

QUA-

23-24

Issue 23-24
September - April 2006

DERNS

DEL



Consell
de l'Audiovisual
de Catalunya

CAC

www.audiovisualcat.cat

Television and immigration

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Legal diposit book: B-17.999/98

ISSN: 1138-9761

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■ Agenda

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Presentation

This is not the first time *Quaderns del CAC* has addressed the television coverage of immigration-linked realities. Issues 12 (“Media and Immigration”) and 14 (“Globalisation, the Audiovisual Industry and Cultural Diversity”) in particular looked at a number of fundamental aspects about the issue. In general, the traditional concern for ordinarily precipitated news coverage that is either not very contextualised or completely non-contextualised, not respectful or informed, discriminatory and which promotes stereotypes based on strictly official or police sources, has resulted in responses to and a number of advances in journalistic practices, but we are still far from a satisfactory treatment. The focus of interest of research work may have moved towards a more overall view of the diverse forms of representing diversity in the electronic media but attention to news practices with regards important events cannot be forgotten.

This double issue aims to take an approach to the issue that combines both perspectives, i.e., information per se and representation, on the basis of two pieces of group research of very different characteristics. A first block of articles in this issue refers to the way television stations covered the attempts to scale the border fences, particularly in the city of Melilla, in October 2005. Four expert research teams linked to the Table for Diversity in the Audiovisual Industry, an organisation promoted by the CAC, coordinated studies that are complementary in terms of points of view and methodologies. A second block of articles also comes from a more general research work, of a more specifically academic bent, developed by the UNICA Group at Pompeu Fabra University in 2002 on the agenda and public image that television projects with regards immigration.

The issue begins with an introductory reflection by the director of *Quaderns del CAC*, Josep Gifreu, who sums up the state of international research in this field and presents the abovementioned articles. It continues with a further two articles – one by Laura Rodas on the way immigration was covered by television news shows throughout 2005, made on the basis of the ordinary reports on pluralism carried out by the CAC. A second article, by Doris Boira, summarises a more exhaustive research work and gathers the most relevant broadcasting experiences with regards cultural diversity and immigration in Europe and Canada. The issue also includes, in the *Observatori* section, articles by Juan Lu s Manfredi (on public service in the digital environment), Mart  Petit (evaluating the results of the Unesco Convention on Cultural Diversity), Merc  D ez (on the expectations raised by the World Summit on the Information Society meeting in Tunis in November), Enric Castell  (on national construction in fictional series on Televisi  de Catalunya), Carles Llorens (the Lancelot Report and the debate about pluralism and media concentration in France) and Josep Maixenchs (on filmmaker training in Catalonia).

Joan Manuel Tresserras
Editor

Television and the construction of a public image of immigration

Josep Gifreu

- *This article aims to be a general introduction to the theme of the present double issue of Quaderns del CAC devoted to the study of television as a narrator and central constructor of the public image of immigration in Spanish and Catalan society. After locating the sociodemographic context of the immigration currents in Spain, the article summarises the status of international research on the role of television in the process of creating a public agenda and defining social problems and, in particular, representing minorities and diversity. Next comes a short presentation of the different areas into which the issue was divided, centred on an analysis of the events in Ceuta and Melilla in October 2005, a study of the presence of immigration on the main television stations during the 2002-2003 season and the opportunities to access television programmes available to the immigration sectors.*

Key words

Public image, television, immigration, public agenda, minority, diversity

Josep Gifreu

Director of the UNICA/UPF Group and Professor of Communication Theory at Pompeu Fabra University

1. Television Searchlights that Illuminate the Obscurity

Television images have the virtue and the responsibility of connecting the viewer's experience with a time and place illuminated by the light of a camera. It was the master Walter Lippmann who taught us that the press (and by extension today, TV) is not a simple mirror of reality. The press, he wrote in 1922 (and television today, he would say), was "like the beam of a searchlight that moves restlessly about, bringing one episode and then another out of darkness into vision". Into the public vision so the public, as Lippmann also said, could have a 'mental image' of the world it lives in.

How do these television searchlights move about in the capturing and presentation of immigration episodes in Spain? Which public image of the problem of immigration have television stations in Spain and Catalonia contributed to and are contributing to forming, probably decisively, in recent years?

On 6 October 2005, the searchlights of the main Spanish and international TV stations used their focuses, frames and reports to illuminate a charge by African immigrants at the Melilla fence, in which six immigrants were shot dead by the Moroccan police.

The impact of these images from Ceuta and Melilla catapulted the problems relating to immigration flows into Europe to the top of the public agenda, particularly immigration from Africa via the Spanish borders. If the events in Ceuta and Melilla led to serious questions about the immigration policies of the States involved, reports and footage of the events by the leading television stations also raised questions that are hard to answer.

It is precisely because of the importance that television has in the construction of a public image about the big issues of the day and because of the complexity of its analysis in particular cases, e.g., the reports of the events in Ceuta and

Melilla, that *Quaderns del CAC* thought it was a good time to dedicate an issue to the theme of immigration, examining in particular the presentation of the aforementioned events and more generally addressing TV's role in the representation of immigration problems. With this decision and this special issue on television and immigration, *Quaderns del CAC* continues to pay particular attention to the issue of immigration, which it already looked at with the publication of issue no. 12 (January-April 2002) dedicated to media and immigration.

2. Migration Currents that Pressure the Border Fences

The growing flow of immigrants from around the world to the Iberian Peninsula is one of the new and big challenges Spain has had to face in recent years. Its position at the border of Europe, with extensive borderline zones with the countries of north and north-west Africa, has made the Spanish coasts, particularly around the Strait of Gibraltar (and the two autonomous cities of Ceuta and Melilla) and the Canary Islands into continual passageways and arrival points for African immigrants. The arrival of African immigrants via boats from the coasts of Africa grew considerably after year 2000. But, as the following table shows, and no doubt because of pressure from the Spanish authorities and the danger of crossing the Atlantic, the number of boats and

immigrants detected fell noticeably after 2004, and current migration currents are concentrated on border crossings into Ceuta and Melilla.

By late 2005, the regularised immigration phenomenon in Spain had acquired very similar dimensions to that of the other big States of Western Europe. According to figures published by the Secretariat of State for Immigration and Emigration, the total number of foreigners with a residence permit or authorisation in Spain at 30 September 2005 was 2,738,932, of which 780,841 were from the European Union. That means there were around two million regularised immigrants. According to the following three graphs provided by the abovementioned Secretariat of State, we can see at least three big trends: the preponderance of Latin America and Africa in the migration flows to Spain; the high proportion of some nationalities (e.g., Moroccans, Ecuadorians, Colombians and Rumanians, although there is a growing diversification) and the favourite destinations of immigrants, focused on four autonomous communities of the State (in order: Catalonia, Madrid, Valencia and Andalusia).

