

The Trash Crisis in Bogotá (2018). Analysis of informative frames in five Colombian radio stations

La crisis de las basuras en Bogotá (2018). Análisis de los encuadres informativos en cinco estaciones de radio colombianas

A crise do lixo em Bogotá (2018). Análise do enquadramento informativo em cinco estações de rádio colombianas

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ABSTRACT | In 2018, Bogotá experienced a crisis in the garbage collection service that affected citizens and institutions in multiple areas and generated environmental, social, political, economic and legal problems, among others. Taking this fact as a case study, this work presents the results of a content analysis applied to 274 news items broadcasted by the five main Colombian radio media whose editorial lines and the positions of their most recognized journalists were openly and explicitly in opposition to the then mayor Gustavo Petro. The objective was to establish the emphasis, the interpretation frames, the informative balance, the attribution of responsibility and the attributions used by these media opposed to the local government in charge to deal with the crisis. Among the main findings, it stands out that the most recurrent frame was the political one, which led to conceive the problem from a political/legal perspective and not from its environmental impact. The impact of the media on the trajectory of the crisis for public opinion is evident by giving greater weight to the political dimension to the detriment of the issues that most directly affected citizens.

KEYWORDS: public opinion; political communication; political crisis; ecological crisis; Bogotá; radio news.

HOW TO CITE

Roncallo-Dow, S., Cárdenas Ruiz, J. D., & Cruz-González, M. C. (2020). La crisis de las basuras en Bogotá (2018). Análisis de los encuadres informativos en cinco estaciones de radio colombianas. *Cuadernos.info*, (47), 53-79. <https://doi.org/10.7764/cdi.47.1768>

RESUMEN | Durante 2018 Bogotá vivió una crisis en el servicio de recolección de basuras que afectó a la ciudadanía y a las instituciones en múltiples ámbitos y generó problemas ambientales, sociales, políticos, económicos, legales, entre otros. Tomando este hecho como caso de estudio, este trabajo presenta los resultados de un análisis de contenido aplicado a 274 noticias emitidas por los cinco principales medios radiales de Colombia cuyas líneas editoriales y posiciones de sus periodistas más reconocidos fueron abierta y explícitamente de oposición al entonces alcalde Gustavo Petro. El objetivo fue establecer cuál era el énfasis, los marcos de interpretación, el equilibrio informativo, la atribución de responsabilidad y las atribuciones utilizadas por estos medios opositores al gobierno local a cargo para darle sentido a la crisis. Dentro de los principales hallazgos destaca que el encuadre más recurrente fue el político, lo que llevó a concebir el problema desde una perspectiva político/legal y no desde su impacto ambiental. Se evidencia la incidencia de los medios en la trayectoria que tuvo la crisis para la opinión pública al dar mayor peso a la dimensión política en detrimento de los asuntos que afectaron más directamente a los ciudadanos.

PALABRAS CLAVE: opinión pública; comunicación política; crisis política; crisis ecológica; Bogotá; noticias radiofónicas.

RESUMO | Em 2018, Bogotá passou por uma crise no serviço de coleta de lixo que afetou cidadãos e instituições em diversas áreas e gerou problemas ambientais, sociais, políticos, econômicos e legais, entre outros. Tomando esse fato como um estudo de caso, este trabalho apresenta os resultados de uma análise de conteúdo aplicada a 274 notícias veiculadas pelas cinco principais rádios colombianas, cujas linhas editoriais e as posições de seus jornalistas mais reconhecidos se opunham aberta e explicitamente ao então prefeito. Gustavo Petro. O objetivo foi estabelecer qual era a ênfase, os quadros de interpretação, o balanço informativo, a atribuição de responsabilidade e as atribuições utilizadas por esses meios de comunicação opositores ao governo local encarregado de dar sentido à crise. Dentre os principais resultados, destaca-se que o quadro mais recorrente foi o político, o que levou a conceber o problema do ponto de vista político / legal e não do seu impacto ambiental. O impacto da mídia na trajetória da crise para a opinião pública fica evidente ao dar maior peso à dimensão política em detrimento das questões que mais afetam diretamente os cidadãos.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: opinião pública; comunicação política; crise política; crise ecológica; Bogotá; notícias de rádio.

INTRODUCTION

In February 2018, the city of Bogotá experienced a crisis in the garbage collection service that meant that for many days the service could not be provided in a comprehensive manner, creating environmental, social, political, economic and legal problems that affected citizens and different political actors and institutions.

Previously, in the administration led by Gustavo Petro (2012-2016), the garbage collection model was conducted by the public company Aguas de Bogotá. However, with the arrival of Enrique Peñalosa (2016-2020), the model became a competitive one, between private companies and the aforementioned public company. Finally, the garbage collection service ended up being awarded to private companies, who provide the service by zones, without having all the economic, physical and human resources to carry out their work in an adequate and timely manner.

It is important to remember that the new model proposed by the Petro administration took effect in December 2012, but before its execution the city was submerged in a garbage emergency, since, in the early morning of December 18 of the same year, the waste had not been collected in a timely manner (Ardila Arrieta, 2012). This emergency was in the sights of the media, citizens, and government and control entities, to the point of questioning the policy established by Petro, who was involved in a disciplinary process¹.

