

# The visibility of social agents in news

Laura Rodas

- *An analysis of the visibility of social agents in news helps to illustrate who the media have reflected in society. Firstly, a comparison is made between the presence of political agents and non-political agents in order to determine which of the two groups has been more involved in news. Then the article focuses on non-political agents as a whole and offers, separately, the data on various social groups. Lastly, an analysis is made of the presence of some social groups (trade unions, organisations that go to make up the network of associations and the category of Others), looking in more detail at the agents and noting, in addition to who speaks and when, in which kind of news item these specific groups take part.*

## Keywords

Pluralism, news broadcasts, social agents, politics, trade union, society

## Do news broadcasts allocate more presence to political agents or non-political agents?

A study of the distribution of speaking time by broadcasters between political agents and non-political agents (both categories as broad as can be established) may sometimes result in an indicator of the kind of news that is prioritised in each case and therefore the journalistic style of each broadcaster. In effect, a channel that allocates more speaking time to political agents (institutional or party) is probably prioritising political events over other kinds of news. On the other hand, a broadcaster that allocates more speaking time to non-political agents, especially if these are people mostly included in the category *Others*, would be prioritising witness information, closer to emotion than to reflection and therefore a journalistic style that might be classified as "*proximity-based*".

Nevertheless, the classification of broadcasters into one group or another merely based on an indicator that is made up of the distribution of speaking time is not possible in the case in point, as the global data obtained in the period 2003-2005 do not show any clear trends that allow us to make decisive statements in this respect. What may be asserted is that there are three broadcasters that allocate more speaking time to political agents than to non-political agents (TV3, TVE in Catalonia and Citytv) and two broadcasters that follow the opposite trend (BTV and Localia).

Among the three broadcasters that allocate more speaking time to political agents, the one with a more marked trend is TVE in Catalonia, with 58.6% speaking time for political agents compared with 41.4% for non-political agents. Then comes TV3, with a slight preference for political agents (53.1%) over non-political agents (46.9%). Finally, on Citytv political agents and non-political agents have more equal percentages (50.6% for the former compared with 49.4% for

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the latter). In any of the cases, only by cross-referencing these data with those for thematic indicators can valid conclusions be drawn regarding the news strategy pursued by each broadcaster.

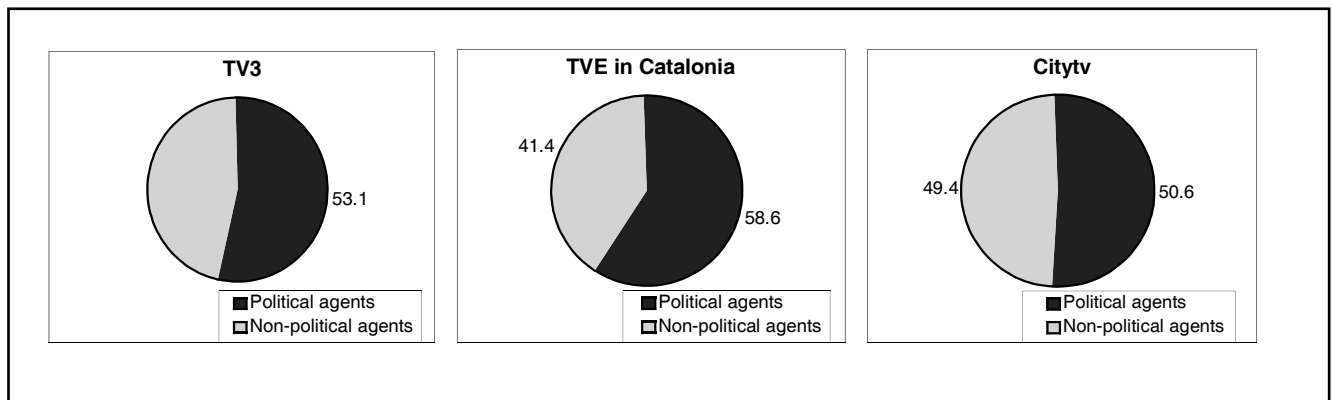
On the opposite side are BTV and Localia, which coincide in giving more speaking time to non-political agents. The tiny difference between both kinds of agents, approximately five percentage points, for one broadcaster and the other is too small to state categorically that these broadcasters, both local in nature, prioritise "proximity-based" news but it is an initial indication that they tend towards this approach.

It is also interesting to note how the distribution of speaking time has evolved between political agents and

non-political agents over the three years of the sample. In this respect, the behaviour of TV3 and TVE in Catalonia has remained relatively stable over the period: both broadcasters have always given a slight advantage to political agents over non-political agents (slightly larger in the case of TVE in Catalonia).

