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Political opinion in the Spanish newspapers. Analysis of the period General Elections campaign in Spain, 2015

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Abstract

Introduction. This article is part of the results obtained by the author during his doctorate research entitled “Opinar de política, mediatizar democracias. El storytelling de la opinión política en los medios de comunicación españoles y los nuevos escenarios transmediáticos para la acción social”.

Methodology. This research it’s an original approach about the construction of public opinion by the leading newspapers in the Spanish General Elections of 2015 context and based on the quantitative analysis and methodologies of content analysis about the opinion articles. **Results and conclusions.**

With this analysis it’s possible to map the representation of the thought on politics expressed by the opinion makers. The analysis of this published opinion about politics has allowed us to form an image about those actors who have participated as opinion makers, the topics that have been dealt with, the form and context and the way they have been presented and, in sum, the scenario proposed by the written press’ opinion in the public debate involving the electoral political context.

Keywords

general spanish elections 2015; journalist of opinion; opinion essay; opinion makers; political communication; political opinion.

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Traducción de **S Eliadou**
(MEd. in Curriculum Development. Dimotiko Sholeio Drosias, Chipre)

1. Introduction [01]

The article that follows is the result of the part of the doctorate project of the first signed titled "Political opinion, mediatizing democracies. The storytelling of political opinion in the Spanish media and the new transmedia scenarios for social action". It has special relevance, in it epistemic analysis, the study of the written press; In order to make visible the processes, the roles and the actors that take part in the production of the opinion on the published politics.

The rise and consolidation of the journalistic genre of opinion, which expands in multiple media and formats of the Spanish media system, has been accompanied by what I once considered as an "omnipresent referentiality of opinion-makers". These have become indispensable figures to understand the mass media and specifically the performance of the journalistic work. Authorized for their presumed vision and expertise, due to their media repercussions or their professional expertise, they occupy a growing ground in the Spanish media system that seems to want to cover a common minimum unifying opinions for large audiences.

The newspaper has been, and continues to be, a key space not only in the dissemination of facts, but also, and more and more especially, as an entity endorsed by public opinion to participate in the debate of ideas and social beliefs in all the areas. In this line, Paloma Abejón (2013) recovered in her study what years ago Jorge de Esteban (1976) ensured, in a shared vision with W. Abendroth and K. Lenk (1971), that among the main functions of the press is that of "channeling, awakening and fomenting the formation of opinion". It is especially this idea of "channeling" the one that comes into debate with the inherent and growing need that society demands to be informed in a globalized and hyperconnected world, where the citizen is no longer an isolated receptor.

In this conception the study has been developed, which wants to highlight what, in other times, it was an intuition: the opinion on politics in the Spanish written press it's in the hands of a very small group of opinion-makers, who at the same time deal with a small group of topics and that they do it with an omnipresent frequency in the daily agenda and in an increasingly politicized way.

In summary, the research presented makes an analysis of the opinion published in Spain by the opinion-makers of the five newspapers of general information, with state dissemination and with greater circulation in the context of the period of the General Elections in Spain in 2015.

2. Theoretical framework

Polish journalist and writer Ryszard Kapuściński pointed out in a conversation with the journalist Iñaki Gabilondo in 2007 that, in his perspective, the mass media are more than the fourth power that many turn to. He pointed out that in the role of politics it becomes increasingly relevant when we see

insurgents and coup makers changing the target of attacks to parliaments and governments, in order to be done, in the first place, with the control of radio transmissions, television or newsrooms. In 'The Empire', Kapuściński illustrated this thought with the following words:

"A new script has been created for the movies dealing with coups: the tanks leave at dawn with the aim to occupy the television station, while the president sleeps so calm and the Parliament remains dark and deserted; The coup leaders head to the place that holds the real power. I underline the word "real".

Far from the reflections of the Polish intellectual is the theory of participatory democracy in which a *polis* was constituted where the power of decision and action resided in the community, in the purest style of what the "founding fathers" of the American nation embodied in their Constitution. The contemporary society is an extremely complex and changing entity in which multiple actors interact under many diverse conditions. Lippman (1920) concludes that the 'Great Society' in which we live "radically challenges our capacity for understanding, because what the citizen knows about the events that concern him, he knows it by second, third or fourth hand. He can no longer go and observe for himself. "

In this space, Lippman understands that individuals are related and act together in an environment that is no longer the visible world of households, neighborhoods, and communities. It is an invisible environment that needs to receive information and where media should acquire the role of suppliers, although they end up elucidating an informative *pseudo-environment* [2] plagued of dubious news "with no requirement for reliability, credibility test or punishment for perjury" (Lippman, 1920).

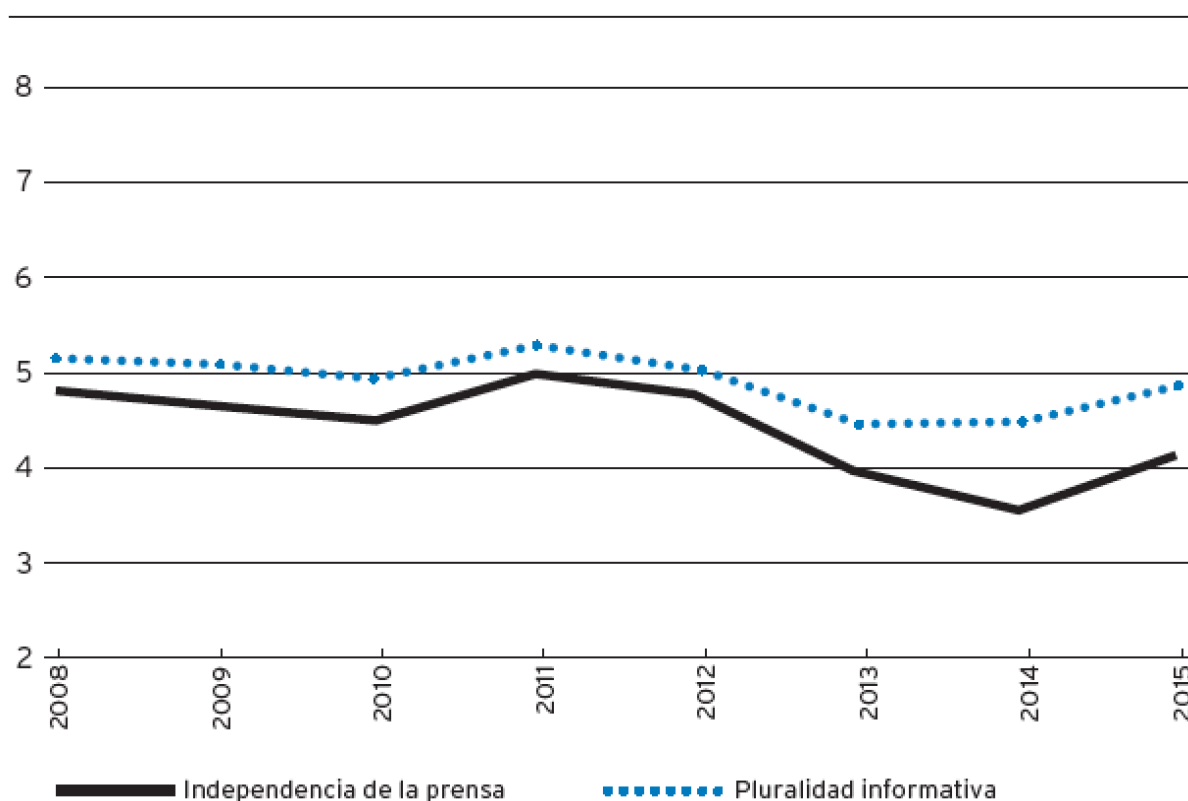
The last decades have been a testimony of a global level of great social, political, economic and cultural changes. The traditional media are now in a permanent state of "check" in the continuum of transformations that they experience at all levels. The technological convergence of the digital world stimulates a deep reflection on the routines that concretely challenge the profession of journalism. What, in their days, McCombs and Shaw presented us as "the market of the ideas", seems that, and from its purest capitalist logic, those who came out winning were again the great wholesalers; In this case, of information. Chomsky (1992) constructed his own vision -of what would later be verified- about the link of the theory of *agenda-setting* beyond its function of thematic computer of the present:

