

Television Information on 11 and 12 March

Laura Rodas

- *Two specific features of the multiple attacks that took place in Madrid on 11 March make it particularly interesting to study the news treatment provided by the different television stations. Firstly, there was the size of the tragedy, unprecedented in the history of Spain. Secondly, there was the time when it occurred, coinciding with the end of the electoral process for the general elections. In fact, the attacks ushered in a complex period from the news point of view. The media had to guarantee the public's constitutional right to receive information on the events that had occurred while trying not to interfere in the normal development of the electoral process. Meeting these two requisites was not easy when it was obvious that the content of the information, although meeting the minimum requisites of objectivity and veracity, did not have a neutral effect on the formation of public opinion and consequently on imminent voting intentions¹.*

The previous article, a detailed analysis of the impact the attacks had on the programming schedules of the different stations on 11 and 12 March, highlighted the enormous amount of attention that all the stations devoted to the attacks. Starting from that basis, this article aims to analyse some aspects of the numerous reports the stations offered the public throughout the days of 11 and 12 March. First of all I will review the first statement each party made to the stations. I will then examine the principal public appear-

Laura Rodas

Technical Officer at the Catalonia Broadcasting Council Services

ances produced over the two days. I will also make an in-depth analysis of the structural changes made to the news bulletins of 11 and 12 March and compare how the stations treated some of the most important content. Finally, I will try to determine the news strategy that each station adopted in their respective news bulletins.

First Statements from Each Party

Despite the importance of the events that occurred on the morning of 11 March, the proximity of the elections made it particularly important to respect as far as possible political pluralism and the proportionality of airtime given to the candidates. An analysis of the order and time when the different stations began to broadcast the first statement from each party in relation to the attacks offers interesting insights in this regard. The concept of *first statement* should be understood in a broad sense (interview, appearance or insert) and not be exclusively limited to the concept of *public appearance*, which shall be studied in the following section. Furthermore, between the time one party and the next made their first statements, there may have been institutional statements or new statements from the first party.

The political party whose statements were broadcast first differed according to the station analysed. While TV3 accorded the first statements to ERC (09.47 a.m.), at TVE-1 and Antena 3 TV they went to the PSOE (09.32 and 09.07 a.m., respectively) and at Tele-5 it was the PP (11.56 a.m.). The format of these first statements was not homogenous across the different stations, either. On TV3, the first statements from ERC came in the form of a telephone interview with Josep-Lluís Carod-Rovira. TVE-1 and Antena 3 TV broadcast two on-set interviews, which had in fact been scheduled before the attacks: TVE-1 interviewed J. L.

Table 8. First Statements from the Political Parties. 11 March

Station	TV3		TVE-1		Tele-5		Antena 3 TV	
	Time	Actor	Time	Actor	Time	Actor	Time	Actor
1st statement PP	11.55 a.m.	Mariano Rajoy	11:55 a.m.	Mariano Rajoy	11.56 a.m.	Mariano Rajoy	11.54 a.m.	Mariano Rajoy
1st statement PSOE	11.10 a.m.	Diego López Garrido	09:32 a.m.	J. Luis Rodríguez Zapatero	1.43 p.m.	J. Luis Rodríguez Zapatero	09.07 a.m.	Jesús Caldera
1st statement IU	9.13 p.m.	Gaspar Llamazares	3:49 p.m.	Gaspar Llamazares	9.23 p.m.	Gaspar Llamazares	10.01 a.m.	Gaspar Llamazares
1st statement S.Abertzaleak	3.18 p.m.	Arnaldo Otegi	--	--	2.12 p.m.	Arnaldo Otegi	--	--
1st statement PSC	10.08 a.m.	Carme Chacón	--	--	--	--	--	--
1st statement CiU	10.04 a.m.	J. Antoni Duran i Lleida	3.48 p. m.	J. Antoni Duran i Lleida	--	--	3.31 p.m.	J. Antoni Duran i Lleida
1st statement ERC	09.47 a.m.	J. LluísCarod-Rovira	--	--	9.23 p.m.	J. LluísCarod-Rovira	--	--
1st statement PPC	10.32 a.m.	Dolors Nadal	--	--	--	--	--	--
1st statement ICV	09.57 a.m.	Joan Herrera	--	--	--	--	--	--

