

INVESTIGACIÓN/RESEARCH

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FROM THE POLITICAL AGENDA TO THE RADIO IN SANTIAGO DE CUBA. A LONGITUDINAL STUDIO OF THEMATIC TRANSFER

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ABSTRACT

This piece of research presents a four-time longitudinal analysis of the correlation among the media agenda of the local radio station in Santiago de Cuba, CMKC Radio Revolution, and the political agenda. Its general objective is to determine the extant correlation among the media agenda of the radio station CMKC and the political agenda in Santiago de Cuba in the years 2014 and 2015. The contribution of this piece of research is that is the first of its type in the country, as it explains the relationship between these two agendas in a province during different phases. The studio has been conceived from a quantitative methodology, and methods like Analysis - Synthesis and the Inductive-deductive are used as well as techniques such as Analysis of Content, correlation coefficient by Spearman ranges and participant Observation. With the analysis that was carried out it is demonstrated that there is a moderate, sometimes high relationship between the political agenda and the media agenda under study, and that this characteristic remains stable all through the time the analysis took place.

KEY WORDS

Political agenda - Media agenda - Correlations - Agenda Setting - Agenda Building.

DE LA AGENDA POLÍTICA A LA RADIO EN SANTIAGO DE CUBA. ESTUDIO LONGITUDINAL DE TRANSFERENCIA TEMÁTICA.

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RESUMEN

Esta investigación presenta un análisis longitudinal en cuatro tiempos de la correlación entre la agenda mediática de la emisora local de Santiago de Cuba, CMKC Radio Revolución, y la agenda política. Tiene como objetivo general determinar la correlación existente entre la agenda mediática de la emisora CMKC y la agenda política en Santiago de Cuba durante los años 2014 y 2015. La investigación tiene como aporte que es la primera de su tipo en el país, al explicar la relación entre estas dos agendas en una provincia durante varias fases. El estudio está concebido desde una metodología cuantitativa, y se utilizan métodos como el Análisis- Síntesis y el Inductivo-Deductivo, y técnicas como el Análisis de Contenido, el coeficiente de Correlación por rangos de Spearman y la Observación participante. Con el análisis realizado se demuestra que existe una relación moderada y en ocasiones alta entre la agenda política y la agenda mediática estudiada, y que esta característica se mantiene estable en el tiempo analizado.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Agenda política- Agenda mediática- Correlaciones- Agenda Setting- Agenda Building.

1. INTRODUCTION

Radio has historically served as a prime vehicle for the discussion of ideas and expression of public opinion. Launched in Cuba in 1922, in the 1930s it already played a key role in the expression of the culture and identity of Cubans. Being prone to influencing and determining the criteria and beliefs of listeners, this space went into the homes and seized all listeners out of a highly attractive and alienating programming, and enjoying it did not require to avoid the usual tasks or share a specific space.

Commercial campaigns, radio novels, dramas and even moralizing anti-corruption programs undermined the circuits of the main national radio stations, which, although mostly responding to the interests of the high Cuban oligarchy, never lost a chance to gain large audience ratings.

The triumph of the Cuban Revolution then marked the beginning of a new path for the media, and the radio was not set in stone. The popularization of the radio by creating several national, provincial and even municipal stations gave new content to this press, its programs becoming main spokesmen of the opinion and the exercise of debate in our country.

In Cuba, as in the rest of the world, studies about issuers are occupying a privileged place, given by the new roles these media have shown to play in society, such as the so-called fourth estate. Studies of productive routines, newsmaking, gatekeepers, sociology of production, and agenda setting, etc continue to invade the communication-theory-based research scenarios and ponder their role as instruments of socialization, dissemination of ideas and creation of meanings.

From this perspective, research addressing the radio as a media in the theory of property (also known as Agenda Setting) and its relationship to political and public

agendas is not abundant in the country. While the relationship between politicians and the media has been a subject widely studied from the theory of agenda setting at world level (McCombs, 2006; Lopez and Casero, 2014; Gautier and Ruiz, 2014) in Cuba it has been a research way that has not borne fruit to any great extent.

The Cuban press has the particularity of responding to the people's interests and it is ruled by an Information Policy, a set of guidelines oriented by the Communist Party of Cuba. Cuban researchers (Muñiz and Fonseca, 2015) have shown that the construction of the media agenda is a process whose structure does not behave rigidly or vertically; although initially it had some features of unilateralism, particularly in the provision of the issues. Moreover, the correlation between this agenda and the media agenda remained high (0.66) in a study conducted for three months in 2013 in provincial media in Santiago de Cuba (Muñiz and Fonseca, 2015: 327). Meanwhile, the correlation between the media agenda of the radio station CMKC with the political agenda was moderate (0.56).

For these reasons, a longitudinal study of the media agenda of the provincial radio station in Santiago de Cuba, CMKC Radio Revolution, and its relation to the political agenda in the territory is not only the first of its kind in the country but allows us to set empirical basis for further findings. In this sense, the following has been proposed as a research problem: what is the correlation between the media agenda of the radio station CMKC and the political agenda in Santiago de Cuba during the years 2014 and 2015?

2. OBJECTIVES

The overall objective of the study was to determine the correlation between the media agenda of the radio station CMKC and the political agenda in Santiago de Cuba during the years 2014 and 2015.

