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INVESTIGACIÓN / RESEARCH

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THE INFORMATIVE TREATMENT OF ANA BOTELLA DURING HER TERM OF OFFICE AS MAYORESS OF MADRID

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ABSTRACT:

The figure of Ana Botella as mayoress of Madrid has generated some controversy mainly in events of great public importance, some of them being very serious. Since her direct appointment bypassing the polls (November 2011) until he resigned to run for the next elections (December 2014), there have been three other facts of extraordinary media importance in which the mayoress and the City Council have played a leading role. Being almost unprecedented in the academic literature about the municipal political area, this paper analyzes the coverage of the mayoress by the national press of Madrid. As the main objective, we observe the positive, negative or neutral valuation of Ana Botella and whether her presence in the media has been relevant. In total, we have extracted and analyzed 1,419 items of news or opinion contained in the Madrid edition of the newspapers *ABC*, *El Mundo*, *El Pais* and *La Razon*. One of the most significant findings is scarce media prominence of the mayoress in the events studied, despite the direct involvement of the City Council she presides.

KEY WORDS: Ana Botella – mayoress - mass media - local government - media impact – newspapers

EL TRATAMIENTO INFORMATIVO DE ANA BOTELLA DURANTE SU MANDATO COMO ALCALDESA DE MADRID

RESUMEN:

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La figura de Ana Botella como alcaldesa de Madrid ha generado cierta controversia, principalmente en acontecimientos de gran trascendencia pública, algunos de ellos de extrema gravedad. Desde su nombramiento directo y sin pasar por las urnas (noviembre del 2011) hasta su renuncia a presentarse para la siguiente legislatura (diciembre 2014), se han sucedido otros tres hechos de extraordinaria importancia mediática en los que la alcaldesa y el ayuntamiento han desempeñado un papel protagonista. En este trabajo, con apenas precedentes en la literatura académica sobre el ámbito político municipal, se analiza el tratamiento informativo que la prensa nacional de Madrid ha realizado en torno a la alcaldesa. Como principal objetivo se observa la valoración positiva, negativa o neutra hacia Ana Botella y si su presencia en los medios ha sido relevante. En total se han extraído y analizado 1.419 piezas informativas o de opinión incluidas en las ediciones madrileñas de los diarios ABC, El Mundo, El País y La Razón. Entre las conclusiones más significativas destaca el escaso protagonismo mediático de la alcaldesa en los acontecimientos estudiados, a pesar de la implicación directa en ellos del Ayuntamiento que preside.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Ana Botella – alcaldesa - medios de comunicación - administración municipal - impacto mediático - periódicos

1. INTRODUCTION

Since her appointment as mayoress of Madrid in November 2011, even earlier, in her position as councilor to her predecessor Alberto Ruiz-Gallardón, the figure of Ana Botella has been a source of controversy from two basic fronts, one linked to the Spanish democratic regime and the other related to external factors. In the first case, she already generated controversy when she was called to lead the municipal government without going through the polls and, secondly, her rise in politics has raised questions about whether it was a result of her own merits or due to her marital relationship with the former president of the Spanish government, José María Aznar.

Apart from these findings, in just 33 months in office, Botella has faced various situations that were at least uncomfortable and sometimes extremely serious, as the incident in November 2012 of the human stampede at the Madrid Arena enclosure caused by serious organizational problems that resulted in the death of five young people. Her start in office was not easy, the economic crisis has profoundly affected the vast majority of local governments, notably that of Madrid that had a debt estimated at more than 7,100 euros, the largest of all city councils in Spain.