3. Relating Images, Explaining Conflicts, Modulating Voices

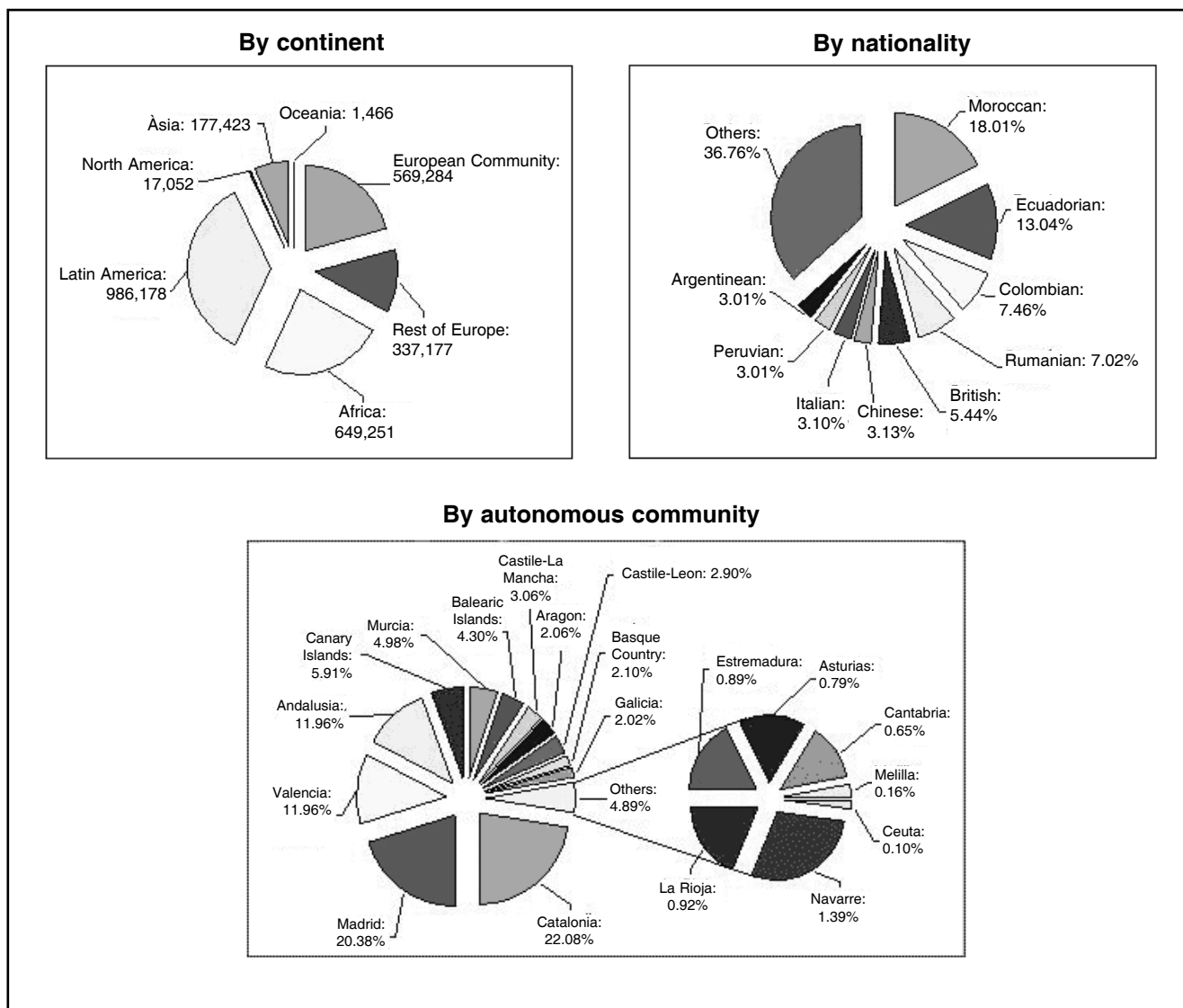
The central question to which this double issue of *Quaderns del CAC* aims to provide answers can be formulated

Table 1. Irregular immigration to Spain in boats 1999-2005

Year	Boats detected	Immigrants detained
1999	475	3,569
2000	807	15,195
2001	1,060	18,517
2002	1,020	16,670
2003	942	19,176
2004	740	15,675
2005	567	11,781

Source: Ministry for Work and Social Affairs

Graph 1. Foreigners with a residence permit or authorisation in force at 31-12-06



Source: Secretariat of State for Immigration and Emigration

as follows: How does television intervene in the definition of immigration as a public interest problem? And more specifically: How do programming policies and news routines at the main television stations in Spain impact the creation of the public image of immigration and its media visibility?

We started from the hypothesis that news reports on TV – and in particular on the leading stations at a particular time and place – together with the subsequent rewriting of news, fiction and entertainment, make up the nucleus of the discursive strategies with which television institutions are

positioned as social narrators and actors in this matter. Television stations tend to classify events and situations and to act this way as fundamental mediators when it comes to including particular events and assessments on and excluding them from the specific agenda of social problems that can be taken into consideration by public opinion and the political system. But the different stations, for reasons of their ideology or position on the television market, can hold different and even opposing positions in their respective proposals for defining a public problem of the

representation of the diverse conflicts surrounding immigration.

As a hegemonic media in the current mass culture and as confirmed in the empirical research, television exercises a decisive influence not just on the public perception of immigration problems but also on the processes of competition between the different social actors to define this problem and the public policies to apply. Television's influence on the public perception of particular problems has long warranted specific dedication in international research. There was, for example, the fundamental objective of certain schools, such as George Gerbner and collaborators' 'cultivation theory': one of the focuses of attention of this school was in fact the representation of minorities and the formation of stereotypes on American TV through various genres and formats¹.

The relative novelty of immigration flows to Spain requires specific attention to assess the state of the dominant representations and be able to act on the basis of this knowledge. The media in general and television in particular are not by any means the only actors in the process of competing for the definition of immigration problems, but they are central to these processes. I have referred to the attention previously given by *Quaderns del CAC* in issue no. 12 (2002) to the treatment given by the media and institutions of Catalonia to the new problem of immigration. The contributions of that issue, together with pioneering conclusions and recommendations from the Parliament of Catalonia, the Catalonia Broadcasting Council and the Catalonia College of Journalists, as well as the research work and reflections of the collaborators listed in the bibliography to this work, constitute a reference block in the empirical and regulatory analysis of the always-complex relationship between the media and immigration². Attention to the specific problem of the media's intervention in the representation of the facts of immigration has been the focus of various research works in Catalonia in recent years³, in an evident effort to connect with the interdisciplinary research done on this issue in different countries across Europe⁴.

The intervention of the mass media and particularly television in the establishment of public agendas and in the prioritisation and framing of major issues in the face of public opinion and other socio-political actors is unquestionable.

In the particular framework of policy-making processes, television stations usually steer a competitive course between political actors in order to propose models for defining social problems and also to suggest political action strategies in all spheres (parties, governments, trade unions, public opinion, social movements, etc.).

Research inspired by theoretical and methodological premises of the 'agenda-setting' school provide study and analysis perspectives about the role of the media and news genres in the establishment and ownership of the big issues on the public agenda. In that regard, there is a certain consensus about the crucial role the media reserves in the news and the news discourse of current affairs for the incorporation of events/news in the reference frameworks of the issue in public debates at a given time and place. On the other hand, neither the discourse about television fiction genres itself nor that relating to the genres of spectacle and television entertainment, usually closely linked to values of newsworthiness, are usually approached by empirical studies. This shortage is a challenge for researchers to face, because while television continues to incorporate and exploit the current affairs background as raw material for fiction and spectacles, this set of genres and programmes becomes more interesting from the viewpoint of the social construction of an image of immigration. Consequently, included along with ideas more closely related to agenda setting, we have added studies of a narratological nature and textual analysis in order to approach the consideration of the non-news television genres.

4. Select, Prioritise, Frame Stages and Characters

As has been suggested, the multidisciplinary approach to the construction of a public image of immigration in Spain on the basis of the central role of television, which we are offering in this issue of *Quaderns*, is framed within a set of theoretical and methodological premises that I can only note here in brief.

Indeed, we are at the crossroads of diverse lines of theoretical research about the role of the media and its impact on the definition of public problems. On the one hand, there is a line that starts from the sociology of knowledge to propose the consideration of the media as a

central discursive instrument in the social construction of reality. This line of research, i.e., the study of news shows and the role of journalists and news companies in the processes of the selection (gate keeping), classification (news-worthiness) and definition (framing) of the contingent social reality has a solid tradition of reference results (e.g., Altheide 1976, Tuchman 1978, Gans 1979, Gitlin 1980, Graber 1980, Bennet 1983, etc.)⁵. There is also a realm of studies that approach television fiction and entertainment as a source of public knowledge of the social reality, which includes works that can be framed in the tradition of British cultural studies (largely promoted by the Birmingham School and institutions such as the British Film Institute) and the Italian school around the RAI, with its VQPT⁶ service, as well as reports commissioned by the European Audiovisual Observatory and its support for the Eurofiction group, with the encouragement of the group and the well-known author Milly Buonanno⁷.

On the other hand, the orientation proceeding from political theory, and more specifically political communication, emphasises the media as a fundamental intermediary in the construction of public problems. In other words, the media constructs reference images about social conflicts and competes with other political actors in policy-making processes. These lines of research coincide as they attempt to define how social problems become public problems and which actors are more likely to impose a definition of the situation and guide alternative solutions to conflicts (e.g., Edelman 1971 and 1988, Gusfield 1981, Kingdon 1984, Paletz 1987, Best 1988, Ericson-Baranek-Chan 1989, etc.)⁸.