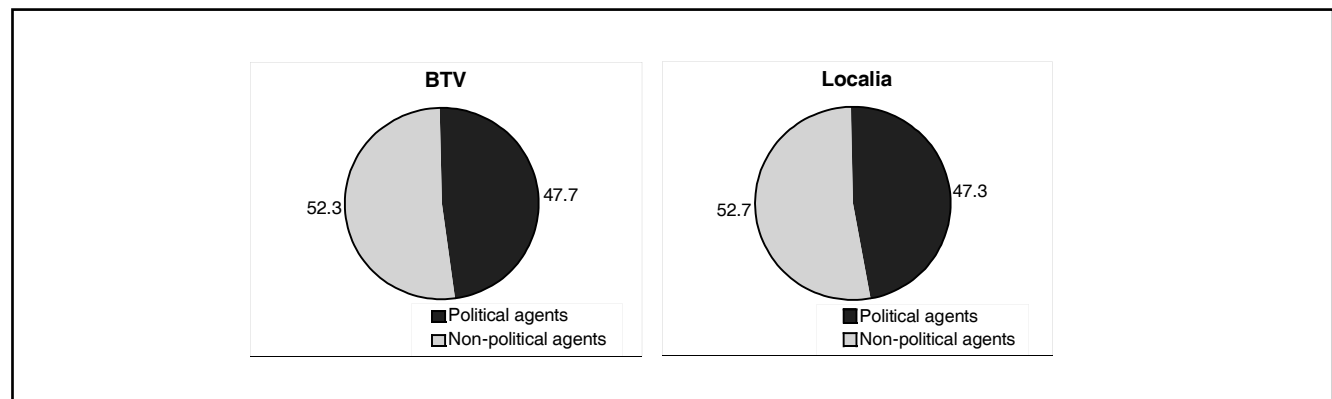
With regard to BTV, we can see a clear change in trend as from 2005. In fact this channel, which until that date had behaved very similarly to TV3 and TVE in Catalonia, started to give more presence to non-political agents compared with political agents, to the extent of slanting its average for the whole three years in this direction. This change in trend coincides with a change in format of the evening news

**Tables 1, 2 and 3. TV3, TVE in Catalonia and Citytv.**  
**Distribution of speaking time between political agents and non-political agents**



Source: in-house.

**Tables 4 and 5. BTV and Localia.**  
**Distribution of speaking time between political agents and non-political agents**



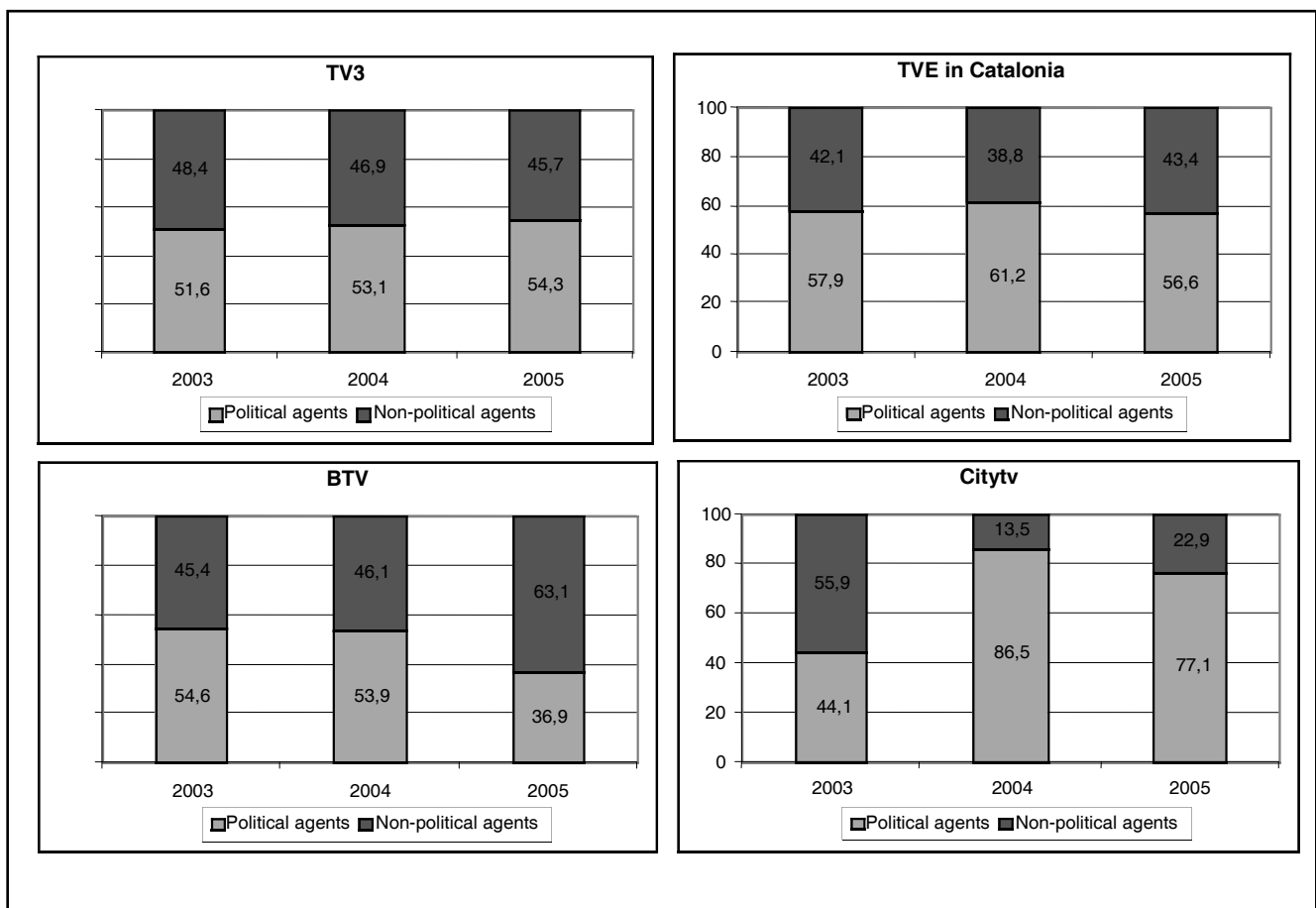
Source: in-house.

broadcasts for this channel which, as from the first quarter in 2005, became longer and more focused on local news from the city of Barcelona.