To do so, the following were drawn up as research tasks or specific objectives:

1. Determine the items and attributes that make up the political agenda in the province during the time periods that were studied.
2. Characterize items and attributes contained in the media agenda of the radio station CMKC during the temporary phases of the study.
3. Correlate items and attributes in the substantive and affective dimension in the media and political agendas under study.

3. METHODOLOGY

In this study, we hypothesized that CMKC media agenda and the political agenda in Santiago de Cuba have a significant correlation, as there is a thematic transfer from the latter to the former. This feature is constant in time.

The study took CMKC media agenda and the political agenda as variables:

- CMKC media agenda: part of reality which is serviced by the press media, which is embodied in the selection, prioritization and treatment of events matching its interests.
- Political Agenda: Actions taken by governments, parliaments and various social institutions which will later be a triggering part of debates, in addition to being included as outstanding issues in the agenda of the media and the public agenda.

These variables are operationalized as follows:

- **Items:** Facts of concrete reality covered by the media, either constantly or temporarily. As a result of a previous study (Muñiz and Fonseca, 2015), three classifications for items in the media agenda are differentiated:

Type 1: Items with a high degree of presence: this category includes those whose number of mentions exceeds 5% of total mentions.

Type 2: Items with a moderate degree of presence: this category contains items that exceed 2% of total mentions.

Type 3: Items with a low degree of presence: this category contains those items the mention percentage of which is less than 2% of the total.

- **Attributes:** subjective elements that qualify the item. They are divided into two dimensions: substantive, which includes the features distinguishing the item or subtopics involved; and affective, which is the appraisal that is broadcast on these issues, and it can be positive, neutral or negative.

A quantitative methodological perspective of a longitudinal type was assumed. The methods used were analysis-synthesis and inductive-deductive. The former made it possible to search for and compare existing literature and studies about the phenomenon in Cuba; while the latter made it possible to generalize particular elements of the media agenda of the radio station and particularize others concerning research on political agenda in the country. As noted above, the radio is a medium generally understudied in studies on agenda in Cuba, which have focused mainly on media like newspapers and local and national television.

Meanwhile, techniques as quantitative content analysis of the media were used, whose specificities will be dealt with below; participant observation at meetings of the Communist Party of Cuba with the media, and Spearman range correlation, whose magnitude indicates the degree of association among the selected variables. Given the existence of different software to determine this value, it was decided to use SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences), version 11.5. In the case of correlations, we specify, in addition to the interpretation and value, the amount of correlated items, because the ratio can give a certain value that is not indicative of the actual mathematical situation.

This obviously happens because the agendas are very heterogeneous in their composition, and the items that are present in one are not necessarily present in another. It is therefore important to consider this aspect that can offer deeper assessments of numerical data provided by the coefficient. This item lets you also see that the correlation is more reliable from a methodological and procedural viewpoint since, from the mathematical perspective, each correlation has a significance level, which is determined using SPSS.

For this study, a special time framework making it possible to correlate the media and political agendas was designed. It was decided to monitor them in the same period of time, taking the political agenda as a referent and starting with the first one a week earlier, as the guidance for coverage may be provided previously (Muñiz and Fonseca, 2015). Figure 1 makes it possible to visualize in detail the periods defined for this study:



Figure 1 Time framework used for data collection in the study. (Source: Author)

To determine the media agenda, an analysis of the content of CMKC was performed during the four study periods described, for which the total of journalistic works published in the news programs Reportes and Con el Sol was taken.

Meanwhile, to characterize the political agenda, several content analyses on documents and meetings of the Communist Party of Cuba with the press were conducted. In the analysis of the agendas, 27 items and 149 attributes in the substantive dimension were studied.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Theoretical notes

4.1.1 Agenda Setting as a theory

Speaking about Agenda Setting is referring to the set of topics selected to be part of an index or agenda, prioritized by different social stakeholders in disparate conditions.

Being in a pure and emerging condition, this school of thought – which is inserted in studies of long-term effects – expressed that the media somehow select a set of highlighted issues that will be transferred by the media agenda to the public agenda. (McCombs, 2006) Therefore, the essential approach to these postulates is the transfer of thematic relevance from an agenda to another.

This approach has been extended over more than 40 years of studies and reached what we currently consider to be Agenda Setting: a complex phenomenon, which includes different social stakeholders and external and internal factors of the media and the public; and it largely makes it possible to explain the relationship between the political system, the press and public opinion.

We agree with Maxwell McCombs, one of the founders of this school, when he says that the essence of the theory is the transfer of relevance from one agenda to another (McCombs, 2006), and though he expresses that this happens from the media to the audience, we add that the phenomenon can also occur with respect to the

relationship between other agendas (say political, educational, religious, etc.), in different directions and in an integrated way, as will be explained below.

With its inception in 1968, a methodology was consolidated which would make it possible to demonstrate and study, among other things, how the issues made hierarchical by the media influenced the issues prioritized for society and how the public appropriated these contents based on certain conditions.

These procedures have gradually evolved so that now the agenda is not conceived only from content analysis, or from a survey, but from advanced models to assess the thematic networking transfer or to evaluate the public agenda in digital scenarios.

While different authors have stated it in various ways, it should be noted that the fact of being translated into Spanish has motivated several mentions of the concept. Some of them stand out such as "a function of setting a thematic agenda" (Agenda Setting function) or variations such as "making news hierarchical" or "journalistic channeling of reality", among others. In this paper we have preferred to adopt the term Agenda Setting, as we consider it to be highly widespread and assimilated.