Various surveys have reflected, in general, a significant negative assessment of her term in office. As an example of them, *El País*, the newspaper with the largest circulation in Spain, interviewed by telephone 600 persons from Madrid in May 2013, 77% out of them qualified her work as head of the Madrid city council as a failure, the lowest received as compared to the other three leaders of the political groups that formed the corporation: Jaime Lissavetszky of PSOE, Angel Perez of IU and

David Ortega of UPyD. In the same survey, 53% considered that her management was worse than that developed by her predecessor and mentor, Alberto Ruiz-Gallardón, although, concerning the latter figure, it should be noted that 83% of those who answered this question negatively confirmed that they voted for parties other than the one of Ana Botella (People's Party) in the last municipal elections (2011).

Four months after her resignation in September 2014, the newspaper *La Vanguardia* reported, also through a survey, that 85% of respondents considered her term of office in the City Council of Madrid to be very bad, 5% regarded it bad, and only the remaining 10% considered it to be from acceptable to very good.

1.1 Theoretical framework

Though the scientific literature has been profuse in analyzing, from different points of view, the relationship between politics and traditional media; at the research level and in recent years there have been just references offering a journalistic vision about a particular leader. The existing ones primarily rely on heads of state (Dominguez, 2012; Valdez & Rivera, 2009; Grebe, 2007; Castillo, 2003), whereas the media attention that municipal representatives may have is consigned to the background.

Since Horton and Wohl (1956), who saw how to empathize voters and political leaders through the media, electoral processes in different geographical areas have also served to analyze the influence of the media. Aira (2009: 34) says that one of the key factors for success in the election campaign of a political leader is their appearance on the maximum number of television spots, even those that remain aloof from information services. Here, as an example, in addition to cameos in entertainment series, it is mentioned when in 2005 the then president of government, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, used the reality show *Big Brother* to report on the Treaty of the European Constitution.

However, the relationship between leaders and media has not always been optimally tuning. Authors like Grebe (2007) and Sirvén (2012) argue that this illation between both agents is sometimes difficult because the former do not understand the work of the latter whose function and purpose is to inform citizens impartially about government actions. However, the usual practice of the media on great occasions is far from achieving this laudable purpose. To Home-Ripoll (2012) journalistic work is often based on exclusively collecting statements and public demonstrations by politicians, which entails, among other consequences, the preference of sources from the politicians themselves which, according to Dader (2012), implies an imposition of the governmental agenda on reporters.

The acute politicization of the media in Spain highlighted in numerous pieces of research has taken place mainly since the consolidation of democracy until now (López García, 2011; Sampedro and Seoane, 2008). This trend is profiled from two fronts that are different though not conflicting but rather linked to each other. On the

one hand, authors like Hanitizsch (2011) and Canel (2000) claim that this politicization is not related directly to the media professionals but to the corporate companies to which they belong; while, on the other hand, Casero-Ripoll (2008) believes that the media are identified with an ideological trend rather than with explicit and clear support for a particular political party.

The mechanism of closed lists in electoral processes of parliamentary regimes implies, a priori, that political parties have a greater role than leaders; contrary to what happens in presidential regimes. Except for authors like Adam and Maier (2010), several pieces of research (Caprara, 2007; McAllister, 2007; Poguntke and Webb, 2005) consider, however, that in any democratic system, regardless of the established regime, customizing of leaders is imperative. A phenomenon largely motivated by the performance of their respective parties that very often give their leaders the main role for their actions, mainly during election campaigns (Scarrow et al., 2000: 122).

Other pieces of research eventually turn their eyes to the media whose news coverage of political events drives leaders to have the main role (Rico, 2009; Rahat and Sheafer, 2007) and more recently, it has been argued that social networks like Facebook and Twitter are the ones that enhance this customization (Enly & Skogerbø, 2013).

2. OBJECTIVES

As a corroborative or rejecting response to the opinion expressed by citizenry in the exploratory surveys mentioned above (*El País*, 2013; *La Vanguardia*, 2015), our goal in this study is to analyze media prominence and check the assessment of Ana Botella in the main Madrid newspapers with a national circulation: *ABC*, *El Mundo*, *El Pais* and *La Razon* during five key events that have marked her political career: in addition to her appointment and resignation, the aforementioned case of the Madrid Arena, the failure of Madrid as a candidate to host the 2020 Olympics and, finally, the long strike of workers of the garbage collection service.