The questions that arose around the garbage emergency not only reiterated that the new model and program of the former mayor of Bogotá had failed, but also showed certain irregularities of the decisions made by the Petro administration, such as the purchase of dump trucks in poor condition, the excessive purchase of vehicles for garbage collection, and the difficulty of the public company to comply with the effective provision of the service (El 'paso a paso'..., 2013). Despite the environmental crisis experienced by the capital, former mayor Petro made decisions to restore normality in garbage collection and –again– hired private companies, giving them a minimum percentage of the garbage collection management, and giving the company Aguas de Bogotá 60% of the city areas.

Later, in 2015, Enrique Peñalosa was elected as the city mayor, for the period 2016-2020. His development plan established that “the Special Administrative Unit of Public Service –UAESP– will design and implement a comprehensive scheme

1. Disciplinary investigation processes conducted on public administration servants when there are indications of possible violations of their functions as public officials. They do not result in penalties, but they can include monetary sanctions, suspensions from office, or even disability for long periods of time, according to the seriousness of the behavior.

for the provision of this public service (...) and, in any case, the scheme adopted must guarantee the inclusion and formalization of the recycling forces of the Capital District” (Alcaldía Mayor de Bogotá D.C, 2018).

In mid-2016, UAESP officially presented the new cleaning scheme to be approved and formalized by the Commission for the Regulation of Drinking Water and Environmental Sanitation (CRA, by its Spanish acronym). This new model consisted of a total restructuring of the service, thus returning to a private company scheme. However, before these could enter the tender, to choose among the proponents the five companies that would deserve the five areas in which Bogotá was divided, the CRA had not given its verdict, which implied a delay of almost a year of the new collection model. In other words, during the first two years of the Peñalosa administration, the scheme that was still in force and working was the one proposed by former mayor Gustavo Petro.

In February 2017, the CRA approved the new model proposed by UAESP, thus commencing the bidding process to choose the companies that would operate the service in the city. At the beginning of 2018, Bogotá was once again submerged in garbage for two reasons: first, the workers of Aguas de Bogotá went on a strike because they could not be part of the tender for the service and since they were adrift because of Peñalosa’s new administration model and, second, since this model was in force as of February 12, thus leaving a limbo in the provision of the service.

The analysis here presented was focused on studying the coverage of the 2018 garbage crisis made by the five main radio opinion media in the city of Bogotá. We selected the media whose editorial lines, as well as the stands of its most recognized journalists, have been and continue to be openly and explicitly opposed to the political trajectory of former mayor Gustavo Petro, and much closer to former mayor Enrique Peñalosa. In that regard, the analysis did not intend, from the outset, to find big differences in the media postures and their ways of constructing the fact to be interpreted by the public opinion, but to delve into their framing and attribution of responsibility strategies, knowing already their political positions.

What is interesting about this analysis is that it seeks to methodically approach the study of a series of radio stations that have a great influence on the formation of the country’s public opinion, and more specifically in Bogotá. The morning opinion programs analyzed have been for many years the most listened to, and their journalists enjoy wide public recognition. However, they have also been criticized for their political stands, which, in this case, due to the public figures involved, evidenced a clear political alignment –at least a priori, due to their position vis-à-vis former mayor Petro, with whom the relationship during and after his period was one of total confrontation.

THEORETICAL APPROACH: CRISIS, AGENDA SETTING AND FRAMING

In a world that is increasingly convulsed socially, politically, and economically, in which crises are now part of normality and in which citizens have increasing access to information, the study of the processes of news construction of critical events is of great relevance for political communication.

Media coverage of crises of various kinds may end up influencing how governments deal with them, how citizens experience them, and how they respond to decisions made by those in charge of finding the crisis' solutions.

Various studies on communication effects on public opinion showed how news have the power to shape the thinking of citizens who do not have much knowledge or awareness of public affairs (Bennett, 2016; Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes, & Sasson, 1992; Iyengar & Kinder, 2010; Scheufele, 1999; Searle & Willis, 1995). Karen Johnson-Cartee (2004) defines two levels at which the media can impact public opinion: individual and collective. At the individual level, there are cognitive, affective, and behavioral effects. Collectively, they have effects on the definition and maintenance of the status quo or as catalysts for social change (Johnson-Cartee, 2004).

The most studied effects have to do with the ability of the media to establish the public agenda (agenda setting), position interpretation frames to interpret the public agenda (framing), and privilege certain aspects and specific positions to favor said interpretations (priming) (Domke, Shah, & Wackman, 1998; Iyengar, Peters, & Kinder, 2014; Kleinnijenhuis, van Atteveldt, & Dekkers, 2018; Tan & Shaw, 2018).

The idea of the ways of constructing public debates promoted by the ordering of topics of interest by the media is an old subject within communication debates and, specifically, within those that deal directly with the agenda setting (Davie & Maher, 2006; Funk & McCombs, 2017; McCombs, 1977, 2005; Shaw, 1979). Some redefinitions within the current media ecology (Carlón, 2015; Scolari, 2012) show the idea of a strong influence on the part of the media apparatus in the construction not only of informational routines, but also of the perception of reality itself.