The expressions of "theming of reality" or "theming phenomenon " have been the ones used by the German structural functionalism to refer to the same concept. To some authors (Dader, 1990 and Roda Fernandez, 1989), the theory of Agenda Setting and theming consist of the same process, although approached from a much deeper perspective.

This other theoretical way of putting the discussion on the phenomenon has led some authors to think it was two different, though relatable effects. Though we will not attempt to delve into this discussion, we do consider this explanation relevant to support further criteria.

As for the criticism of the theory, we can say that there are several texts (Rod, 2001; Casermeiro, 2004; Rodriguez, 2004; among others) that one way or another systematize the recommendations made to the pieces of research. Some of the most prominent ones are the semantic difference between setting the agenda and theming (Rodríguez, 2004: 71), and the absolutist view of the role of political stakeholders in establishing the themes in the media (Rodríguez, 2004: 72).

In addition, there has been insufficient appraisal of the role of information sources, and the preponderance of electoral agendas as the main item of study, which entails establishing specific methodological conditions for that context (Rodriguez, 2004: 71-74) .

Authors like Roda Fernández (1989) and Raquel Rodriguez (2004) explain that throughout the development of research - and we consider that even today - the psychosocial factors influencing the setting of the media agenda have been given little significance, which leads us to think of a reductionism in the so-called influential variables; which are designed strictly for the scenarios in which these factors have been evaluated.

These scholars state the need to incorporate variables such as expectations of people about the media and how, from them, an attitude towards more or less consumption of messages is conditioned. We will speak of this below in this chapter.

Moreover, there is a contradiction of criteria as regards the directionality of the thematic transfer because McCombs himself (2006) explains that the effect of agenda preparation is given from the media to the public, and not the other way around.

This approach, which we consider absolutist to a great extent. was challenged by David Weaver (1982), who said it is very different to say that a group of issues influences a group of people than saying that those issues are really significant for each particular individual .

Although Weaver' opinion dates from a few years ago, agenda methodologies have differentiated the studies of influence on a considerable number of people from those who deal with particular individuals and their way of assimilating the media agenda. Also, we agree with the views expressed by Raquel Rodriguez (2004) about the exclusion of other media agendas in measuring the transfer of issues on the public agenda; because undoubtedly they are also determinants as regards other cultural – even media – consumption of the individual and mark their perception of the real world.

Likewise, there have been other methodological remarks related to short-term research, few pieces of research stretch over more than one year (Petrone, 2009: 13); and there is scarce inclusion of other agendas and variables from the real world (Petrone, 2009: 13; Rodriguez, 2004: 72).

In this regard, it should be noted that there is lack of political and social contextualization in the studies of agendas and there is interrelation between them. This particular has made us think about the importance of contextualized view of these phenomena, since obviously many results raised in capitalist societies with a political and social system different from ours are not applicable to the Cuban reality. In general, most of the observations made to agenda studies indicate a concentration in terms of the analyzed agendas, methods and tools used and obviously that points to methodological standardization. If the approaches are studied, we can see that there are fewer theoretical issues – though we do not deny they exist – than empirical matters.

4.1.2 Relationship between politicians and media agenda since Agenda Setting

As a process, Agenda Setting integrates politicians, the media and the public in a common thematic scenario, where the most important issues for media coverage are defined.

In this regard, the Chilean professor William Porath (2007, p. 43) explains that, to politicians, the media appear as the main vehicle – cheaper, faster and massive – to reach the public with their messages, thus displacing the role once played by the political parties.

For his part, Gans (1979) said that the relationship between media and political sources resembles a tango, in which it is difficult to decide which of the actors keeps in step at a given moment.

Lorenzo Gomis (1991) and Alsina (1993) focus on this line of thought and explain the relationship of bilateral interests between agendas from the function of the political system as a producer-supplier of news events. They point out that the agendas, programs and plans of the political organs are devised to promote their interests; therefore, they are motivated by public information.

However, the first of these authors refers that the relations between politicians and the media are more strained than it might seem due to the intervention of two distorting factors:

- Cruel selection of the material: from 100% being sent to the media, they are forced to reduce it at least to 10%, due to a basic matter of time and space.
- Presence of public criticism, complaining of excessive political information in the media and preferring other issues to the detriment of the previous ones.

In this regard, the fourth phase of the theory of Agenda Setting does just delve into the sourcing (political) relations in shaping the media agenda. Known as Agenda Building, it is one of the most exciting prospects, within which the president has been investigated as the agenda setter. Studies on the establishment of the presidential addendum in the media and public agendas have introduced new elements to the theory and, in a broader sense, have opened new gaps to do research that delve into the bilateral relationship between the agendas both at the level of items and at the level of attributes.

However, critics have tried to demystify the view of the political leaders as coaches of agenda issues, because it has been observed that the agenda of informal and interpersonal relationships of individuals modifies the process.

Dissertations such as Cook (et. Al.1983) argue that, in many occasions, particularly, journalists and politicians exchange information that benefits changes or modifications of agendas. Thus, one could not speak about the primacy of an agenda that influences another but about a multitude of factors that interrelate agendas (Van Aelst, Thesen, Walgrave, Vliegthart, 2014; Gautier, and Ruiz, 2014).

A renewed tendency of studies on politicians and media, especially in the United States, is the one that investigates the agenda of lobbying groups and coalitions regarding the agenda of the Supreme Court or the US Congress (Goelzhauser and Vouvalis, 2015 ; Jackman, 2014; Van Aelst, Thesen, Walgrave, and Vliegthart, 2014; Lindstadt, and Vander Wielen, 2014); something that undoubtedly indicates that the field of the so-called theory of Agenda Building is much wider than what it really looks like or is believed.