Citytv's behaviour during 2003 is very different from its behaviour in 2004 and 2005. We mustn't forget that, in general terms, this channel's broadcasts are the most irregular of the sample and that, as in the case of BTV, Citytv news broadcasts underwent a change in format as from the third quarter of 2003 that affected their duration (shortening the programme to a little more than five minutes) and, consequently, the number of inserts, which became almost incidental.

To recapitulate, during the period 2003-2005 there are three broadcasters that allocate more speaking time to political agents (TV3, TVE in Catalonia and Citytv) and two broadcasters that allocate more to non-political agents (BTV and Localia). Although the behaviour of TV3 and TVE in Catalonia has remained stable throughout the three years analysed, that of BTV changed as from 2005, the year when its evening news broadcast changed format. Consequently, although it's true that the overall data do not show any marked inclination on the part of channels towards a certain journalistic style, it may be deduced that BTV has moved towards what we have defined as "proximity-based" journalism as from 2005.

**Tables 6, 7, 8 and 9. TV3, TVE in Catalonia, BTV and Citytv. Trends in the distribution of speaking time between political agents and non-political agents. 2003, 2004 and 2005**



Source: in-house.

## The social groups with more presence on news broadcasts

Civil society is the "sphere of modern societies that, in contrast to the public sphere (including the state), covers relations between citizens together with their private prerogatives"<sup>1</sup> and is therefore made up of a wide range of non-governmental organisations present in public life that express the interests and values of their members (NGOs, sports clubs, churches, unions, professional colleges, resident associations, private firms, etc.). Although these are not political organisations, they usually influence society and politics and their presence in the news is therefore not irrelevant.

Before analysing in detail which social groups have been more present in news broadcasts, it is useful to remind ourselves of a couple of points regarding the methodology used. On the one hand, agents in the group of *Others* have not been taken into account, these being occasional agents that participate in the news as a party involved in the facts being narrated but that cannot be included in any other category because they do not form part of any particular group. These agents are actually studied in another point in this article. On the other hand, the news items in the sports block have not been analysed and the speaking time of sports agents is therefore reflected only in any interventions these may have made outside this block.

The three social groups with most speaking time are the same on all broadcasters (cultural agents, economic agents and agents from the world of associations<sup>2</sup>) and in all cases their total exceeds 50% of the speaking time for groups of non-political agents. In fact, the only notable difference between broadcasters is how these are ordered.

Cultural agents are in first place on all channels without exception, with percentages ranging from 33.5% on BTV to 21.1% on TVE in Catalonia. This is to be expected, taking into account the concept of "cultural exception" that is applied when indexing agents participating in news broad-

casts. This concept implies that any person liable to be included in another of the established groups, if he or she carries out his or her activity in a cultural sphere in a broad sense, will be included within the category of *Cultural agents*. In any case, the clear predominance of this group, added to the fact that the thematic indicator of *Art and culture* is one of the five with the most news time on all broadcasters, shows a high degree of interest on the part of all broadcasters in cultural news items.

With regard to economic agents, these achieve figures ranging from 9.4% on Localia to 16.8% on TVE in Catalonia. This category contains those agents that participate in a news item because they carry out a specific economic activity (basically managers of firms and owners of businesses on any scale, from a shopkeeper to the owner of a large firm). The data on the speaking time of these agents, added to the news time of the thematic indicator *Economic and business* (in sixth place on most channels, with quite appreciable percentages<sup>3</sup>), also reveals a certain predominance of themes related to the economy in the news broadcasts analysed.

With regard to the rest of the groups of non-political agents, although the data are highly heterogeneous between channels, it is worth analysing whether certain groups have some kind of relationship between them. This is the case, for example, of the groups of *Trade unions* and *Business organisations*, the main social agents involved in labour relations. It is worth noting that *Trade unions* does not include interventions by company employees (included in *Others*), nor does *Business organisations* include interventions by business people (included in *Economic agents*) when either are carried out at a personal level. Nevertheless, all the broadcasters (except Localia) coincide in giving a slight advantage to trade union organisations over business organisations.

It is also worth comparing data on the groups *Catholic Church* and *Non-Catholic religions and churches*. Once more, all channels (except Localia, with a very different sample

1 GINER, S.; LAMO DE ESPINOSA, E. *Diccionario de Sociología*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1998.

2 This group is the object of a specific section with a thorough analysis of its presence in news broadcasts during the period 2003-2005.

3 See the article *The thematic agenda of news broadcasts in Catalonia* in this edition.

**Table 10. Speaking time of social agents by group**

TV3	
Cultural agents	31,4
Economic agents	15,4
Associations	13
Universities and teaching	9,3
Experts	9
Unions	6,3
Business organisations	5
Health agents	4,9
Professional assoc. and groups	2,1
Catholic church	1,8
Resident associations	1,3
Sports agents	0,5
Non-Catholic religions and churches	0,2
<i>Total</i>	<i>100</i>

TVE in Catalonia	
Cultural agents	21,1
Economic agents	16,8
Associations	15,9
Experts	10,3
Unions	8,2
Health agents	7,9
Universities and teaching	6,6
Business organisations	6,4
Professional assoc. and groups	2,3
Resident associations	1,8
Catholic church	1,6
Sports agents	0,7
Non-Catholic religions and churches	0,2
<i>Total</i>	<i>100</i>

