

# Transformations and discursive features of the campaign ads in the Spanish 26J general elections

## Transformaciones y rasgos discursivos del spot electoral en los comicios generales del 26J en España

*Transformações e características discursivas do anúncio eleitoral nas eleições gerais de 26J na Espanha*

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**ABSTRACT** | Campaign ads have found in social networks a permanently open platform for dissemination that transcends the regulated space and time limits. This article presents an analysis of the ads broadcast by the parties with the highest parliamentary representation (PP, PSOE, Unidos-Podemos and Ciudadanos) in the Spanish Parliament in the period leading up to the 12th Legislature elections. Through descriptive and content analysis, we examined the ads released on YouTube for the Spanish elections of 26 June 2016 by these political groups. Among the most relevant results, we observe an increase in the number of campaign ads, clear disintermediation –by bypassing the legislation on electoral advertising which is in force of other media– and the preponderance of ads on programme issues and emotional appeals over others.

**KEYWORDS:** political communication; campaign ad; social networks; audiovisual production; campaign advertising; disintermediation.

### HOW TO CITE

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**RESUMEN** | *El spot electoral ha encontrado en las redes sociales un marco permanentemente abierto de difusión, que va más allá del espacio y del tiempo electoral regulado. En este artículo se presenta un análisis de los anuncios difundidos por los partidos con mayor representación parlamentaria (PP, PSOE, Unidos Podemos y Ciudadanos) en el Congreso de los Diputados en el período previo a las elecciones que dieron lugar a la XII Legislatura en España. Mediante el análisis descriptivo y el análisis de contenido, se examinaron los spots difundidos en YouTube para las elecciones generales del 26 de junio de 2016 por las formaciones políticas aludidas. Entre los resultados más destacados se observa un aumento en el número de anuncios políticos en los comicios de 2015 y 2016, una clara desintermediación –al dejar de lado la legislación sobre publicidad electoral vigente para otros medios– y la preponderancia de anuncios de temas programáticos sobre los de otro tipo, así como de apelaciones emotivas sobre otras.*

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** *comunicación política; spot electoral; redes sociales; producción audiovisual; publicidad electoral; desintermediación.*

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**RESUMO** | *O anúncio eleitoral encontrou nas redes sociais uma estrutura de difusão permanentemente aberta que vai além do espaço e do tempo eleitoral regulamentado. Este artigo apresenta uma análise dos anúncios divulgados pelos partidos com a mais alta representação parlamentar (PP, PSOE, Unidos Podemos e Ciudadanos) no Congresso dos Deputados no período anterior às eleições que deram origem à XII Legislatura na Espanha. Por meio da análise descritiva e da análise de conteúdo, os anúncios publicados no YouTube para as eleições espanholas do 26 de junho de 2016 foram examinados pelas formações políticas mencionadas. Entre os resultados mais destacados está o aumento do número de anúncios políticos nas eleições de 2015 e 2016, uma clara desintermediação - deixando de lado a legislação sobre publicidade eleitoral em vigor para outras mídias - e a preponderância de anúncios de temas programáticos sobre aqueles de outro tipo, bem como apelos emocionais nos outros.*

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** *comunicação política; anúncio eleitoral; redes sociais; produção audiovisual; propaganda eleitoral; desintermediação.*

## INTRODUCTION

After the elections of December 20, 2015 (20D), the XI Legislature began, the shortest up to that time in Spanish democratic history. Since no party managed to form a government, a new electoral period was opened in May, which led to the elections held on June 26, 2016.

In the network society, the electoral video has become a core reference of advertising strategies during campaigns, since it is a deregulated space in which parties address citizens outside the sieve of the media, which has led to transformations in the spots' production and dissemination (Sádaba & Jové, 2017). Since 2008, the use of the electoral spot in networks has been another element of the campaigns, gaining prominence, diversifying its discursive modalities, and introducing novel formal and creative strategies (Kaid & Holtz-Bacha, 2006; Sádaba & Jové, 2017).

Until the irruption of the Internet, the space for the broadcasting electoral spots was exclusively the television screen. Since 1985, the Organic Law 5/1985 of June 19, 1985, on the General Electoral Regime (LOREG, by its Spanish acronym), has regulated electoral advertising in Spain. According to this regulation, electoral advertising spaces cannot be contracted in publicly owned media, nor in private television stations (Ley Orgánica 2/1988, de 3 de mayo). The LOREG establishes that the parties contesting elections are entitled to free electoral advertising spaces in the public media (art. 60). The various amendments to the LOREG, such as Organic Law 13/1994, of March 30, Organic Law 8/1999, of April 21, as well as Organic Law 6/2002 on Political Parties did not introduce any novelties in this regard, nor did the reform of a large part of the articles of the LOREG carried out by Organic Law 2/2011, of January 28.