Thus, we intend to check whether the assessment of Mayoress Ana Botella by the press during her term of office in Madrid has been positive, negative, neutral, or what relevance it may have had on the information and opinions expressed by the media at the most important moments of her term of office.

3. METHODOLOGY

The comparative analysis presented here builds on four Madrid newspapers in print and largest national daily ABC, El Mundo, El Pais and Reason. : Of them those information and opinion pieces (articles columnists, editorials and cartoons) referred to five events that have marked, in the media level, the political career as mayor Ana Botella selected

- 1. His appointment: December 26, 2011.
- 2. Occurrence of Madrid Arena: night 1 to November 2, 2012.

- 3. Discard the IOC Madrid 2020 Olympic bid: September 7, 2013.
- 4. Garbage Strike: From 5 to November 17, 2013.
- 5. The official resignation to the candidacy of municipal elections 2015: September 9, 2014.

For a time dimension of these facts, the pieces published in the newspapers mentioned in the following ranges were selected:

- 1. His appointment: From November 21, 2011 (when his predecessor, Alberto Ruiz-Gallardon is shuffled as minister of the new government left the polls on November 20) until 31 December of the same year.
- 2. Occurrence of Madrid Arena: From November 2, 2012 until January 10, 2013 (two days before he resigned Deputy Mayor Miguel Angel Villanueva, Ana Botella right hand).
- 3. Dispose of the Madrid 2020 Olympic bid: From September 1 (Ana Botella arrival to Argentina, where the selected candidates were submitted) until 15 September (after the failure and reactions).
- 4. Garbage Strike: From 1 to 30 November 2013. All has been selected this month to also analyze the run and the aftermath which led the protest.
- 5. Disclaimer: Since the September 10, 2014 (when they begin to echo the newspapers) until 15 September of the same year.

In a second and final phase it has conducted an analysis of all items collected. The resulting data were manually coded and recorded in two databases. On the one hand, it is taken as axis format parts with a split between the following items:

- 1. News: With informational purposes only.
- 2. Opinion: Articles made by a columnist or a specialized firm.
- 3. Editorial.
- 4. Vignette: In critical-humorous character.

The second database has been prepared after an analysis of content and therefore was classified each of the pieces in any of these variables:

- 1. Positives: With favorable political figure of Ana Botella trend.
- 2. Negative: In contrary to the political figure of Ana Botella trend.
- 3. Neutral: any favor or contrary to the figure of Ana Botella position is observed.
- 4. Parts in which Ana Botella does not appear, or headlines or text.

4. DISCUSSION AND RESULTS

Out of the five events chosen, the event of the Madrid Arena and the candidacy of Madrid 2020 have been the ones most followed by the press with 674 and 429 published pieces, respectively. However, if we look at the days on which the different chapters have been dealt with, the Olympic candidacy is undoubtedly the most watched, followed by the announcement of the mayor's not to run for election in 2014 (Figure 1).

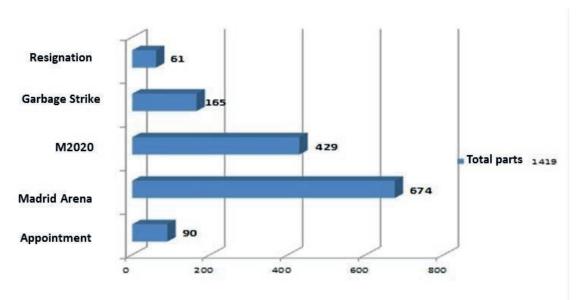


Figure 1: Total pieces per event Source: Own prepared

The diachronic coverage that has continued on the Madrid Arena in the chosen newspapers has been the widest one: from November 2, 2012, the day of the crash, to January 10, 2013 following the resignation of Deputy Mayor Miguel Ángel Villanueva. This has meant an average of 10 reports a day. However, in the case of the candidacy of Madrid for the 2020 Olympics, there has been more media density, since in the first half of September 2013 there was an average of 28.6 daily publications resulting from a total of 429 pieces.