The classic study by McCombs and Shaw (1972) had shown that, indeed, the media have a real influence on the decisions of audiences and consumers and that, beyond hypodermic readings (Livingstone, 2018), the social construction of reality –covered by classic works such as those by Berger and Luckmann (1968)– is strongly determined by the media ecosystem in which the subjects move. The construction of agendas has a close relationship with the ways of perceiving reality, which we rarely manage to thematize as an experience of the self in a media world (Thompson, 1997). Likewise, it takes for granted the presence of the ways of seeing, which are filtered by communication technologies that would shape an environment that, by not being directly perceived by the subjects that

inhabit it (McLuhan, 2015; McLuhan, 1967, 2002; Roncallo-Dow, Uribe-Jongbloed, & Goyeneche-Gómez, 2016), models their ways of seeing.

That is why, when speaking of crisis, it is inevitable to put on the table the way in which the media portray it, without this necessarily implying that audiences are considered totally vulnerable. Now that we have entered the so-called post-truth discourse (Copenhagen, 2018; Levinson, 2017; Levitin, 2016; McIntyre, 2018; Serna, 2017) and of fake news or alternative facts, it is crucial to make a more rigorous approach to the way in which crises are presented, since, in many cases, the perception of them is sifted by the effect produced through the media; something that, as Cantril (1942) showed a long time ago –to mention only a classic work – is one of the main characteristics of social mediatization evidenced in moments of crisis (Valdettaro, 2015).

The crisis: framing and mediatization

We start from the thesis of Pellegrini, Puente and Grassau (2015), according to which

We understand as crisis news coverage a coverage made by press departments² [...] of very unusual phenomena of high social relevance that, due to their magnitude, break institutional and journalistic routines, and force professionals to work under strong pressure, uncertainty, and personal vulnerability. During these events, which range from natural disasters to those caused by men, the social role of journalism acquires its greatest significance, since the need of the population to receive timely, truthful, and contextualized information is magnified, according to the urgency of the event, to reduce their vulnerability (p. 250).

In fact, crises are an almost permanent state within the public space. Social systems constantly have different situations that cause their components to enter into crisis and question their continuity, need and legitimacy. Societies experience crises in the military (Allen, O'Loughlin, Jasperson, & Sullivan, 1994; Bennett & Paletz, 1994; Christie, 2006; Iyengar & Simon, 1993), economic (Cissel, 2012; De Vreese, 2010; Picard, 2015), environmental (Allan, Adam, & Carter, 2000), and humanitarian levels (Robinson, 1999, 2000; Soderlund, Briggs, & Hildebrandt, 2008), among others, and the media have a power, and a responsibility, to determine the course of the crisis for public opinion, the ways to interpret, understand it and face it.

Regarding how the media deal with public crises, there are different approaches. Semetkho and Valkenburg (2000) proposed the presence of five interpretation

2. Radio, in this case.

frames that can be adapted to the crisis coverage analysis: conflict, morality, economic consequences, human interest, and attribution of responsibility. From those emerge the idea that the media can emphasize the fact as a problem and its conflictive dimensions, the effects that the event can have in the economic sphere (resources), stories of people involved in the critical events, value judgments about reality, and the direct or indirect attribution of responsibilities regarding what is happening. An and Gower (2009) used this conceptualization to analyze how the media built interpretation frames in the coverage of crises. Within the dimension of attribution of responsibility, they argue that “At the same time, media can present problems and their solutions as either an individual’s or society’s responsibility” (An & Gower, 2009, p. 108).

The works by Cheng and Palacios (2009) and Barrios, Arroyave Cabrera, and Vega-Estarita (2017) are crucial; they directly analyze the way in which the media focuses on crises and that, although they put environmental issues in the agenda, they do it without further context and analysis. Another crucial job in this regard is the one of Hasbún-Mancilla, Aldunce-Ide, Blanco-Wells, and Browne-Sartori (2017): they state that the media are generators of consensus in case of crisis (focused on the case of four Chilean media), with a clearly neoliberal approach in which economic opportunity is privileged over environmental sustainability, a problem already identified by Maxwell and Miller (2012). This is key, because in many cases, as showed by Bardwell (1991), the interpretation frames in which the media present environmental sustainability problems discourage audiences from making decisions that lead to a solution, and pose the problem as something distant, producing a kind of narcotic dysfunction in audiences (Jönsson, 2011). Something similar occurs with environmental crises that may derive from war conflicts or humanitarian crises, where transience, in the midst of a digital media ecology, trivializes and consensuses the problems favoring ideological positions (Rodríguez & Jivkova Semova, 2014), using terms such as fear, war and crime (Ardèvol-Abreul, 2016), or giving ephemeral visibility to crises in search of new agendas, as in the case of the humanitarian crisis of Syrian refugees (Roncallo Dow, Córdoba-Hernández, & Durán Camero, 2019; Roncallo-Dow & Mazorra-Correa, 2015).

Within De Vreese’s (2005) typology of the different journalistic frames, he identifies crises within the *thematic* category, attributing to them the specific characteristic of being sensitive to events. The duration, intensity and magnitude of a crisis may be mediated by the way in which the media construct the frames for interpreting these events, which also produce emotional effects on audiences, conditioning their positions and perceptions (Noguera Vivo, 2006). In that regard and considering that crises have certain stages, it has been stated that “the initial phase of crises has its own special features: journalists are physically transported

to the impacted area, extra editions and programs are organized, etc. Furthermore, the coverage becomes more extensive and dramatic, more improvisation is allowed, and sources are not checked as thoroughly as they are under normal circumstances” (Öhman, Nygren, & Olofsson, 2016, p. 516).

