANS                        EXTRAS	TÈCNICS                                FIGURACIÓ
14.		
15.	<b>SET:</b>	<b>LOCALITZACIÓ:</b>
16.	TRANSICIÓ	TRANSICIÓ
17.		
18.	<b>TRANSICIÓ BAÑOS-ARRIMADAS</b>	<b>TRANSICIÓ BAÑOS-ARRIMADAS</b>
19.	INDOORS NIGHT TRANSICIÓ	INT. NIT TRANSICIÓ
20.		
21.	COMING FROM SKETCH G11-103P “LOTERÍA DE LA CUP”. BAÑOS MEETS ARRIMADAS, WHO IS WAITING FOR HIM. BAÑOS IS STILL DRESSING LIKE A SANT ILDEFONS’S CHILD.	VENIM DEL GAG G11-103P “LOTERIA DE LA CUP”. BAÑOS ES TROBA ARRIMADAS, QUE L'ESTÀ ESPERANT. BAÑOS ENCARA VA VESTIT DE NEN DE SANT ILDEFONS.
22.		
23.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>
24.	Baños, Banys.	Baños, Banys.
25.		
26.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
27.	Surnames are not translated.	Els cognoms no es tradueixen.
28.		
29.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>
30.	Good to know, because “arrambades” does not sound nice.	Millor, perquè “arrambades” no em sona bé.
31.		
32.	I have to ask you something... and I need you to be honest.	The de fer una pregunta... i necessito que siguis sincer.
33.		
34.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
35.	Yes, I admit it: you turn me on. I mean, you got that posh thing that for those from Meridiana Avenue is...	Sí, d'acord...: em poses. És que tens aquest punt pijo que als de La Meridiana...
36.		
37.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>
38.	What are you telling me?	Però què dius?
39.		
40.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
41.	Ah... it is not about that?	Ah... no era això?
42.		
43.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>
44.	Are you sure that you will not end up voting for Mas?	Segur que al final no investireu a Mas?
45.		
46.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
47.	Of course we won't. As Saint Augustine said: a man can sacrifice himself for the whole people, but...	És clar que no. Com deia Sant Agustí: un sol home es pot sacrificar per tot un poble, però...
48.		
49.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS: (INTERRUPTING HIM)</b>	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS: (L'INTERROMP)</b>
50.	Ok, ok. Perfect! We are having elections again and Ciutadans will rock.	Que sí, que sí. Perfecte! Tornarem a tenir eleccions i Ciutadans ho petarà.
51.		
52.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
53.	I would not be so happy. Think something: If we do not appoint him, what will you talk about next term?	Jo no estaria tan contenta. Pensa una cosa: si no l'investim de què parlareu a la pròxima legislatura?
54.		
55.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>
56.	What do you want to say?	Què vols dir?
57.		
58.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
59.	I mean, you repeat like an onion pastry: (MOCKING HER, MAKING AN ANNOYING-GIRL VOICE) Mister Mas is an irresponsible man, mister mas does not want to speak about the corruption in his party, mister Mas promises ice cream dessert for all the children.	Que us repetiu més que una piruleta de ceba: (ESCARNINT-LA, FENT VEUETA DE DONA) El senyor Mas és un irresponsable, el senyor Mas no parla de la corrupció del seu partit, el senyor Mas promet gelat de postre a tots els nens.
60.		

61.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>
62.	Hey! In Ciutadans we have a lot more arguments, eh!	Ei! Que Ciutadans tenim molts més arguments, eh!
63.		
64.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
65.	Really, which ones?	Ah sí? Quins?
66.		
67.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>
68.	None comes to my mind right now, because Mister Mas concentrates all the topics on his person.	Doncs ara no se me n'acut cap perquè el senyor Mas centralitza tots el temes en la seva persona.
69.		
70.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
71.	Look, if I was you guys, I would vote for him.	Mira, jo de vosaltres l'investiria.
72.		
73.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS: (TAKING OFFENCE)</b>	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS: (FENT-SE L'OFESA)</b>
74.	Yes man. Ciutadans, Ciudadanos would never make president a corrupt party's candidate.	Sí, home. Ciutadans, Ciudadanos mai faria president al candidat d'un partit corrupte.
75.		
76.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS: (PRETENDING HE IS CAUGHING)</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS: (FENT VEURE QUE ESTOSSEGA)</b>
77.	Cifuentes.	Cifuentes.
78.		