With the development of social networks, this regulatory framework has been overtaken by reality, as the campaign has moved beyond the regulated time and space and into the digital space of global networks. As Mattelart (2000) points out, "the new practices of socio-political marketing no longer live only in the hot periods of the confrontations between candidates, but have become an element that structures the daily life of every inhabitant of the city" (pp. 111-112). Now political formations are present on Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, or YouTube, and in these spaces they manage the when, the how, and the public to whom they will direct their messages, all without any mediation other than that implied by the technological structure of the network platforms (Enguix Oliver, 2017). With the extension of the use of these networks, the campaign has been opened to all kinds of participants, supporters and detractors, or simply commentators and

prosumers (Toffler, 1980), creating a communicative flow difficult to control by the parties' communication teams.

The accessibility and popularization of these dissemination channels has also contributed to this new scenario. New professional profiles have appeared to manage the accounts in the parties' networks and to use these new media, as well as the associated big data technology to design an electoral campaign, thus restructuring strategies, practices, and messages for segmented audiences (Serazio, 2014). These teams have assumed, if not all, a significant part of the audiovisual production activities as a consequence of the simplification of these processes and the lowering of the costs of audiovisual capture, editing and post-production devices. It is in the 2000 campaign when the political formations fully assume the strategies typical of a commercial advertising campaign (Sádaba & Jové, 2017), turning even more towards the North American formulas of doing politics.

In this context, the electoral spot finds a deregulated space, of "direct dialogue, without intermediaries, between the political agent and the public opinion" (San Martí, 2003, p. 100). Among these networks, YouTube occupies a place of reference in the parties' audiovisual political communication (Carceller Cobos, 2013; Sádaba & Jové, 2017; Vesnic-Alujevic & Van Bauwel, 2014). This research analyzes a specific type of video, the electoral spot, disseminated for the June 26 elections (26J) on YouTube by the four parties that obtained greater parliamentary representation in the 20D elections. According to the *Digital News Report.es* by the Universidad de Navarra, in 2020 the consumption of news via video grew considerably. Two out of three users access via websites, in media applications and social networks, among which YouTube maintains a prominent position. This is also the case with audio news consumption (or podcast). Disinformation is considered a relevant problem and respondents mainly blame politicians and political parties (Negredo et al., 2020).

### **THE ELECTORAL SPOT: DEFINITION AND STATE OF THE ART**

The 28 ads broadcast under the title *Eisenhower Answers America* (1952) are considered the first example of an electoral spot that saw the light of day in a campaign (Wood, 1990). As it would happen later with the Nixon vs. Kennedy electoral debate or Obama's electoral campaign in 2008, they would mark a before and after in political communication.

The electoral spot<sup>1</sup> –that specific type of video whose ultimate purpose is to convince the electorate of the suitability of voting for the candidate being advertised by means of different techniques– has changed a lot throughout history, although its basic defining characteristics can be summarized in the two pointed out by Kaid (1999): the control of the message and the use of mass communication channels for its distribution. Sádaba (2003) stresses their persuasive nature and the fact that they are not mediatized by the media, and defines them as “eminently persuasive political television campaign messages, constructed by the parties themselves and not mediatized by the media” (p. 166).

If until a few years ago television was the central element of electoral campaigns, social networks have taken over a relevant part of this public space (Congosto et al., 2011; Costa, 2009; Gueorguieva, 2007), which is in line with Kaid (1999), since the control of the message is more than ever in the hands of the parties and their communication teams. They deploy their strategies in social networks, trying to influence and exert pressure on the agenda of the classic media and acting in a space in which, in Spain, no electoral legislation has been applied so far. Several studies have analyzed the effects of these messages on networks. Some authors indicate that they have opened communication channels with citizens, others that they have increased political participation (Stanyer, 2005; Weber et al., 2003), and some that they have increased youth participation (Lupia & Philpot, 2005). Nevertheless, Bimber (2003) points out that they in no way influence electoral behavior.

In Spain, the first electoral spots appeared in 1977, on the occasion of the first democratic elections<sup>2</sup>, when nine parties presented their government proposals in no more than 15 minutes each in an hour and a half propaganda space. Since then, the spot has evolved, especially after the introduction of the Internet and social networks as political communication tools (Herrero & Connolly-Ahern, 2004; Kaid & Holtz-Bacha, 2006; Sádaba, 2003). In recent years, there has been a proliferation of works on this advertising-communicative phenomenon from a communicational and empirical perspective, which had been neglected in the early

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1. According to Herrero and Connolly-Ahern (2004) and Sádaba (2003), we can speak of political advertising in Spain, even in the case of the State, with free electoral advertising insertions and without the applicability of advertising laws to this type of persuasive message. Other authors, such as Canel (1999), consider that this term would not be well applied. We will refer to the electoral spot, indistinctly, when referring to electoral advertising, political advertising, and political propaganda.