"The social purpose of the media is to instill and defend the economic, social and political agenda of privileged groups that dominate the State and society of the country. The media fulfills this purpose in different ways: by selecting topics, distributing interests, articulating issues, filtering information, emphasis and tone, and also by keeping the debate within the confines of the current premises".

In this context, the large Spanish media groups have burst into public debate through their gurus, experts, consultants and opinion-makers [3]. These have now become "authentic factories of opinion-makers who nurture the Spanish news landscape and nourish themselves by their own opinion-makers, leaving little room for independent opinion-makers" (Abejón Mendoza, 2013). Likewise, Abejón Mendoza assures in this line that the receivers are extremely polarized from an ideological perspective and it is from those positions that they look for products that manage to ratify their ideas, not to expand them.

Similarly to the above ideas, the recent "Report on democracy in Spain 2015" published by Fundación Alternativas, shows us how the evaluation of the press and plurality of information in the period 2008-2015 has evolved. Although slight recovery along 2014 is experienced, both indicators are moving in fairly low levels throughout the period:

Graphic 1. Evolution of the value of the press and the plurality of information in Spain (2008-2015)



Source: Fundación Alternativas, in the Report on democracy in Spain 2015.

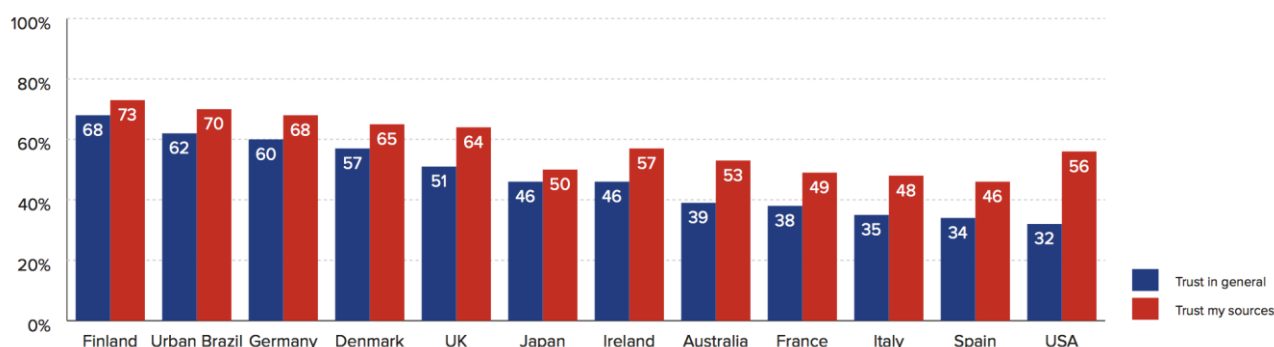
If from this short frame we focus on the journalistic genre of opinion and more specifically on the opinion on politics in the written press, this is more likely today the manifestation of "a very particular and urgent ideological perspective, emotional, and through which an opinion is expressed for any subject" (Casals, 2004). We are facing a selected group of actors belonging to the elites, as understood by the definition of Rocher (1971):

"these people and groups are understood as those, who, thanks to the power they hold or the influence they exert, contribute to the historical action of a collectivity, either by the decisions made, or by the ideas, feelings or emotions that they express or symbolize".

These elites have a great organizational and constructivist capacity for discourse, causing "effective political disturbances that influence the political decision-making processes" (Higley & Burton, 2003).

The recent report elaborated by the University of Oxford and published by the "Reuters Institute for the study of journalism" concludes with concern that the media in Spain are the least credible of the eleven European countries consulted and the second country less credible to world level, above only of the United States. However, according to the same report the Spaniards are the ones who demonstrate the most interest in the news: 85%. The data collected by the study shows that only 34% of Spanish citizens trust in the news published in the media and only 46% (at the end of the study line) in the news published by the media of habitual consultation of the citizens, as the following chart shows:

Graphic 2. Confidence levels on the news in the media (all countries)



Source: Reuters Institute for the study of journalism.

Depending on the data, it is essential to reflect on the space occupied by the genre of opinion in today's journalism and in the global media in Spain. Faced with a proven loss of credibility of the citizenship for the journalistic product in general, we encounter a growing interpellation of the spaces of debate, discussion, columns of opinion or articles of analysis in some media that they increasingly tend to tell their audiences "about the thought and not about what to think" (Cohen, 1963).

Van Dijk himself (2010), recovered from (Vásquez Patiño and Peña Tamayo, 2012) reflects on the framework of cultural, social, aesthetic and technical interrelations that the press presumes. In this sense, the newspapers infer in the construction of the political culture of the countries by being pieces in a permanent thrust within the cultural industry. He also adds that both the news and the opinion articles of the newspapers, are pieces "constructed by the epistemic elites that can be studied at the *Critical Epistemic Analysis of Discourse*, while they are conceived as primary sources of non-empirical knowledge of the citizens and even members of other elites."

Following the approach of the Dutch academic, he believes that "the discourse is about people, and therefore, it is crucial to elucidate the question on how it portrays people, which identities and roles are attributed to them, which relations are drawn between them, which affiliations are described, etc.". All this leads Vásquez Patiño and Peña Tamayo (2012) to consider that Van Dijk guides us to a description of the spaces that lead to the recognition of the position of "us" and "them", between members of the same group and the other groups. For them, such interrelation entails the possibility of discovering the ideological character of the enunciator.

Noam Chomsky, a few years ago (2002), warned us that the press had increasingly become the primary instrument of manipulating information, biased communication and economic, political and ideological pressure. Faced with this, the academic acknowledged that because of its possibilities of access to the surrounding reality from serenity and reflection, it was not enough to censor it by negative dispositions of its consumers, rather they should adopt an attitude of "critical suspicion" and of systematic analysis of its contents.

In order to conclude this chapter it is essential to define the theoretical context in relation to the journalistic pieces that the investigation presented has analyzed: the opinion article.

Following the elementary classification of the journalistic genres of Moreno Espinosa (2003), between "those who make facts known, who use the expository, descriptive and narrative way and those who make ideas known, that basically use the argumentative way", we concentrate on the second group where Martin Vivaldi (1981) proposed a definition that we believe to be complete when he refers to a "text of a very large and varied content, of a very diverse and varied way, in which a fact or a current idea of special importance is interpreted, valued or explained, according to the conviction of the writer. "

Taking this definition, Antónia do Carmo Barrigo (2014) considers that we could classify the opinion-makers into three broad categories: "those who exercise a political/partisan activity; those who exercise a qualified activity (business, technical, academic, cultural), and those who have a regular presence in the media (in terms of time/seniority and frequency/assiduity) depending on the value of the opinion they transmit". It is in this last profile that the academic considers the differentiation of two groups: the first one formed by the journalists (directors, sub-directors and prestigious journalists) and a second group which is defined as "actors that acquire and reinforce social and media visibility through the opinion spaces (the latter may have associations to the previous categories)."