79.	ARRIMADAS STANDS STILL, TENSE.	ARRIMADAS ES QUEDA QUIETA, TENSA.
80.		
81.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS: (PRETENDING HE IS CAUGHING)</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS: (FENT VEURE QUE ESTOSSEGA)</b>
82.	Susana Diaz.	Susana Diaz.
83.		
84.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS:</b>
85.	Then, if I was you I would not be that happy either, because if we do not vote for him there will be new elections, and how will you manage to push forwards the independence process?	Doncs jo de tu tampoc estaria tan content, perquè si no investiu Mas i hi ha noves eleccions, com ho fareu per tirar endavant el procés de ruptura?
86.		
87.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
88.	That is Mister Mas's fault, who is a personalist guy and wants to concentrates the whole process on himself.	La culpa és del senyor Mas, que és personalista i vol centralitzar tot el procés en ell.
89.		
90.	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS: (PUTTING HER HAND OVER THE EAR)</b>	<b>INÉS ARRIMADAS: (POSANT-SE LA MÀ A L'ORELLA)</b>
91.	It seems that it's all mister Mas' fault. (HOTTIE) Now you understand why I turn you on.	M'ha semblat sentir que la culpa és del senyor Mas. (PICANTONA) Ara entenc perquè et molo.
92.		
93.	ARRIMADAS LEAVES WHILE BAÑOS REMAINS IN, ASTONISHED.	ARRIMADAS MARXA MENTRE BAÑOS ES QUEDA ALLÀ, DESCOL·LOCAT.
94.		
95.	<b>ORIOI JUNQUERAS:</b>	<b>ORIOI JUNQUERAS:</b>
96.	Can I ask you something? Will you vote for Mas next investiture?	Et puc fer una pregunta? Investireu Mas a la pròxima votació?
97.		
98.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS: (SNORTS, FED UP WITH THE SAME QUESTION)</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS: (ESBUFEGA, FART DE LA MATEIXA PREGUNTA)</b>
99.	Nooooo.	Nooooo.
100.		
101.	JUNQUERAS MAKES A HOORAY WITH A CLENCHED FIST.	JUNQUERAS FA UN BIEN, APRETANT EL PUNY.
102.		
103.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS: (CRAZY)</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS: (AL·LUCINAT)</b>
104.	But, don't you want us to vote for him?	Però tu no vols que l'investim?
105.		
106.	<b>ORIOI JUNQUERAS: (SLYLY)</b>	<b>ORIOI JUNQUERAS: (DISSIMULANT)</b>
107.	Yes, yes. Of course.	Sí, sí, esclar.
108.		
109.	JUNQUERAS LEAVES WHILE DANCING AND SHAKES THE ASS, WITH CONTAINED JOY.	JUNQUERAS MARXA FENT UN BALL MOVENT EL CUL, COM D'ALEGRIA CONTINGUDA.
110.		

## Appendix 17: Script El Cobrador del Mas

1.	<b>Watch here:</b> <a href="https://youtu.be/D579lgdxwo">https://youtu.be/D579lgdxwo</a>	
2.		
3.	G11-113P – MAIN STAGE:	G11-113P – GAG PLATÓ:
4.	“TRANSICIÓ –MAS’ COLLECTOR” (V3) – OK	“TRANSICIÓ – EL COBRADOR DEL MAS” (V3) - OK
5.	POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 381	POLÒNIA / TEMPORADA 11 / PGM 381
6.	RECORDING DATE: THURSDAY, 19 NOVEMBER 2015	DATA GRAVACIÓ: DIJOUS, 19 NOVEMBRE 2015
7.	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////
8.		
9.	<b>CAST:</b>	<b>CÀSTING:</b>
10.	ANTONIO BAÑOS                      DAVID OLIVARES	ANTONIO BAÑOS                      DAVID OLIVARES
11.	LLUÍS LLACH                              MANEL LUCAS	LLUÍS LLACH                              MANEL LUCAS
12.	PILAR RAHOLA                            CESC CASANOVAS	PILAR RAHOLA                            CESC CASANOVAS
13.	TECHNICIANS	TÈCNICS
14.		
15.	<b>SET:</b>	<b>LOCALITZACIÓ:</b>
16.	TRANSICIÓ	TRANSICIÓ
17.		
18.	<b>TRANSICIÓ –MAS’ COLLECTOR</b>	<b>TRANSICIÓ – EL COBRADOR DEL MAS</b>
19.	INDOORS NIGHT TRANSICIÓ	INT. NIT TRANSICIÓ
20.		