2. See an example in RTVE's web site, section *Propaganda electoral de los líderes en las elecciones de 1977* (Leaders' electoral propaganda in the 1977 elections) (n.d.).

studies (Herrero & Connolly-Ahern, 2004). Thus, others studies have been added to the already classic work by Sádaba in 2003 on political party ads on television in Spain between 1993 and 2000. Peña Jiménez (2011) studies the specific case of the negative electoral spot, so present in American research, or the typology of the electoral spot (Peña Jiménez & García Jiménez, 2010). Longitudinal and historical analyses stand out (Carceller Cobos, 2013; Connolly-Ahern & Herrero 2006; García Beaudoux & D'Adamo, 2007; Herrero & Connolly-Ahern, 2004; Peña Jiménez, 2013; Sádaba & Jové, 2017), comparative analyses (Kaid & Holtz-Bacha, 2006; Pineda et al., 2013), or others more focused on the persuasive strategies of the spot (Capdevila, 1997; Capdevila, 2002; Gómez & Capdevila, 2011, 2012; Capdevila et al., 2019; Peña Jiménez, 2010; Pericot & Capdevila, 2001).

YouTube is probably the social network that has generated the least empirical research in the political field (Berrocal-Gonzalo et al., 2017; Gil-Ramírez, Castellero, & Gómez-de-Travesedo, 2020). However, important works, such as Gil-Ramírez, Gómez-de-Travesedo, and Almansa-Martínez (2020), analyze the type of political participation in this platform. They conclude that the quality of political argumentation is scarce and that there are no elements that indicate that this network contributes to democratic quality based on the expression of respectful and civic opinions, but rather the opposite. As for the parties' political communication strategies on YouTube, with the exception of Vox, none of them manages to place their audiovisual productions among the most viewed (GilRamírez, Castellero and Gómez de Travesero, 2020), which affects the control of their image. On the other hand, Rodríguez-Breijo and colleagues (2018) conclude that political information is not the most viewed on this network and, when it is consumed, it is preferred in the form of infotainment. Regarding research on 26J and YouTube, Berrocal-Gonzalo and colleagues (2017) analyze the media consumption of this type of audiovisual creation through a contrasted descriptive content analysis of 80 videos uploaded to YouTube. They underline the existence of a constant dynamic in their creation in a similar percentage, both in electoral campaign and in that other period of permanent campaign (Blumenthal, 1980). Another feature they point to is political personalization, which constitutes 87% of their sample.

## **MATERIAL AND METHOD**

Our object of study is the analysis of the electoral spots disseminated on YouTube for the June 26, 2016 elections by the four parties with the largest parliamentary representation in the XI Legislature; i.e., the Partido Popular, Partido Socialista Obrero Español, Podemos, and Ciudadanos. We are aware that the parties -through

their local associations, supporters, etc.– created more videos than those analyzed here, but the selected ones specifically represent the conglomerates' voice.

This research attempts to answer the following questions:

1. Whether social networks have led to an increase in the production of electoral spots, due to their ease of dissemination.
2. Whether there has been disintermediation (Castells, 2008; Gallardo-Paúls & Enguix Oliver, 2016) regarding the use of the electoral ad.
3. Whether in the 26J elections the change in the trend pointed out by Kaid and Holtz-Bacha (2006) of a reduction in the duration of the political spot continues.
4. Following the coding approach employed by Kaid and Holtz-Bacha (1995; 2006), we inquired about the predominant ad typology in those 2016 elections, i.e.:
  - 4.1. Whether the spots that prioritize an issue of the electoral program, regarding the candidates' the image or a combination of both, are predominant.
  - 4.2. Whether the most recurrent assessment in the corpus has a positive sense (1), a negative (or attack) one (2), of contrast (3), or a combination of these three options (4).
  - 4.3. Whether the type of interpellation mostly used is ethical, logical or emotional, or a combination of one or more of them.

To answer the first three research questions, we conducted a quantitative and descriptive analysis.

Given the impossibility of compiling all the spots created by the parties since the 1996 elections, to answer the first question, we conducted a documentary analysis and located bibliographic sources that had analyzed the electoral spot in Spain in the databases of Web of Science, Scopus, Dialnet and Google Scholar, establishing "spot electoral" and "España" as search criteria, as well as the same terms in English (electoral spot, Spain). Because of the scarcity of results, this analysis was completed with other references obtained in parallel searches. Some of the researches referred in their data to the sample universe and others to the sample used. The 2015 and 2016 data were compiled by the authors.

The content analysis of the electoral spots allows us to answer the fourth question. For this one, we followed the steps outlined by Igartúa Perosanz (2006) for an adequate use of the technique, although for the conceptualization we resorted to the coding model proposed by Kaid and Holtz Bacha (1995, 2006), widely used in

Latin American research on the electoral spot (García Beaudoux et al., 2007), as we understood that it adequately responded to the complexity of the corpus analyzed.