For its part, the resignation has been dealt with in September 10-15, 2014 in 61 pieces, which means 12.2 pieces per day, surpassing the case of Madrid Arena. The publications on the garbage strike in November 2013 have also been studied for a month, with a score of 165 pieces representing 5.5 per day, while in the case of the appointment on December 28, 2011, the newspapers issued a month and a week before have been followed with a score of 90 publications, which gives a figure of 2.4 per day.

In all cases, the news items always outweigh editorials, cartoons or opinions, where a letter by a reader published by *El Mundo* on the Madrid Arena case and 6 columns of opinion written by Ana Botella herself in the newspaper *ABC* on the candidacy of Madrid for the Olympics (Figure. 2) are included.

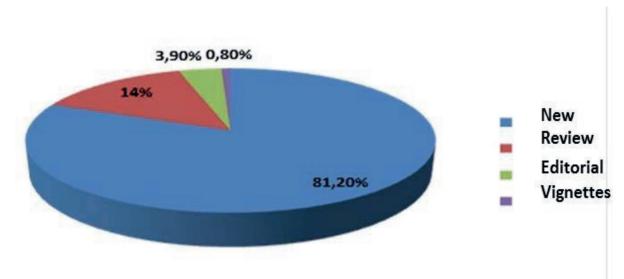


Figure 2: Total percentages of formats **Source:** Own prepared

Opinion articles are also numerous in the cases of Madrid 2020 and Madrid Arena, with 96 and 60 respectively, while in the case of the appointment of Ana Botella as mayoress, there have been 26, 19 about the garbage strike, and 15 relating to her resignation to run for election. Again the case of Madrid 2020 is the most recurring topic with a daily average of 6.4 pieces, whereas in the remaining cases it is less than 1 per day.

Regarding editorials, the case of the Madrid Arena has reflected 24, 0.3 per day, followed by the candidacy of Madrid for the Olympics, which in 15 days has offered 13 editorials, 0.8 per day; as well as the resignation of the mayoress with 4 editorials in five days. The case of her appointment has been more testimonial, with 2 editorials, and the garbage strike with just 1.

In these five collected events we also noted that interviews are published in three of them. There are 17 in the case of Madrid 2020, 8 in the case of the Madrid Arena, and one in the case of the garbage strike. Meanwhile, the 12 vignettes are present in three events: 6 on the Madrid Arena, 4 on the candidacy of Madrid for the Olympics and 2 on the resignation of the mayoress (Figure).

Event	V	New 🕝	Opinion 🔽	Editorial 🔽	Vignettes	Total
Appointment		62	26	2	0	90
M. ARENA		600	43	24	6	673
M2020		316	96	13	4	429
Refuse		145	19	1	0	165
Resignation		40	15	4	2	61

Figure 3: Number of formats by events

Source: Own prepared

Regarding the assessment of the published pieces, in general there is a large number of parts (61.4%) in which the name of Ana Botella does not appear in the headline or in the text. In the remaining 38.6%, the pieces with a neutral assessment of the mayoress are significantly more frequent with 18.9%, whereas 11.2% are negative and 8.4% are positive.

In the cases more dealt with, out of the 429 pieces on Madrid 2020, in 304 (70.8%) the mayoress does not appear, while in the case of the Madrid Arena, in 482 pieces of out of 674 (71.5%), the name of Ana Botella does not appear either. In the garbage strike, the percentage is 51.5% and corresponds to 85 pieces out of a total of 165; while concerning her appointment, the mayoress logically appears in all of them; likewise, on her resignation only 1 out of the 62 pieces does not mention the mayoress.