21.	ANTONIO BAÑOS IN THE CORRIDORS WITH A VERY ANGRY FACE. DESPERATE. IT IS CHASED BY LLUÍS LLACH IN HIS USUAL CLOTHING AND BRINGS A BRIEFCASE. HE GOES AFTER BAÑOS SINGING ALONG “IF I SING SADLY”.	ANTONIO BAÑOS PEL PASSADÍS AMB CARA DE MOLT EMPRENYAT, DESESPERAT. EL SEGUEIX LLUÍS LLACH AMB VESTUARI HABITUAL. DUU UN MALETÍ. VA DARRERE EN BAÑOS CANTANT-LI SENSE PARAR “I SI CANTO TRIST”.
22.		
23.	<b>LLUÍS LLACH: (SINGING)</b>	<b>LLUÍS LLACH: (CANTANT)</b>
24.	“I don’t like the fear, I don’t want it for tomorrow either.	“Jo no estimo la por, ni la vull per demà,
25.	I don’t want it today, I don’t want a remembrance either	no la vull per avui, ni tampoc com record.
26.	I like a smiley child...”	Que m’agrada el somris d’un infa...”
27.		
28.	BAÑOS SUDDENLY TURNS BACK, FED UP.	EN BAÑOS ES GIRA DE COP, FART.
29.		
30.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
31.	Shut up! Enough! How long will this last?	Calla! Prou! Fins quan durarà, això?
32.		
33.	<b>LLUÍS LLACH:</b>	<b>LLUÍS LLACH:</b>
34.	I will keep singing all of my songs if you don’t make Mas president. This is my job, (SHOWS A BRIEFCASE LABELLED “MAS’ COLLECTOR”) I am Mas’ collector.	Et perseguiré cantant-te totes les meves cançons fins que no feu a Mas president. És la meva feina, sóc (ENSENYA EL MALETÍ ON HI HA ESCRIT “EL COBRADOR DEL MAS), “el cobrador del Mas”.
35.		
36.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
37.	So you think that by singi...	I et penses que amb aque...
38.		
39.	<b>LLUÍS LLACH: (INTERRUPTS HIM SINGING)</b>	<b>LLUÍS LLACH: (L’INTERROMP CANTANT)</b>
40.	“And If I siiiiiiiiiiing sadly is because I cannot...”	“I SI CAAAAAAAANTO trist és perquè no puc...”
41.		
42.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
43.	Shut up! You are getting me depressed! And If I commit suicide then I will not be able to vote for him.	Calla que m’estàs deprimint! I si em suïcido sí que no el podré investir.
44.		
45.	<b>LLUÍS LLACH:</b>	<b>LLUÍS LLACH:</b>
46.	Ah, that is why I have started with the funniest ones...	Oh, doncs he començat per les animades...
47.		
48.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS</b>
49.	I mean, I cannot understand what is going on with you and Mas. He is such a snooty! Actually I have seen also are a “long peeled”	És que no entenc què t’ha agafat amb el Mas. Si és un pijo! Clar que ja he vist que tu també toques pela llarga...
50.		
51.	<b>LLUÍS LLACH:</b>	<b>LLUÍS LLACH:</b>
52.	That information was slanderous!	Aquella informació era una infàmia!
53.		
54.	BAÑOS CARRIES ON WALKING. LLACH TAKES THE OPPORTUNITY –BAÑOS IS NOT LOOKING AT HIM- TO TAKE A WOOLLEN HAT WITH DIAMONDS OUT OF HIS POCKET AND TRIES TO GET RID OF IT.	BAÑOS CONTINUA CAMINANT. LLACH APROFITA QUE NO EL MIRA PER TREURE’S DE LA BUTXACA UN GORRET DE LLANA PLE DE DIAMANTS ENGANXATS I EL TIRA PER DESFER-SE’N.
55.		
56.	<b>LLUÍS LLACH:</b>	<b>LLUÍS LLACH:</b>
57.	“And If I siiiiiiiiiiing”	“I si caaaaaaaaanto...”

58.			
59.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS: (TURNS AROUND, FED UP)</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS: (ES GIRA, FART)</b>	
60.	What has Mas promised you? Tell me what is and if you shut up I will double his bet. What is more, if you want we propose you as a consensual president.	Què t'ha promès, en Mas? Diga'm què és i si calles et juro que doblo l'oferta. És més, si vols et proposem a tu com a President de consens.	