There are several typological proposals on the political spot considered in this study (Benoit, 1999; Devlin, 1989; Diamond & Bates, 1984; Kaid & Sanders, 1978), although we have mainly used the one proposed by Benoit (1999). He differentiates between a positive versus negative function and a spot theme based on the candidate's image versus campaign themes. The author prefers to speak of policy ads because he understands that both aspects, issues and images, are closely interrelated and do not respond exclusively to the subject matter of the ad, although he is aware of the extensive penetration of these concepts in the field of political communication.

Kaid (2004) points out the false dichotomy underlined by Benoit between issues and images, and the problem implied by the possibility of multicoding the same field. To avoid this, we use the theoretical categories proposed by researchers at the Annenberg School for Communication of the University of Pennsylvania, which are widely accepted (Bartels, 1988, in García Beaudoux & D'Adamo, 2007), and which distinguish between positive, contrasting, or negative ads. As *positive* ads, we analyze those that emphasize the candidate's qualities; as *negative*, those focused on the weaknesses of the political opponent, either the party or the candidate, and as *contrasting*, those that compare one party, candidate, or political approach with another.

The second coding, related to issue (or proposal) or image ads, considers that the former emphasize in their content the political positions of the party or candidate, while the latter show the candidate's image as the epitome of his/her personal and political qualities, as well as his/her experience and worthiness to occupy the presidency of the government.

In the case of appeals, we use the classification of *logical* appeal when the ad clearly resorts to evidence to support its reasoning through statistics, data, etc., and *ethical* appeal when the ad tries to emphasize the source's credibility to reinforce its message. Finally, *emotional* appeal is when the ad resorts to feelings or emotions to generate the desired political effect.

To select the sample, the official YouTube accounts of the four parties (Partido Popular, PSOE, Podemos, Ciudadanos) were tracked and the videos distributed since the elections were announced, identified. The campaign began on June 10 and ran until midnight on the 24th, although the pre-campaign began earlier. The sample was taken in March 2017, data coding was performed during 2018, and the results were processed in November 2019.



Party	Identifying title	Narrative emphasis	Spot's connotation	Type of appeal
PP		Issue	Positive	Ethic
PSOE		Image	Negative	Logic
C's		Both	Contrasting	Emotional
Unidos Podemos				Combination of any of the of the above

**Table 1. Data analysis code sheet**

Source: Own elaboration.

The final corpus consists of 66 videos<sup>3</sup>: 44 spots of the Partido Popular (PP), 12 of the Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE), 5 of Ciudadanos (C's), and 5 of Unidos Podemos (UP). The data were collected in a Microsoft Excel matrix and processed in SPSS.

To collect the information, two independent coders used an analysis template (table 1).

For the fourth research question, a Cohen's Kappa intercoder reliability test was performed for all the variables analyzed. In the case of the *narrative emphasis* variable, the inter-coder agreement index was .93; for the *connotation* variable, .82, and .79 for the *type of appeal* variable. Its proximity to 1 points to a high agreement between both coders in all cases.

## RESULTS

To answer the first research question, we conducted a literature search of authors who studied the electoral spot between 1996 and 2016 and the sample universe or sample they analyzed (table 2).

Given the quantitative discrepancies between the articles of identical elections, we used the higher figure as the reference for each year, as we believe it is closer to the universe of analysis (table 3).

Regarding the first question, the number of spots increased considerably in the last two elections (2015 and 2016) (table 3). Until 2011, the overall number remained below 40, a figure that in 2015 reached 128, almost double the number produced for 26J. The decrease in the number of spots in 2016 compared to 2015 can be explained by the proximity of both elections, which led to the reutilization of videos from 2015.

3. Videos created for the previous election campaign are included, as they were re-disseminated.

Bibliography		1996	2000	2004	2008	2011	2015	2016
Sádaba (2003)	PP	4	4					
	PSOE	4	*					
	IU	4	*					
Herrero y Connolly-Ahern (2004)	PP		24					
	PSOE		*					
Connolly-Ahern & y Herrero (2007)	PP	12						
García-Beaudoux & D'Adamo (2007)	PP			1				
	PSOE			2				
	IU			2				
Carceller Cobos (2013)	PP			4	9	10		
	PSOE			1	7	10		
Gómez & Capdevila (2011)	PP				4			
	PSOE				9			
	IU				7			
Capdevila (2002)	PP		15					
	PSOE		10					
	IU		5					
Gómez y & Capdevila (2012)	PP				15	4		
	PSOE				12	4		
	IU				11	2		
Pellisser, Villar y Enguix (2017)	PP						58	44
	PSOE						27	12
	IU						27	
	Podemos						5	5
	C's						11	5

[\*] Note: the authors do not specify a figure.

**Table 2. Documentary compilation of general election spots in Spain (1996-2016)**

Source: Own elaboration.