4.2 Political agenda of Santiago de Cuba province

In general, the ranking of items on the political agenda during the four studied periods had no significant changes. Let us recall that 27 items were analyzed.

In the first phase, only 19 out of the 27 items evaluated in the study were present, as shown in the following table.

Object	Time 1	48	Time 2	48	Time 3	48	Time 4	48
Objects political, social and institutional activities	37	44,05 %	34	34,00%	55	37,67%	95	46,97%
aqueduct	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	2	1,37%	2	1,01%
agriculture	5	5,95%	1	1,00%	0	0,00%	4	2,02%
Science and Technology	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	8	5,48%	4	2,02%
domestic trade	2	2,38%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	1	0,51%
communications	2	2,38%	1	1,00%	2	1,37%	7	3,34%
Civil defense	1	1,19%	1	1,00%	2	1,37%	3	1,52%
economy	1	1,19%	0	0,00%	1	0,68%	0	0,00%
education	0	0,00%	11	11,00%	0	0,00%	3	1,52%
power	1	1,19%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%
Gastronomy	2	2,38%	3	3,00%	3	2,05%	3	1,52%
government	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%
community hygiene	0	0,00%	1	1,00%	14	9,59%	11	5,56%
History	5	5,95%	5	5,00%	6	4,11%	1	0,51%
Hotel and leisure	9	10,71%	23	23,00%	16	10,96%	34	3,34%
industry	0	0,00%	1	1,00%	1	0,68%	1	0,51%
justice	6	7,14%	8	8,00%	5	3,42%	7	3,34%
Environment	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%
Political and mass organizations	1	1,19%	5	5,00%	0	0,00%	2	1,01%
Policy	1	1,19%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	1	0,51%
Social problems	4	4,76%	1	1,00%	6	4,11%	4	2,02%
Public health	1	1,19%	1	1,00%	7	4,79%	1	0,51%
Services and state institutions	1	1,19%	0	0,00%	1	0,68%	5	2,55%
Labour and social security	1	1,19%	2	2,00%	3	2,05%	3	1,52%
Labour and social security	1	1,19%	0	0,00%	1	0,68%	1	0,51%
transport	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	1	0,68%	3	1,52%
Housing, construction and heritage	3	3,57%	2	2,00%	12	8,22%	4	2,02%
Total	84	100,00%	100	100,00%	146	100,00%	198	100,00%

Table 1 Items of the political agenda during the four periods under study

The first five issues of this agenda in the first phase were the political, institutional and social activities (44.05%), history (10.71%), industry (7.14%), and Agriculture and Communal Hygiene (5.95% each).

In the second phase, 16 out of the 27 items that were analyzed in this piece of research appeared, the political, institutional and social activities remaining in first place (34.00%). History ranked second (23.00%), and Education third (11.00%). These were followed by Industry (8.00%), and Communal Hygiene and the Environment, both with 5.00% of total mentions.

So far, you can see that the issues do not have a high degree of variation, depending on the time of year for the months of January through April and May through August; however, from September, the agenda begins to be slightly different.

During the third period of time, the political, institutional and social activities ranked first (37.67%), followed again by history (10.96%). However, in this case, other issues such as Government (9.59%), Housing, construction and heritage (8.22%) and Science

and Technology (5.48%) ranked in the first places. This time only 19 out of 27 evaluated items appeared, as happened in the first phase.

The thematic variation in this period may be largely due to governmental and party projections for the 500th anniversary of the founding of the town, which was celebrated in July 2015. Here we can see how the agenda may change depending on the context because, in this case, they began to prioritize issues related to Government and Housing, two essential aspects to celebrate the anniversary.

Finally, in the fourth phase of the study, 23 out of 27 studied items were addressed, including political, institutional and social activities (46.97%), History (17.17%), Government (5.56%), and Industry and Communications, both with 3.54% of total mentions.

In this agenda, there were two out of the 27 evaluated items that did not appear in any period: Gastronomy and Justice. Of these, the latter was the only one that was not in the general media agenda during the first phase.

In this sense, we can say that the two thematic priorities on the political agenda are the political, institutional and social activities, ie rallies, marches, walks, among others, and History - commemorations and anniversaries of events. As will be seen below, these items are not on the public agenda, so they are rather a matter of political concern, not social. In addition, thematic priorities on this agenda are stable over time, but obviously when a topic goes up in rank on the agenda, another one has to go down. Another important event is that the 27 items that have been evaluated in this piece of research were not present on the political agenda, the number of appearances fluctuating over periods of time.

Moreover, 149 attributes were evaluated in the substantive dimension. In the first phase of the study, only 28 out of the 149 attributes analyzed in the study were present on this agenda. Out of them, Meetings (28.57%), Anniversaries of Events and Commemorations (9.52%), Sugarcane Harvest (7.14%), Events (5.95%), Toilet Table (5.95%), Acts and Flagging (4.76%), and Tours, agricultural food production and production and sale of construction materials, with 3.57% respectively, were prioritized.

In the second period, the hierarchical ranking remained similar, with anniversaries of events and commemorations being ahead (19.00%), followed by meetings (15.00%), and events (14.00%). Next came graduations (10.00%) and sugarcane harvest (5.00%). Here are just 26 out of the total attributes that were analyzed.