In relation to the structures that follow -according to their content- about the different opinion articles, Cantavella (2000) proposes four models:

1. Those that manifest the opinions of their authors in a calm way and from the height of the generic principles, in line with the doctrinal article.
2. Those that descend to the political and social struggle, because they try to apply some principles to the reality of each day, with a position that is perceived as controversial and belligerent.
3. Those that report facts that the journalist has come to know and contributes to the whole of the newspaper from this same space. Usually it is not specifically about news, but rather about glimpses, declarations, deductions, impressions and rumors, together with interpretations and comments: fringes of the news that the editor pursues.
4. A derivation of the previous ones consists of those that are related to the chronicle of society, because they inform about facts happening worldwide. Nor are they real news the ones that usually appear there, but minor facts, coated with jokes, details and even malignities in relation to those who are famous.

To conclude, Ortega y Gasset pointed out in "The rebellion of the masses" (1930) that the idea turned out to be a "check" to the truth:

"Whoever wants to have ideas needs to be ready to love the truth and to accept the rules of the game that it imposes. It is not worth talking about ideas or opinions when one does not recognize the body that regulates them, a series of norms that can be appealed in the discussion. These norms are the principles of culture. I do not mind which ones, what I do say is that there is no culture where there are no rules that our neighbors can utilize."

Such thoughtful reflections seem to have been diluted over time by the need for the use of the word by *opinion makers* [04] who are increasingly postulated as accredited "experts" to participate in the public debate. Toni Aira, an expert in political communication, pointed out in his doctoral thesis (2010):

"The *spin doctors* of the 21st century have the mission of associating the movement of opinion and the execution of the story of events. These new attributions, added to the traditional ones of these advisors of first level, have led authors like Evan Cornog to defend as far as a change in its denomination. Cornog specifically defends that *spin doctors* have become story spinners, in the sense that they help their leaders to construct a story of their own at the moment they find the best methods to spread the message".

It is in this line, that we propose the present study on the opinion article, which not only focuses its analysis on the perspective of the information and knowledge structure that it proposes, but also seeks to deepen in the power relations established by its dynamics of publication.

3. Objectives and methodology

The main objective of the present article is to map and analyze the opinion on politics in the Spanish written press of generalist character and with national circulation; also, the profile of its opinion-makers, the media / communication groups who disseminate their reflections and issues that raise opinion in the General Elections in Spain within the period of 2015. This is an original approach that concerns the issue of General Elections of 2015 and allows evaluating the construction of public opinion by the written press. For this, we have opted for a basically quantitative analysis and based on methodologies of content analysis of opinion articles (Martínez Rodríguez, 2011). As Krippendorff (2004) proposes, we have worked essentially in the line of a content analysis with the purpose of constructing valid inferences and framing the context in which the articles are presented.

To know who is involved in the Spanish written press in the electoral period referred, which professional sectors they represent, which ideological position they hold in relation to the issues dealt with during the electoral period, which debates are promoted in the whole of their opinions. We analyze the links that are established according to the topics proposed by the opinion-makers and in relation to the editorial lines of the newspapers, in which a notable contribution to the establishment of the thematic agenda is represented. These are the main points that the article presents from an analysis that goes beyond the "semiotic understanding of discourse and the pragmatism between sender and recipient" (Casals, 2004). The emitters, *opinators* in our context, are the protagonists of the *word* and at the same time observers of what they consider to be possible. To understand their

ideological commitments as social agents and deepen the study of how they are seen in the context of the media space is the focus of the progress of the results achieved.

The methodological dimensions that have been followed in the development of this research are defined by:

- **Temporal dimension:** The temporary context of study focuses on the period 'General Elections in Spain' in 2015. Specifically, the 32 days from the beginning of the election campaign on December 4, 2015 until to January 4, 2016, that is to say, the fifteen days after the day of the elections (December 20, 2015). In this way a balance is obtained between the analysis of the election and post-election campaign dates⁵.
- **Spatial dimension:** The study has focused on the analysis of the five newspapers *El País*, *El Mundo*, *La Vanguardia*, *Abc* and *La Razón*. It tackles with the diagnosis of all the texts on political issues and the genre of opinion. In this sense, articles of opinion or analysis that reflect the deliberate interpretation that the author gives on current news issues are incorporated into the study (Yanes Mesa, 2004).

The newspapers have been selected following the General Media Study (October 2015 to May 2016) [05] and taking as reference the first five printed media of general information and with a coverage integrated throughout the Spanish State. They have also been contrasted with the data of the platform O.J.D. (Office of Dissemination Justification) in the period analyzed for bigger reliability of the election and with a matching result. In this sense, headlines such as *El Periódico* or *La Voz de Galicia* have been discarded from the analysis by failing to meet this premise of state coverage.

In addition, these five newspapers "draw an arch, which would go from *El País* to *Abc*, that practically covers all the ideological options of political representation in our country" (López García 2004: 15).

Table 1. Selected printed media of general information

Newspaper	Readers / day (thousands)
<i>El País</i>	1.299
<i>El Mundo</i>	815
<i>La Vanguardia</i>	651
<i>Abc</i>	485
<i>La Razón</i>	249

Source: *General Media Survey (EGM) October 2015 - May 2016.*

- **Thematic classification:** The articles of these newspapers have been analyzed from their printed version because it was more reliable to be able to contrast, in their entirety, all the published texts and to select those that were integrated in the political opinion genre by their formal structures and content. In this sense, we have collected only the political opinion articles that the printed newspapers integrate in the different sections of their editions and all

the articles that appear integrated in the space of “opinion section” of each newspaper (whether of a political theme or not). The last ones were collected as a group -as we differentiate those dealing with politics from those who do not- in order to be able to perform future analyzes on opinion leaders who hold fixed spaces in the sections of opinion in the main Spanish newspapers.

It should be noted that the collection and analysis of the editorials of the newspapers under study have been discarded since it was considered that we could not equate the opinion versed by the director of the newspaper with the opinion-makers of the media. The editorials "reserve the power to translate the language of the facts reported in the press, unintelligible to the non-specialized, in terms of general comprehensibility" (Moreno Espinosa, 2003) and by their characteristics "enclose a relationship of dialogue with the State, although formally they are addressed to public opinion" (Marques de Melo, 1985) and, therefore, the representative voices of each newspaper have been analyzed by the firm.

In relation to the working method, this has been based on the development of the following phases:

- Collection of the whole of published articles of political opinion during the period analyzed by the newspapers cited above. The daily average of articles was 56 and the total number of articles collected and under study was 1818 as shown in the following table:

Table 2. Frequency of articles analyzed in the media of the sample

	Nº articles analyzed	% articles analyzed	Average articles / day
<i>El País</i>	325	17,9%	10
<i>Abc</i>	325	21,9%	12
<i>El Mundo</i>	325	17,4%	10
<i>La Razón</i>	401	22,1%	12
<i>La Vanguardia</i>	378	20,8%	12
TOTAL	1818	100%	56

Source: *Own elaboration.*

- Indexing of the whole of the opinion articles in a database where the following fields were compiled: publication date of the article, name and surnames of the author of the text, title of the article, newspaper where it appears published, page where the article is located, theme of the text, and finally, the location in the section of the newspaper.