Another aspect of vital importance in the context of a crisis, crossed by the media influence, is that of the problems’ definition. Awareness around a problem implies a prior public opinion sensitization process so they consider a public agenda issue as a problematic element for a system (Pellisser & Pineda, 2014).

Several authors have proposed the concept of attribution of blame (Coombs & Holladay, 1996; Iyengar, 1996; Shaver, 2012) to evaluate the impact on the public opinion of communicating events establishing not only their causes, but also those responsible, for better or for worse, thus building favorable or unfavorable images of public figures and directing the position of citizens towards a certain plot or emotional space. In this regard, Iyengar states that:

The two principal types of attributions correspond to causal and treatment responsibility. Causal responsibility concerns the origin of a problem, while treatment responsibility focuses on who or what has the ability to alleviate the problem. Both types of attributions are especially relevant for understanding political life (1996, p. 60).

Shaver (2012) states that “an assignment of blame is a social explanation. It is the outcome of a process that begins with an event having negative consequences, involves judgments about causality, personal responsibility, and possible mitigation. The result can be an assertion, or a denial, of individual blameworthiness” (2012, p. 4).

In crisis contexts, as is the case in this study, people are searching for causes to make attributions of responsibility. Coombs & Holladay (1996) state that

People evaluate organizational responsibility for a crisis when they determine the cause of a crisis. The more publics attribute crisis responsibility to an organization, the stronger the likelihood is of publics developing and acting upon negative images of the organization. Greater attributions of responsibility lead to stronger feelings of anger and a more negative view of an actor's image (1996, p. 282).

According to Gerhards, Offerhaus and Roose, the attributions of responsibility are connoted by policies or conjunctural incidents and determine to some extent the way in which the problem is interpreted by the responsible political actors. In the same way, it generates an effect on citizens, since the evaluation they make of politicians and public affairs is given through the media, due to their little access

and low interest in politics (2007). This variable is decisive for this study, since we analyze a crisis that has its origin in decisions regarding the garbage collection model of a previous government, and the effects are seen after those decisions.

The process of crises mediatization corresponds to the process of formulation, implementation, and evaluation of public policies, i.e., a political process of public management. The process of mediatization and its evolution does not occur only with journalistic logics, but with the same logics of the political process and the interests of political actors, including the media.

In his text *Up and Down with Ecology -the Issue-Attention Cycle*, Downs (1972) proposed the existence of an issue-attention cycle, composed of five stages: pre-problem, alarmed discovery and euphoric enthusiasm, realizing the cost of significant progress, gradual decline of intense public interest, and the post-problem (Downs, 1972). According to this cycle, a public matter goes through a process in which, initially, there is not much generalized knowledge on the subject, except by some experts; then, from certain events, even unexpected or unplanned, the issue acquires public relevance. Subsequently, there is a moment of awareness about its effects and the cost of solving the problem, to then move on to a progressive decline in public interest, until reaching a post-problem stage, when it is displaced by other issues.

In that same vein, Yanovitzky (2002) states that

Besides influencing the timing and intensity of policy making, media attention to issues may also be related to the particular policy choices pursued by policy makers regarding a certain problem. In much the same way that media representations of issues shape lay people's judgments (2002, p. 425).

METHODOLOGY

The research was based on the content analysis methodology, defined by Krippendorff (1990) as a research technique designed to formulate, based on certain data, reproducible and valid inferences that can be applied to a given context.

Thus, in total, we analyzed 274 news items, collected from the Siglo Data MMI Colombia media monitoring platform, in the period from February 1 to February 28, 2018, in which the crisis occurred in Bogotá. The news pieces correspond to broadcasts made by the morning programs of the main national radios that address political issues, more specifically the problems of Bogotá. The news items

are distributed as follows³: *Caracol Radio*, 43 (16%); *Rcn Radio*, 110 (39%); *La W*, 37 (14%); *Blu Radio*, 59 (22%), and *La FM*, 25 (9%).

The stations *Caracol Radio* and *La W* are owned by Grupo Prisa, *Blu Radio* is owned by Santodomingo group and *Rcn Radio* and *La FM* are owned by Organización Ardila Lule. They represent the broadcasters with the highest audience⁴ in the opinion segment and bring together the most influential journalists in the morning radio programs: Julio Sánchez Cristo, Néstor Morales, Darío Arizmendi, Luis Carlos Vélez and Yolanda Ruiz, among others.

Analysis categories

We established a coding protocol for the identification variables and the variables constructed from theoretical references: informative sources, news focus, thematic emphasis of the news, and attribution of responsibilities. For the analysis exercise, we designed a content analysis matrix, later systematized in the SPSS program.

Methodologically, we considered Robert Entman's (1993) definition of salience, who stated that "to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment" (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Based on these ideas, we pre-established categories that involved possible frames of interpretation related to the crisis: political, human/social, public order, environmental, public health, and legal.

Likewise, we considered Entman's (1993) definition of the attribution of responsibility category, seeking to establish in the content of the news to whom responsibility for the crisis was attributed to, taking as a reference the different actors involved in the problem and how said responsibility evolved during the month of analysis.