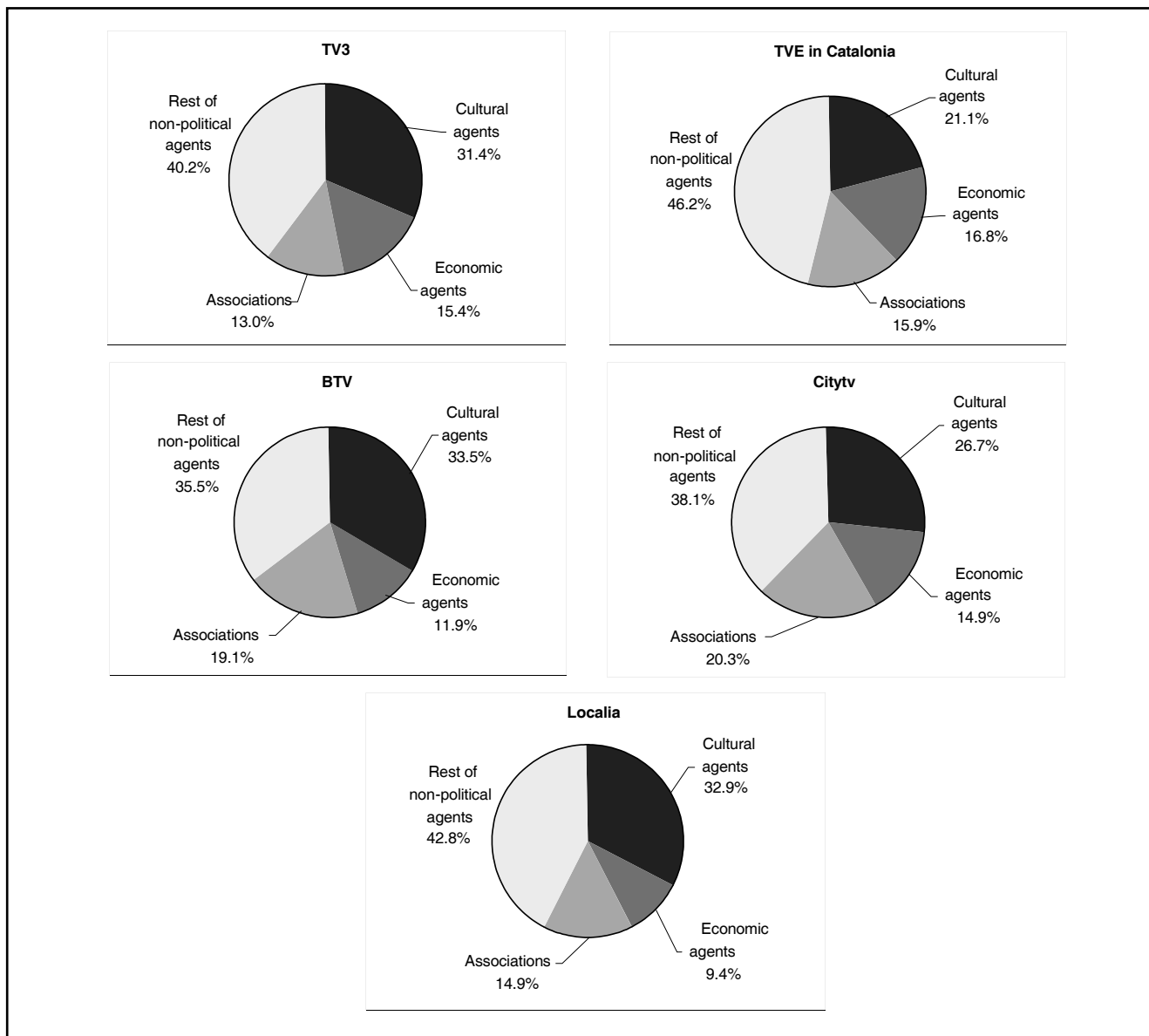
BTV	
Cultural agents	33,5
Associations	19,1
Economic agents	11,9
Experts	7,1
Unions	6,4
Universities and teaching	6
Health agents	4,4
Business organisations	4,2
Resident associations	3,7
Professional assoc. and groups	1,8
Catholic church	1,4
Sports agents	0,5
Non-Catholic religions and churches	0,1
<i>Total</i>	<i>100</i>

Localia	
Cultural agents	32,9
Associations	14,9
Economic agents	9,4
Experts	8,6
Universities and teaching	7,6
Health agents	6,6
Business organisations	6,2
Unions	5,6
Resident associations	4,6
Professional assoc. and groups	2,6
Non-Catholic religions and churches	0,6
Sports agents	0,3
Catholic church	0,1
<i>Total</i>	<i>100</i>

Citytv	
Cultural agents	26,7
Associations	20,3
Economic agents	14,9
Health agents	8,6
Universities and teaching	7,4
Unions	7,3
Experts	5,3
Professional assoc. and groups	4,4
Business organisations	3,2
Resident associations	1,5
Sports agents	0,5
<i>Total</i>	<i>100</i>

Source: in-house.

Tables 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15. Distribution of speaking time between groups of non-political agents



Source: in-house.

from the rest of the broadcasters) coincide in placing the Catholic Church ahead of other religions as a whole, and at some considerable distance. Taking into account the fact that the respective percentages are already quite low per se, the presence of non-Catholic religions is little more than anecdotal. On the other hand, a lack of validated reference parameters on the presence of these groups makes it difficult to evaluate religious pluralism in the media.

The social groups with more presence in news broadcasts during the period 2003-2005 are, on all broadcasters, cultural agents, economic agents and agents from the world of associations. In all cases these three groups account for more than 50% speaking time for groups of non-political agents (excluding *Others*). In the rest of the groups of non-political agents a slightly higher presence has been detected of trade union organisations compared with employer

**Table 16. Percentage speaking time of the groups *Unions* and *Business organisations***

	TV3	TVE in Catalonia	BTV	Citytv	Localia
Trade unions	6.3	8.2	6.4	7.3	6.2
Business organisations	5.0	6.4	4.2	3.2	5.6

Source: in-house.