Figure 1. Database of fields compiled for the analysis

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N
	FECHA	APELLIDOS	NOMBRE	TÍTULO	PERIÓDICO	PÁGINA	TEMA	SECCIÓN OPINIÓN	"NO OPINIÓN", ESPACIO	GÉNERO	KEY WORD			Leyenda
41	4/12/15	Dominguez	Ífrigo	Confort	2.4	59	Programa Bertín Osborne	No	Pantallas	H	ta4			
42	4/12/15	Millás	Juan José	Metadona	2.4	Contra	La droga de la política y las elecciones.	No	Contra	H	ta6			
43	4/12/15	Puigverd	Antoni	Gabriel Rufián	8.1	19	Perfil Gabriel Rufián	No	Política	H	ta23			
44	4/12/15	Luna	Joaquín	Un marido fetén	8.1	28	Programa Bertín Osborne	No	Política	H	ta4			
45	4/12/15	Monzó	Quim	Justino, no nos decepciones	8.1	32	Los spots de navidad	Si		H	ta0			
46	4/12/15	Racionero	Luis	Escritos de Leonardo	8.1	33	Sobre escritos de Leonardo Da Vinci y las guerras en el mundo	Si		H	ta0			
47	4/12/15	Solé	Eulàlia	El precariado como clase social	8.1	33	Clases sociales y precariedad laboral y económica	Si		D	ta0			
48	4/12/15	Rahola	Pilar	Las guerras de la guerra	8.1	33	Terrorismo Yihadista	Si		D	ta12			
49	4/12/15	Sanchis Mira	Clara	Mujeres en círculo	8.1	35	Conciliación familiar de las mujeres	Si		D	ta18			
50	4/12/15	Martínez de Pison	Ignacio	¡Viva la Pepa!	8.1	36	Historia de la política en España	Si		H	ta24			
51	4/12/15	Alcoverro	Carme	Aprender a decepcionarse	8.1	36	Educación y adolescentes	Si		D	ta10			
52	4/12/15	Álvoro	Francesc-Marc	Numeritos y encuestas	8.1	36	Inicio de campaña	Si		H	ta6			
53	DIA 2 - 05/12/2015													
54	5/12/15	Rallo	Juan Ramón	Buscando otra burbuja	7.1	2	Economía europea	Si		H	ta2			
55	5/12/15	Valvey	Àngela	Cerebros	7.1	2	Sobre el lenguaje de los medios en el terrorismo	Si		D	ta12			
56	5/12/15	Buesa	Mikel	Ineficiencia antiterrorista	7.1	4	Economía y terrorismo	Si		H	ta12			
57	5/12/15	López	Enrique	Elecciones en Venezuela	7.1	4	Elecciones Venezuela	Si		H	ta9			
58	5/12/15	Fernández	Covadonga	Las TV públicas en la era de la participación creativa	7.1	5	Sistema de medios de comunicación y televisión pública	Si		D	ta21			
59	5/12/15	Lumbreras	César	Grandes incógnitas	7.1	13	Elecciones - construcción de gobierno	No	Cartas de los lectores	H	ta6			
60	5/12/15	Martín Beaumont	Antonio	La advertencia de Pujalet	7.1	15	Elecciones - regeneración y el perfil de los votantes	No	España	H	ta25			
61	5/12/15	Bolaño	Toni	Las bragas de Mas	7.1	20	Proceso Catalán	No	España	H	ta14			
62	5/12/15	Del Valle	Ely	Sánchez se acelera	7.1	26	Inicio de campaña	No	España	D	ta6			
63	5/12/15	Ussía	Alfonso	Votos y tanques	7.1	Contra	Elecciones Venezuela	No	Contra	H	ta9			
64	5/12/15	Pérez-Orive	José Félix	El timo de la papeletera	3.1	3	Inicio de campaña	No	La Tercera	H	ta6			
65	5/12/15	Ventoso	Luis	Ganado a Pulso	3.1	12	La entrada de nuevo partidos y el fin del bipartidismo	Si		H	ta22			
66	5/12/15	Pérez-Maura	Ramón	"La furcia que lo parió está en celo"	3.1	12	Programa Bertín Osborne	Si		H	ta4			

Source: Own elaboration

- Elaboration and study of a census of the main "TOP" opinion-makers of the period analyzed according to their publication frequency and, consequently, of the percentage of opinion that they represent on the accumulated global. The following fields are considered: gender, date of birth, Spanish region of residence, academic formation, means of communication where they write, profession, ideological tendency, if they have a personal web page, if they have an official Twitter account and the number of followers.

The set of authors that write during the period in the whole of the five printed newspapers ascends to 627; 540 of them being men (H), 86 women (M) and 1 anonymous (A). In the following table they are represented by newspaper:

Table 3. Opinion-makers of the sample by gender and newspaper

	<i>El País</i>	<i>Abc</i>	<i>El Mundo</i>	<i>La Razón</i>	<i>La Vanguardia</i>	Total
H	147	110	81	95	107	540
	85%	89%	85%	87%	84%	86%
M	25	14	14	13	20	86
	15%	11%	15%	12%	16%	14%
A	0	0	0	1	0	1
	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%
Total	172	124	95	109	127	627

Source: Own elaboration

In a second table we present the total computation of the articles analyzed in relation by

newspaper and by gender:

Table 4. Articles of the sample by gender and newspaper

	<i>El País</i>	<i>Abc</i>	<i>El Mundo</i>	<i>La Razón</i>	<i>La Vanguardia</i>	Total
H	274	347	278	334	280	1513
	84%	87%	88%	83%	74%	83%
M	51	51	38	50	98	288
	16%	13%	12%	13%	26%	16%
A	0	0	0	17	0	17
	0%	0%	0%	4%	0%	4%
Total	325	398	316	401	378	1818

Source: Own elaboration

- Coding of the issues raised by the group of opinion-makers during the period analyzed. Categorization of the topics from 'ta1' to 'ta240' according to the order of appearance, with 'ta1' being the first theme appearing in the first article analyzed. We identified a total of 240 subjects treated in the whole of the 1818 articles analyzed. It should be noted that not necessarily every article analyzed is linked to only one subject. Consequently, each article is coded in relation to as many topics (categories) as it deals with...