Moreover, most of the pieces are neutral in the cases of her appointment, Madrid 2020 and the garbage strike. However, negative assessments in the events related to her resignation and the event of Madrid Arena predominate (Figure 4).

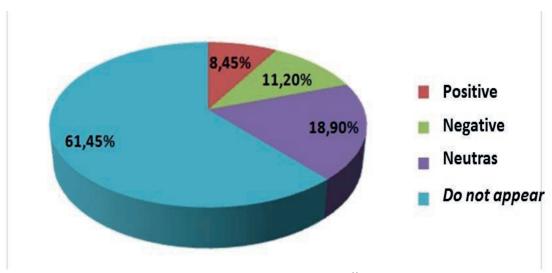


Figure 4: Percentage assessment in all newspapers Source: Own prepared

By newspapers, all of them choose to disseminate more pieces on Madrid 2020 and Madrid Arena. *ABC* is the one that publishes more on this last event with 218 pieces, followed by *El Mundo* with 181 and *La Razón* with 180, whereas *El País* surprises with almost half, 95. On the opposite side, all devote fewer pieces to the resignation of Ana Botella, except *El País* that shows even less in the case of the appointment of the mayoress.

Significantly, on the subject of Madrid Arena, the newspaper *La Razon* is the one that publishes more opinion articles with 24, ahead of *ABC* with 21 and above *El Mundo*

with 14 and *El País* with only 1. However, *El* Mundo is the one that stands out with 14 editorials, by far exceeding the 7 editorials in *ABC*, the 2 in *El País* and one in *La Razón*.

According to the assessment, the first thing that stands out is that *La Razón* does not reflect negative pieces in any case, and the positive pieces outweigh the other parameters, except for Madrid 2020 and Madrid Arena, in which the many times the name of Ana Botella does not appear exceeds other assessments by far.

At the other end of the scale, *El País* just reflects a positive piece, and it is precisely in a comment about the case of Madrid 2020 that contrasts with 6 negative, 20 neutral and 41 in which the name of the mayoress does not appear. Also noteworthy in *El País* are the 9 negative pieces, with a neutral one out of the 10 published in the case of her resignation.

El Mundo is also negative in most of its publications. Only 4 pieces are positive whereas the negative ones outweigh the positive in the cases of her resignation, Madrid Arena and Madrid 2020. However, there is also an outstanding difference in the many times the mayoress is not mentioned in the cases of Madrid 2020, Madrid Arena and the garbage strike.

ABC is the most neutral one and, in all cases, the neutral assessment exceeds the rest, though in most times the mayoress does not appear in the topics of Madrid 2020, Madrid Arena and the garbage strike (Figure 5).

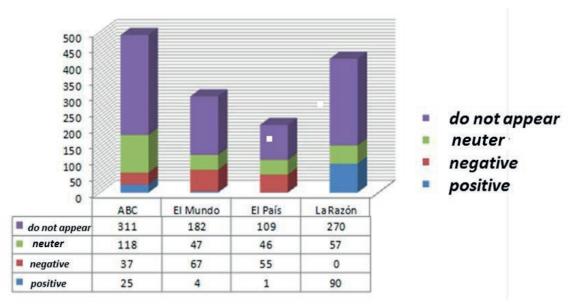


Figure 5: Assessment by newspapers Source: Own prepared

According to the cases set out, just in her appointment, the predominating news pieces are neutral, and most of opinions are positive. On the contrary, the issue of the resignation of Ana Botella, though the predominating news pieces are neutral, opinions are mostly negative (Figure 6).