The framing categories were defined in the coding protocol as follows:

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3. The number of pieces analyzed corresponds to the number of news broadcasted by the respective media about the subject under study within the period analyzed.
 4. According to ECAR's (Continuous Study of Radio Audience) latest available data (October 2018), within the segment of opinion stations, the audience's preference was distributed as follows: *Caracol Radio*, 33%; *W Radio*, 23%; *Blu Radio*, 19%; *La FM*, 13%, and *RCN Radio*, 12%. Similarly, in the study conducted by Kantar TNS for Spotify in 2018 on radio consumption through streaming platforms, the audience's preference in the opinion segment was distributed, in Bogotá, as follows: *Blu Radio*, 30%; *W Radio*, 30%; *Caracol Radio*, 27%; *La FM*, 24%, and *RCN Radio*, 14%.

- Political: attributes responsibility to a politician or party, responsibility is attributed to a political or ideological sector, there is a political interest behind the actions of the actors.
- Human-social: focuses on the human and social consequences (dismissal of workers, drama of garbage collectors).
- Public order: focuses on violent acts, excesses, insecurity, and the citizen protest is shown as an act that violates public order.
- Environmental: focuses on the consequences of the crisis for the environment.
- Public health: focuses on health consequences such as viruses, diseases, and more.
- Legal: focuses on the legal and contractual process of the model change.

On the other hand, we created a record of information sources, seeking to establish the weight of the voice of the different actors involved, both of the government and the civil society.

The sources were defined based on the different sectors and the different levels of participation they had within the context of the crisis. In the coding instructions they were defined as follows:

- District sources: officials belonging to the political institutions of the district (Bogotá administration).
- Gustavo Petro: when the former mayor, who initially modified the collection model, was the source of information.
- Enrique Peñalosa: when the then mayor was a source of information.
- Source New Operators: officials or people who spoke on behalf of the new companies operating the service.
- Garbage collectors: people who speak individually or collectively from the position of the city's garbage collectors.
- Aguas de Bogotá workers: officials who spoke on behalf of the public company providing the service.
- Control bodies: officials of control bodies (Comptroller's Office, Attorney General's Office, Ombudsman's Office).
- Experts: people who speak in their capacity as experts, academics, or connoisseurs of the problem.

- Citizens: citizens who are considered as sources.
- Councilors: members of the Bogotá Council who represent different political sectors.
- Civil Society: people who speak on behalf of civil society organizations (NGOs, collectives, social movements, etc.).
- Other political actors: political leaders from another level (departmental, local, national).

RESULTS

We analyzed 274 news pieces broadcasted in the period 1 February to 28 February 2018 and, to analyze the developments in the coverage of the crisis over the month, this period was divided into three⁵: period one (February 1 to February 10); period two (February 11 to February 20), and period three (February 21 to February 28). The first concentrated most of the analyzed information, with 55% of the news recorded on the crisis. The second was composed of 31% of the news, and the third, of only 14%, which shows a decrease in the space given to the issue in the public agenda.

The crisis' voices

The first variable considered are the information sources, i.e., the presence or absence of certain voices that may impact the interpretation of the origin, evolution, interpretation, and responsibility of the crisis.

From the overview of the entire period (28 days), the predominant sources were citizens (19%), sources from the capital district (18%), civil society (17%) and the former mayor Peñalosa, with 14%. Meanwhile, actors affected by the crisis, such as garbage collectors and workers from the dismissed company, Aguas de Bogotá, are rarely considered as sources of information (table 1).

5. February represented the period when the crisis started, evolved, and developed. This three-period distribution aims at monitoring the evolution of variables insofar as different events happened during the crisis, that affected its interpretation, focus and allocation of responsibilities. Period one has as commotional start point the strike of Aguas de Bogotá workers, which unleashed the crisis. Period two starts with the enforcement of the new model of garbage collection, when time was given until February 21 to new operators to catch up and collect waste. Period three begins with the expiry of the deadline given by the mayor's office to new operators and the opening of investigations by the control entities.

Source	Number of interventions	Average per news	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3
Citizens	173	0.63	0.30	0.22	0.26
District	74	0.27	0.23	0.17	0.08
Other political actors	55	0.20	0.00	0.16	0.08
Enrique Peñalosa	52	0.19	0.00	0.03	0.00
Control bodies	42	0.15	0.08	0.00	0.05
Civil society	42	0.15	0.13	0.19	0.18
New operating companies	17	0.06	0.01	0.01	0.00
Aguas de Bogotá workers	14	0.05	0.68	0.64	0.42
Councilors	7	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.00
Garbage collectors	3	0.01	0.19	0.10	0.11
Experts	3	0.01	0.31	0.06	0.13

Table 1. General average of information sources and time periods

Source: Own elaboration.

When reviewing the evolution of the sources in the three defined periods, some interesting trends are found. Citizen sources and district sources remain constant, while then mayor Peñalosa is less and less considered as time passes. Quite the opposite occurs with control bodies, which acquire more space as the crisis evolves with new events and revelations.

How was the crisis framed? Problem or solution? Who are responsible?

We sought to establish whether within the content there was a focus on solving the issue or if the information was more focused on deepening into it. The predominant approach was the latter, present in 71% of the news stories, compared to the solution approach, present in 14%, and the presence of both, detected in 15% of the items.