Figure 2. Database of categories of the analyzed subjects

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	CÓDIGO	DESCRIPCIÓN		Descripción de códigos		
1	ta0	no necesariamente política, temas concretos de detalle, fuera de la agenda				
2	ta1	empleo		t= tema		
3	ta2	economía global		a= analógico (periódico papel)		
4	ta3	partido C's y/o Albert Ribera		id = insultante/demagogo		
5	ta4	programa Bertín Osborne y participación de los candidatos				
6	ta5	infotainment de la política, participación en programas de TV y tertulias de política				
7	ta6	inicio de campaña y/o sobre generalidades de la campaña electoral				
8	ta7	el programa de los partidos				
9	ta8	credibilidad de los partidos y los políticos				
10	ta9	Venezuela, elecciones				
11	ta10	educación				
12	ta11	Contra las políticas del gobierno de Madrid y Manuela Carmena en la retirada de las placas de nombres franquistas en la calle				
13	ta12	Guerra de Siria, terrorismo, yihadismo, Estado Islámico, DAESH, ISIS				
14	ta13	estadísticas del CIS				
15	ta14	proceso catalán				
16	ta15	contra la CUP				
17	ta16	cumbre cambio climático de				
18	ta17	a favor del PP y/o Rajoy				
19	ta18	conciliación laboral				
20	ta19	abusos sexuales				
21	ta20	economía española				
22		cuotas de publicidad electoral/minutos de directo en la TV pública y temáticas de los				

Source: Own elaboration

Of all the 1818 articles analyzed, 873 belong to the opinion section of the five media. Of these, those who do not deal with political issues have been coded with the "ta0" to be able to remove them later from the analysis with political content. As a result, the total opinion articles dealing with political issues are 1600, where 655 belong to the opinion section and 945 are encountered in other sections of the newspapers as shown in the following table:

Table 5. Politics articles from the 'opinion section' of the newspapers

	They are not about politics	They are about politics
<i>El País</i>	35 (34,6%)	66 (65,4%)
<i>Abc</i>	24 (13,9%)	149 (86,1%)
<i>El Mundo</i>	42 (21,5%)	153 (78,5%)
<i>La Razón</i>	20 (11,8%)	149 (88,2%)
<i>La Vanguardia</i>	97 (41,3%)	138 (58,7%)
Total	218 (25%)	655 (75%)

Source: *Own elaboration*

Within the framework of this thematic coding, the code "id" has been used to identify those articles that contained indicators of an insulting tone or demagogue. Following what the RAE defines as "the offense towards someone with their words", in relation to the insult; Or how to "win over the popular favor with flattery" referring to demagogy, the articles have been coded according to the guidelines previously described in relation to the theme that they raised and adding the code "id" in case of identifying those markers.

- Finally we establish a "TOP ranking" of opinion-makers within the analyzed period as well as the topics discussed in order to simplify the analysis and focus of the results. In this sense, we have analyzed the profile of the 73 journalists, out of the 627 that participated, with the highest frequency of publication in the period. This "TOP73" is obtained from the calculation that represents the number of articles published by each author within the period; Concluding that these 73 authors represent exactly 50% of the articles published in the overall period and, therefore, we can also affirm that they are a sample of 50% of the opinion published in the five main print media of the State.

4. Results and analysis

In the analyzed period specified from December 4, 2015 to January 4, 2016 (campaign and post-campaign period of the General Elections of December 20, 2015), a total of 627 opinion-makers have participated as opinion-makers. Of these, 540 are men (86%), 86 are women (14%) and one signs as anonymous.

The 627 opinion-makers produced a total of 1818 opinion articles within the 32-day period in the whole of the five newspapers analyzed. Of these 1818 articles of opinion, 873 (48%) are located in the actual sections of opinion of each newspaper and 945 (52%) in other sections of the newspaper. Of these last ones only those dealing with issues related to political aspects have been compiled, unlike the first that have been compiled in their entirety. Therefore, in relation to the 873 (48%)

articles located in the opinion sections, it should be noted that 218 (25%) do not deal with political issues and 655 (75%) do. The following table lists the location of the articles in each newspaper:

Table 6. Location of opinion articles about politics

	Opinion section	Non Opinion section
<i>El País</i>	66 (23%)	224 (77%)
<i>Abc</i>	149 (40%)	225 (60%)
<i>El Mundo</i>	153 (56%)	121 (44%)
<i>La Razón</i>	149 (39%)	232 (61%)
<i>La Vanguardia</i>	138 (49%)	143 (51%)
Total	655 (41%)	945 (59%)

Source: Own elaboration.

From the data presented in the above table, it should be noted that, although newspapers have a section specifically for opinion, four of the five newspapers publish more opinion articles outside that section than inside. Specifically, the case of *El País* stands out where only 23% of the opinion articles, on political issues, appear integrated in the opinion section.

It is an interesting fact in the analysis to detect the sections where the articles of opinion analyzed are more frequently published when they do not appear in the opinion section itself. In this sense, the following table shows the 'TOP10' of these sections according to their frequency of publication in the whole of the five newspapers:

Table 7. 'TOP10' on the location of articles published outside the opinion section

	Section	Frequency	%
1	Spain	222	12,2%
2	Politics	111	6,1%
3	Own spaces of each newspaper[6]	103	5,6%
4	Spain (20D Elections)	92	5,1%
5	Back cover	69	3,8%
6	Focus	65	3,6%
7	International	63	3,5%
8	Economy and business	56	3,3%
9	Letters from readers	22	1,2%
10	Culture	20	1,1%

Source: Own elaboration.

As can be seen, the first four sections are closely linked to the space of the newspapers for the political-social analysis of the State, or, as in the case "Spain (Elections 20D)", to the electoral period itself. The back cover space is used repeatedly for the publication of short articles in the format of columns and especially by *El Mundo*, *El País* and *Abc*.

If from the same perspective we analyze the pages of the newspapers with a greater frequency of publication of articles of opinion about politics, we find that their first pages usually have a greater load in relation to the interior or final pages as can be seen in the table:

Table 8. 'TOP10' on the location of the articles in the pages of each newspaper

	# page	<i>El País</i>	<i>Abc</i>	<i>El Mundo</i>	<i>La Razón</i>	<i>La Vanguardia</i>
1	2	57 (25%)	19 (8%)	75 (33%)	77 (34%)	0 (0%)
2	5	1 (1%)	28 (26%)	51 (46%)	29 (27%)	0 (0%)
3	4	8 (8%)	2 (2%)	28 (30%)	57 (60%)	0 (0%)
4	12	27 (30%)	37 (40%)	8 (9%)	17 (19%)	2 (2%)
5	15	8 (11%)	41 (55%)	2 (3%)	14 (19%)	9 (12%)
6	Contra	20 (29%)	3 (4%)	33 (48%)	13 (19%)	0 (0%)
7	14	19 (28%)	38 (56%)	2 (3%)	4 (6%)	5 (7%)
8	13	13 (21%)	32 (53%)	2 (3%)	8 (13%)	6 (10%)
9	16	9 (18%)	14 (28%)	3 (6%)	13 (26%)	11 (22%)
10	18	13 (28%)	3 (6%)	4 (8%)	19 (41%)	8 (17%)

Source: Own elaboration.

The uniformity in the publication of the opinion on politics in the first pages of the newspapers *El Mundo*, *La Razón*, *Abc* and *El País* is remarkable; although the last two use more advanced pages (from 12 to 16) more frequently in the global count. It is noteworthy that in the case of *La Vanguardia* the logic that we can see in the other four newspapers is not followed. In this case the articles appear more distributed along the pages of the newspaper and mainly pages 23 to 29 are used. Also note the remarkable concentration of articles between pages 2 to 15, which exceeds 44% of the published entirety.