**Table 17. Percentage speaking time of the groups *Catholic Church* and *Non-Catholic religions and churches***

	TV3	TVE in Catalonia	BTV	Citytv	Localia
Catholic church	1.8	1.6	1.4	-	0.1
Non-Catholic religions and churches	0.2	0.2	0.1	-	0.6

Source: in-house.

organisations and a higher presence, in terms of speaking time, of the group *Catholic church* (ranging between 1.4% and 1.8%) compared with *Non-Catholic religions and churches* (0.1%-0.2%).

### Speaking time for agents related to associations

In general, the category *Associations* is one of those with more speaking time within all the groups of non-political agents (excluding *Others*). TV3, TVE in Catalonia and Localia allocate quite similar percentages to this group, ranging from 13% and 16%. On the other hand, BTV and Citytv increase its presence to 19.1% and el 20.3%, respectively.

The agent with most presence on TV3 (10 minutes and 5 seconds of speaking time) is Manolo Tomàs, spokesperson for the Plataforma en Defensa de l'Ebre. Further on (in ninth place) we find Àngel Aznar, another spokesperson for this platform. TV3 is the only broadcaster where representatives from this organisation appear, who oppose the National Hydrological Plan, among those agents with most speaking time. Second in the ranking is the president of the Association 11-M Afectats pel Terrorisme, Pilar Manjón, with 8 minutes and 33 seconds. Similarly, the president of the As-

sociació Catalana de Víctimes d'Organitzacions Terroristes (ACVOT), Roberto Manrique, obtained 4 minutes and 14 seconds, and is in fifth place. The data show the channel's notable interest in the phenomenon of terrorism in general and of the Madrid bombings on 11 March in particular. This interest is shared by TVE in Catalonia, which coincides in placing the same agents in leading positions (first and ninth, respectively) within the whole of the representatives from the world of associations with most speaking time.

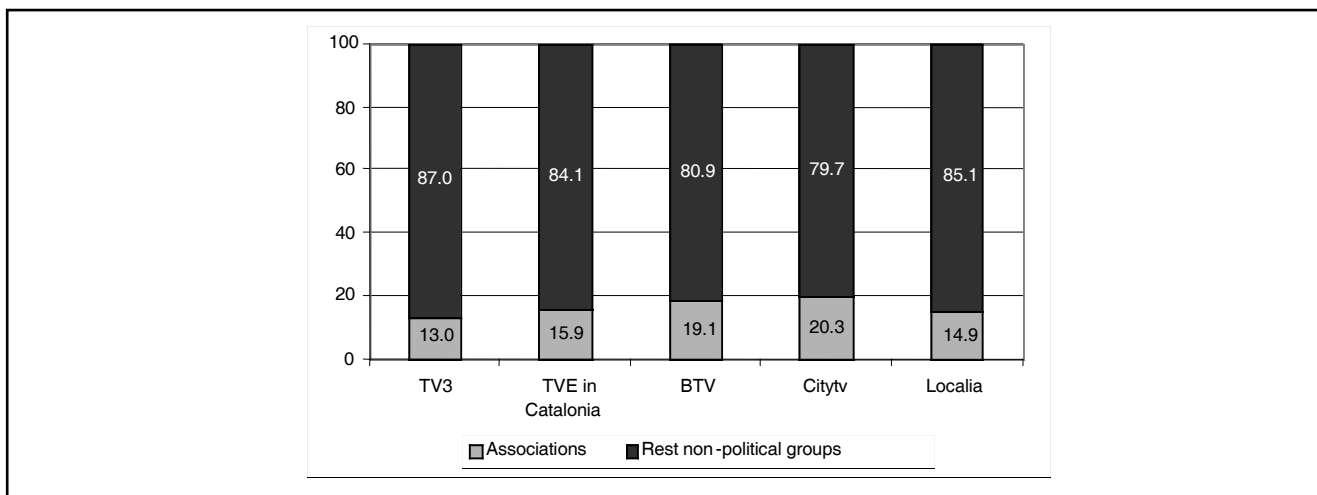
These broadcasters have something else in common, namely that they place at the top of their respective lists two representatives of international non-governmental organisations. In fourth and sixth place on TV3 we find the president and director of communication of Médecins Sans Frontières, whose appearances are mostly related to natural catastrophes, such as the tsunami in South-East Asia or Hurricane Katrina in the USA. The fifth place on TVE in Catalonia is occupied by the former director of this same NGO, while the sixth and tenth places are taken by two members of Amnesty International that particularly appear in news items about reports and/or campaigns denouncing the violation of human rights in different areas (domestic violence, immigration, etc.).

It is also worth mentioning the two representatives from the Organització de Consumidors i Usuaris de Catalunya (OCUC) in third and fourth place on TVE in Catalonia. Although TV3 and Localia also place representatives from consumer associations within their top ten, TVE in Catalonia is the channel that does so most, and markedly so.

The data from BTV are quite different and allow us to make some interesting observations. For example, it is surprising

to see, in the top places, up to three representatives from organisations related to the phenomenon of immigration: Begoña Sánchez, spokesperson of SOS Racisme (first place) Norma Falconi, member of the Plataforma Papers per a Tothom and of the Associació per la Regularització Sense Condicions (fifth place) and Enrique Mosquera, also from the Associació per la Regularització Sense Condicions (tenth place). The notable presence of these representati-

**Table 18. Speaking time of the group *Associations* with respect to the speaking time of the rest of non-political groups**



Source: in-house.