As observed between these two periods, there is a remarkable difference, because the first two places were taken by the same attributes in a different order. Of course, both correspond to the item of political, institutional and social activities, which, as we already saw, tops the political agenda. However, the more mentioned attributes do not correspond to the priority themes in these periods.

However, this does not happen in the third phase of the study, in which the attributes coincide in the substantive dimension with the items that topped the thematic agenda. In that sense, we found on top the meetings (15.07%), events (13.7%), the anniversaries of events and commemorations (7.53%), the 500th Anniversary (6.85%), and research, sanitary measures and the Housing Program, with 4.11% respectively. In this period, 38 out of the 149 attributes considered for this piece of research were found.

In a similar case is the agenda of substantive attributes in the fourth and final phase, in which 45 out of the evaluated attributes were present, among them were Meetings (33.33%), anniversaries of events and commemorations (14,14 %), Tours (4.55%), and the 500th Anniversary and visits, both with 4.04%.

These data confirm what we expressed above about the temporal stability of the issues on the political agenda, which may indicate that these priorities remain stagnant.

In the case of the positive attributes in the positive affective dimension, during the first period that was studied, only the political, institutional and social activities (66.67%), Politics (16.67%), and communications, services and state institutions and the Labor and Social Security, with 5.56% of mentions respectively, had positive mentions.

Moreover, political, institutional and social activities (32.56%), history (27.91%), education (16.28%), FAR-MININT (6.98%) and the state services and institutions (4.65%), are the items that had more positive mentions in the second phase.

Note that in these two periods - as is the case with the following - the item that definitely has the largest number of positive mentions and tops the agenda of items: the political, institutional and social activities, followed by History. In the cases discussed below it occurs similarly, corresponding to the thematic priorities of the political agenda of items.

In this regard, during the third period, the items political, institutional and social activities (37.70%), Government (21.31%), History (18.03%), Science and Technology (8.20%), Politics (6.56%) and Social Issues (3.28%) led the positive mentions.

Finally, in the fourth phase, only the items History (52.94%), political, institutional and social activities (17.65%), Communications (17.65%), Housing, Construction and heritage (5.88%) and Civil Defense (5.88%) were mentioned positively.

The poor presence of positive mentions on the political agenda can be explained when we look at the amount of neutral mentions on this agenda during the phases, which far exceed the former; indicating that the political agenda is maintained in most of the cases on a neutral level.

Another element to be denoted in this regard is that the political agenda is mainly composed of indications of coverage, about which no criteria are issued, despite the fact that in some cases the need and importance of being addressed by the media is reiterated - as it was found by the participants to the meetings of the Communist Party of Cuba with the media.

Returning to neutral mentions, it can be said that, in the first phase, the items more highlighted in this regard were the political, institutional and social activities (37.88%), History (13.64%), Industry (9.09 %), and Agriculture and Communal Hygiene, both with 7.58% of the references for this dimension at time 1.

In the second period, the items with more neutral mentions were the political, institutional and social activities (35.09%), History (19.30%), Industry (14.04%), and Communal Hygiene and the Environment, both with 8.77% of the mentions. Note the similarity in priority topics according to these mentions and how the first two match those who top the agenda of items. This happens also in the next two periods.

During the third phase, the neutral emotional dimension remained high for the item political, institutional and social activities (37.65%), which has a much higher

percentage than the item ranking second: Housing, construction and heritage (12.94 %) and community hygiene, which ranks third with 7.06% of the mentions. In the fourth position are History, Industry and social issues, with 5.88% of mentions respectively.

Finally, during the last period, the items political, institutional and social activities (49.72%), History (13.81%), Government (6.08%) and Industry (3.87%) had the largest number of neutral mentions, with a great similarity between them and the priority issues prioritized on the political agenda in the phases that were analyzed.

Moreover, it should be noted that there were no negative mentions of the political agenda in any of the four periods under study. We believe this is the main factor to explain the result, because the reality is much richer, and the concern of political authorities due to problems ravaging reality in Santiago de Cuba could actually be verified through participant observation in meetings of the Communist Party of Cuba with the media. The problem is that, when guiding the coverage, no emphasis is put on whether the fact is good or bad because officials simply issue the guidelines and let journalists decide what approach to adopt.

Summing up, we can say that the items on the political agenda are stable over time, and that the thematic priorities on this agenda range from activities such as marches, events, meetings, etc., and other topics like History, Housing and Hygiene, as can be seen in the figure below:

Translating the Y axis of Figure 2 and also corresponding to figure 3 is described:

Spanish

Objetos actividades políticas, sociales e institucionales

Acueducto

Agricultura

Ciencia y tecnología

Comercio interior

Comunicaciones

Defensa civil

Economía

Educación

Energía

Gastronomía

Gobierno

Higiene comunal

Historia

Hotelería y recreación

Industria

Justicia

Medio ambiente

Organizaciones políticas y de masas

Política

Problemas sociales

Salud publica

Servicios e instituciones estatales

Trabajo y seguridad social

Transporte

Vivienda, construcción y patrimonio

English

Objects political, social and institutional activities

aqueduct

agriculture

Science and Technology

domestic trade

communications

Civil defense

economy

education

power

Gastronomy

government

community hygiene

History

Hotel and leisure

industry

justice

Environment
 Political and mass organizations
 Policy
 Social problems
 Public health

Services and state institutions
 Labour and social security
 transport
 Housing, construction and heritage