An aspect also noteworthy is the frequency of publication of the articles according to the temporal space within the 32 days analyzed. In this sense, the most prominent are the 21st and 22nd of December with a greater frequency of publication in the global count. Not coincidentally, both dates belong to the two days after the elections and the increase of opinion-makers is remarkable as can be seen in the table:

Table 9. 'TOP10' on the frequency of publication by date

	Date	Frequency	% representative opinion	% cumulative
1	21-DIC-2015	90	5%	5%
2	22-DIC-2015	79	4,3%	9,3%
3	15-DIC-2015	75	4,1%	13,4%
4	17-DIC-2015	72	4%	17,4%
5	18-DIC-2015	70	3,9%	21,3%
6	16-DIC-2015	68	3,7%	25%

7	10-DIC-2015	66	3,6%	28,6%
8	13-DIC-2015	65	3,6%	32,2%
9	20-DIC-2015	64	3,5%	35,7%
10	14-DIC-2015	62	3,4%	39,1%

Source: Own elaboration.

Also noteworthy is the increase in articles and opinion-makers on December 15, a date that coincides with the day after the face-to-face debate between candidate Mariano Rajoy (PP) and candidate Pedro Sánchez (PSOE). Finally, note that December 17 coincides with the day after the aggression against the candidate Mariano Rajoy by a young man, when he punched him while being on a field trip in the center of the town of Pontevedra (Galicia).

One of the most significant data of the study, and at the same time more worrying, is the little or minimal representation of women in the opinion of the five newspapers. If we check the global data reached, we can see that only 86 of the 627 (14%) of the opinion-makers in the analyzed period are women. In relation to the number of articles the figures are similar, representing a 16% of the number of texts signed by women. The following table shows the numbers for each newspaper and in relation to the total number of women / men (A) and number of articles published (B) in each case:

Table 10. Frequency of publication by gender

	<i>El País</i>		<i>Abc</i>		<i>El Mundo</i>		<i>La Razón</i>		<i>La Vanguardia</i>	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
M	147 85%	274 84%	110 89%	347 87%	81 85%	278 88%	95 87%	334 83%	107 84%	280 74%
W	25 15%	51 16%	14 11%	51 13%	14 15%	38 12%	13 12%	50 13%	20 16%	98 26%
A	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 1%	17 4%	0 0%	0 0%
Total	172	325	124	398	95	316	109	401	127	378

Source: Own elaboration.

The case of *La Vanguardia* stands out where the percentage of participation of opinion-makers in relation to the production of their articles of opinion is substantially smaller in comparison to the other four headers. That means fewer opinion-makers write more articles. It is especially pronounced in the case of the women opinion-makers of *La Vanguardia* where the variation is of 10 percentage points.

One of the most noteworthy axes of the present investigation is situated in the themes that have aroused the opinion of the whole of the opinion-makers analyzed. In relation to this, and following what was previously described in the section on methodology, a total of 240 issues have been coded about different aspects related to the politics and within the global count of opinion-makers of the five headings under study. These issues have been dealt with, more or less frequently throughout the

period as well as with notable differences among the five newspapers. One of the most noteworthy data is that only 13 out of the 240 issues treated by the group of opinion-makers concentrate 51% of the opinion of the period. In other words, 51% of the opinion articles deal with any of these 13 issues; the remaining 49% do so on one of the remaining 228 issues. Below we present the 'TOP25' (representing 72% of the opinion themes) of the most recurrent themes:

Table 11. 'TOP25' of the topics with the highest frequency of opinion [7]

	Topic	Frecuency	%
1	Against Podemos and/or Pablo Iglesias	138	8,6%
2	War of Syria, terrorism, jihadism, Islamic State, DAESH, ISIS	85	5,3%
3	Party agreements / government formation policy	80	5%
4	Catalan process	77	4,8%
5	Starting of campaign and/or generalities of the electoral campaign	59	3,7%
6	Old politics, new parties and end of bipartisan system	56	3,5%
7	In favor of the PP and/or Rajoy	53	3,3%
8	Against Pedro Sánchez and PSOE	50	3,1%
9	Debate of two; face to face in the Spanish TV Academy	48	3%
10	Against Catalan nationalism / separatism	43	2,7%
11	The Great debate 7 th D	43	2,7%
12	<i>infotainment</i> of politics, participation in televisión programs and political <i>talk show</i>	42	2,6%
13	Against the CUP	41	2,6%
14	Against the left Spanish in general	36	2,3%
15	Venezuela, elections	34	2,1%
16	The great PP-PSOE coalition pact	33	2,1%
17	Constitution and/or constitutional reform	29	1,8%
18	Against the policies of the government of Madrid and Manuela Carmena on the withdrawel of plates of Franco's names from the streets	27	1,7%
19	Pact of investiture of the CUP with Artur Mas	27	1,7%
20	General Spanish political status and/or current situation	27	1,7%
21	Climate change Summit in Paris	25	1,6%
22	The result of a tie in the assembly of the CUP for the investiture of Artur Mas	25	1,6%
23	Punching and aggression of a young man to Mariano Rajoy	25	1,6%
24	Church and Catholicism	25	1,6%
25	Internal dispute in PSOE to lead the party, Susana Díaz y Sánchez	24	1,5%

Source: Own elaboration.

As can be seen, it is very remarkable that 8.6% of the articles of opinion of the period are clearly manifested against the political party Podemos and / or its candidate Pablo Iglesias. Likewise, the Syrian conflict and jihadist terrorism (5.3%) stand out with high percentages; Government formation and pacts policy (5%); Issues related to the Catalan process (4.8%); or, for example, it stands out the 3.3% support to the Popular Party and / or its candidate Mariano Rajoy, or the 3.1% of articles of opinion against the candidate Pedro Sánchez and / or the PSOE.

It is interesting to note from the presented scale some issues that, although they appear with smaller percentages in their global perspective, were important focus points of opinion in specific days of the analyzed period. Specifically, from the 'TOP25' topic 9 about the "Debate of two; face to face in the Spanish TV Academy", theme 11 "The Great debate 7thD", theme 21 on the "Climate change Summit in Paris", item 22 on "The result of a tie in the assembly of the CUP for the investiture of Artur Mas" or item 23 of the "Punching and aggression of a young man on Mariano Rajoy"; all of these configured the main topics of opinion in their respective days in the five headings analyzed.

Also interesting is a more detailed reading of what is presented in the 'TOP25' of subjects and for this reason we have considered appropriate to present the 'TOP13' of the subjects which, as mentioned above, concentrate 51% of the opinions in that period, in relation to their frequency of opinion in each newspaper as shown in the following table:

Table 12. 'TOP13' of the topics with the highest frequency of opinion per newspaper

	Topic	<i>El País</i>	<i>Abc</i>	<i>El Mundo</i>	<i>La Razón</i>	<i>La Vanguardia</i>
1	Against Podemos and/or Pablo Iglesias	1,5%	40,5%	13%	41,2%	3,8%
2	War of Syria, terrorism, jihadism, Islamic State, DAESH, ISIS	10,7%	25,3%	8%	28%	28%
3	Party pacts/government formation policy	16,7%	20,8%	22,2%	22,2%	18,1%
4	Catalan process	35,3%	11,8%	26,5%	11,8%	14,7%
5	Starting of campaign and/or generalities of the electoral campaign	2%	48%	7,7%	36,5%	5,8%
6	Old politics, new parties and end of bipartisan system	11,8%	7,8%	25,5%	27,5%	27,5%
7	In favor of the PP and/or Rajoy	0%	44,9%	16,3%	38,8%	0%
8	Against Pedro Sánchez and PSOE	11,6%	32,6%	27,9%	18,6%	9,3%
9	Debate of two; face to face in the Spanish TV Academy	7,1%	35,7%	21,4%	28,6%	7,1%
10	Against Catalan nationalism / separatism	22,5%	15%	7,5%	30%	25%
11	The Great debate 7 th D	14%	14%	18%	28%	26%
12	infotainment of politics, participation in television programs and political talk show	12,8%	33,3%	15,4%	35,9%	2,6%
13	Against the CUP	10,3%	30,8%	28,2%	20,5%	10,3%

Source: Own elaboration.