**Table 19. TV3. Representatives related to associations with most speaking time**

TV3		
Tomás, Manolo	Plataforma en Defensa de l'Ebre	0:10:05
Manjón, Pilar	Associació de Víctimes de l'11 -M	0:08:33
Valls, Raül	Plataforma Salvem les Valls	0:04:33
Farias, Paula	Médecins Sans Frontières	0:04:14
Manrique, Roberto	Associació Catalana de Víctimes d'Organitzacions Terroristes (ACVOT)	0:04:14
Passola, Jordi	Médecins Sans Frontières	0:03:55
Pujol, Ferran	Hispanosida	0:03:37
Gispert, Núria	Càritas Diocesana de Barcelona	0:03:25
Aznar, Àngel	Plataforma en Defensa de l'Ebre	0:03:21
Izverniceanu, Ileana	Organització de Consumidors i Usuaris (OCU)	0:03:18
<b>Total Associations</b>		<b>9:47:41</b>

Source: in-house.



ves on BTV can be explained, at least in part, by the lock-ins carried out by immigrants in various churches of the city of Barcelona in June 2004 to claim legal status for immigrants.

A second relevant aspect of BTV is the presence of two members from the Plataforma Aturem la Guerra (Francesc Tubau and Rosa Cañadell) among the ten representatives related to associations with most speaking time. In order to

contextualise these data, we should remember the rejection of the participation of Spanish troops in the invasion of Iraq among some sectors of citizens, taking shape in numerous demonstrations organised, in many cases, by this platform.

The ten agents with most speaking time on Citytv and Localia represent highly diverse organisations with regard to their nature and objectives. The only aspect of note, on Citytv, is the presence of four representatives from organi-

**Table 20. TVE in Catalonia. Representatives from the world of associations with most speaking time**

<b>TVE</b>		
Manjón, Pilar	Associació de Víctimes de l'11 -M	0:06:10
Sánchez, Begoña	SOS Racisme	0:03:36
Caballero, Mònica	Organització de Consumidors i Usuaris de Catalunya (OCUC)	0:02:38
Torrent, Montserrat	Organització de Consumidors i Usuaris de Catalunya (O CUC)	0:02:35
Vilasanjuán, Rafael	Médecins Sans Frontières	0:02:11
Baltà, Jordi	Amnesty International	0:01:35
Gálvez, Pau	Front d'Alliberament Gai de Catalunya	0:01:26
Tubau, Francesc	Plataforma Aturem la Guerra	0:01:26
Manrique, Roberto	Associació Catalana de Víctimes d'Organitzacions Terroristes (ACVOT)	0:01:24
Güell, Sílvia	Amnesty International	0:01:21
<b>Total Associations</b>		<b>3:55:58</b>

Source: in-house.

**Table 21. BTV. Representatives from the world of associations with most speaking time**

<b>BTV</b>		
Sánchez, Begoña	SOS Racisme	0:14:26
Pujol, Ferran	Hispanosida	0:13:29
Pérez, Felisa	Federació Catalana d'Ajuda al Drogodependent	0:11:40
Tubau, Francesc	Plataforma Aturem la Guerra	0:11:30
Falconi, Norma	Plataforma Papers per a Tothom / Assemblea per la Regularització Sense Condicions	0:08:35
Pérez Pozo, M. Carmen	Associació d'Afectats de la L5 del Carmel	0:07:55
Noró, Ramon	Fundació Arrels	0:07:08
Oliveres, Arcadi	Justícia i Pau	0:07:07
Massana, Pilar	Plataforma Aturem la Guerra	0:07:04
Mosquera, Enrique	Assemblea per la Regularització Sense Condicions	0:06:33
<b>Total Associations</b>		<b>19:13:55</b>

Source: in-house.

sations against the war in Iraq (two from Plataforma Aturem la Guerra and two from Plataforma No a la Guerra).

The aim of this article means we should also complete our interpretation of the data from each broadcaster with a cross-referenced analysis of the agents that have appeared in leading positions on more than one channel. This will allow us to state decisively whether there is any representative related to associations that stands out above the rest, not only because they have had a lot of speaking time on a certain channel but because their presence has been common across a number of them.

This table shows that the category of *Associations* is quite heterogeneous with regard to the agents that go to make it up, as there is no agent that leads across all the channels analysed. Francesc Tubau, member of Plataforma Aturem la Guerra, appears in the top positions of a larger number of broadcasters (3). On the other hand, Pilar Majón and Roberto Manrique, representatives of associations for the victims of terrorism at a state and autonomous community level, appear both on TV3 and on TVE in Catalonia. The presence of these agents on these channels can be explained by the fact that terrorism is an affair of state. Similarly, the