It is therefore taken for granted that the agenda defined by the media and the definition of a particular field of tensions and disputes as a public problem are intimately linked. That is what the research worked located in the tradition of agenda-setting tries to study empirically, especially following the innovative contributions of authors like Iyengar and Kinder, and the founder himself, McCombs⁹.

However, the object of attention we are focusing on here requires turning to other research traditions about the media discourse and in particular the television discourse. I am referring particularly to the complementation of the analysis on the basis of lines of interest such as narratology and discourse analysis. Narrative and discursive analyses stem from more superficial message levels to bring out the pro-

found structures of the content, which will end up becoming the outlines of the representation transmitted by the media.

Narrative and discursive analysis methods are applied to the diverse television languages and registers: static images and kinetic images, written text and audio text. At the same time, they study the issue of the narration, characters and action. Two traditions are of interest in this type of television analysis: the one which is framed in narrative semiotics and that concentrates on narrative structures and categories like narrative programmes, activators and actors, powers, space and time, etc., and the one which stems from the theory of the text and focuses on analysing a discourse on the basis of theoretical categories like semantic macrostructures, microstructures, superstructures, stereotypical comments, situation models, etc. The leading authors in these methods are respectively A. J. Greimas and T.V. Dijk¹⁰.

Finally, it is important to bear in mind the complementary processes of ethnographic research for delimiting the contexts of content production and content reception. There is no doubt that knowledge about the modalities and routines of constructing television stories and discourses relating to immigration (news, fiction or entertainment) contributes elements of great interest to the framing of the problem and the assessment of content. On the other hand, the ethnographic study of reception in particular publics of news and images about immigration, transmitted by television stations, would make it possible to know the nature and impact of the type of knowledge and of the attitudes felt by the media in relation to the new immigration flows. In the present issue of the *Quaderns*, these lines of work have been included only in terms of the two modalities of reception. As we will see further on, most of the studies focus on the perspective of content analysis and in particular on the consideration of television in two ways: as an autonomous narrator of social conflict and at the same time as an actor interested in a particular definition of immigration as a public problem.

5. Looking at the Events in Ceuta and Melilla from a Distance

Four articles in this issue tackle the television treatment of the events in Ceuta and Melilla from different angles. We

understand “events in Ceuta and Melilla” to mean the different episodes that took place during approximately a week around the fences of the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla on Moroccan soil, in relation to the different attempts by African immigrants to clandestinely cross the Spanish border. In particular, there were two events that marked the start and end of the week: on Thursday 6 October 2005, six African immigrants were shot trying to scale the fence at Melilla, and on Wednesday 12 October the EU Luxembourg summit admitted there were around 30,000 African immigrants between Morocco and Algeria trying to enter Europe via the Spanish borders at Ceuta and Melilla.

How did the main Spanish TV stations report the “events in Ceuta and Melilla”? Immediately afterwards, the CAC, via the Round Table on Diversity, commissioned different groups of researchers in Catalonia to take an interdisciplinary approach to a study of the television information about the events. The first four articles in this issue are the result of that commission. The first two focus on analysing the content of the TV news shows in the sample supplied by the CAC, and the last two are reception studies with regards the information about the events.

The systematic description of the journalistic formats specific to television, via a textual and visual analysis and through the organisation and duration of the different sequences and appearances on the TV news, made it possible to compare the television intervention in general with that of each particular station with regards the dominant image of these events. This reconstruction work is the subject of the article by the MIGRACOM group from the UAB, made up of Bertran, Gutiérrez, Huertas, Lorite, Losa and Mateu; their work is entitled “The Audiovisual Treatment of the Events at the Ceuta and Melilla Fence: From a Sensationalist to a Humanitarian Vision”. The study takes into consideration the nightly news shows of the four highest-rating stations in Catalonia (TV3, TVE-1, Tele-5 and Antena 3 TV). The research work highlights a number of interesting facts, such as the large degree of homogeneity of the images among the different stations, the tendency towards dramatisation and sensationalism and the preponderance of official news sources, both Moroccan and Spanish.

The approach to the image of immigration from an analysis

of the discourse of the TV news shows is dealt with in the article entitled “Delimited Solidarity: Study of the Television Coverage of the Events at the Melilla Fence in October 2005”, by the group composed of Giró, Jarque, López, Carrera, Castel and García from the Observatory for the News Coverage of Conflicts (OCC) at the UAB and the Centre for African Studies (CEA). The article holds that the television coverage of the events was at first alarmist and the immigrants waiting to enter Ceuta and Melilla were shown as a threat to Spain and Europe. However, later on, they were shown as victims of a breach of their rights by the Moroccan authorities. In terms of Spanish and European responsibility about the events, “it was either played down or ignored”.

The reception of the TV images and information about the events in Ceuta and Melilla are the object of attention from two different perspectives: the reception by a broad sample of African cultural communities resident in Catalonia and the way adolescents recalled the events, via a sample of students from five Barcelona schools.

The article about reception by the African immigration groups in Catalonia is entitled “Intersubjective and Intercultural Reading of the News Treatment of the Events in Ceuta and Melilla” and was carried out by the group made up of Botton, López, Male, C. Pulido, M.A. Pulido, Thiak and Tortajada from the CREA (Special Centre of Research in Theories and Practices to Overcome Inequalities) inter-university group. The work is framed in and vindicates an ambitious table of reception methodology. From theoretical and methodological premises about participative research, the article reveals the preliminary results of discussion groups involving seven immigrant communities resident in Catalonia¹¹. Among the multiple conclusions of the study, in order to show the ‘preferred reading’ sensed by the stations, I would like to mention one here: that all the stations concentrated the news-worthiness of the events in the ‘conflict’ category, although some (TVE, Tele-5 and Antena 3 TV) put it in the ‘political’ conflict category, while others (TV3 and La 2) understood it as a ‘social’ conflict and only TV3 contributed elements to explain the causes of the conflict.

The reception of the events and how they were recalled two or three months down the line by adolescents is the study objective taken up by Prats and Higuera from the

UB's Moral Education Research Group in the article entitled "Critical But Dependent: How Young People Interpret Television News (The Impact of the Events in Ceuta and Melilla)". The authors draw a number of disturbing conclusions from the realisation of audiovisual workshops, questionnaires and observations made with students aged 14 to 17 from five schools in Barcelona¹². For example, they ask to what point the media contributes to the construction of images commonplace amongst the young with regards immigration, and whether it reinforces a partial and fragmented view of the immigration phenomenon.

6. Accessing Television Programmes with Difficulty

Beyond the events in Ceuta and Melilla, the key question in the equation between television and immigration is if and how the new migration flows to Spain and Europe, and the progressive settling of immigrant communities in Spain, have achieved a public visibility on the television stations, principally in the highest-rating ones. In other words, the interest of the research work, the open debate and public reflection in this field, is focused on how and to what extent the public and private stations' programming policies have incorporated the issues and the representation of immigration in their programming schedules.

A block of three articles in this issue of *Quaderns* presents some of the results of a research project funded as part of the General Knowledge Plan with the collaboration of the CAC on "Television and the Construction of a Public Image of Immigration in Spain"¹³. The basic research and the three articles have in common the analysis object of the 2002-2003 television season and a sample made up of the three highest-rating Spanish general-interest stations (TVE-1, Tele-5 and Antena 3 TV) and the Catalan station TV3. The research work, developed by the UNICA (Audiovisual Communication Research Unit) group at the UPF, looked at the visibility and types of presence of immigration on news shows, fictional series and programming policies.

The first article in this block, "Television News and Access to the Public Agenda of Immigration Issues", carried out by the UNICA group made up of Gifreu, Corbella, Àubia and Suárez, studies how the main Spanish TV stations intervene in the processes of the selection and narration of immi-

gration-related conflicts through their news shows. It also attempts to prepare a specific methodology for monitoring and analysing television information on the problems of immigration. The results make it possible to detect, at least for the period examined, important deficiencies in the television coverage of immigration, as well as noticeable differences in the activity of each station as a selector and narrator of conflicts relating to the new migration flows to Spain.