The table above highlights all those percentages that in the comparison with the five newspapers have been treated in a superior way (a greater concentration of opinions). Again, the issue of "Against Podemos and/or Pablo Iglesias" stands out because of its percentage differences, where the percentages are clearly high on the *Abc* and *La Razón* newspapers (they concentrate 81.7% of the opinions on this topic). In the topic «Starting the campaign and/or generalities of the electoral campaign" we can see that basically *Abc* and *La Razón* are the ones sharing the percentage (84.5%). The seventh topic of the ranking, "In favor of the PP and/or Rajoy", stands out due to the fact that it does not obtain any percentages in the *El País* and *La Vanguardia* newspapers and summing up about 84% between *Abc* and *La Razón*. To conclude, we consider disparate and remarkable the percentages of the subject that closes the 'TOP13' "Against the CUP"; where about 80% of the opinion is concentrated in the newspapers *Abc*, *El Mundo* and *La Razón*.

On the other hand, we have also highlighted those articles that were clearly demonstrating an insulting tone and/or demagogue. Specifically, we have analyzed the articles of the 73 most frequently published opinion-makers' articles, which, at the same time, cover 50% of the opinion in the period. In this line, of the 909 articles published by these 73 opinion-makers, 65 (7%) had a clearly insulting tone and/or demagogue. In the following table, a ranking ('TOP6') of the opinion-makers with the most insulting opinion articles and/or demagogues within the analyzed period was created:

Table13. 'TOP6' of the opinion-makers with more articles marked as demagogues and / or insulting

	Opinion-maker	Demagogues and/or insulting articles	Total written articles	% of demagogues and/or insulting articles
1	Martín Beaumont, Antonio	9	22	41%
2	Ruiz-Quintano, Ignacio	5	18	28%
3	Camacho, Ignacio	4	30	13%
4	García-Abadillo, Casimiro	4	17	24%
5	Rojo, Alfonso	4	9	44%
6	Tertsch, Herman	4	10	40%

Source: Own elaboration.

It is clearly noticeable that certain opinion-makers have percentages higher than 40% in the writing of articles marked with insulting and/or demagogic opinions. Also a point to emphasize is that of the 73 opinion-makers with the highest frequency of writing during the period, a total of 12 in the *Abc*, 10 in *La Razón*, 8 in *El Mundo*, 1 in *El País* and none in *La Vanguardia* wrote at least 1 article of manifested demagoguery or insult.

In relation to the opinion-makers with a higher frequency of publication, we have bounded a 'TOP73' according to the 50% of opinion they represent in the period as it can be seen in the following table:

Table 14. 'TOP73' of the opinion-makers with the highest frequency of publication and who concentrate 50% of the opinion of the analyzed period

	Last Name, Name	Frequency	%	% valid	% accumulated
1	Sálmon, Álex	35	1,9	3,9	3,9
2	Camacho, Ignacio	30	1,7	3,3	7,2
3	Puigverd, Antoni	25	1,4	2,8	9,9
4	Rahola, Pilar	25	1,4	2,8	12,7
5	Luna, Joaquín	23	1,3	2,5	15,2
6	Ussia, Alfonso	23	1,3	2,5	17,7
7	Martín Beaumont, Antonio	22	1,2	2,4	20,1
8	Monzó, Quim	20	1,1	2,2	22,3
9	El submarino	19	1,0	2,1	24,4
10	Carrascal, José María	18	1,0	2,0	26,4
11	Del Pozo, Raúl	18	1,0	2,0	28,4
12	Rubido, Bieito	18	1,0	2,0	30,4
13	Ruiz-Quintano, Ignacio	18	1,0	2,0	32,3
14	Ferrer, Pilar	18	1,0	2,0	34,3
15	Ventoso, Luis	17	,9	1,9	36,2
16	Garcia-Abadillo, Casimiro	17	,9	1,9	38,1
17	Bolaño, Toni	16	,9	1,8	39,8
18	Gala, Antonio	16	,9	1,8	41,6
19	Sostres, Salvador	15	,8	1,7	43,2
20	Álvaro, Francesc-Marc	14	,8	1,5	44,8
21	Pérez-Maura, Ramón	14	,8	1,5	46,3
22	Pérez Oliva, Milagros	14	,8	1,5	47,9
23	Vidal-Folch, Xavier	13	,7	1,4	49,3
24	Marco, José Maria	13	,7	1,4	50,7
25	Gistau, David	12	,7	1,3	52,0
26	Ónega, Fernando	12	,7	1,3	53,4
27	Prieto, Martín	12	,7	1,3	54,7
28	Ramis, Lluçia	12	,7	1,3	56,0
29	Espada, Arcadi	12	,7	1,3	57,3
30	Méndez, Lucia	12	,7	1,3	58,6
31	Pàmies, Sergi	12	,7	1,3	60,0
32	Bonet, Joana	11	,6	1,2	61,2
33	Cuartango, Pedro G.	11	,6	1,2	62,4
34	González, Jaime	11	,6	1,2	63,6
35	Jiménez Losantos, Federico	11	,6	1,2	64,8
36	Bustos, Jorge	10	,6	1,1	65,9
37	De Prada, Juan Manuel	10	,6	1,1	67,0
38	Hernández, Abel	10	,6	1,1	68,1
39	Lacalle, Daniel	10	,6	1,1	69,2
40	López, Enrique	10	,6	1,1	70,3
41	Tertsch, Herman	10	,6	1,1	71,4

42	Albiac, Gabriel	9	,5	1,0	72,4
43	Belmonte, Rosa	9	,5	1,0	73,4
44	Bouza, Pepe	9	,5	1,0	74,4
45	Burgos, Antonio	9	,5	1,0	75,4
46	Lumbreras, César	9	,5	1,0	76,3
47	Rojo, Alfonso	9	,5	1,0	77,3
48	San Sebastián, Isabel	9	,5	1,0	78,3
49	Valenzuela, Curri	9	,5	1,0	79,3
50	Vidal, César	9	,5	1,0	80,3
51	Cabrera, Julián	9	,5	1,0	81,3
52	López Schilchting, Cristina	9	,5	1,0	82,3
53	Rallo, Joan Ramón	9	,5	1,0	83,3
54	Reverte, Jorge	9	,5	1,0	84,3
55	González, Ignacio	8	,4	,9	85,1
56	Jabois, Manuel	8	,4	,9	86,0
57	Lucas, Antonio	8	,4	,9	86,9
58	Martínez, Álvaro	8	,4	,9	87,8
59	Rayón, Fernando	8	,4	,9	88,7
60	Valdeón, Julio	8	,4	,9	89,5
61	Anson, Luis María	8	,4	,9	90,4
62	Foix, Lluís	8	,4	,9	91,3
63	Vallvey, Angela	8	,4	,9	92,2
64	Bosch, José Ramón	8	,4	,9	93,1
65	Bassets, Lluís	7	,4	,8	93,8
66	Del Valle, Ely	7	,4	,8	94,6
67	Juliana, Enric	7	,4	,8	95,4
68	Narváez, Pedro	7	,4	,8	96,1
69	Rodríguez Braun, Carlos	7	,4	,8	96,9
70	Torreblanca, José Ignacio	7	,4	,8	97,7
71	Trueba, David	7	,4	,8	98,5
72	Zaragüeta, Iñaki	7	,4	,8	99,2
73	Zarzalejos, José Antonio	7	,4	,8	100,0
	Total (73 opinion-makers)	909	50,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Own elaboration.