Parties	1996	2000	2004	2008	2011	2015	2016
PP	12	24	4	15	10	58	44
PSOE	4	10	2	12	10	27	12
Podemos						27	5
C's						5	5
IU	4	5	1	11	2	11	
Total	20	39	7	38	22	128	66

[1] Note: C's and Podemos were created in 2006 and 2014, respectively. In the 2016 elections, IU ran with Podemos in the Unidos Podemos coalition.

### Spots created by political parties during several general elections in Spain

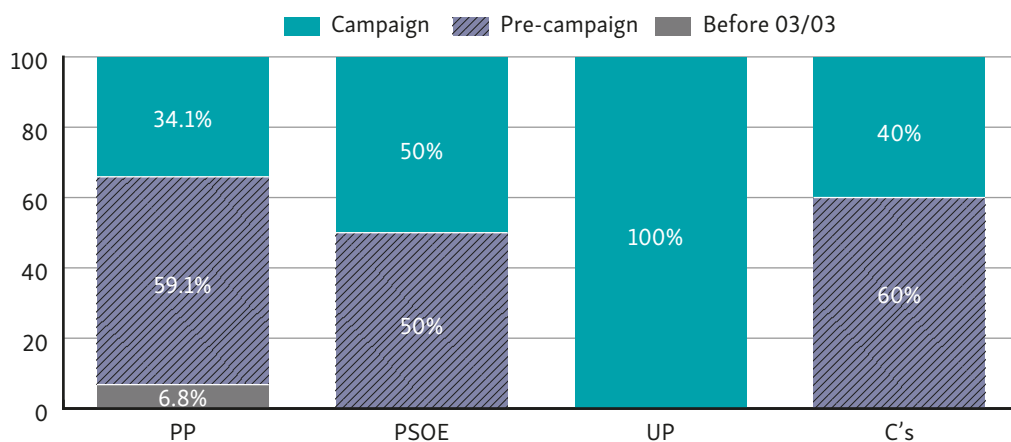
*Source: Own elaboration.*

In the 26J elections, the PP is the party that broadcasted the most advertising videos on YouTube (66.7%; n= 44), followed at a great distance by the PSOE (18.2%, n= 12) and UP and C's (both with 7.6, n=5, respectively). The PP not only produces and broadcasts more messages, but it is also the one that dedicates more minutes to these productions (its 44 spots total 55'14", almost triple the time of the PSOE (14'), UP (10'49") and C's (10'10").

To assess the communicative disintermediation, we analyzed the dissemination of the spots at different electoral moments: before the call for elections, the pre-campaign (May 3 - June 9), and the campaign (June 10-24). The dates considered for the analysis are those of the day they were uploaded to YouTube. The data yielded by this analysis (f1) show that broadcasting occurs mainly outside the electoral campaign period. The spots began to be broadcasted as soon as the possibility of electoral repetition is in sight. In the research by Berrocal Gonzalo and colleagues (2017) this percentage was similar in both periods.

The PP is also the party that broadcasts the most electoral spots in the three political moments analyzed, and the only one that broadcasts them before the elections. In general, and considering all the parties analyzed, most of them are broadcasted during the pre-campaign (up to 53%), during the campaign (42.4%) and, to a much lesser extent, before the call for elections.

Thus, the pre-electoral period is the time of greatest advertising activity (figure 1), a trend followed by most of the parties, with the exception of UP. Only this party waited until the campaign period to broadcast its spots, although this may have been influenced by the fact that it participated in this electoral event in coalition with other parties, an alliance that was not confirmed until May 13.



**Figure 1. Broadcasting period of the spots analyzed**

Source: Own elaboration.

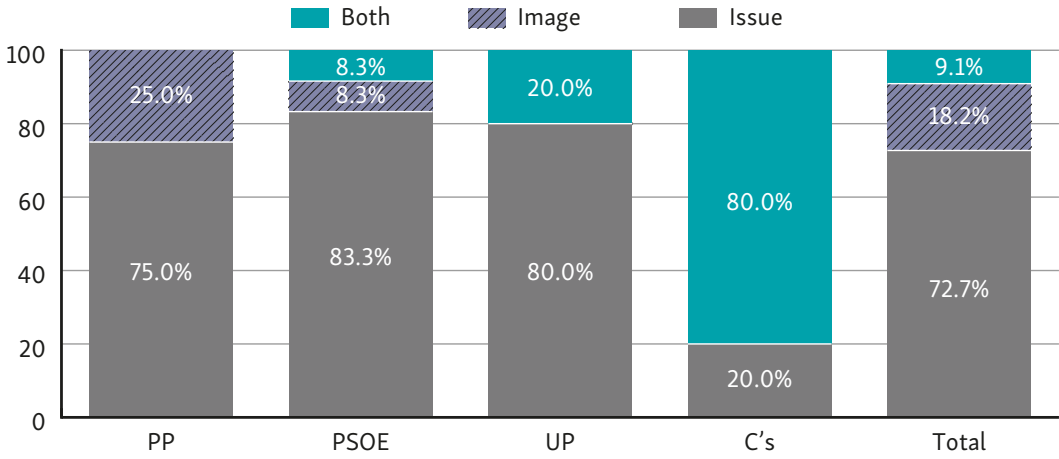
Regarding the duration of this type of electoral video, Kaid and Holtz Bacha (2006) point to changes in recent years. The ads went from an average of 3-4 minutes to the North American model of 30 seconds. Our research confirms this with some nuances, as the classic parties, PP and PSOE, use shorter durations (t4). Both conglomerates mainly opt for spots between 31 seconds and 1 minute (PP n=15 and PSOE n=6). In this regard, it is the new political organizations, i.e., UP and C's, which clearly opt for videos longer than 1' (table 4).