**Table 22. Citytv and Localia. Representatives related to associations with most speaking time**

<b>Citytv</b>		
Cardús, Pere	Coordinadora d'Associacions per la Llengua (CAL)	0:01:38
Pons, Albert	Assoc. Promotora de l'Orientació del Consum de la Gent Gran (PROGRAM)	0:01:05
Cuscó, Anna	Fundació per a la Fibromiàlgia i la Síndrome de Fatiga Crònica	0:00:49
Bilke, David	Plataforma No a la Guerra	0:00:43
Tubau, Francesc	Plataforma Aturem la Guerra	0:00:41
Canelles, Neus	Associació Catalana d'Amics del Poble Sahrauí (ACAPS)	0:00:41
Hell, David	Plataforma No a la Guerra	0:00:35
Cañadell, Rosa	Plataforma Aturem la Guerra	0:00:34
Vilà, Montserrat	Plataforma Unitària contra les Violències de Gènere	0:00:33
Gómez, Jesús	Associació La Formiga per la interculturalitat i la solidaritat	0:00:31
<b>Total Associations</b>		<b>0:17:07</b>
<b>Localia</b>		
Pérez Pozo, M. Carmen	Associació d'Afectats de la L5 del Carmel	0:02:58
Vázquez, María José	Federació ECOM	0:02:02
Álvarez, Maria	Unió de Consumidors de Catalunya	0:02:01
Codina, Marga	Viatgers del Món	0:01:52
Falconi, Norma	Plataforma Papers per a Tothom / Assemblea per a la Regularització Sense Condicions	0:01:51
Rossell, Joan Jordi	Federació Pares d'Alumnes de Catalunya (FAPAC)	0:01:41
Thorson, Ole	Associació Prevenció d'Accidents de Trànsit ( PAT)	0:01:36
Mateu, Francesc	Intermón Oxfam Catalunya	0:01:36
Sánchez, Jordi	Fundació Jaume Bofill	0:01:35
García Prieto, Francisco	Federació d'Entitats Culturals Andalusos de Catalunya (FECAC)	0:01:27
<b>Total Associations</b>		<b>1:47:49</b>

Source: in-house.

presence of Norma Falconi and M. Carmen Pérez Pozo among the top positions on TV and Localia can be explained by their respective associations acting locally.

An overall view of the data shows us that some of the news items produced during the period 2003-2005, especially those related to the National Hydrological Plan, terrorism, natural disasters, opposition to the invasion of Iraq and lock-ins of immigrants in Barcelona have meant that the representatives related to associations with most speaking time on the different broadcasters are these and not others. In any case, both an individualised analysis of the agents in the top positions on each channel and also a cross-analysis of the agents appearing on more than one channel indicate that there is no particularly outstanding presence among representatives related to associations.

### Speaking time of trade union groups

In broad terms, a trade union can be defined as an association made up of workers in order to claim and defend the social, economic and professional interests related to their employment. But often trade unions, especially those with a larger number of members (CCOO and UGT in the case of Spain), take an active part in political and social debate and consequently their voice is heard on many themes, not necessarily those related to employment. For this reason, it

is interesting to examine their presence in news broadcasts, not only in quantitative terms but also qualitative.

After a quarterly analysis of the specific weight of *Trade unions* with relation to all the groups of non-political agents, no quarter has been detected where this category has achieved a percentage speaking time greatly above that of the average for the three years analysed. It can therefore be stated that the presence of trade union agents in news broadcasts has remained stable over the period 2003-2005.

Table 25 shows those trade union organisations, within the category *Trade unions*, whose percentage speaking time is above 10%. The data from all the broadcasters shows the clear relevance of two majority unions both in Spain and in Catalonia: Comissions Obreres (CCOO) and Unió General de Treballadors (UGT). All broadcasters position these two trade unions in line with their membership (higher in the case of CCOO), but the percentage difference between them is much greater on BTV, Citytv and Localia than on TV3 or TVE in Catalonia.

Also of note is the speaking time given to Workers' Committees, achieving rates higher than 10% on TV3, TVE in Catalonia and BTV. It should be remembered, however, that the members of these bodies, representatives for employees at a specific firm, have been grouped according to this aspect and not their trade union membership. Finally, we should also note the high presence of Unió de Pagesos (farmers' union) both on TV3 and most particularly on TVE

**Table 23. Representatives related to associations that appear among the top 10 agents with most speaking time on more than one channel**

	TV3	TVE in Catalonia	BTV	Citytv	Localia
Manjón, Pilar (Assoc. de Víctimes de l'11 -M)					
Manrique, Roberto (ACVOT)					
Pujol, Ferran (Hispanosida)					
Sánchez, Begoña (SOS Racisme)					
Tubau, Francesc (Plataforma Aturem la Guerra)					
Falconi, Norma (Papers per a Tothom/As. Regularització Sense Condicions)					
Pérez Pozo, M. Carmen (Assoc Afectats L5 del Carmel)					

Source: in-house.

in Catalonia, where it is in first place with a very similar percentage to CCOO and UGT. Taking into account the fact that the percentage of the working population in the agrarian sector in Catalonia during the period 2003-2005 was 2.4%<sup>4</sup> it might be concluded that, in general, this is a union with significant presence on the news.