Finally, with the set of data presented previously. we have analyzed the profiles of all the opinion-makers of the 'TOP73' and we conclude the following sociodemographic data:

- 50% of the opinion in the written press in Spain during the period analyzed is in the hands of 73 opinion-makers. The other 50% is produced by 554 opinion-makers.
- Of the 73 opinion-makers, only 12 are women, representing 16% compared to 84%.
- The average age of the opinion-makers is 59 years old.
- 50% of the opinion-makers are from the regions of Madrid (27%) and Catalonia (23%). They

are followed by distance by Castilla y León (13%); Andalusia (7%); Castilla La Mancha, Galicia and the Basque Country with 6%; Aragon and the Valencian Community with 4%; and finally the Region of Murcia, Asturias, Balearic Islands and Cantabria with 1%.

- Regarding the academic formation of the opinion-makers, 86% of them have university degrees, 7% have no university studies completed, 4% have a doctorate degree and 3% are university professors.
- Of the group of opinion-makers with the highest frequency of publication from the 'TOP73', 36% belong to the newspaper *La Razón*, 23% to *Abc*, 16% to *La Vanguardia*, 15% to *El Mundo* and 10% to *El País*. This data indicates that the newspapers with the highest percentage concentrate more opinion-makers with higher frequency of publication, being, therefore, *La Razón* the newspaper with a more fixed staff of opinion-makers and at the same time with fewer voices and *El País* the newspaper with a smaller fixed staff and with a bigger number of voices.
- 81% of the opinion-makers are journalists by profession, although some combine it with other professions as a writer or teacher.
- 80% of the opinion-makers are ideologically closer to conservative positions compared to 20% that are positioned in a more liberal than conservative space.
- 25% of the opinion-makers have a personal website where they collect their journalistic production.
- Finally, 58% of the opinion-makers have an active personal Twitter account. The average number of followers in the social network is close to 40,000.

5. Discussion and conclusions

One of the first conclusions reached by the present research is the relevance that currently the opinion on politics acquires in the five newspapers, after to check the important number of opinion articles that are published daily. On the other hand, it is particularly prominent that in four of the five newspapers (*El País*, *Abc*, *La Razón* and *El Mundo*) a great percentage of articles are encountered outside of the section of opinion. This leads us to be able to affirm that the opinion on politics in the Spanish written press is disaggregated into the newspaper and that in the section of opinion itself, clearly dominates the one connected with political issues.

On the other hand, the most recurrent sections, where the articles are concentrated are, beyond the opinion section, those linked to the current situation of the country, either in sections such as "Spain", "Politics" or "20D Elections"; as in those of each newspaper such as the "Page 2" section of *El País*, "Abc" in the newspaper *Abc* or "La Tercera" in *El Mundo*. Particularly noteworthy is the importance of the back cover in the publication of articles in the column format and, especially, the low representation of political opinion of the international scene. It is important to emphasize the importance that the opinion on politics represents in the press, which mostly is situated on the first pages of the edition.

Regarding the temporal dimension of publication of articles, it should be noted that there is a clear relation between the days with news of impact and the increase of opinion-makers and articles. Therefore, there is a direct relation between the highlighted events by the media context (the day of

the elections, the aggression against the candidate Mariano Rajoy or the face-to-face debate among others) and the increase of opinion-makers in the following day in the newspapers.

An alarming data that the research leaves us is the gender perspective among the opinion-makers. The representation of women's opinion on politics in the context of the Spanish written press is insignificant. It should also be noted that the ratio of women opinion-makers and their production of articles is higher in relation to those of the men. This implies that fewer women produce more articles compared to men, an aspect that leads to even fewer women opinion-makers among the media.

In relation to the analysis carried out about the themes that have focused the attention among the opinion-makers, it is worth noting that, although a significant number of issues are proposed during the period, a very small number of those concentrate a higher percentage of opinion. Consequently, there is an accumulation of opinions and opinion-makers about the same group of issues and a passivity concerning the proposal of new subjects to the public and published debate of the media.

On the other hand, a clear ideological link is created between the opinion-makers and the editorial lines of the newspapers. The issues are polarized in a sphere of ideological debate that leads readers to ratify their positions with the proposal of the opinion-makers and the newspapers to which they are regulars. In this sense, it is verified that the topics that are focused in the media agenda become material of ideological polarization among the opinion-makers in search of a channel towards a dominant thought.

Although insult and demagoguery is not something that characterizes the articles analyzed in our research, we do believe that it is noteworthy to point out that those few who employ this style do so persistently. It also emerges from the study that the tolerance level on such behaviors is unequal among the five newspapers.

In relation to the whole of the opinion-makers of the period and their frequency of production of opinion articles, it should be noted that a small group of opinion-makers concentrate the highest number of opinions of the period and, on the contrary, a large number of opinion-makers concentrate a percentage of opinion considerably lower in its comparison. In summary, this data implies that the leading role of the opinion published is in the hands of the regular opinion-makers and with a permanent link with the media, unlike those opinion-makers who are sporadically called by the newspaper to bring their "expert" look to a specific topic and that are dissipated among the established firms.

Finally, and in relation to the sociodemographic data resulting from the most frequently published opinion-makers, who concentrate more than 50% of the opinion of the period and who are representative of the opinion on politics published in the generalized written press analyzed in the period "General Elections in Spain 2015", the following profile is reached: a man close to 60 years old, living in the region of Catalonia or Madrid, a journalist by profession, with a university degree, with a more conservative than liberal ideological tendency, with a twitter account and an average close to 40,000 followers.

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6. Notas

1 Probably the idea of the media as creators of an informational pseudo-environment that conditions the opinions of the citizenship is one of the most remarkable contributions of Lippman. The theorists of the agenda-setting consider it as the starting point of his approach: "Walter Lippman is the intellectual father of the idea now called, for brevity, agenda-setting" (McCombs, 2006).

2 See the documentary "The Trouble with Experts" de Josh Freed Broadcasting & CBC. (prod.) and Freed, J. (dir.).

3 Opinion maker or opinion leader. It has the ability to influence the attitudes or behavior of other individuals, to certain ways of thinking or acting, because it is perceived by others as an authority or a reliable source of information, news, or reflections.

4 The articles of December 25 and January 1 are not collected because the newspapers do not publish because they are festive.

5 Ranking of print media from October 2015 to May 2016. For more information access to <http://www.aimc.es>.

6 This field includes the "Page 2" section of the newspaper El País with 55 articles, "Abc" from the newspaper Abc with 26 articles and "La Tercera" from the newspaper El Mundo with 22 articles. For its similarity in its structure and purpose as a space open to opinion and analysis have been unified.

7 In this table, as in table 12, only opinion articles on politics have been taken into account, discarding the 218 articles of opinion sections that do not deal with politics.

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