When making the correlation with the temporal variable, there is a growing trend of the problem approach in light of the evidence of the crisis and the institutional inability to deal with it. As time passes, the problem focus is increasingly present in the news pieces, to the point that, in the last week analyzed, 82% of the news focuses on that perspective rather than on solutions. Seeking to delve into the construction of frames, we established the following categories: political, legal, institutional, environmental, health, and public order to categorize the one that predominated in the news pieces. In this case, it was the political one, present in 42% of the news, followed by the environmental one, with 28%; the legal, with 25%, and the human/social, with 20%, among the most relevant (table 2).

Variable correlation	N	Chi squared	Significance
District source/political framing/problem focus	274	20.54	<0.05
District source/legal framing/problem focus	274	15.265	<0.05
Fuente Peñalosa/human-social framing/problem focus	274	7.926	<0.05
Source new operators/social-human framing/solution focus	274	8.165	<0.05
Source control bodies/social-human framing/problem focus	274	11.205	<0.05
Source control bodies/public health frame/solution focus	274	8.736	<0.05
Source citizens/political framing/problem focus	274	31.06	<0.05

Table 2. Correlations of source/frame/focus variables

Source: Own elaboration.

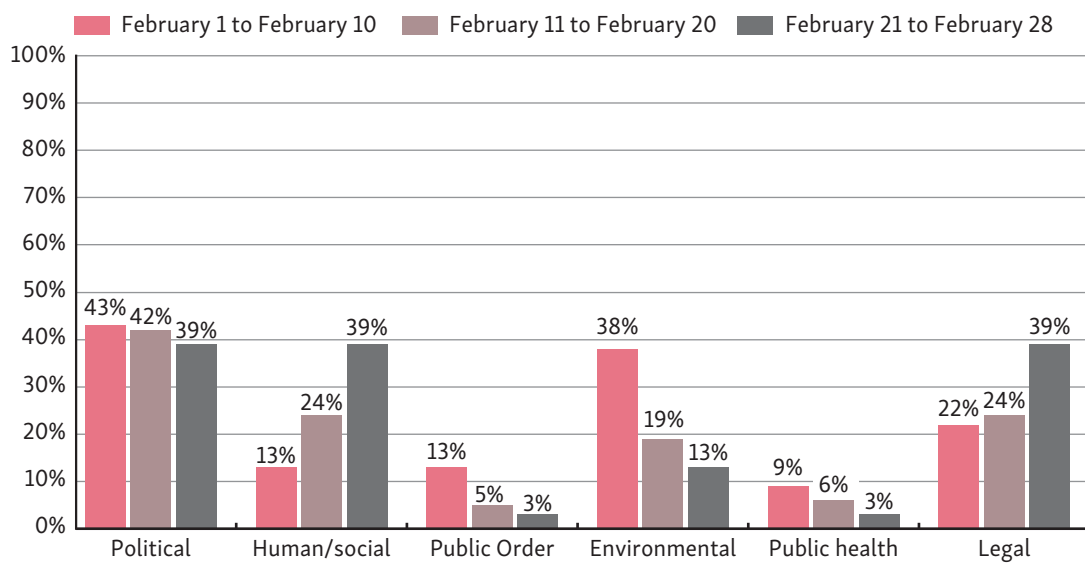


Figura 1. Evolución de los encuadres

Fuente: Elaboración propia.

The evolution of the frames throughout the month shows a very marked trend, worth highlighting (figure 1). As days go by, the dominant frame that originally aimed to show the crisis as a political, environmental, and legal issue, with some public health overtones, ends up giving more space towards the end of the month to the human/social frame, as well as to the political and the legal.

Responsibility for the crisis ⁶

In the overall of the period analyzed, the responsibility was attributed mainly to the new companies operating the cleaning service (43%) and to mayor Peñalosa (35%). The attribution of responsibility on the former mayor Petro decreases with the passing of the days, while that of the operating companies increases every week. Towards the end of the period, there is a significant increase in the attribution of responsibility to the workers of Aguas de Bogotá, who are blamed for the crisis since they stopped the provision of the service as a sign of protests against the change in the waste collection model (figure 2).

When looking into the average duration of the news and the attributions of responsibility in them, we found that, although there are certain actors of the crisis that are more frequently held responsible (Peñalosa, new operators), the news pieces recurrently blame the actors related to the old garbage collection scheme (Petro, former Petro administration officials, and Aguas de Bogotá workers) (table 3).

When reviewing the relationship between frames and attribution of responsibility, we found the following (table 4).

Although some trends can be found at first glance in the relationship between the frames and the attribution of responsibility, we found four statistically significant correlations in our analysis (table 5).

The first establishes a relationship between the political frame and the attribution of responsibility to the new operating companies; the second shows a relationship between the legal frame and the attribution of responsibility to the workers of Aguas de Bogotá; the third shows a relationship between the political frame and the attribution of responsibility to the workers of Aguas de Bogotá, and the fourth significant relationship is between the public order frame and the officials of the Enrique Peñalosa administration.

6. Among the indicators for measuring responsibility, the options *other Petro* and *other Peñalosa* were included. These referred to the appearance, as responsible for the crisis, of officials of the old administration, in the case of *other Petro*, and officials of the then current administration, in the case of *other Peñalosa*.