Finally, we analyzed issues related to videostyle. Among the three aspects observed, the results related to the preponderance of proposal or topic ads versus image ads, or their combination, can be seen in figure 2. Following García Beaudoux and D'Adamo (2007) and Kaid and HoltzBacha (2006), although disagreeing with what was observed by Pineda and colleagues (2013), during 26J the parties mostly raised proposal/issue ads (n=48) versus cultivation of the candidate's image (n=12), or a combination of both (n=6). Only C's combined both options (n=4) rather than exclusively issue ads (n=1) and, curiously, none of the young parties bet on the image of their candidates as the only claim in the spot (figure 2).

Parties	Ad length			
	0-30 s.	31 s-1 m.	1:01 -2 m	More than 2 m.
PP	22.7	34.1	27.3	15.9
PSOE	16.7	50.0	25.0	8.3
UP			60.0	40.0
C's			40.0	60.0
Total	18.2	31.8	30.3	19.7

**Table 4. Ad length, in percentage**

Source: Own elaboration.

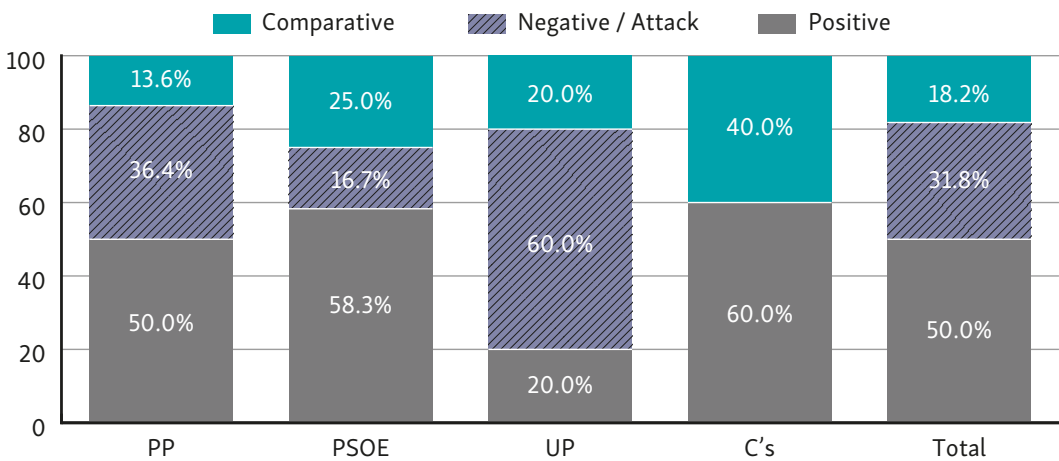


**Figure 2. Spots according to programmatic or thematic preference**

Source: Own elaboration.

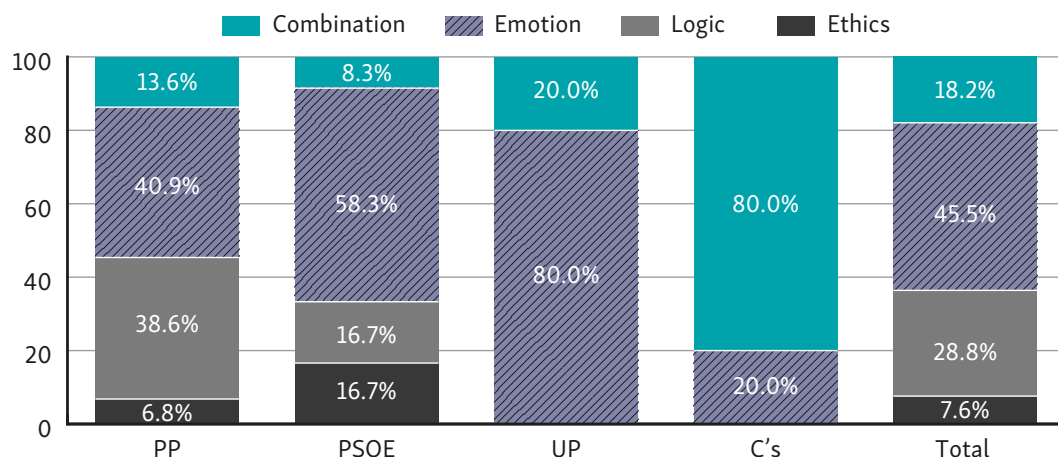
Regarding the electoral ad evaluation, the results confirm the trend already noted by Kaid and Holz-Bacha (2006) and García Beaudoux and D’Adamo (2007): the parties’ preference for the positive ad (C’s n=3; PSOE n=7; PP n=22). The exception is UP, whose audiovisual campaign has a slightly more negative approach (only one spot is positive and another, comparative (figure 3). In addition, PP shows a high number of negative or attack spots (up to n=16).