The treatment of immigration in fiction series is a reality that has not been empirically studied very much. That is the aim of the article by the UNICA team made up of Ruiz, Ferrés, Obradors, Pujadas and Pérez, entitled "The Public Image of Immigration in Television Series". Applying an innovative and specific methodology in a sample period, in the framework of narrative semiotics, the group analysed how Spanish and Catalan television fiction affects the processes of creation of the collective social imagination and prototypes that influence the way of perceiving, thinking about and experiencing the social reality of immigrants and immigration. 41 plots from Spanish series were examined and 29 immigrant characters found from a total of 86 narrative roles exercised by immigrants. The work makes it possible to establish similarities and differences between the prototypical structures with relation to immigrants detected on the Spanish and Catalan stations.

Finally, the UNICA research also tackles the consideration of television stations as actors that intervene in the big decisions of whether or not to include immigration-related issues on programming schedules and formats. The team composed of Gómez, Capdevila and Pintor made this analysis and summed it up in the article entitled "Programming Strategies and Possible Places for the Construction of the Public Image of Immigration: The 2002/2003 Season in Catalonia". The analysis compared the four highest-rating stations in Catalonia (TVE-1, Tele-5, Antena 3 TV and TV3) and found important differences between the two public stations, and between them and the private ones: a strategy of silence on TVE-1, a noticeable presence on TV3 and options for fiction on Tele-5 and Antena 3 TV.

This look at the programming policies and schedules of the stations as a framework of opportunities of access by the figures and problems of immigration to the sphere of public

visibility is complemented by a further three articles devoted to television current affairs.

Which programmes could be considered 'exemplary' in the treatment of immigration? Why could they be considered exemplary? Are these types of shows common on the stations that broadcast in Catalonia? These are the questions the article by Ingrid Guardiola, entitled "Invitations to Reconciliation: Immigration Through Local and Autonomous Community Informative Programmes" attempts to answer. The author presents a selection of programmes and posits them as samples of innovative spaces not just in terms of format but in the way the content is articulated, even if the shows do not fit well in general-interest station programming schedules, where they are conspicuous by their absence.

Following the now-consolidated tradition of CAC studies on the treatment of immigration in the media, we also include a study by Laura Rodas entitled "The Treatment of Immigration in 2005 News Shows" which was prepared on the basis of figures collected by the CAC's Technical Services Department of referring to social and political pluralism. On this occasion, the author extracted all the news stories related to immigration to devote a specific analysis to the issue. The figures that appear in this article come from a sample which includes the Catalan lunchtime and evening news bulletins of TV3, K3/33, TVE in Catalunya, and the news shows of the local stations BTV, Citytv and Localia between 1 January and 31 December 2005. The descriptive conclusions, of great empirical interest, respond to questions about the amount of time dedicated, the people the stories discussed and the people given speaking time.

Finally, but no less importantly, the issue ends with an ambitious article on the international contextualisation of institutional and professional experiences in the field of broadcasting diversity. Doris Boira, from the previously mentioned Round Table on Diversity, explains it in the article "Approximation on Broadcasting Experiences of Cultural Diversity and Immigration in Europe and Canada", which focuses only on public stations and does not include private or community ones. Using diverse criteria, she selected the following European countries as well as Canada: Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. A review of the history of the

relationship between immigration and the broadcasting situations in diverse national contexts allows readers to discover a rich range of experiences relating to the treatment of cultural diversity. Each country has a history of migration and each station has developed a certain type of programming on the basis of its political and broadcasting framework. A comparison of the present situation with the historic trajectory in the countries examined makes it possible to find similar and different aspects of great interest in broadcasting policies, programming and the multicultural media.

Notes

- 1 It is a good idea to here recall a selection of references relating to the 'cultivation hypothesis' school, focused on the television representation of minorities: D. Atkin, "An Analysis of Television Series with Minority-lead Characters", *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 9, 1992; G. Gerbner & N. Signorelli, *Women and Minorities in Television Drama 1969-1978*, Philadelphia, Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, 1979; B. Greenberg (ed.), *Life on Television: Content Analysis of U.S. TV Drama*, Norwood, Ablex, 1980; D.E. Mastro & B. S. Greenberg, "The Portrayal of Racial Minorities on Prime Time Television", *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 44 (4), 2000; W. Potter & I. Chang, "Television Exposure Measures and the Cultivation Hypothesis", *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 34, 1990.
- 2 See *Quaderns del CAC*, no. 12, January-April 2002. The specific articles corresponded to the three speeches presented at the first congress on "The News Treatment of Immigration" called by the CAC on 27 and 28 November 2001. The speakers were Vicenç Villatoro ("The Media and Immigration: The Responsibility of Reporting, the Responsibility of Coexisting"), José A. Sorolla ("The News Treatment of Immigration in Catalonia") and Xavier Giró ("Comments on the Journalism Style Manual Relating to Ethnic Minorities and New Proposals").
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- 12 The group of student participants were 4th-year ESO (obligatory secondary education) students from Josep Tapiró High (Reus), 1st-year higher-certificate students from Solc School (Barcelona), 1st-year higher-certificate students from Sant Ignasi School (Barcelona); 1st-year ESO students from Ramon de Berenguer High (Santa Coloma de Gramenet) and 1st-year higher-certificate students from Celestí Bellera High (Granollers).
- 13 The project "Television and the Construction of a Public Image of Immigration in Spain" was awarded a PGC-MCYT grant from Spain's Ministry for Science and Technology in the 2001 official announcement (BSO2001-0938) and was led by the UNICA consolidated group from Pompeu Fabra University, under the direction of head researcher Dr. Josep Gifreu.

Audiovisual Coverage of the Events at the Fences in Ceuta and Melilla: From A Sensationalistic to a Humanitarian View

**Eduard Bertran, María Gutiérrez, Amparo Huertas, Nicolás Lorite,
Sara Losa and Manel Mateu¹**

- *The attempt by African citizens to scale the fences at Ceuta and Melilla in October 2005 was covered by the television stations using an audiovisual treatment that blew the events out of proportion and which afforded an image of immigrants that was not normal. All in all, TV3 took the most humanitarian view, TVE-1 stood out for its coverage of political actions, Tele-5 prioritised the political confrontation between the government and the opposition and Antena 3 applied news strategies addressed at sensationalism. Despite these differences, there was a homogeneity of audiovisual information based on common parameters - so much so that we experimented with changing the news summaries, mixing the sound from one station with the footage from another - and found the result was a synchronic and completely valid product within the standard parameters of this television format.*

Key words

Audiovisual coverage, sensationalism, homogeneity, television news

Presentation

In October 2005, journalists confronted a news novelty with regards the issue of immigration: the usual method of employing small fishing boats for citizens from Africa to enter Europe was replaced by attempts to scale the border fences at Ceuta and Melilla. The repetitiveness of the events, together with their delimitation and geographic proximity, was one of the main reasons that led to the great news interest and which involved a significant number of news crews being dispatched to the area. The purpose of this article is to present the main results and conclusions of the analysis of the information produced by the evening news shows of the public and private generalist television stations in Spain about the events in Ceuta and Melilla. In particular, we studied the highest-rating stations TV3, TVE-1, Antena 3 TV and Tele-5.

Given the special circumstances of the story, we wanted to determine factors such as journalistic assessment on the basis of the length of transmission time and location in the rundown and main body of the news, criteria applied with regards journalistic monitoring (currentness, sensationalism, etc.), the formats used in the coverage, the interrelation between sound and image and sources of information and whether they were mentioned or were present in the form of statements.

The sample was selected on the basis of the course of the events and the quota of maximum news attention given by the four stations involved. For these reasons, we chose the news shows for a non-natural week from Thursday through to the following Wednesday, coinciding with two news novelties:

- 1) Thursday, 6 October: Six people died when they try to scaled the fence at Melilla, and

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2) Wednesday, 12 October: The European Union acknowledged at the Luxembourg summit that 30,000 Africans in Morocco and Algeria were ready to migrate to Europe via the fences at Ceuta and Melilla.

The television material needed for the analysis was provided by the Catalonia Broadcasting Council (CAC). The designed methodology was based on thematic and comparative criteria which Migracom has been applying to research works since 1996 and which enables an in-depth analysis of daily audiovisual coverage, the establishment of specific characteristics of each station and a comparative study to determine the quality of the audiovisual and textual content. We also bore in mind the CAC's recommendations on the news coverage of immigration published in 2002 and aimed at the broadcast media, with the intention of confirming the application of good practices in news production.

1. Presence: Time Devoted and Order of Appearance

All the stations included the events in Ceuta and Melilla on their news shows: however, the comparative analysis found divergences with regards the total time each devoted in absolute and relative terms, and also in terms of the evolution of the daily time.