Source: Catalonia Broadcasting Council

Rodríguez Zapatero on the programme *Los desayunos de TVE* and Antena 3 TV spoke to the PSOE spokesperson, Jesús Caldera, on the programme *Notícias de la mañana*. The first statements from a political party on Tele-5 came from Mariano Rajoy in the shape of his first public appearance to discuss the events.

Throughout the day of 11 March, TV3 covered statements from nine political forces, both from Catalonia and from the rest of Spain. However, they broadcast the statements from the political parties of Catalonia first (before 11 a.m.) and those from parties in the rest of Spain later. The statements from the Catalan parties were made by the following people and in the following order: Josep-Lluís Carod-Rovira (ERC), Joan Herrera (ICV), J. A. Duran i Lleida (CiU), Carme Chacón (PSC) and Dolors Nadal (PPC). In terms of parties from the rest of Spain, the first statements broadcast on TV3 were from Diego López Garrido (PSOE), followed by Mariano Rajoy (PP). Later, as part of the *TN Migdia* lunchtime news bulletin, TV3 covered statements from Arnaldo Otegi (Sozialista Abertzaleak). Finally, within the *TN Vespre* evening bulletin, it covered the first statements from Gaspar Llamazares (IU).

TVE-1 covered statements from four political forces. As

mentioned earlier, the PSOE was the first political party from whom a statement was taken, via an interview with the party's secretary general. TVE-1 then crossed live at 11.55 a.m. to the first public appearance by Mariano Rajoy. It covered statements from the leader of the CiU, Josep Antoni Duran i Lleida and the general coordinator of the IU, Gaspar Llamazares, within the framework of its *Telediario 1* lunchtime news bulletin.

Tele-5 took statements from five political forces. The station did not broadcast statements from any political party until 11.55 a.m., when it connected to the public appearance by Mariano Rajoy. It later crossed to another public appearance, this time by J. L. Rodríguez Zapatero. At 2.12 p.m., Tele-5 broadcast a statement from Arnaldo Otegi (Sozialista Abertzaleak). Finally, as part of the *Informativos Telecinco* evening news bulletin, it covered statements from Gaspar Llamazares (IU) and Josep-Lluís Carod-Rovira (ERC).

As we have seen, Antena 3 TV first broadcast an on-set interview with Jesús Caldera, the guest on the programme *Noticias de la mañana*. Secondly, within the same programme, it broadcast a live telephone interview with Gaspar Llamazares. The fact that the statements from the

general coordinator of the IU were the second to appear (at 10.01 a.m.) was unusual, as the other stations broadcast the first statements from the IU in last or second-last position in order of appearance. It then crossed to Mariano Rajoy's public appearance (11.56 a.m.). Finally, Antena 3 TV included statements from Josep Antoni Duran i Lleida in the *Noticias 1* lunchtime news bulletin.

A look at Table 8 reveals a number of interesting points. In terms of the presence of the political parties of Catalonia on the Spanish stations, TVE-1 and Antena 3 TV only broadcast statements from CiU, while Tele-5 only broadcast statements from ERC. The three stations chose to cover statements from the political parties of Catalonia in their lunchtime news bulletins and all within a series of statements from other parties or institutions. It is also worth pointing out that only two stations, TV3 and Tele-5, broadcast statements from Arnaldo Otegi. Finally, there was the interesting fact that all the parties made live crosses to Mariano Rajoy's public appearance of around 11.55 a.m.

Public Appearances on 11 and 12 March

The public appearance² is a way of intervening in the media that combines the broadcaster's willingness to record a message with its decision on whether or not to air it.