Our analysis indicates that the emphasis on emotional appeals is the majority in all parties (UP, n=4; PSOE, n=7, and PP, n=18), with the exception of C’s (n=1). The latter opts for a different strategy, which prioritizes a combination of appeals (n=4), including emotion, but not exclusively. Only the classic parties, PP and PSOE, use the logical (n=17 and PSOE, n=2) or ethical appeal (PP, n=3, and PSOE, n= 2), but neither UP nor C’s opt for an ad exclusively of this type, as can be seen in figure 4.



**Figure 3. Spots related to the advertisement’s connotation**

Source: Own elaboration.



**Figure 4. Advertisement's connotation.**

*Source: Own elaboration.*

**DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS**

Innerarity (2016) points out that “there is no doubt that the Internet is changing our political practices” and that, although: “[w]e still do not know exactly what politics will be like in the network era (...) we are able to guess some of the possibilities it opens up and, above all, what kind of political practices will be meaningless in the new digital republic” (p. 4).

This research explored the changes produced in some of these practices, specifically the behavior of the political parties with the largest parliamentary representation in Spain in their electoral advertising strategy on YouTube.

Regarding the first of the issues analyzed, we observed a clear increase in the number of spots broadcast in the 26J and 20D elections. This increase is evident from 2008, when the Internet burst with force in Spanish political communication (Peytibi et al., 2008; Sádaba & Jové, 2017). The number of spots created and disseminated by the parties on 26J points to two trends: one of greater activity, marked by PP and PSOE, and a lower one by the new political formations, UP and C’s. However, reviewing the data of the previous campaign (2015) we observe that the first group would be joined by Podemos which, with Izquierda Unida, adds 38 spots that year, data above even the PSOE. Perhaps the late conformation in 2016 of the electoral coalition with which Unidos Podemos went to the elections slowed down its production of spots, waiting for other decisions. We could thus say that parties with a longer political trajectory broadcast more spots on YouTube; probably human and economic resources are still a determining factor to create this type of productions.

On the other hand, the use of social networks has led to an increase in the number of spots dissemination, which are no longer limited to television broadcasting during the period established by the current legislative framework. We will have to continue observing this trend to see if it has an impact on modifying Spanish legislation regarding this new digital scenario, which seems to be identified with that of a permanent campaign (Blumenthal, 1980). Thus, the electoral pre-campaign becomes in fact a very relevant moment, as much as the electoral campaign (Berrocal Gonzalo et al., 2017).

Although we know that there is no direct relationship between the party's size and the impact of its spots on public opinion, or between this impact and the percentage of vote obtained (Sádaba & Jové, 2017), we also know that "political advertising exposure can significantly affect a leader's image rating" (Kaid & Holtz-Bacha 2006, p. 454), whether it is positive or negative. Hence the special interest of the parties in creating this type of content and disseminating it extensively in different social networks and among citizen groups. These transformations confirm the existence of a disintermediation favored by the development of multimodal networks (Serazio, 2014), in which it is the parties that communicate with the public to try to generate a public opinion favorable to their ends, regardless of whether the classical media subsequently echo those electoral messages. Following Pericot and Capdevila (2001), the parties and their electoral strategy and communication teams decide when and how to disseminate these ads, how many messages are produced, and the contents they want to influence.

Thirdly, the duration of the electoral spot in Spain is decreasing, a trend that has been pointed out in previous research, such as the two-minute spot in 2000 (Sádaba, 2003), or Kaid and Holtz-Bacha (2006), and which confirms the Spanish adaptation to the North American model. In our research, two trends can be observed: the bet of the classic parties for ads of less than one minute, and that of the new organizations for a longer duration. According to Sádaba (2003), "research has shown that longer ads are not more effective, but rather the opposite" (p. 177); thus, parties with a longer historical and governmental trajectory follow the trend set by political communication. This phenomenon participates in the clip culture (Lipovetsky, 1990) that characterizes the audiovisual story whatever its format. As Gavalda (1998) points out, "the advertising register constitutes a principle of homogenization of the audiovisual flow, of the heterogeneous generic audiovisual palimpsest" (pp. 182-183). The development and prominence of social networks in the field of political communication has extended this discursive particularity to electoral advertising as a whole.