61.			
62.	<b>LLUÍS LLACH: (AFRAID)</b>	<b>LLUÍS LLACH: (ACOLLONIT)</b>	
63.	He has promised me nothing. I did this because I want the independence process and the legislative term to finish so that I can go back to Senegal. Ok, I am leaving... It seems we are running out of feed pellets to bring to the lions.	No m'ha promès res. Ho faig perquè vull que s'acabi aviat el procés i la legislatura i poder tornar al Senegal. Començo a patir... Crec que s'està acabant el pinso que vaig deixar als lleons.	
64.			
65.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	
66.	So, this is it. Ok man, don't be afraid. Go quietly. Nobody is watching, nobody will know the truth. I will make an excuse for you; that you are in a hat fashion week in Milano or something else...	Doncs si és això, marxa. Clar home, sense por. Marxa tranquil. Ara ningú et veu, ningú sabrà la veritat. Ja pensaré una excusa, que has anat a la desfilada de gorros de Milà o algo...	
67.			
68.	<b>LLUÍS LLACH:</b>	<b>LLUÍS LLACH:</b>	
69.	Really, would you lie for me?	De debò mentiries per mi?	
70.			
71.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	
72.	I am a journalist and now politician. I think I will know how to lie.	Sóc periodista i ara, polític. Crec que en sabré, de mentir.	
73.			
74.	<b>LLUÍS LLACH:</b>	<b>LLUÍS LLACH:</b>	
75.	Thank you, Antonio. Thank you!	Gràcies, Antonio. Gràcies!	
76.			
77.	LLUÍS LLACH LEAVES RUNNING, HAPPY.	EN LLUÍS LLACH MARXA CORRENT, FELIÇ.	
78.			
79.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	
80.	Thank God! Or wherever the equivalent atheist expression. Some peace of mind, at last...	Gràcies a Déu! O la que sigui l'expressió atea equivalent. Una mica de tranquil·litat, per fi...	
81.			
82.	<b>BAÑOS KEEPS WALKING AND FROM THE DOOR APPEARS RAHOLA IN TAILCOAT LIKE A COLLECTOR</b>	<b>EN BAÑOS SEGUEIX CAMINANT I DE DARRERE UNA PORTA LI SURT LA RAHOLA VESTIDA DE COBRADORA DEL FRAC.</b>	
83.			
84.	<b>PILAR RAHOLA:</b>	<b>PILAR RAHOLA:</b>	
85.	Don't even think about it, you rascal! (SHE SHOWS A BRIEFCASE LABELLED "MAS' COLLECTOR") I am not in a hurry. Ok, half past seven I should be in Can Cuní to criticise you. In the meantime I will read all of my articles.	Ni ho somiïs, malandrín! (ENSENYA UN MALETÍ ON HI DIU "LA COBRADORA DEL MAS") Jo no tinc cap pressa. Bé, a quarts de vuit hauria de ser a can Cuní per criticar-te. Però fins aleshores, et seguiré mentre vaig llegint tots els meus articles.	
86.			
87.	<b>SHE OPENS THE BRIEFCASE AND TAKES A FOLDER FULL OF DOCUMENTS. BAÑOS, DESPERATE, RUNS AWAY. RAHOLA, AFTER HIM, READING HER ARTICLES.</b>	<b>OBRE EL MALETÍ I TREU TOT UN FEIX DE PAPERS. EN BAÑOS, DESESPERAT, MARXA CORRENT. LA RAHOLA VA DARRERE SEU, LLEGINT A CRITS ELS ARTICLES.</b>	
88.			
89.	<b>PILAR RAHOLA: (READING)</b>	<b>PILAR RAHOLA: (LLEGINT)</b>	
90.	"In Catalonia we love to show our differences just when history puts us to the test. We never fail: our internal fights are all along more important than the huge battle that we have in the trenches. What is going on now is disconcerting for the many..."	"A Catalunya ens encanta mostrar les nostres diferències just en els moments en què la història ens posa a prova. I no fallem mai: sempre són més importants les baralles internes i el xiringuito de cadascú que l'enorme batalla que tenim a la trinxera. El que ara està passant és desconcertant per a molts..."	
91.			

## Appendix 18: Script Junqueras desapareix

1.	Watch here: <a href="https://youtu.be/uBYKQuIIVTM">https://youtu.be/uBYKQuIIVTM</a>	
2.		