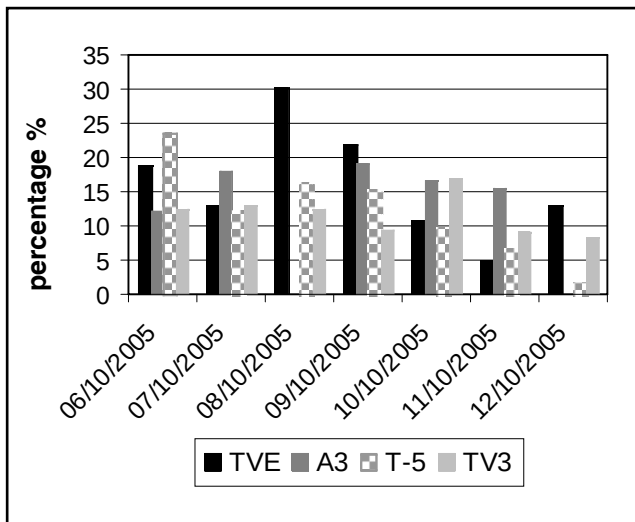
In absolute terms, TVE-1 (49'33") devoted most time to the stories, followed by TV3 (40'51") and Tele-5 (40'36"). In fourth place came Antena 3 TV (31'23"), a station that cut out two news programmes during the analysed week in favour of broadcasting the Spanish football team's progress in the classification round of the World Cup. From this perspective, we can see that it is not possible to establish a direct relationship between station ownership and time devoted to the issue, although TVE-1 stood out from the rest.

If the comparison is done in relative terms, bearing in mind

Table 1. Sample Composition: Evening news shows broadcast by TV3, TVE-1, Antena 3 TV and Tele-5 on the following dates

Thursday 06-10-2005	6 immigrants die at the Melilla fence. The Vice-President announces the immediate expulsion of the sub-Saharan immigrants who managed to enter.
Friday 07-10-2005	Médicos sin Fronteras (MSF) finds more than 500 immigrants abandoned in the desert by the Moroccan authorities.
Saturday 08-10-2005	TV crews find the immigrants in the desert with no food or water. Diplomats from Mali and Senegal come to pick them up to repatriate them.
Sunday 09-10-2005	Morocco transfers the handcuffed immigrants in coaches to an unknown destination.
Monday 10-10-2005	The coaches arrive at the Mauritania border and the first planes leave for Senegal and Mali.
Tuesday 11-10-2005	Spanish Foreign Affairs Minister Miguel Ángel Moratinos meets his Moroccan counterpart in Rabat. Announcement of a Euro-African Summit on Immigration.
Wednesday 12-10-2005	Spain calls on the EU at the Luxembourg Summit to get more politically and economically involved in helping stop immigration from Africa. An EU report claims 30,000 immigrants are waiting in Morocco and Algeria to enter Ceuta and Melilla.

Graph 1. Percentage of time devoted to information on the 'fence'



Source: authors' own work

the lengths of the respective news shows, the first position goes to Antena 3 TV (16.07% of the information broadcast was devoted to the issue), pushing TVE-1 into second place (15.12%), followed by Tele-5 (11.72%) and TV3 (11.56%) with fairly similar percentages.

Despite the similarity between public and private stations found in relation to presence times, when the variables of day, total time devoted and events that occurred were crossed, we see the support the different stations extended to the issue.

The exception was represented by Antena 3 TV, as the cancellation of two nights' news it hard to prepare a definitive line of action on the same terms as the other stations. The most characteristic features we found in the analysis were:

- **TV3:** The proportion of time devoted in its news programmes presents a line with few significant oscillations throughout the week. One important difference with respect to the behaviour of the other stations was the transmission on 10 October, when the station achieved its highest ratings (16.98%), coinciding with the arrival of the coaches that transported immigrants to the Mauritania border and the departure of the first planes for Senegal and Mali. Also, that same day, the regular information was complemented with a story focused on

women who had managed to get into Melilla, produced and made by the special correspondents, and which spoke to the main motives behind immigration.

- **TVE-1:** The station's evolution peaked on 8 October, coinciding with the day when television crews sent to the area found the immigrants abandoned in the desert and the agreements of the Moroccan authorities with the ambassadors from Mali and Senegal to repatriate their citizens. But the most noteworthy thing was the rise in the number of viewers on 12 October, coinciding with a fall in ratings at the other stations. This rise took place on the day when, at the European Union summit in Luxembourg, Spain called on the Union for more involvement in putting an end to immigration from Africa.
- **Tele-5:** This station gradually reduced the time it devoted to the events in Ceuta and Melilla, from 11'12" on 6 October to 57" on 12 October. The slight rise on 8 October was a result of the airing of a brief report on how various immigrants live in Spain. Unlike the two public stations, the issue only featured on the news rundown on five of the seven days – three as the top story, once as the second story and once as the fifth.
- **Antena 3 TV:** The issue was of great interest to the station as on three of the five days it was the lead story and on the other two it was the second and third story of the day. The time devoted ranged from 8'16" on 7 October to 4'48" on 10 October, a length that soared on 11 October (the last day analysed) due to footage broadcast to promote the station's current-affairs programme *A fondo*.

The features of each station suggests that rises in broadcasting time were almost never determined by the events of the day, but were usually the result of whether or not other material was available. The exception for the whole of the week was a unique example that responded to the application of journalistic criteria in TVE-1's evening news of 12 October. The inclusion of the EU summit on the rundown, possibly because of the availability of technical and human resources, increased the total time devoted to the issue of fence scaling in Ceuta and Melilla.

In terms of location on the news rundown and the body of the news shows, it was the lead story in the first two programmes of TV3 and the first three of TVE-1, while Tele-

5 and Antena 3 TV followed other strategies. In the case of Televisió Española, its presence on the rundown did not necessarily mean it was amongst the most important stories. On 8 October, although it was the lead story on the rundown, it was the 11th story on the programme. This appeared to be a strategy to keep up viewer interest, something which could implicitly mean it was classified as an issue of great social interest.

2. Journalistic Formats

The analysis shows a general trend of making use of live broadcasts, videos and off-camera statements. It is important to bear in mind that the production of one format or another is always related with the availability of the station's technical and human resources. For example, to prepare live broadcasts it is necessary to have correspondents and special correspondents on the ground and, in this case, geographic proximity facilitated their transferral, although the two private stations also used live phone crosses of much less audiovisual value. For the realisation of the second, the basic requirement is footage either produced by the station itself, or bought or lent by another source, or coming from audiovisual agencies or archive material. Obviously the presence of production teams in the area must firstly be able to increase the volume of footage produced inhouse and is good for station image. For off-camera reports, the third most used format, fewer images are required because they are of a shorter length than videos. Footage of a length just over the approximate text length is edited and one of the news presenters reads the text live. These texts are in fact brief summaries of an informative element about the events, or play the role of introducing and presenting videos, stories or live broadcasts.

The detailed observation of the week found significant homogeneity in relation to formats used, despite the different technical and human conditioning factors of each station. TVE-1 had a greater number of live broadcasts, always complemented with reports from correspondents from very diverse spots. This is logical to a certain extent given the scope of the public broadcaster's resources. On the other hand, the rest prioritised the video and off-camera

formats from the newsroom over live broadcasts or other journalistic genres. AT TV3, the second position was taken by non-live broadcasts made by the special correspondents, while at Antena 3 TV and Tele-5 live broadcasts came second: Tele-5 had a greater number of locations. With regards telephone broadcasts, the highest presence was at Antena 3 TV, while TV3 stood out quantitatively with regards phone crosses with NGO spokespeople.

This high level of similarity was also found in the production of less usual formats on television news shows, such as the reports that TVE-1, TV3 and Tele-5 chose to produce to complement other stories. The exception was Antena 3 TV, which aired a piece related to the issue in order to promote the station's current affairs programme *A fondo*.

To determine whether the level of similarity between the stations went further than the selection of a particular format, we had to analyse the oral information (the discourse of the presenters and journalists, and statements from people outside the station) and the images. Going into depth in these two areas provided new elements for the reflection and debate about the news treatment of the study object.

2.1. Textual Analysis

The textual analysis also spoke to a great uniformity among the stations and it is therefore difficult to highlight exceptional behaviour.