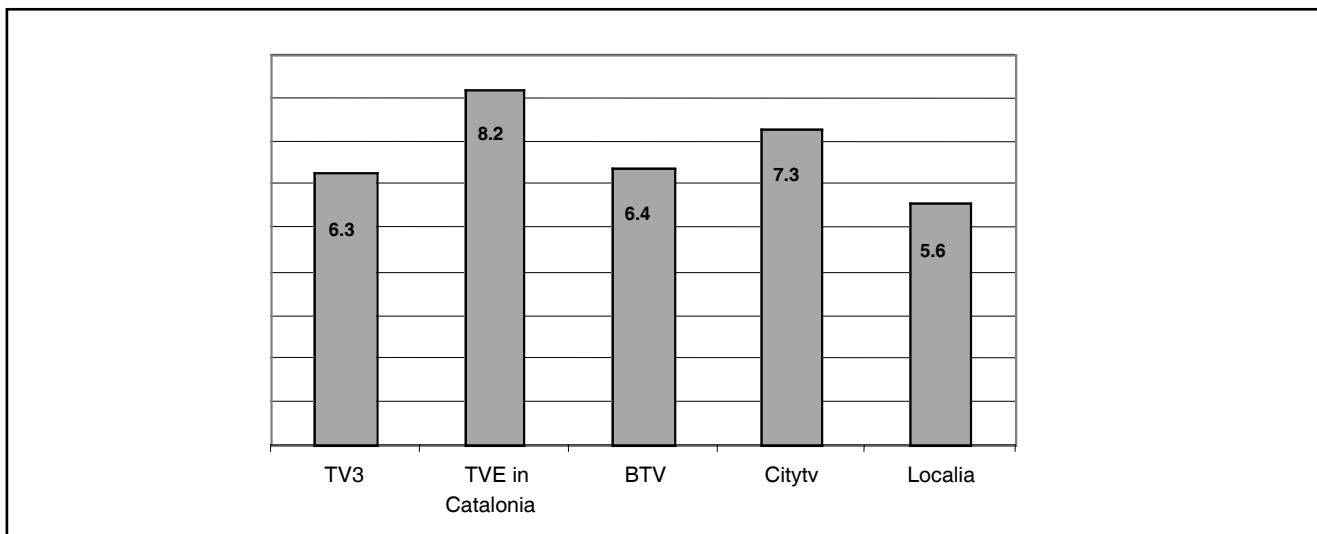
Having looked at the trade unions with more speaking time, it is also interesting to study which union leaders have mostly made use of this time and in which news items. In first place are Joan Coscubiela and Josep Maria Álvarez, the General Secretaries of CCOO and UGT in Catalonia, respectively, among the five union leaders with the most speaking time on practically all broadcasters. TVE in Catalonia is the only channel that allocates more speaking time to the leader of UGT than to the leader of CCOO. It is significant to note that these leaders have not only taken part in news items related to employment (accidents at work, companies transferring, Labour Day celebrations, etc.) but have also enjoyed speaking time in news items on different social problems (immigration, rejection of the invasion of Iraq, etc.) and even news items of a markedly political nature (debate on the reform of the Statute of Catalonia, referendum on the European Constitution, etc.).

Particularly of note is the presence of Matías Carnero, President of the Workers' Committee at SEAT, both on TV3 (in third position with 4.4%) and on TVE in Catalonia (in first position with 8.5%). Moreover, this presence is concentrated particularly in five months (between August and December 2005), i.e. during the labour conflict caused after the firm's management applied to lay off workers, culminating in the dismissal of 660 employees. The data obtained show that the media, especially TV3 and TVE in Catalonia, allocated significant presence to SEAT's top employee representative.

Also of note is the presence of Joan Caball, General Coordinator of the Unió of Pagesos, in fourth position on TV3 and TVE in Catalonia (with 3.3% and 3.0%, respectively). Unlike the case of SEAT's Workers' Committee, the appearances of Joan Caball are not concentrated into a short period but spread over the three years covered by the sample. These appearances do not refer to any particular event or theme but occur because of a range of news items, although they are related to the claims and problems of the agrarian sector.

We should also briefly comment on the presence of two members of the Unió Sindical de Treballadors de l'Ensenya-

**Table 24. Percentage of speaking time of the category *Trade unions* out of the total groups of non-political agents**



Source: in-house.

4 Source: Idescat, based on data from a survey on the working population by the National Statistics Institute.

**Table 25. Trade union organisations with percentage speaking time over 10%**

<b>TV3</b>		
Comissions Obreres (CCOO)	1:22:37	28.9
Unió General de Treballadors (UGT)	0:59:54	20.9
Workers' Committees	0:50:58	17.8
Unió de Pagesos (UP)	0:40:56	14.3
<b>Total Unions</b>	<b>4:46:11</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>TVE</b>		
Unió de Pagesos (UP)	0:31:35	25.8
Comissions Obreres (CCOO)	0:29:19	23.9
Unió General de Treballadors (UGT)	0:26:54	22.0
Workers' Committees	0:20:47	17.0
<b>Total Unions</b>	<b>2:02:25</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>BTV</b>		
Comissions Obreres (CCOO)	2:38:21	41.2
Unió General de Treballadors (UGT)	1:28:37	23.0
Workers' Committees	0:45:55	11.9
<b>Total Unions</b>	<b>6:24:39</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Citv tv</b>		
Comissions Obreres (CCOO)	0:03:14	52.9
Unió General de Treballadors (UGT)	0:01:48	29.4
Confederació General del Treball (CGT)	0:01:05	17.7
<b>Total Unions</b>	<b>0:06:07</b>	<b>100</b>
<b>Localia</b>		
Comissions Obreres (CCOO)	0:17:26	43.1
Unió General de Treballadors (UGT)	0:05:32	13.7
USTEC-STES	0:05:17	13.1
<b>Total Unions</b>	<b>0:40:26</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: in-house.

ment de Catalunya (USTEC-STES) among the five union representatives with the most speaking time on Localia. In fact, this union organisation in the education sector obtained a considerable percentage on this channel (13.1%), which is actually the only channel to allocate more than 10% speaking time to it.

Therefore, the trade unions that attract most media coverage are those with the largest number of members, namely CCOO and UGT. Moreover, the leaders of these unions in Catalonia are among those with the most speaking time on TV3, TVE in Catalonia and BTV. Appearances by these leaders are not limited to news items strictly related to em-

ployment but also in items of a marked political and/or social content. The presence of both Matías Carnero, president of SEAT's Workers' Committee, and of Joan Caball, General Coordinator of the Unió de Pagesos is also significant, in the top positions on TV3 and TVE in Catalonia. The presence of the former is concentrated in the first six months of 2005, coinciding with a labour conflict in the firm. The presence of the latter, however, is more or less constant over time and reinforces a generalised practice by most broadcasters, which tend to give the Unió de Pagesos a marked media presence.