3.	G11-118P – MAIN STAGE:	G11-118P – GAG PLATÓ:
4.	“PRE-SKETCH – JUNQUERAS DISAPPEARS” (V3) - OK	“PRECARETA – JUNQUERAS DESAPAREIX” (V3) - OK
5.	POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 381	POLÒNIA / TEMPORADA 11 / PGM 381
6.	RECORDING DATE: THURSDAY, 19 NOVEMBER 2015	DATA GRAVACIÓ: DIJOUS, 19 NOVEMBRE 2015
7.	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////
8.		
9.	<b>CAST:</b>	<b>CÀSTING:</b>
10.	ARTUR MAS: BRUNO ORO	ARTUR MAS: BRUNO ORO
11.	ORIOL JUNQUERAS: IVAN LABANDA	ORIOL JUNQUERAS: IVAN LABANDA
12.	ANTONIO BAÑOS: DAVID OLIVARES	ANTONIO BAÑOS: DAVID OLIVARES
13.	PRODUCER: XAVI CARRERAS	REGIDOR: XAVI CARRERAS
14.	TÈCHNICIANS	TÈCNICS
15.		
16.	<b>SET:</b>	<b>LOCALITZACIÓ:</b>
17.	SET GENE – MAS’ OFFICE	SET GENE - DESPATX MAS
18.		
19.	<b>PRE-SKETCH – JUNQUERAS DISAPPEARS</b>	<b>PRECARETA – JUNQUERAS DESAPAREIX</b>
20.	INDOORS. DAY. MAS’ OFFICE	INT. DIA DESPATX MAS
21.		
22.	<b>PRE-SKETCH: JUNQUERAS DISAPPEARS</b>	<b>PRECARETA – JUNQUERAS DESAPAREIX</b>
23.		
24.	PRIOR TO THE RECORDING. TECHNICIANS CAN BE SEEN FINISHING THE SET PREPARATION AND HAVE GOT EVERYTHING DONE TO START THE RECORDING. ARTUR MAS AND ORIOL JUNQUERAS GET INTO THE SET. MAS IS IN A VERY GOOD MOOD AND SAYS HELLO TO EVERYONE.	MOMENT PREVI A LA GRAVACIÓ DEL GAG. VEIEM ALS TÈCNICS QUE VAN AMUNT I AVALL ACABANT DE PREPAR-HO TOT PER COMENÇAR A GRAVAR. ENTREN ARTUR MAS I ORIOL JUNQUERAS. MAS ESTÀ DE MOLT BON HUMOR I SALUDA A TOTHOM.
25.		
26.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
27.	Good morning, everyone. Hey Lluís! Marta, How you doing today? (To Junqueras) What are you doing here? You are not recording yet?	Bon dia, companys! Ei, Lluís! Què tal, Marta? (a Junqueras) Què fas tant d'hora al plató, si encara no et toca gravar?
28.		
29.	<b>PRODUCER:</b>	<b>REGIDOR:</b>
30.	Attention please! Sandwiches are served in two minutes!	Nois, en dos minuts surten els entrepans!
31.		
32.	JUNQUERAS RUBS HANDS TOGETHER.	JUNQUERAS ES FREGA LES MANS.
33.		
34.	<b>ARTUR MAS (smiling):</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS: (somrient)</b>
35.	Oh, I see...	Ah, és clar...
36.		
37.	<b>PRODUCER APPROACHES MAS TO GIVE HIM A SCRIPT.</b>	<b>EL REGIDOR S'ACOSTA I LI DÓNA UN GUIÓ A MAS.</b>
38.	(He has a quick look on his script and says, annoyed) Oh crap, another sketch with Baños?!	(fa un ràpid cop d'ull al guió i esclata, empenyat) Collons, un altre gag amb en Baños?!
39.		
40.	ANTONIO BAÑOS GETS IN BRINGING HIS OWN SCRIPT AND APPROACHES MAS. HIS VOICE IS SARCASTIC.	ENTRA ANTONIO BAÑOS AMB EL SEU GUIÓ I VA CAP A MAS. EL SEU TO ÉS SARCÀSTIC.
41.		
42.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
43.	Oops, it seems that someone is annoyed. Write a tweet to complain, as Convergents do.	Ui, sembla que algú s'ha enfadat. Escriu un tuit i queixa't, com feu els convergents.
44.		