Furthermore, the fact that a media organisation broadcasts a public appearance live adds added value in terms of the newsworthiness of the facts aired. Studying the public appearances made on 11 and 12 March and the treatment they received provides an interesting insight into the way the stations followed the political reactions generated by the attacks.

11 March

Throughout the day of 11 March, a number of public appearances were made, as, given the size of the events, most of the institutions and parties wanted to publicly condemn the attacks. In turn, the television stations broadcast most of these public appearances live and nearly always in their entirety. It is understandable that the stations would choose this formula because information referring to the attacks monopolised the television programming of 11 March³ and all the stations were keen to offer any new angle they could.

Table 9 reveals two different points worth commenting on. Firstly, it shows that TVE-1 was the only station that did not feature a live broadcast of the public appearance of the President of the Basque Government, Juan José Ibarretxe. Secondly, it is clear that TV3 was, almost exclusively, the only station to broadcast the public appearances of the politicians within the Catalan sphere. Finally, we can see

Table 9. Main Public Appearances. 11 March

Actors	Time of public appearance	TV3	TVE-1	Tele-5	Antena 3 TV
Juan José Ibarretxe	09.35 a.m.	Live	3.51 p.m.	Live	Live
Joaquim Nadal	Information not available	10.34 a.m.	--	--	--
Joan Clos	Information not available	11.15 a.m.	--	--	--
Ernest Benach	Information not available	12.32 p.m.	--	--	--
Pasqual Maragall	Information not available	12.34 p.m.	--	9.23 p.m.	--
Mariano Rajoy	11.54 a.m.	Live	Live	Live	Live
Ángel Acebes	1.32 p.m.	Live	Live	Live	Live
J. L. Rodríguez Zapatero	1.43 p.m.	3.08 p.m.	1.59 p.m.	Live	Live
José María Aznar	2.40 p.m.	Live	Live	Live	Live
Ángel Acebes	8.19 p.m.	Live	Live	Live	Live
King Juan Carlos I	Information not available	8.37 p.m.	8.30 p.m.	8.25 p.m.	8.30 p.m.

Source: Catalonia Broadcasting Council

that nearly all the appearances of politicians in the Spanish sphere were broadcast live by the majority of the stations.

With regard to the first point mentioned, it is important to point out that Juan José Ibarretxe made the first public appearance on 11 March (09.35 a.m.). In his speech, the President of the Basque Government condemned the attacks and openly pointed to ETA as the group responsible, although defending the values of Basque society. As mentioned before, Ibarretxe's words were broadcast live by all the stations except TVE-1. The latter made no reference to his public appearance until 3.51 p.m., as part of the *Telediario-1* news bulletin and after having broadcast statements from other political personalities.

With regard to the second point mentioned, representatives of different institutions within the Catalan sphere (Joaquim Nadal and Pasqual Maragall on behalf of the Government of Catalonia, Ernest Benach on behalf of the Parliament and Joan Clos on behalf of Barcelona City Council) all made public appearances to condemn the attacks throughout the morning of 11 March. TV3 broadcast all these public appearances. The Spanish stations, on the other hand, barely broadcast any. Only Tele-5, in its evening bulletin, covered a small fragment recorded at the public appearance of Pasqual Maragall. The bulletin also featured statements from Josep-Lluís Carod-Rovira condemning the attacks. The rest of the Spanish stations did not broadcast these statements, despite the crisis generated a month earlier when the meeting between Carod-Rovira and members of ETA had become known.

Almost all the public appearances of politicians in the Spanish sphere were broadcast live by the different stations. Only the public appearance of J. L. Rodríguez Zapatero was aired as a pre-recorded broadcast, on TV3 and TVE-1. To illustrate this generalized behaviour, I studied, strictly by chronological order, the presence of the main public appearances by Spanish politicians on the different stations.