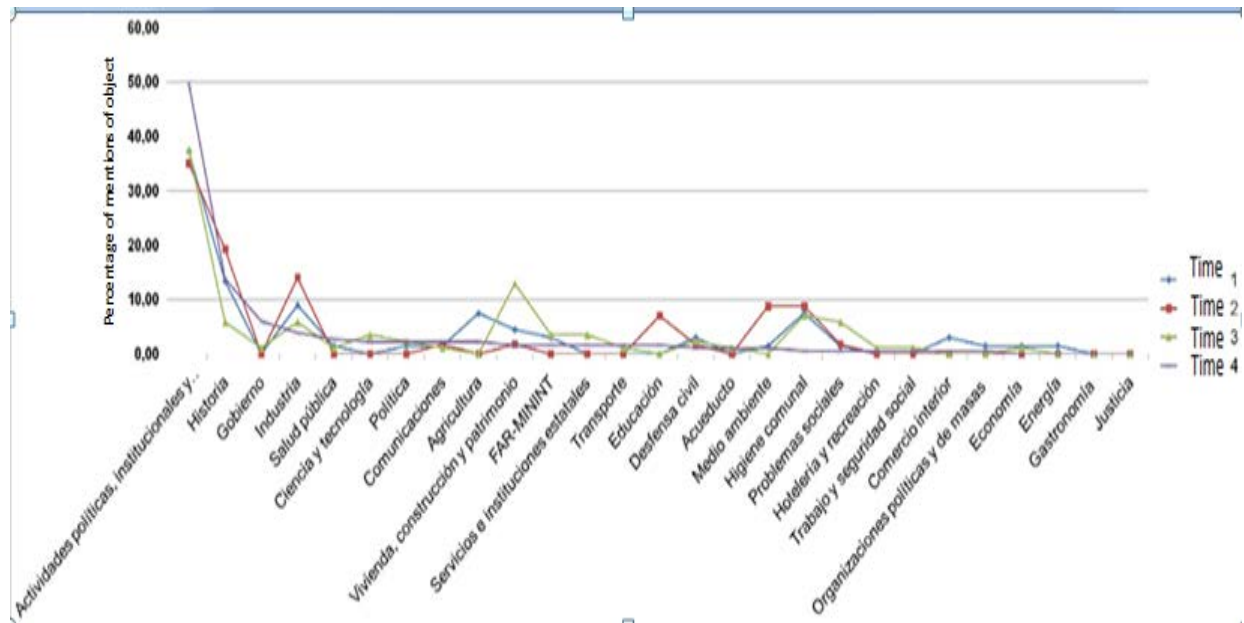


Figure 2 Permanence of items (percentage) on the political agenda during the phases of study. (Source: Author)

Percentage of mentions of object

4.3 Media agenda of CMKC radio station and correlation with the political agenda

The media agenda of the radio station in the first period under study had 26 out of 27 total items evaluated in the piece of research. This can be seen in the table shown below:

Object	Time 1	00	Time 2	00	Time 3	00	Time 4	00
Objects political, social and institutional activities	37	44,05 %	34	34,00%	35	37,67%	93	46,97%
aqueduct	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	2	1,37%	2	1,01%
agriculture	3	5,95%	1	1,00%	0	0,00%	4	2,02%
Science and Technology	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	8	5,48%	4	2,02%
domestic trade	2	2,38%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	1	0,51%
communications	2	2,38%	1	1,00%	2	1,37%	7	3,54%
Civil defense	1	1,19%	1	1,00%	2	1,37%	3	1,52%
economy	1	1,19%	0	0,00%	1	0,68%	0	0,00%
education	0	0,00%	11	11,00%	0	0,00%	3	1,52%
power	1	1,19%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%
Gastronomy	2	2,38%	3	3,00%	3	2,05%	3	1,52%
government	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%
community hygiene	0	0,00%	1	1,00%	14	9,59%	11	5,56%
History	3	5,95%	3	3,00%	6	4,11%	1	0,51%
Hotel and leisure	9	10,71%	23	23,00%	16	10,96%	34	3,54%
industry	0	0,00%	1	1,00%	1	0,68%	1	0,51%
justice	6	7,14%	8	8,00%	3	3,42%	7	3,54%
Environment	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%
Political and mass organizations	1	1,19%	3	3,00%	0	0,00%	2	1,01%
Policy	1	1,19%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	1	0,51%
Social problems	4	4,76%	1	1,00%	6	4,11%	4	2,02%
Public health	1	1,19%	1	1,00%	7	4,79%	1	0,51%
Services and state institutions	1	1,19%	0	0,00%	1	0,68%	3	1,53%
Labour and social security	1	1,19%	2	2,00%	3	2,05%	3	1,52%
Labour and social security	1	1,19%	0	0,00%	1	0,68%	1	0,51%
transport	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	1	0,68%	3	1,52%
Housing, construction and heritage	3	3,57%	2	2,00%	12	8,22%	4	2,02%
Total	84	100,00%	100	100,00%	146	100,00%	198	100,00%

Table 2 Agenda of items of CMKC Radio Revolution radio station during the four phases of the study

Our of them, the political, institutional and social activities (15.73%), health care (9.98%), history (9.74%), Communications (6.57 %), agriculture (6.46%), services and state institutions (6.22%) and social issues (5.16%) appear as items with a high degree of presence. This agenda had a moderate correlation (0.423) with the political agenda, with 19 correlatable elements, something that is significant if we look at the second agenda that has 19 items. This means that all items of the political agenda were present in the media agenda, though not in the same order of appearance.