45.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
46.	Or much better: an assembly to decide if I am lazy or too lazy to do so... (He moves his hands like making a sign language for applause).	Molt millor una assemblea per decidir si em fa mandra o molta mandra fer-ho... (mou les mans com els aplaudiments dels sordmuts)
47.		
48.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
49.	Take it easy, men. We'll have fun.	Relaxa't, home... que ens ho passarem bé.
50.		
51.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
52.	Leave me in peace? Ok?	Deixa'm en pau, vols?
53.		
54.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>
55.	Come on, don't be silly. At the end of the day you love this song... Hey listen, if don't like it, you go away.	Va, tonto, si en el fons et va la marxa... Escolta, i si no t'agrada... te'n vas.

56.			
57.	TENSE SILENCE. MAS CONFRONTS BAÑOS. JUNQUERAS REMAINS IN BETWEEN LIKE A SPECTATOR.	SILENCI TENS. MAS S'ENCARA A BAÑOS. JUNQUERAS QUEDA AL MIG DE TOTS DOS, D'ESPECTADOR.	
58.			
59.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	
60.	You go. Fuck off!	Vés-te'n tu. A cagar a la via!	
61.			
62.	SLYLY, JUNQUERAS STARS WALKING BACKWARDS.	DISSIMULADAMENT, JUNQUERAS COMENÇA A CAMINAR CAP ENDARRERE.	
63.			
64.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	
65.	Hey, cut it here. Or should I say "cuts"? You are very good at that.	Ei, talla't una mica. O hauria de dir... "retalla't", que d'això en saps molt.	
66.			
67.	<b>ARTUR MAS (offended)</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS: (ofès)</b>	
68.	Oh! You... you (inaudible).	Oh! Seràs... seràs... (no se li acut res)	
69.			
70.	JUNQUERAS CARRIES ON APPROACHING THE WALL.	JUNQUERAS CONTINUA APROPANT-SE A LA PARET.	
71.			
72.	Oriol, he is attacking me. I am your candidate. Say something.	Oriol, m'està atacant. Sóc el teu candidat. Digues alguna cosa.	
73.			
74.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	
75.	Yes, right. Heck, stand with me. Show us you are left.	I ara! Defensa'm a mi, coi, que es noti que eres d'esquerres...	
76.			
77.	JUNQUERAS GETS CAMOUFLAGED WITH THE WALL, LIKE A CHAMELEON.	JUNQUERAS ES CAMUFLA AMB LA PARET, COM SI FOS UN CAMALEÓ.	
78.			
79.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	
80.	Oriol!... (turns around) Where is he gone?	Oriol!... (girant-se) On s'ha fotut???	
81.			
82.	MAS AND BAÑOS LOOK AT THE WALL. MAS LESS SURPRISED THAN BAÑOS.	MAS I BAÑOS MIREN EN DIRECCIÓ A LA PARET. MAS, MENYS SORPRÉS QUE BAÑOS.	
83.			
84.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	
85.	Ok. He did it again... Oriol, IT IS ENOUGH. It is enough of hiding when there are problems. Come on, don't be such a wet!	Ja està, ja ho ha tomat a fer... Oriol, PROU. Això d'escaquejar-te quan hi ha mala maror ja fa massa temps que dura. Mulla't d'una vegada!	
86.			
87.	AFTER A SECOND OF HESITATION. JUNQUERAS DECIDES TO TAKE A STEP FORWARDS TO LEAVE THE WALL. HE IS "VISIBLE" AGAIN.	DESPRÉS D'UNS SEGONS DE DUBTE, JUNQUERAS DECIDEIX FER UN PAS ENDAVANT I ABANDONAR LA PARET. TORNA A SER "VISIBLE".	
88.			
89.	<b>ORIOLO JUNQUERAS:</b>	<b>ORIOLO JUNQUERAS:</b>	
90.	(WITH SOME RELUCTANCE) Ooook. I am with you, Artur. You are our candidate.	(UNA MICA A CONTRACOR) D'acooord. Estic amb tu, Artur. Ets el nostre candidat.	
91.			
92.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	
93.	(PLEASED) Thank you.	(SATISFET) Gràcies.	
94.			
95.	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	<b>ANTONIO BAÑOS:</b>	
96.	Bah!	Bah!	
97.			