First of all, the language on the first day of the sample, 6 October, was warlike but then, after 7 October, it was abandoned. What was behind this change? Why was this type of language used on the first day? One possible hypothesis is the influence of the texts and versions of the sources of information used in the news production of the first day. The result was that all the stations classified the behaviour of the immigrants on 6 October negatively, whilst maintaining their own styles. All the expressions, even though they were always attributed to Moroccan sources, featured a negative connotation and put it to the viewers that the police had fired in legitimate defence. The two private stations spoke about immigrant violence, while the two public ones called it aggression. Tele-5 also featured a number of statements from the Home Secretary that reinforced this interpretation and at the same time seemed

to want to vouchsafe that there had been an inappropriate use of weapons and riot material on the part of the Moroccan police but in no case on the part of the Civil Guard or Spanish army. It is important to point out that the statement referred to the events of 29 September in Ceuta, where 5 immigrants died in an attempt to scale the fence, and not the events that led to the death of 6 immigrants in the early hours of 6 October in Melilla. The textual quote was as follows: "It could be said that the Civil Guard, in the incidents I refer to, i.e., of 29 September in Ceuta, made an appropriate use of the resources available to stop a violation of our border area that was direct, flagrant and forcible".

As of 7 October, when the NGOs began to denounce that the Moroccan authorities were taking groups of immigrants to the desert and abandoning them there, the stations' approach varied substantially, even though each maintained its own style. For example, the word 'scale' became 'storm', although they continued to every now and then use inappropriate words such as 'deportees', 'repatriates', 'expelled' and 'deposited'.

The information was always related with the consideration of a problem to resolve. In fact, all the stations explicitly used the word 'problem' (TV3 only twice) and other words that further intensified it: 'drama', 'dramatic', 'tragedy', 'tragic', 'desperate' and 'desperation'. The stations' outlook and perception about the immigrants and immigration was not therefore of a social phenomenon but rather a problem for governments and administrations to solve.

Another aspect that was very similar among the stations was the way immigrants were referred to. There was the generalised use of the word 'sub-Saharan' to refer to all the African citizens who wanted to enter Europe, probably due to the influence of the official sources and news agencies consulted. This generalisation hid the multicultural nature of Africa and standardised citizens from diverse countries with different economic, political and social situations. They term 'sub-Saharan' was used for everyone, when geographically sub-Saharan countries are those that fall in a strict line below the Sahara. It would be more appropriate to talk about 'African citizens' in general or, when the information is available, the particular country. The stations' difficulty in using the words 'people' or 'citizens' instead of 'immigrants' was very symptomatic. We only found a few examples of 'person/people' and two of

'citizens' in reference to the people who were to be returned to Mali and Senegal.

Another element shared by all the stations was the use of incorrect adjectives to classify the immigrants and words that did not meet the recommendations of the College of Journalists, the CAC or other entities and organisations. All the stations continued to use 'illegal' and 'irregular'. The most worrying case was Tele-5, which used the expression 'illegal immigrants' repeatedly. By contrast, TV3 showed the most sensitivity with regards adjectives, although the word 'illegal' was detected once.

Another common issue was the use of terminology that blew the events out of proportion, i.e., that impacted on sensationalism. On some occasions, the stations did so with the aim of denouncing a situation. In particular, there were two words that appeared repeatedly on all the stations:

- *Storm*. Particularly on 6 October, all the stations used this word to describe the Africans' actions in scaling the fence to enter Spain. In Spanish and Catalan alike, the main acceptance for this word is an attack on an enemy position and it also means a surprise and violent attack with the aim of robbing, or invading or taking over. It is therefore a word that connotes a military or warlike image and does not appear to correspond to the intentions of the immigrants, i.e., it does not fit the narrated reality. Tele-5 and Antena 3 TV even talked about 'exodus'. Cases where there was less synchrony between the oral narration and the footage were those where the voice and what was being heard were not the same. This lack of agreement was further accentuated in rundowns used with headlines that led to a different decoding of what the images said. One example was the headlines of 6 October on the four stations with words like 'storm' and 'avalanche'.
- *Avalanche*. Its figurative or similar meaning refers to a large number of people accumulated in a place, but the maximum number of people wanting to scale the fence given by the stations was around a thousand. A careful and precise use of the term 'avalanche' would be reserved for concentrations of a great many more people, at least various thousands. Such would be the case, for example, of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca or of a sporting concentration. Other words used in the same sense were 'tide', 'mass' and 'massive'. Curiously, each

Headlines 6-10-05. Left to right, top line: TVE-1 and Antena 3 TV. Second line: Tele-5 and TV3



station provided different figures on the number of people involved.

Finally, to a greater or lesser extent, all the stations used words in a way that did not match their meaning and which furthermore had a negative connotation with regards immigrants. Examples included:

- *Deportation* and its derivatives. The word means there has been a previous condemnation and therefore a trial. The Africans who wanted to get into Europe were not necessarily in this situation.
- *Extradition* and its derivatives. The meaning refers to the release of a prisoner to another country in which he or she must stand trial. It has nothing to do with the condition of these people.
- *Devolution* and its derivatives. This word is used with objects but not with people. TVE-1 also used 'deposited' and Antena 3 TV, 'thrown'.
- *Expulsion* and its derivatives. Although it means expulsion from a place, it also has the meaning of banishment and thus also takes on the meaning of a punishment. Some stations spoke of 'interment'.
- *Repatriation* and its derivatives. This term was not applied

correctly, as only the citizens from Mali and Senegal were returned to their homelands, i.e., were really repatriated. The situation of the rest of the people involved was not the same.

On the contrary, the presence of words used with their exact meaning was scarce. For example only once did Tele-5 mention the more precise and accurate word 'moved' and TV3 was the only one to mention 'readmission', in reference to the action of entering Morocco, even though the Africans concerned were passing through the country. Another example of writing that tries to avoid terms with pejorative connotations appeared when TV3 used the word 'passengers' twice on 9 October in reference to the people inside the coaches.

When, furthermore, some of these expressions featured in the headlines that appear on screen on top of rundown footage or on the first shots of the story, the negative effect, as the following frames show, is even greater because viewers tend to focus more on reading the words than on listening to the oral discourse.

As the pictures show, there were bad practices on the part of the four stations and, in the latter case, we can see how



TV3 repeated in the rundown of 10 October one of the shots of handcuffed immigrants in the coaches filmed the previous day, although with a more precise and appropriate title, i.e., “forced return”.

2.2. Visual Analysis

In terms of the visual section, this also showed a high level of homogeneity among the stations, even more marked than what we found in the textual analysis. The stations aired the same shots and, if not exactly the same, they resembled each other, something we could call the ‘globalisation’ of production routines among television journalists.

All the stations inserted footage from the Home Office with the aim of explaining the modifications to be made to the fence. TVE-1, Antena 3 TV and Tele-5 featured the story on 6 October and TV3 the next day. But the most significant element was that TVE-1 and Antena 3 TV used the Department’s title saying “New Anti-Intrusion System”. Tele-5 did not title the piece and the Catalan public station replaced it with “Expansion of the Fence”.

Immigrants were the main protagonists of the visual narrative of the events. Most of the stations mixed more or less broad general group shots with close-ups and even extreme

close-ups to emphasise the most dramatic elements of the situation. This was a further demonstration of homogeneity, as with more or less proportion and depending on the station, images with a clear emotional impact were used (injured feet, a very close-up shot of the barbed wire fence, bloodstains on the ground, etc.) and of the close-ups and general shots of groups of individuals in a situation of suffering, always aimed at sensationalism. The exception was once again TV3, as, despite having close-ups of sad faces or people behind a fence, to give two examples, it featured them only briefly and the oral discourse took a non-dramatic approach.

The most dramatic and possibly most shocking image was from 9 October. It was a very close-up shot of handcuffed hands hanging out a coach window with no head to go along with them. All the stations used the shot that day and went on to repeat it with new edits on the following days. TV3 stood out from this general trend, as it gave it less time and reported directly what the immigrants were calling out from inside the coaches (i.e., what in a written text would be a textual quote). It did not focus on the tragic details by not detailing the images like the other stations did. Instead, it provided information on the situation, using figures from NGOs.