In the second period, the agenda of CMKC had 27 items in total, of which history (10.61%), public health (9.36%), the political, institutional and social activities (8.49%), agriculture (6.37%), education (6.12%), services and state institutions (5.62%) and social issues (5.37%) ranked first. As for the correlation with the political agenda, this agenda showed a moderate result (0.549) with 16 correlatable elements. In this case, it is the same as in the previous period: all items on the political agenda are present on the media agenda, but not in the same order of priority.

During the third phase of the study, agenda of the radio station remained with 27 items, among which the political, institutional and social activities (12.21%), public health (11.43%), Agriculture (10.64%), history (9.18%) and state services and institutions (6.74%) stand out. Note that the thematic priorities continue to remain stable over time. In this stage, the correlation with the political agenda remained being Moderate (0.427) with 19 correlatable items – the same number as the political agenda.

Finally, in the fourth stage, the agenda of CMKC had 26 items, of which the political, institutional and social activities (20.60%), public health (12.99%), history (8.96%), industry (6.42%), the political and mass organizations (5.67%) and Communications (5.52%) ranked first.

The correlation of this agenda with the political agenda was Moderate (0.56), with 23 correlatable items – the total of the political agenda. This result is similar to that obtained by the authors Muñiz and Fonseca (2015: 327), which shows a Moderate relation (0.56) between the two agendas, obtained in a cross-sectional study in 2013. On the other hand, if we look at the following figure, we can see how the themes remain constant over time in terms of the range that is given on the agenda – which does not exclude the possibility that this may undergo variations.

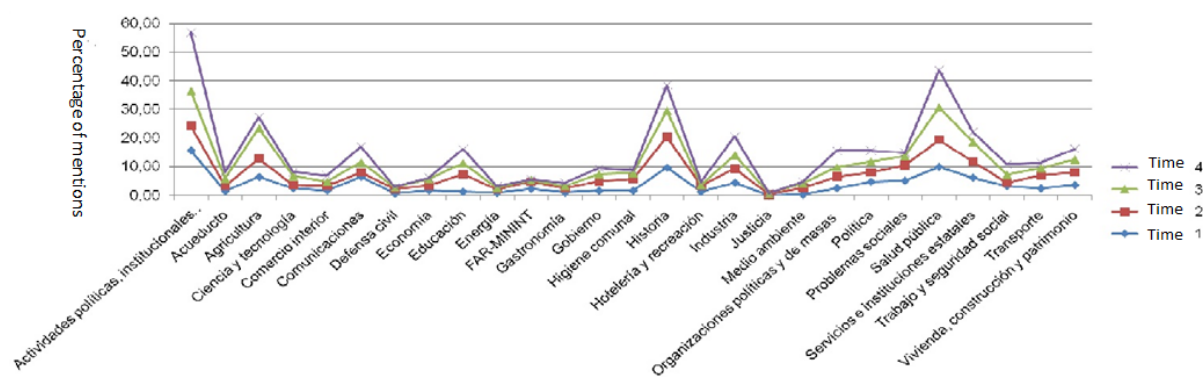


Figure 3 Permanence of items (percentage) on the agenda of CMKC radio station during the phases of study. (Source: Author)

As for the substantive dimension of the attributes, it can be said that, out of 149 elements on the agenda of CMCK, there were only 98 in the first phase. In this sense, the attributes with more mentions were Meetings (9.62%), anniversaries of events and commemorations and celebrations and press work (5.28% each), medical care to the population (4.23 %), Tributes (3.87%), disease prevention (3.29%), the events, the sugarcane harvest and state services to the population, with 3.17%, respectively, and Agricultural Food Production (3.05%). These attributes, which are largely consistent with the items topping the agenda of the radio station in this stage, had a Low correlation (0.379) with the political agenda, with only 25 correlatable elements.

In that sense, it is important to denote that if, out of 28 possible items on the political agenda, there are 23 items listed on the media agenda of the radio station, then most of the attributes of the former are in the latter. Therefore, although the value of the correlation is not high, the qualitative analysis leads to the conclusion that there is a thematic transfer – as in the three cases that we will see below-.

During the second period, the media agenda of the radio station had 109 substantive attributes, among which Events (6.12%), anniversaries of events and

commemorations (5.74%) Tributes (4, 62%), the operation of organizations and tasks (3.87%), medical care to the population (3.50%), state institutions and the fight against the mosquito (2.87% each) stood out for the number of mentions. Notice how, despite having an agenda of constant items over time, the agenda of substantive attributes is much more dynamic if we evaluate the variation of the topics on top. Furthermore, the correlation of this agenda with the political agenda was Moderate (0.404) with 26 correlatable items that correspond to those on the latter agenda.

In the third phase of the study, the agenda of CMKC had 105 attributes in the substantive dimension, of which Events (7.32%), anniversaries of events and commemorations (6.93%), health care to the population (4.59%), coffee and tobacco harvest (3.91%), disease prevention (3.61%), state institutions and state services for the population (3.32%) ranked first. In this case, the correlation with the political agenda was Low (0.323), with 35 correlatable elements. This is significant if we consider that the latter has only 38 substantive attributes on the agenda.