At 11.54 a.m., Mariano Rajoy, the Secretary General of the PP and its candidate to the presidency of the Government, made a brief public appearance which was broadcast live by all the stations. As I said before, Rajoy's statements at this public appearance were the first by a leader of the PP to appear on all the stations. The public appearance was called to condemn the attacks and announce the

suspension of the electoral campaign on the part of the Popular Party. Mariano Rajoy did not mention ETA in his statement.

The Spanish Government made its first public appearance, in the shape of the Interior Minister, Ángel Acebes, at 1.32 p.m. Given its news value, it is not surprising that it was broadcast live by all the stations. As well as expressing his support for the families of the victims and giving an approximate number of the dead and injured, Ángel Acebes directly accused ETA of being responsible for the attacks and criticised statements from Arnaldo Otegi who had denied ETA's involvement. These statements from Otegi, also made at a public appearance, which had taken place at around 11.50 a.m., were only broadcast on the lunchtime bulletins of TV3 and Tele-5.

The Secretary General of the PSOE, J. L. Rodríguez Zapatero, was the next political leader to make a public appearance, although he had previously made a statement to TVE-1 in the form of an interview. Zapatero's appearance at the PSOE headquarters took place at 1.43 p.m. and was broadcast live by the two private stations, Tele-5 and Antena 3 TV. By contrast, TVE-1 aired a pre-recorded broadcast a few minutes later, at 1.59 p.m. and TV3 covered a fragment on the *TN Migdia* lunchtime bulletin (at 3.08 p.m.).

At 2.40 p.m., all the stations aired a live broadcast of the first appearance of the President of the Government, José María Aznar. In the case of TV3 and Tele-5, this broadcast took place during the transmission of their lunchtime bulletins. In his first public appearance, the President of the Government condemned the attacks, expressed his support for the victims and called on the public to demonstrate across Spain against the attacks. He did not explicitly mention ETA at any time.

At 8.19 p.m., the Interior Minister, Ángel Acebes, made another appearance. Again it was broadcast live by all the stations. However, while the Spanish stations broadcast both the Minister's speech and the subsequent press conference, TV3 only broadcast the former. In terms of content, Ángel Acebes again laid the blame on ETA, although he admitted he was not ruling out other lines of investigation.

The last appearance of 11 March was by King Juan Carlos I. All the stations broadcast at least a part of it over an

Table 10. Main Public Appearances. 12 March

Actors	Time of public appearance	TV3	TVE-1	Tele-5	Antena 3 TV
Juan José Ibarretxe	09.35 a.m.	Live	3.51 p.m.	Live	Live
Joaquim Nadal	Information not available	10.34 a.m.	--	--	--
Joan Clos	Information not available	11.15 a.m.	--	--	--
Ernest Benach	Information not available	12.32 p.m.	--	--	--
Pasqual Maragall	Information not available	12.34 p.m.	--	9.23 p.m.	--

Source: Catalonia Broadcasting Council

interval of 12 minutes. The first to do so was Tele-5 (8.25 p.m.), followed by TVE-1 and Antena 3 TV (8.30 p.m.) and, finally, TV3 (8.37 p.m.). The King condemned the attacks, expressed his support for the victims and called for unity and serenity across the country in the struggle against terrorism.

12 March

Throughout the day of 12 March, as the article *Television Programming on 11 and 12 March* reflects, the stations began to introduce into their schedules a number of programmes, mainly fictional works, not devoted to the attacks. Likewise, the number of important public appearances counted over the day of 12 March (5) was considerably lower than the previous day (11). However, the stations continued to provide live broadcasts of most of the politicians' public appearances.

In the wake of the impact that the attacks had had on public opinion the day before, it was important to analyse the facts in the light of the information that was becoming available. Also, while the appearances of the day before were mainly to condemn the attacks and express support for the victims, those of 12 March focused on the confusion around who was responsible for the attacks. A look at Table 3 shows that TVE-1 did not broadcast the second appearance of Juan José Ibarretxe either live or pre-recorded. The other appearances were broadcast live by all the stations except TV3, which made a pre-recorded broadcast of fragments of the appearances by Rodríguez Zapatero and Rajoy. Table 3 below shows a summary of the

circumstances in which each public appearance was broadcast.