As for the fourth question, we conclude that for the 26J the Spanish parties mostly ran proposal and issue ads, with the only exception of C's. We thus follow the trend of countries such as France, Italy, and Great Britain, as evidenced in the Spanish elections of 1996 and 2000 (Kaid & Holtz-Bacha, 2006; Herrero & Connolly-Ahern 2004) or those of 2004 (García Beaudoux & D'Adamo, 2007) and other countries further afield, such as Poland, Russia, or the United States. However, in Spain this has not always been the case. For example, in the 1996 elections, the PSOE –in government at the time– resorted mainly to the figure of its candidate, Felipe González (Sánchez Aranda et al., 1997, in Sádaba, 2003).

Leaders are present, but not overwhelmingly, which contrasts with the tendency to political personalization noted by Berrocal-Gonzalo and colleagues (2017) in political videos not produced by political formations. It is noteworthy that none of the new formations makes ads where the candidate for president is the center of attention, unlike the classical parties. Ciudadanos was the only one to prefer to combine both elements: image and theme. Interestingly, these audiovisual uses contrast with their political discourse on Twitter, where the messages of the parties' accounts and their representatives have an impact on rhetorical indicators of personalization, mainly in the case of the younger parties and their leaders (Gallardo-Paúls & Enguix-Oliver, 2016).

Regarding the type of ad according to the assessment made in the ad, the results confirm the parties' preference for positive ads, with the exception of UP. The scarce use of negative spots had been pointed out by Kaid and Holz-Bacha (2006) and García Beaudoux and D'Adamo (2007) for other Spanish elections. The PP also, to a lesser extent, focuses on the negative or attack message, thus following in the spot a trend already pointed out in the analysis of its arguments (Gallardo-Paúls, 2014).

Studies on political communication in general (García Beaudoux & D'Adamo, 2006), and Spanish political communication specifically, point to an increase in emotionalization, which has a direct translation into political advertising (Kaid & Holtz-Bacha, 2006). The reasons that encourage the use of these expressive or emotive approaches in political discourse are based on the widespread acceptance that emotions “help people remember political messages. Fear, anxiety, or anger allow candidates to emphasize consensual values, which facilitates the mobilization of voters” (García Beaudoux & D'Adamo, 2006, p. 93). This inclination for the emotional side of political argumentation finds in social networks an optimal environment for development, which contributes to consolidate scenarios that are more pseudo-political than truly political (Gallardo-Paúls & Enguix-Oliver, 2016), due in part to features typical of the technological structure, such as immediacy, infinity (lack of beginning and end), or brevity.



As we saw in the results, emotional appeals in the spot were in the majority with only one exception, Ciudadanos, which, however, bet on a set of appeals among which emotion was present in many cases. Kaid and Holtz-Bacha (2006) identified the same trend in the 1996 and 2000 Spanish elections (as did Herrero & Connolly-Ahern (2004) for the latter). However, a historical review allows us to see that this was not always the case (Carceller Cobos, 2013; García Beaudoux & D'Adamo, 2007). In fact, this has been a changing issue, in which surely the electoral context and the campaign design have been determinant. Although the emotionalization of the spot has grown in Western democracies in recent years (Jerit, 2004; Kaid & Holtz-Bacha, 1995, 2006), there are geographical differences. Analyzing each election and party in its context allows us to know if we can speak of a generalized tendency to emotionalization.

As for the logical appeal, on the one hand, and ethical appeal, on the other, both are mostly used by the classic parties (PP and PSOE), although to a lesser extent than emotion. Probably, the fact of having a previous work of government, which yields data and management figures, allows them to turn this reality into a persuasion instrument.

As we have seen, this article delves into an element of political communication, the electoral spot, which has been scarcely analyzed in Spain, and it does so in a specifically significant election, when voters went to the polls with a broken bipartisanship and a high-tension political situation.

The results indicate that in those elections and those of the previous year, 2015, the parties greatly increased the broadcasting of electoral spots on YouTube; also, that the limitations established by the legislative framework were overcome by a communication ecosystem in which social networks disrupted everything. Unlike the spots of other elections, in these ones the parties focused more on political issues and showed the leader as the protagonist to a lesser extent, they presented contents in a mainly positive optic, and showed a tendency to emotionalization.

This research continues the line of work on the electoral spot in Spain developed by García-Beaudoux and D'Adamo (2007), Herrero and Connolly-Ahern (2004), and Kaid and Holz Bacha (2006), among others, and updates it according to data from the 2016 elections, to indicate certain continuity in the use of the theme-based political ad and the predominance of emotional appeal.

In view of the consistency and variety of the corpus collected, it is considered pertinent to continue this research with an analysis of the discursive content of the electoral spot of these elections and its production process, in which, in a first approach, features of discursive fragmentation, serialization, and hybridization have been detected, as well as a frequent use of recycling and audiovisual reutilization.

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