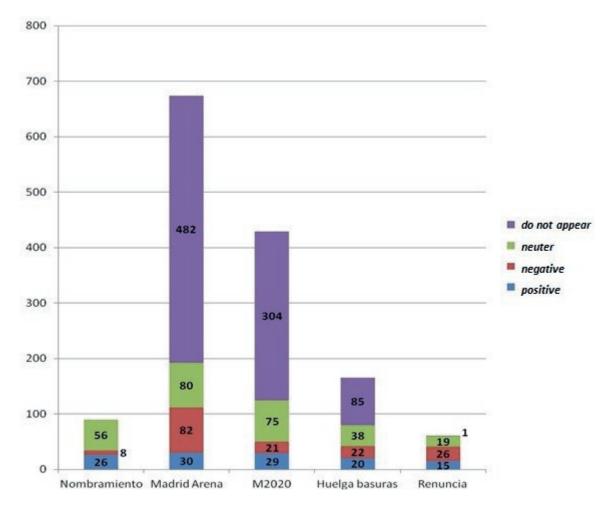


Figure 6: Assessment by events Source: Own prepared

In the topics about the garbage strike, the news pieces where the mayoress is not mentioned are clearly more, but in the case of opinions there is a similar number of positive and negative assessments. As for the issues of Madrid 2020 and Madrid Arena, the pieces, both informative and opinion-based, in which the mayoress is not mentioned outweigh the other assessments by far.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Though there is a remarkable degree of impartiality in the newspapers studied, the figure of Ana Botella is approached, in general, from a negative rather than positive critical viewpoint, which coincides with the results of the exploratory surveys of public opinion by certain newspapers. This perspective is variable depending on the editorial line marked on each publication: *La Razón* is the most lenient newspaper while *El Pais* is the one showing the most inflexible stance concerning the actions of the mayoress. This difference of opinion between some newspapers and others is somewhat predictable precisely because of the diversity in the ideological-political trend of the newspapers studied.

What we find most striking is the limited role of Botella in the main events that have marked her administration, despite her being the main visible head of the municipal administration in the capital. This importance has been relegated by other actors: members of her government, the city council as an institution and other media figures who, to a greater extent in some cases but especially to an equal or lesser extent than the mayoress herself, were also involved and / or responsible for the investigated matters.

Out of the five topics chosen for this study, the tragic events of Madrid Arena and the ruling out of Madrid to host the 2020 Olympics have been the ones more followed by the selected media, which shows the importance of these events in the term of office of Ana Botella. Moreover, if we consider the data on the proportion of published pieces in relation to the days of monitoring, Madrid 2020 is the case more dealt with, followed by the garbage strike in the capital.

The fact that a large majority of pieces, 872 out of 1,419 in total (61.45%) did not make any explicit reference to the mayoress of Madrid, without mentioning her name in the headline or in the text, confirms the scarce presence of Ana Botella in the press, even in the most important events during her term of office

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Without counting the pieces that do not mention the name of Ana Botella, most of them have a neutral assessment, 268, 18.8%; while the 159 negative ones represent 11.2% and the positive ones are 119, standing for 8.3%.

By newspapers, the newspaper *La Razón* is the one with the best assessment of the mayoress with 90 positive pieces, 21.5% as compared to no negative piece, while *El País* is the one providing a more negative assessment with 55 pieces with this criterion, 26.9% in contrast to only one positive (0.4%).

The cases of her appointment and resignation have more percentage of positive pieces. The case of her appointment shows 26 positive pieces (28.8%), followed by her resignation with 15, 24.1%, the garbage strike with 20, 12.1%, while Madrid 2020 shows 6.7% of positive pieces with 29, and Madrid Arena 4.4% with 30.

La Razón and ABC are the two newspapers that more opinion pieces have disseminated and they have devoted more space to analysis than El Mundo and El País. La Razón has published 98 opinion pieces, 23.5% as compared with 98 in ABC: 19.9%; 48 in El Mundo, which represents 16%; and 17 in El País, 8%, the case of the candidacy of Madrid for the 2020 Olympics, with 42 opinions in La Razón (28.3%) and 41 in ABC (25.1%) being remarkable once again.

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