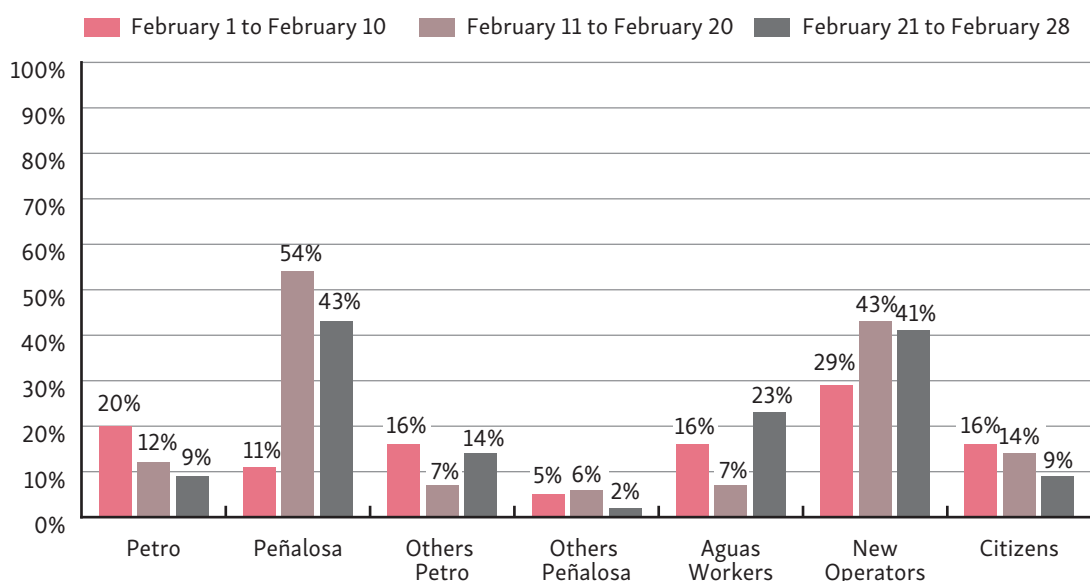


Figure 2. Evolution of the attribution of responsibility

Source: Own elaboration.

	Gustavo Petro	Enrique Peñalosa	Former Petro administration officials	Former Peñalosa administration officials	Aguas de Bogotá workers	New service operators	Citizens
Period 1	277.9	234.2	285.9	95.6	361.5	137.3	115.2
Period 2	246.2	149.9	200.9	203.0	222.7	197.7	187.1
Period 3	230.5	145.9	121.2	64.0	268.5	136.4	0

Table 3. Average duration (seconds) of the news pieces grouped by attribution of responsibility and period

Source: Own elaboration.

Attribution of responsibility	Political	Human/social	Public order	Environmental	Public health	Legal
Gustavo Petro	19%	31%	28%	13%	5%	19%
Enrique Peñalosa	38%	40%	8%	26%	32%	28%
Former Petro administration officials	17%	16%	16%	13%	5%	14%
Peñalosa administration officials	3%	0%	16%	1%	16%	4%
Aguas de Bogotá workers	24%	13%	16%	19%	32%	35%
New service operators	47%	38%	24%	33%	11%	30%
Citizens	10%	9%	20%	15%	21%	12%

Table 4. Correlation between frames and attribution of responsibility

Source: Own elaboration.

Variable correlation	N	Chi square	Significance
Political frame/Attribution of responsibility to new operating companies	274	21,485	<0,05
Legal frame/Attribution of responsibility to Aguas de Bogotá workers	274	25,458	<0,05
Political frame/Attribution of responsibility to Aguas de Bogotá workers	274	10,847	<0,05
Public order frame/Attribution of responsibility to Enrique Peñalosa's district's officials	274	10,256	<0,05

Table 5. Correlation between frames and attribution of responsibility

Attribution of responsibility	Average duration (s)
Gustavo Petro	266.5
Enrique Peñalosa	159.1
Former Petro administration officials	248.0
Former Peñalosa administration officials	141.5
Aguas de Bogotá workers	317.3
New service operating companies	159.6
Citizens	134.6

Table 6. Average duration of the news according to attribution of responsibility

Source: Own elaboration.

Other patterns that should be highlighted, although they are not statistically significant, are that the news with a political frame tend to attribute the responsibility to Peñalosa, the new service operators and the workers of Aguas de Bogotá; the news with a human/social frame tend to attribute the responsibility to Peñalosa, the new operators of the service and the former mayor Petro; those with a public order frame tend to attribute responsibility to citizens, to new service operators and, to the same extent, to Petro and the workers of Aguas de Bogotá; news with an environmental frame tend to attribute responsibility to the new service operators, Peñalosa and the citizens, and those with a public health frame tend to attribute responsibility to the new service operators, citizens, and Peñalosa.

When analyzing the average duration of the news pieces according to the actors to whom responsibility was attributed, we found an interesting pattern (table 6). The notes that attributed responsibility to people or institutions related to the old scheme (Petro, its officials and the company Aguas de Bogotá) last longer than those of the actors related to the new model (Peñalosa, its officials and the new operating companies).

The crisis perspective of the issue

Regarding the attributions used to name the events that were occurring, it is evident that, despite the efforts of the district administration to qualify the crisis using concepts such as transition (2%), normalization (2%), and even underestimate some positions calling them melodramatic (2%), most of the attributions were aimed at negatively cataloging what was happening in the city. The two most mentioned, generically, crisis (16%) and problem (11%), can be related to news that pointed more to the political, economic and social consequences of the event, above other more specific attributions that emphasized in the consequences of the crisis and not so much in its political nature, such as the accumulation of garbage (10%) or the nature of the emergency or crisis as something sanitary (8%) or environmental (2%).