The President of the Basque Government, Juan José Ibarretxe, was again the first leader to appear in public on Friday 12 March, at 10.33 a.m. TV3 was the only station to broadcast this appearance live, on the programme *Bon dia, Catalunya*. Antena 3 TV and Tele-5 broadcast pre-recorded fragments at 12.39 p.m. and 1.09 p.m., respectively. The fragments broadcast by the two stations featured different parts of the speech the Basque leader addressed to the public. While Antena 3 TV broadcast Ibarretxe's call for people to take part in the demonstrations to be held that afternoon, Tele-5 broadcast the moment when he called, on behalf of Basque society, for the facts to be cleared up around who was behind the attacks. Finally, TVE-1 did not broadcast the Basque president's appearance at all, either live or pre-recorded.

José María Aznar made his second appearance following the attacks at 11.21 a.m. on the morning of 12 March. All the stations broadcast his statements live and in their entirety, both those corresponding to the initial speech and those made at the subsequent press conference. A large part of his speech was devoted to defending the transparency of the information from the Government and criticising the people who had raised doubts about it.

José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero and Mariano Rajoy, the leaders of the two main parties, made appearances at around lunchtime on 12 March. Zapatero made a public appearance first, at 1.13 p.m., followed shortly later, at 1.35 p.m., by Mariano Rajoy. All the stations except TV3 broadcast these speeches live. At the time they were taking

place, TV3 was showing *Bonanza* and *Viure Catalunya*, respectively. At 2.43 p.m., TV3 began to broadcast, as part of *TN Migdia*, pre-recorded fragments of their statements with a few seconds' difference between them.

The last important appearance of 12 March was that of Ángel Acebes at 6.15 p.m. At this event, broadcast live by all the stations, the Interior Minister expressed his doubts about the credibility of the news that said Al-Qaeda had emailed an online newspaper claiming responsibility for the Madrid bombings.

News Bulletins on 11 and 12 March

The 11 March attacks had a substantial effect on the regular format and content of the news bulletins of 11 and 12 March. It is important to remember that news bulletins constitute one of the television genres with the most tightly predefined structure and that analysing changes to them can help us get an approximate idea of the extent to which the attacks upset the television schedules. The main modifications to the bulletins on 11 and 12 March were: a general rise in duration, absolute devotion to information about the attacks and a noticeable rise in the presence of actors. However, these changes did not affect all the stations in the same way.

In general terms, the news bulletins on 11 and 12 March lasted longer than usual. It was the public stations that increased the length of their bulletins most. The TV3 bulletins, usually 55-60 minutes long, lasted an average of 1 hour and 22 minutes. This rise was even more pronounced at TVE-1, where they went from the regular 55 minutes to an average of 1 hour and 35 minutes on the days of 11 and 12 March. The private stations followed a different model in this regard. Tele-5 only significantly increased the length of its evening bulletin on 11 March, up from the regular 60 minutes to nearly 1 hour and 34 minutes. Antena 3 TV respected the regular length of its news bulletins (45 minutes at lunchtime and 1 hour and 15 minutes in the evening) over the two days.

All the stations devoted practically 100% of the time of their respective news bulletins to the attacks. This involved another significant change with respect to the regular structure of a news bulletin, as the sections normally included (international, politics, sports, etc.) were cancelled in order to make room for the information generated by the attacks. Indeed, the news bulletins on 11 and 12 March basically condensed the information in the different stations.