Antena 3 TV, 7 and 10 October



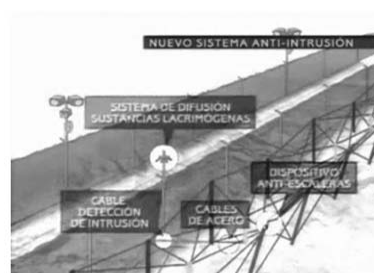
Tele-5, 9 and 10 October



TV3, 9 and 10 October



The New Fence. Left to right, top line: TVE-1 and Antena 3 TV. Second line: Tele-5 and TV3



On the other hand, the other stations applied edits with clearly sensationalistic purposes. These included:

- a) The edit based on an oral description that emphasised the most tragic details, followed by a pause in which the viewer could only hear background noises with the images. For example, before showing someone imploring, Antena 3 TV says, “others, with tears in their eyes, desperately ask for help” and Tele-5 explains: “The desperation is so great that many cannot contain their tears”. Before showing the handcuffed hands, TVE-1 says “From the small window space, they show us their pain and desperation” and Tele-5 notes “From the coach windows they show the journalists their handcuffs over and over again”.
- b) The assembled edit with different shots to show the evolution of a complete dramatic action. This type of edit was only used by Tele-5. All the stations showed a person climbing out the window, but Tele-5 devoted more time to it, cobbling together a series of shots that enabled viewers to witness the whole process. At the same time, a voice off-camera said: “This young man tries to escape from the coach any way he can. Even handcuffed, he climbs out the window” and then the ima-

ge is left on-screen with background noise that ends with the cries of the protagonist of the action. Although it devoted less time, TVE-1 also emphasised the dramatic events of the situation from an oral discourse: “With tears flowing and in a desperate attempt to get off the coach, they called for help which unfortunately nobody offered”. This strategy was also used to Antena 3 TV: “Many of them take advantage of any stop to escape”.

Although the Catalan public station did not resort to such drama in its edits, the analysis found some negative aspects that affected the visual quality of the information broadcast. TV3 worked with three types of images: those that came from Moroccan television, archive footage and its own images. The former presented a problem of identification because the image of the Catalan station's logo was superimposed over that of the Moroccan station's one and offered a strange visual composition at the top right-hand side of the screen. The voice off-camera (Arabic) was the only element that suggested where the images came from. Although the archive footage was appropriately identified, there was a certain amount of abuse. A similar situation occurred with the station's own images which, because

TVE-1, 9 October



Antena 3 TV, 9 October



Tele-5, 9 October





there were few of them, ended up being reused in other edits and thus generated a certain degree of repetition, particularly in the final two news bulletins of the week analysed.

Tele-5 also broadcast the images that came from the Moroccan station the first day of the week: it thus did the same as the Catalan station. The difference in the case of Tele-5 was that its logo was positioned at the bottom of the screen so the station's regular viewers knew the images belonged to another station, in this case a foreign one.

It is important to add that both stations opened the news rundown of 6 October with these images – which the Moroccan police provided to the Moroccan station – and left the Arabic voiceover clearly discernible for a number of seconds. This strategy could lead to confusion among a public watching TV in Spanish or Catalan, but it did serve to reinforce the impact. Over the course of the week, these images were recycled in other edits. Clear proof of a more inappropriate type of edit was the reuse of the images in news rundowns on different days.

3. Standardisation in the Television Reconstruction of the Events

This is, without a doubt, the principal characteristic the analysis found with regard to the television treatment of the events at the fences in Ceuta and Melilla. Although the audio differed greatly, the similarity in the images minimised the impact. It is important to underline that the use of a more or less precise terminology can easily pass unnoticed when it comes to receiving information from TV, as the images capture most of the viewer's attention – so much so that, if the voiceover were exchanged with the visuals of another story, you would probably pick up on anything being wrong.

With some occasional exceptions, similarity is proof of common production strategies that end up becoming action protocols. We have already said that, because of its characteristics, TVE-1 is the station that could have greatest deployment of technical and human resources. The final result of its operation, however, was not significantly different from the others. A greater number of live crosses did

Antena 3 TV, 9 October



Tele-5, 9 October



Tele-5, 6 October



TV3, 6 October



not lead to the production of new internal footage or a wide range of testimonies. It is important to add that it was politicians, i.e., sources of information of easy access to news professionals, who were awarded the greatest presence.

Another matter worth pointing out in relation to the production of information is the repetition of images throughout the week analysed, even though the stations had sent reporters and sometimes correspondents to the spot. It is hard to discern the causes, but the result was edits that were more or less similar and which ended up negatively impacting the reception of the story. In fact, repetition of the visual material generated a loss of attention about the story, because although new information was arriving via the sound, the stations were unable to achieve a level of impact with the images. Also, this procedure highlights the lack of visual action, something which television information has to avoid. If we add the fact that, in some cases, these types of images were not identified, it is very likely that viewers, by default, considered them to be from that day.

The content of the repeated images can end up reinforcing certain stereotypes. For example, with the profusion of general group shots, the immigrant becomes an anonymous being that acts in line with the guidelines of the group and further accentuates the association between poverty and immigration. On the other hand, close-ups and detailed shots increase the level of news sensationalism. Even though all the stations included them in their discourses, Antena 3 TV was undoubtedly the one that most closely resembled a media circus, even on the basis of general shots. The best example was the report of 6 October, when significant time was devoted to the image of an injured African man who had managed to enter Melilla (he is shown limping along the street, in the hospital, getting into a car, etc.) and, in the summary, is presented as a hero ("only one, this young man, managed to enter Spain"). Even still, he didn't get a chance to speak on air.

Although it is true that the term 'problem' to define the story was not used often, the narrative structure in the majority of the stations responded to this idea. Tele-5 focused on seeking responsibilities in the political field; Antena 3 TV played witness to the drama the protagonists were undergoing; TVE-1 tried to address the political question and dramatic matters in a balanced fashion; and finally TV3 explained the particular situation from a social/humanitarian

perspective. This strategy affected the description of a particular problem that had to be solved. Delimiting the issue to a particular time period prevents going deeply into aspects that have influenced and which continue to influence this type of contemporary migration. For example, information on the political and socioeconomic situation of the home countries are necessary to complement the main story. In short, it involves trying to apply what is known in journalistic circles as 'contextualisation'. In all the material analysed, there were only three cases of complementary information being contributed: on 7 October on Antena 3 TV, 10 October on TV3 and 12 October on TVE-1.

The work of constructing the news context obviously has to avoid the generalised appropriation of the term 'sub-Saharan' to define immigrants affected by the events at the fence. Furthermore, this work contains a pejorative load (*sub*), while the prefix 'South' would be more appropriate because it involves a geographic, not qualitative, reference.

4. Sources of Information

The statements included in the news shows analysed mostly corresponded to politicians (38%) and immigrants (34%); followed in third place by spokespeople from NGOs (24%) and finally the category *others* (4%), mainly constituting what we called 'locals'. However, not all the stations participated in this global snapshot in the same fashion.

The stations that awarded the most weight to the political sphere were TVE-1 and Tele-5, but while the public station appeared to counteract this presence with other types, the private station stood out for giving less speaking time to spokespeople and members of NGOs.

The stations where the immigrants and NGOs had the highest representation were TV3 and Antena 3 TV, but with different types of nuances: TV3 identified all the immigrants (except in once case), while Antena 3 TV only did so in 3 out of 11 cases of people being interviewed. Also, from the qualitative viewpoint, it should be borne in mind that TV3 most often featured the image of an active immigrant taking decisions and working to overcome his situation, while most of the statements on Antena 3 TV were aimed at showing suffering and anguish, i.e., fertilising the ground of sensationalism. Thus TV3 better developed the social/



humanitarian side while the private station opted for social tragedy.

In the area of source identification, the majority of politicians and NGO spokespeople were identified, but this was not so standardised in the case of immigrants.

In terms of the sources mentioned in the journalistic texts (without statements), there was a predominance of press and broadcast agencies. However, this is not synonymous with greater diversity of consulted sources, because they also relied heavily on the administrations or governments of Spain and Morocco and on NGOs.