DISCUSSION

The garbage crisis that Bogotá experienced in February 2018 was the scene of a political struggle between two different conceptions of the city and divergent models of how public services should be provided in it, including waste collection. From the findings of the frames' analysis, some aspects related to the informative treatment of the phenomenon can be highlighted, especially from the framing perspective.

The problem analyzed had a decreasing trajectory, in contrast to its incremental nature; in other words, while the problem, in people's daily lives, became more acute, the media published less and less related news. This is evidenced in a gradual decrease within the determined periods, where most of the news occurred in the first one, when the transition between the garbage collection service models had not even been made effective. Radio media coverage decreased during the month of February: it began with a substantial amount of news (55% of those analyzed) that emphasized the emergency in which the city of Bogotá was immersed, and over time it acquired less importance. In addition to the above, it is seen that the main sources that reported the event throughout the month were citizens, the district, and civil society. It is however interesting to highlight that one of the main implicated in the crisis was the then mayor Enrique Peñalosa, whose participation in radio stations decreased as a source and –even more shocking–, the complete absence of former mayor Petro, who was not considered by the media as a source, despite being pointed out as the person responsible for the problem in many of the news pieces analyzed.

Some findings were made by crossing the analyzed variables: the first one is that, evidently, during the periods analyzed, the predominant focus was the

problematization of the crisis, rather than its solution. It is important to remember that the construction of the problem from the media has direct consequences on the ways in which it is seen, and the direct action by the responsible authorities (Laffan, 2014). It is clear from the analysis that, despite the attributions given to the event by the authorities –such as transition, normalization, or change of model– they could not avoid that other sources emphasized attributions such as crisis, accumulation of garbage or emergency, which had a greater impact on the radio media.

The evolution of the frames shows that there was a constant change between variables. At the beginning, the news analyzed were focused on environmental and political terms, although they ended up being framed with a more human/social perspective, as well as of political conflict (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000) regarding the problem and the solution, emphasizing, regardless of the multi-causality and the diverse effects of the crisis, in the Petro-Peñalosa confrontation.

In other words, in both approaches there was a substantial change in the coverage given by radio stations during the month of February. However, it should not be overlooked that the legal frame was always present during the analyzed month, thus demonstrating that the crisis clearly originated from poor legal management among the city mayors and their cleaning policies.

The above allows us to establish that the problem is inscribed within the paradigm of the issue-attention cycle (Downs, 1972), but with its own particularities, since it was not a new issue on the public agenda and it entered the debate with a strongly political inclination, framed in the Petro-Peñalosa conflict. Likewise, during the month it began to lose presence in the media since this personalization of the causes, consequences and responsibilities of the problem diminished, giving way to a perspective of legal and public order, where the decisions that provided solutions were made.

In the same vein, the attributions of responsibility for the different ways of interpreting the problem analyzed determined that the most responsible were the new operators of the service and the former mayor Peñalosa, in political, environmental, human/social fields, among others. In addition, it was seen that, at the end of the month, there was an increase in the attribution of responsibility to the workers of Aguas de Bogotá, in political and public order terms, due to their protests against the new collection model, which ultimately left them without job.

To conclude, and in terms of Gerhards et al. (2007), while personal responsibilities are diluted giving way to institutional ones, the problem frame of the media coverage begins to decrease, showing other issues and approaches of the last events of the analyzed crisis.

CONCLUSIONS

From the participation of informative sources, it can be concluded that the crisis was interpreted and constructed mostly as an event of a political and social nature. Sources that could have given a different dimension, for example, economic, environmental, or of public health, did not have as much place in the informative treatment.

Regarding the attribution of responsibility, there is a change throughout the crisis, although certain patterns of responsibility remain linked to the actors of the previous waste collection scheme. We could talk, within the two predominant approaches, of a shared guilt in the political sphere of the old administration and company, and in the human/social sphere of the actors of the new model. This is seen in the way in which the news pieces where responsibility for the crisis is attributed to Petro, his former officials and the workers of the old company, are longer; at the same time, there is a frequent attribution, but not so extensive in duration, towards Peñalosa, the officials of his administration and the new operators.

What is curious is that, despite the fact that the closest consequence of the crisis for citizens was of an environmental and public health nature, most of the news pieces did not consider this perspective, and the attributions of responsibility were given more in legal and political terms, as in the case of the workers of Aguas de Bogotá. The obviousness of the crisis, and the vast participation of the citizenry as a source, implies a problematic emphasis of the informative treatment. This is shown by the fact that, over and above possible solutions to the problem, and despite the political and communicative efforts of the district administration, a large part of the news pieces focused on the problems of the crisis in political, human, social, legal, environmental, and public health terms.

Finally, the interpretation frame that prevailed in the stations analyzed ended up giving a mostly political character to the crisis, staging the Petro-Peñalosa dispute, which had occurred in other spaces such as education, health, and mobility; on this occasion, it was in the field of providing the garbage collection service, reiterating a clear difference between the leaders in their way of governing a city.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

A nuestro amigo Sergio Roncallo (17/03/1979 — 24/03/2020),
master y colega, quien siempre vivió para dar.

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