A third important change in the structure of the bulletins was related to the presence of actors given speaking time. In this regard, all the stations coincided in significantly

Table 11. Duration of the News Bulletins on 11 and 12 March

Station	Duration of the bulletins on 11 March	Duration of the bulletins on 12 March	Average duration of the bulletins on 11 and 12 March
TV3			
<i>TN Migdia</i>	01:24:23	01:27:05	01:22:21
<i>TN Vespre</i>	01:13:17	01:24:37	
TVE-1			
<i>Telediario-1</i>	01:29:49	01:33:56	01:35:28
<i>Telediario-2</i>	01:43:37	01:34:32	
Tele-5			
<i>Informativos Telecinco 1</i>	00:59:13	01:03:46	01:09:38
<i>Informativos Telecinco 2</i>	01:33:51	01:01:42	
Antena 3 TV			
<i>Noticias 1</i>	00:52:04	00:51:27	01:00:40
<i>Noticias 2</i>	01:14:20	01:05:02	

Source: Catalonia Broadcasting Council

upping the speaking time of political and non-political actors alike. The rise in speaking time of politicians may have been related to the enormous political importance of a set of exceptional events⁴ such as the 11 March attacks, which were even more important because of the proximity to the elections. The rise in speaking time of non-politicians, particularly anonymous people, is understood to have involved the collective of victims and witnesses to the attacks.

However, beyond the structural changes undergone by the news bulletins on these two days, it is important to make a comparative analysis of their content to determine the presence or absence of a number of important stories in the debate over who had committed the attacks and thus the election results. These stories included the statement from Arnaldo Otegi denying ETA's involvement, the publication of a statement from Al-Qaeda, the tightening of security measures at the international level and the phone call ETA made to news organisations in the Basque County.

News Bulletins on 11 March

Most of the news the different stations included in the news bulletins on 11 March were related to the sequence of events, the number of dead and injured and the reactions generated at all levels (political, international, public opinion, etc.).

All the stations included a report on the history of the terrorist group ETA in their news reports on 11 March. Broadcasting these reports could lead one to think that all the stations believed, at least initially, the official version of the facts (Minister Acebes had said at 1.34 p.m. that ETA was behind the attacks). On this point, it is important to remember that the media has the right to use other sources to obtain information and that, so long as it meets the requisite of truth, it does not have to coincide with the version from the authorities⁵.

On the other hand, TVE-1 was the only station that did not report the statements from Arnaldo Otegi denying ETA's involvement in the attacks. At the start, Otegi was the only person to contradict the official version of the facts and his statements thus generated the first doubts about who was behind them. The other stations referred to this statement on their lunchtime bulletins, but did so in a different fashion:

while TV3 and Tele-5 illustrated their stories with a fragment from Arnaldo Otegi's public appearance, Atena 3 broadcast a fragment from Acebes' first public appearance, throwing doubt on the words of the Basque nationalist leader.

Taking into account that throughout the afternoon of 11 March, doubts had begun to arise about who had committed the bombings, any information on this issue would have been very newsworthy. In that regard, all the stations reported that Al-Qaeda had sent a statement to an online newspaper in London claiming responsibility for the attacks. This information definitively opened the possibility that the attacks had been the work of international terrorism and that it would therefore be appropriate to question whether ETA was responsible.

News Bulletins on 12 March

The news bulletins on 12 March continued to report on the number of victims and the state of the injured. Furthermore, to different extents, all the stations featured witness information, focusing on the impact of the events on the people affected, to illustrate 'the day after'.

The numerous demonstrations against the attacks, which took place across Spain on the afternoon of 12 March, were the focus of a large part of the evening news bulletins⁶. All the stations without exception reported at length on the development of the demonstrations and on a number of incidents that occurred in Barcelona, where a small group of people shouted abuse at the leaders of the PPC and PP who had attended the demonstration.

The tightening of security measures in other countries was also widely covered in the news bulletins of TV3, TVE-1 and Tele-5. This was a piece of news which indirectly pointed towards the possibility that international terrorists were behind the Madrid bombings. Indeed, only the fear of suffering similar attacks could justify the adoption of extraordinary safety measures at the international level. Antena 3 TV did not broadcast any news on this point at any time on 12 March.