98.	BAÑOS EXITS. MAS AND JUNQUERAS REMAIN ALONE. MAS HUGS JUNQUERAS WITH ONE ARM SURROUNDING HIS BACK. THEY START WALKING AWAY TOGETHER WHILE MAS SAYS:	BAÑOS MARXA. MAS I JUNQUERAS ES QUEDEN SOLS. MAS ENVOLTA JUNQUERAS PER L'ESQUENA AMB UN BRAÇ I COMENCEN A SORTIR MENTRE MAS DIU:	
99.			
100.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	
101.	Listen. That wall thing, how do you do that? I mean, later I am having a meeting with the pharmacists, and, you know...?	Escolta... Això de la paret, com t'ho fas? És que aquesta tarda tinc una reunió amb els farmacèutics, saps, i...?	
102.			
103.	BOTH EXIT.	SURTEN.	
104.			



## Appendix 19: Script Mas – Fernandez

1.	Watch here: <a href="https://youtu.be/gOd8aDD66ZU">https://youtu.be/gOd8aDD66ZU</a>	
2.		
3.	G11-151P – MAIN STAGE:	G11-151P – GAG PLATÓ:
4.	“TRANSICIÓ MAS-FERNÀNDEZ” - OK	“TRANSICIÓ MAS-FERNÀNDEZ” - OK
5.	POLÒNIA / SEASON 11 / EPISODE 383	POLÒNIA / TEMPORADA 11 / PGM 383
6.	RECORDING DATE: THURSDAY, 3 DECEMBER 2015	DATA GRAVACIÓ: DIJOUS, 3 DESEMBRE 2015
7.	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////	//////////////////////////////////// ////////////////////////////////////
8.		
9.	<b>CAST:</b>	<b>CÀSTING:</b>
10.	ARTUR MAS	ARTUR MAS
11.	DAVID FERNÀNDEZ	DAVID FERNÀNDEZ
	BRUNO ORO	BRUNO ORO
	CESC CASANOVAS	CESC CASANOVAS
12.	PRODUCER	REGIDOR
13.	TECHNICIAN	TÈCNIC
14.		
15.	<b>SET:</b>	<b>LOCALITZACIÓ:</b>
16.	TRANSICIÓ MAIN STAGE CORRIDORS	TRANSICIÓ PASSADÍS PLATÓ
17.		
18.	<b>TRANSICIÓ MAS-FERNÀNDEZ</b>	<b>TRANSICIÓ MAS-FERNÀNDEZ</b>
19.	COMING FROM THE SKETCH: G11-143P - “MAS O MARÇ”.	VENIM DEL GAG: G11-143P - “MAS O MARÇ”.
20.	INDOORS NIGHT TRANSICIÓ MAIN STAGE’S CORRIDORS	INT. NIT TRANSICIÓ PASSADÍS PLATÓ
21.		
22.	MAS LEAVES THE RECORDING OF THE MUSICAL AND ONE PRODUCER GIVES HIM A TODAY’S “ARA” NEWSPAPER. THE NEWSPAPER IS OPEN TO SHOW THE ARTICLE “SORTIR-NOS-EN”. (IMPORTANT: THE NEWSPAPER HAS TO BE FOLDED SO THAT THE LOGO “ARA” CANNOT BE SEEN. COVER UP THE FRONTPAGE.)	MAS SURT DE LA GRAVACIÓ DEL MUSICAL I UN REGIDOR LI DÓNA EL DIARI “ARA” D’AVUI OBERT PER ENSENYAR-LI L’ARTICLE DE DAVID FERNÀNDEZ “SORTIR-NOS-EN”. (IMPORTANT: EL DIARI HA DE QUEDAR PLEGAT DE MANERA QUE NO ES VEGI CLARAMENT QUE ÉS L’“ARA”. EVITEM LA PORTADA.)
23.		
24.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
25.	(READING) “Two votes for the process...” (SURPRISED) I can’t believe it... (LOOKING FOR SOMETHING WITH THE GAZE) David! David, where are you? Come here!	(LLEGINT) “Dos vots al procés...” (SORPRÈS) No m’ho puc creure... (BUSCANT AMB LA MIRADA) David! David, on ets? Vine!
26.		
27.	MAS WALKS ALONG LOOKING FOR FERNÀNDEZ. HE FINDS HIM IN A CORNER TALKING WITH A TECHNICIAN.	MAS CAMINA BUSCANT FERNÀNDEZ. EL TROBA A UN RACÓ PARLANT AMB UN TÈCNIC.
28.		