Finally, in the fourth stage of research, the agenda of the radio station had only 88 attributes, of which Meetings (11.04%), events (7.61%), anniversaries of events and commemorations (7.31%), medical care to the population (5.82%), operation of organizations and tasks (5.37%), Celebrations and press work (4.18%) and sugarcane harvest (3.43%) ranked first. The correlation with the political agenda was Low (0.314) with 32 correlatable items out of the 45 items on this agenda.

It can be summarized from this analysis that the presence of the attributes in the substantive dimension is less constant over time than the items, but it is present. Moreover, though the values of the correlations are low, the number of correlatable items shows that, in fact, all or almost all the attributes on the political agenda are also included on the media agenda, though not in the same order of priority.

As for the emotional dimension of the attributes, it can be said that, in the first stage, the agenda of CMKC had 25 items with positive mentions, from which the political, institutional and social activities (15.86%), history (13.06%), public health (9.33%), state institutions and services (7.84%), agriculture (7.28%), Communications (6.34%), Politics (5.60%) and industry (5.22%) stand out.

The correlation of this political agenda in this dimension was Moderate (0.447) with 5 correlatable elements – the existing ones on the second agenda –, which indicates that the positive mentions of items on both agendas match.

In the second period, there were 26 items with positive mentions. Out of them, history (13.90%), political, institutional and social activities (9.27%), public health (8.11%), industry (7.14%), state institutions and services and Education (6.76% each), and Agriculture (6.37%) ranked first. Note that in the first case, in this and in others discussed below, the items with more positive mentions coincide with those prioritized by the agenda of the radio station. The correlation with the political agenda was High (0.693) with 10 correlatable elements – just the same number as those elements included on this agenda–.

Moreover, in the third period, there were 26 items with positive mentions, and out of them, history, political, institutional and social activities and Agriculture (12.19% each), Public Health (9.87%), state institutions and services (6.39%), industry (6.24%) and Housing, construction and heritage (5.22%) ranked first. The correlation with the political agenda was Low (0.370), although 9 correlatable items corresponded to the number of mentions of this kind on the political agenda.

During the fourth period, only 22 items had positive mentions on the media agenda, with public health (12.42%), political, institutional and social activities (11.74%),

History (11.51%), industry (9.03%), Communications (7.90%), political and mass organizations (7.67%) and education (7.45%) standing out. In this case, the correlation was High (0.632), with 4 correlatable elements out of 5 elements on the political agenda.

Likewise, the items that had neutral mentions on the media agenda during the first period of the study were the political, institutional and social activities (15.68%), social issues (12.89%), public health (11, 50%), Communications (7.67%), Labor and Social Security (6.27%) and Agriculture (5.23%). Note the tendency to address issues such as public health and social issues from a neutral perspective. In this case, the correlation with the political agenda was Low (0.378) with 17 correlatable elements – the same elements that are on this agenda in the neutral mentions of items. This means that although the value has been low, all items on the political agenda with neutral mentions are on the media agenda, although perhaps in a different order of priority.

In the second period, the items with more neutral mentions were social issues (12.08%), public health (11.70%), Communal Hygiene (11.70%), transport (7.92%), political, institutional and social activities (7.55%), and agriculture (6.79%). The correlation in this case was Very Low (0.189), although the 10 items with these mentions on the political agenda were included on the media agenda, where there were 27 items.

During the third phase, the neutrally prioritized items were Public Health (15.18%), political, institutional and social activities (13.53%), agriculture (8.25%), state institutions and services (7.59%) and social issues (6.60%). The correlation with the political agenda was Very Low (0.135), although 17 out of the 19 items on the political agenda were also neutrally mentioned on the media agenda, where there were 24 items with mentions of this type.

Finally, in the fourth period, there were 21 items with neutral mentions, from which the political, institutional and social activities (39.62%), public health (14.62%), Labor and Social Security (9, 43%), the Aqueduct (6.13%), transport (4.72%) and history (4.25%) stand out. Note the slight thematic variation, although this agenda does not escape the neutral treatment of socially demanded issues, as we shall see later. The correlation with the political agenda was Low (0.209), although, out of 23 possible items on this agenda, 20 were correlatable with the media agenda, where the value is even closer.

As for the negative dimension, we can say that – despite not being able to establish a correlation with the political agenda because it lacks said mentions – on the media agenda of CMKC there were items with negative treatment. In this case, the percentage of negative treatment of these issues was low. Of course, the positive and neutral views on the agenda of this medium continue to predominate, as in the previous case. However, it is encouraging that this means addresses societal issues that are on the public agenda in a critical way – although the figure with respect to the other emotional dimensions is not significant.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, we can say that the hypothesis presented at the beginning of the study applies, ie the media agenda of CMKC radio station and the political agenda in

Santiago de Cuba have a significant correlation, a feature that remains constant over the time of study. The thematic priorities on the political agenda are related to activities such as marches, events, meetings, etc., and other topics such as History, Housing and Health. These agendas had a Moderate correlation in the four periods that were analyzed, which is similar to the results obtained by the authors Muñiz and Fonseca (2015).

Moreover, the transfer of attributes in the substantive and emotional dimension was evaluated, and it was found out in the first case that the correlations are Moderate to Low, though with high values in the correlative elements. In the case of positive mentions, it was found out that the relation is high in various periods of time, indicating the transfer of these assessments from the political agenda to the media agenda. The opposite happened to neutral mentions, where, despite there were low scores, we could see that most of the items with these mentions were present in both agendas, although in different ranges.

Through data analysis we can say that the political agenda not only transfers the items in this case but also the specific issues and assessments, and this transfer remains constant during the period under study.

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