The doubts about who was behind the attacks, which had begun to arise on 11 March, played an enormous role in conditioning the politicians' messages the next day. TV3 broadcast two pieces of news on its *TN Migdia* lunchtime bulletin where different authorities called on the Government to clear up the doubts concerning the responsibility for the

Table 12. News time devoted to witness information in relation to total news bulletin time

Station	11-M			12-M		
	Testimonial news time	Length of news bulletin	% Witness information	Testimonial news time	Length of news bulletin	% Witness information
TV3	00:27:09	2:37:50	17,2	00:18:56	2:51:42	11,0
TVE-1	1:10:59	3:13:26	36,7	1:15:26	3:08:28	40,0
Tele-5	0:55:27	2:33:04	36,2	0:54:08	2:05:28	43,1
Antena 3 TV	0:55:56	2:06:24	44,3	1:02:25	1:56:29	53,6

Source: Catalonia Broadcasting Council

attacks. In the first story, the demand for informational transparency came from Juan José Ibarretxe (President of the Basque Government), Josu Jon Imaz (Basque Nationalist Party) and Arnaldo Otegi (Sozialista Abertzaleak) while, in the second story, it was the leaders of the Catalan political parties who made the call (CiU, ERC, ICV, PSC and PPC). TVE-1 and Tele-5 broadcast Aznar's defence of the informational transparency of the Government in his public appearance that morning. Finally, Antena 3 TV did not include any news directly related to this issue.

In the afternoon of 12 March, the Basque public television station ETB and the newspaper *Gara* received a phone call in which ETA denied responsibility for the attacks. TV3 and Tele-5 reported this fact explicitly on their evening bulletins. TVE-1 did not make any direct reference to the phone call but broadcast two statements indirectly related to blaming ETA. The first came from Irene Villa (a victim of ETA) and the second from the socialist José Bono (President of Castile-La Mancha). In his speech, José Bono said that ETA had no credibility. Antena 3 TV made no reference to the phone call in question.

News Strategies in the News Bulletins

To tackle events such as those of 11 March, where personal tragedy and political consequences are equally as important, stations can use two main news strategies: one that prioritises the political account and the other that prioritises witness information. To all practical purposes, the

former is characterised by a predominance of statements from politicians and aims to be more analytical, because it compares the different positions taken up around an issue. The second strategy, on the other hand, tackles the facts from a more emotional point of view and is particularly characterised by an elevated presence of statements from anonymous people, victims or witnesses to the events.

TV3's news strategy was characterised by a combination of political and testimonial information but with a clear predominance of the former. Indeed, an analysis of the content of its news bulletins reveals that the time devoted to news that focused on the feelings of anonymous citizens involved in the attacks constituted 17.2% of the total news time on 11 March and 11% on 12 March. This trend was the other way around at the other stations, which, (particularly Antena 3 TV), prioritised testimonial information and did not give such prominence to analysis information in their news bulletins. This behaviour is even more obvious if we compare the percentage of news time devoted to testimonial information (see Table 12).

Notes

- 1 Source: Preamble to the document *Considerations by the CAC on the Television Treatment of the Attacks in Madrid of 11 March 2004 and Subsequent Events Through to the Spanish Elections of 14 March*.
- 2 We should remember that public appearance is defined for the purposes of this report as a specific gathering of the media through which a series of statements are made in relation to a particular event, i.e., in this case, the attacks of 11 March.
- 3 See the article Television Programming on 11 and 12 March.
- 4 See the article The Media and 11 March: The Construction of an 'Exceptional Case'
- 5 Source: point 5 of the document *Considerations by the CAC on the Television Treatment of the Attacks in Madrid of 11 March 2004 and Subsequent Events Through to the Spanish Elections of 14 March*.
- 6 We should remember that, furthermore, all the stations broadcast special news reports devoted to the demonstrations that took place across Spain on 12 March (see the article Television Programming on 11 and 12 March).