29.	Hey, listen, I mean, all I said in the musical. Just kidding, ah? I love the CUP people, but you know <i>Polònia’s</i> guys. (OPENING HIS ARMS) Come on, come to my arms!	Eiii, escolta, res, que tot això que he dit al musical era broma, eh? A mi m’encanta, la CUP, però ja saps com són, els del “ <i>Polònia</i> ”. (OBRINT ELS BRAÇOS) Va, vine als meus braços!
30.		
31.	<b>DAVID FERNÀNDEZ:</b> (GETS BACK A LITTLE BIT. SURPRISED)	<b>DAVID FERNÀNDEZ:</b> (S’APARTA UNA MICA, ESTRANYAT)
32.	What are you doing, Artur?	Què fas, Artur?
33.		
34.	FERNÀNDEZ START WALKING, MAS CHASES HIM.	FERNÀNDEZ COMENÇA A CAMINAR, MAS EL SEGUEIX.
35.		
36.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
37.	Man, I have read your article and... you love me, don’t you? I mean, if I have understood well, because it was a little bit too much of metaphors, Isn’t?	Home, he llegit el teu article i... et mol-lo, no? Vaja, si és que ho he entès bé, perquè t’has passat una mica amb les metàfores, no?
38.		
39.	<b>DAVID FERNÀNDEZ:</b>	<b>DAVID FERNÀNDEZ:</b>
40.	Look who is talking...	Mira qui parla...
41.		
42.	<b>ARTUR MAS: (BRINGS AN AGENDA)</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS: (TREU UNA AGENDA)</b>
43.	Ok, which day will you vote for me? Tomorrow morning, suits you well? Or better after lunchtime, I think Baños is rather an afternoon guy.	Va, quin dia m’investireu? Demà al matí va bé? O millor després de dinar, crec que en Baños és més de tardes.
44.		
45.	<b>DAVID FERNÀNDEZ:</b>	<b>DAVID FERNÀNDEZ:</b>
46.	Sorry?	Com?
47.		
48.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>

49.	Ah, that is true. You have to agree with all of your cronies. Ok, fine, call them. I will wait.	Ai, és veritat que ho has de consensuar amb tots els teus amiguets. Va, truca. M'espero.
50.		
51.	<b>DAVID FERNÁNDEZ:</b>	<b>DAVID FERNÁNDEZ:</b>
52.	Hey, just a little patience.	Ei, una mica de paciència.
53.		
54.	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>	<b>ARTUR MAS:</b>
55.	Of course... a little patience. (BURSTS OUT IN ANNOYANCE) I HAVE BEEN WAITING FOR TWO MONTHS!!! ARE YOU VOTING FOR ME O NOT, CRAP?!	Sí, clar... una mica de paciència. (ESCLATA) PORTO MÉS DE 2 MESOS ESPERANT!! PENSEU INVESTIR-ME O NO, COLLONS?!
56.		
57.	<b>DAVID FERNÁNDEZ:</b>	<b>DAVID FERNÁNDEZ:</b>
58.	Let's see. My opinion is important in the assembly...	A veure, la meva opinió té pes dins l'assemblea...
59.		
60.	AUDIO: "ALTHOUGH" SONG.	ÀUDIO: MÚSICA "TOT I QUE".
61.		
62.	Although it is not a conclusive one... although today CUP's stance is less looked up that some days ago... although we won't find out until next 27... although we may postpone it because of an overdose of nougat... although it may be a No because celebrating Christmas is too capitalist...	tot i que no és definitiva... tot i que avui la posició de la CUP està menys enrocada que fa uns dies... tot i que no ho sabrem fins el dia 27... tot i que igual ho hem de posposar perquè ens hem empatxat amb els torrons... tot i que potser no perquè celebrar el Nadal és molt capitalista...
63.		
64.	MAS MAKES A QUIFF SHAKING AND GETS ANGRY, THROWS THE NEWSPAPER ON THE FLOOR AND LEAVES. FERNÁNDEZ STAYS LOOKING AT HIM UNDERSTANDING NOTHING.	MAS VA FENT TREMOLOR DE TUPÈ FINS QUE S'EMPRENYA, LLENÇA EL DIARI A TERRA I MARXA. FERNÁNDEZ SE'L QUEDA MIRANT SENSE ENTENDRE RES.
65.		
66.	I don't understand, he seemed to be so happy.	No ho entenc, però si semblava que estava content...
67.		