5. Monitoring and Application of the CAC Recommendations

The degree of compliance and application of the CAC recommendations of 10 April 2002 on the news treatment of immigration aimed at broadcast journalists was measured by designing a barometer. There were two goals: one was to test it and the other was to check the extent to which the recommendations were followed. We designed this

barometer to measure the degree of positive treatment, news quality and good journalistic practices contained in the broadcast units referring to the events at the fences in Ceuta and Melilla. In particular, we studied the application of the recommendations detailed below - and the valuation obtained by each station and by indicators was as follows:

- **Do not call African immigrants 'illegal', 'undocumented', 'without papers' or 'irregular'. The information must not contain prejudices of a xenophobic or discriminatory nature:**

This recommendation had a high response, but it was still not applied 100%. In the oral discourses, these terms only appeared occasionally: TV3, TVE-1, Antena 3 TV and Tele-5 occasionally used expressions that did not meet this recommendation. Tele-5 also repeatedly abused the expression 'illegal immigrant' in many of its headlines, but only twice in the oral discourses.

- **Information must be given on African emigration and its contexts.**

This was one of the recommendations that was least applied over the course of the seven days. On 7 October

Table 2. Number and Source of the Statements

Number and Source of the Statements				
	Polítics	ONG	Immigrants	Altres
TV3	5	7	12	-
TVE-1	19	6	10	2
Antena 3 TV	5	15	11	1
Tele-5	16	1	8	2
TOTAL	45	29	41	5

Source: authors' own work

it was applied at Antena 3 TV, on 10 October it was followed by TV3 and on 12 October it was followed by TVE-1. For its part, Tele-5 did not apply this recommendation in the analysed period.

- **Stories must include statements from experts that help in the reflection about the underlying reasons behind migration.**

Only 12 out of the 26 news stories analysed included statements by people we considered experts in this framework, such as NGO spokespeople who work with immigrants both in the area and in Spain (four on TV3, four on Antena 3 TV, three on TVE-1 and one on Tele-5). Antena 3 TV was the station that most regularly included this recommendation (in four of the five news shows analysed), but it must be borne in mind that on many occasions its criterion for selecting statements responded basically to its sensationalist features.

On the first day of the sample, only the two public stations followed this recommendation. On 7 October all the stations followed it, although some in the headlines and others in the news. On 8 October no news story included the voice of an expert. On 9 October these types of statements only appeared on Antena 3 TV and TV3 (in the news units). On 10 October only Antena 3 TV followed the recommendation in the stories. On 11 October it was only the news units of TVE-1 and Antena 3 TV who took it into account, and on 12 October the TV3 news story was the only one to employ the recommendation.

- **Stories must include immigrants as a news source and so they must be shown making statements.**

This recommendation, one of the ones that should be considered the most basic and fundamental for comparing facts, was not followed by any station on 6 October. No station, therefore, tried to record immigrants speaking about the events on the first day of the sample. In the case of Antena 3 TV, it is worth recalling that it showed different shots of an immigrant identified as being the only one who had managed to scale the fence, but it did not include any statement by him. The immigrant's voice was not heard on the last day, either, as the focus of the story moved to the political sphere.

With regards the other days, TV3 and Antena 3 TV followed this recommendation more often than the other stations. However, the presence of immigrants in the headlines was scarce, and did not feature at TVE-1 in any day of the sample.

- **Do not use images that invade an immigrant's privacy.**

All the stations respected this recommendation on 6 October, although Antena 3 TV did show some shots which, although not close-ups, could be considered intimidating (see the image). In terms of the other days of the sample, the public stations tended to respect this recommendation more than the private ones.

- **Do not use archive footage that is not relevant.**

On 6 October, the day when the events first began, all the stations respected this recommendation, but as of 7 October they all began, to different degrees as we shall see, to repeat the most striking images from previous days, even if they were no longer very relevant. Also, in the majority of cases, there was no voiceover saying the images were not from that day, nor were the images labelled with the corresponding date. Only TV3 regularly labelled images, but it also sometimes used unidentified footage. The images most commonly reused were of immigrants in the desert and the coaches.

- **Avoid using images from the security forces.**

Between 6 and 9 October, TV3, Tele-5 and Antena 3 TV used images recorded by the Moroccan police. Each of the three used them in two editions of their news shows.

- **It is important to contextualise information with information on the immigrants' home countries.**

This recommendation was not often applied. The examples of good practices coincided with those explained in the second recommendation. On 7 October it was applied by Antena 3 TV, on 10 October by TV3 and on 12 October by TVE-1.

- **Aspects of the immigrants' daily life must be explained which do not include hunger, poverty or conflict.**

This recommendation was only employed on four occasions over the seven days. The first was by Tele-5 (in the headline of 6 October) and the second was also by Tele-5 (in a news story of 8 October). The third was the news story of 9 October by TVE-1 and the fourth was the news story of TV3 on 11 October. Antena 3 TV did not apply this recommendation.

- **Do not use close-ups of injured or dead Africans.**

This recommendation was very well followed and in general the four stations did not recreate close-ups to discuss dead or injured people. However, on 6 October no station followed this recommendation. This is fairly logical, because the main news event was the death of six immigrants at the Melilla fence. No shots of dead

people were shown but there were shots of the injured. Furthermore, TV3 showed two archive-labelled shots of dead people from previous days, something which was very negative and unnecessary.

With regards the rest of the week analysed, the public stations were more likely to not apply this recommendation. However, the oral discourse that accompanied the shots usually tried to distance the images from the dramatic effect, particularly at TV3. Of the private stations, Tele-5 stood out for the use of these images on the final days of the sample.

6. Conclusions and Proposals

All the stations dedicated significant time and a lead position to the events that occurred at the fences of Ceuta and Melilla in October 2005. However, each oriented its narrations differently. TV3 showed a humanitarian vision of the events, with special attention on information from NGOs and immigrants themselves. TVE-1's orientation involved more political actions, both the first reactions and subsequent decisions taken and the responses obtained by them. Tele-5, on the other hand, prioritised the political confrontation and positioned itself closer to the leading opposition party than the government. Finally, Antena 3 TV applied more strategies addressed at sensationalism. It is no coincidence that it was this station that cancelled the broadcasting of two news stories using the excuse of a sports transmission, or the fact that on 6 and 9 October (analysed separately) it gave more priority to sport. But this diversity of orientations does not mean the stations followed very different types of actions. On the contrary: the analysis shows many aspects in common and furthermore many that require correcting.

The phenomenon of immigration continues to be treated as a problem, as a drama and, in this case, during the news shows on these seven days, nobody questioned the existence of the border between the north (Europe) and the south (Africa) and the stations maintained a Euro-centric viewpoint of **us**, the Europeans, and **them**, the African immigrants. Only in report programmes did some stations approach the existence of the 'walls', physical borders that in the 21st century impede the passage of people from poor

Antena 3 TV: Shot of the young man the station presented as a hero (“Only one, this young man, managed to enter Spain”)



parts of the planet to rich ones. They did not go into detail about the reasons for immigration or the political, economic or social situations of the African countries. Immigrants were shown either as criminals (aggressive and violent) or victims (passive and without no ability to act). There was repeated abuse in all the narrations of the words ‘immigrant’ and ‘sub-Saharan’ and practically zero use of ‘persons’ or ‘citizens’ to refer to these human beings. This classification as an immigrant involves a permanent discrimination in the public imagination. In society and the media, the immigrant never loses his condition of immigrant, something that connotes a negative image.

If we look at female immigrants, their audiovisual treatment is even more worrying. They almost never appear and, if they do, they are usually shown in fairly sensationalist shots (cooking with barely any resources, looking after sickly looking children, etc.).

Although the CAC recommendations, and in particular those referring to not using xenophobic or discriminatory

vocabulary or images, are increasingly respected by the stations, the textual and visual analysis of the news shows involving the events referring to the attempts to scale the fences at Ceuta and Melilla reveal they still have to improve in many aspects. All the stations exaggerated the events to a greater or lesser extent, used inappropriate words at least sometimes and continued to introduce images with a clearly sensationalistic purpose, to mention just three of the most important aspects. These types of problem were particularly clear in the summaries and presentations, sections where the stations’ aim is to attract viewer interest and attention and, to a lesser extent, in the news stories.

All up, we can say that NGOs and immigrants have an increasingly greater presence in the sources of information, but they are not always handled properly from the audiovisual viewpoint. The station that took most care in this regard was TV3: it regularly identified them (at least indicating the name of the interviewee) and was also the station that showed the most concern for reproducing their words,

Tele-5



TV3, 6 October



There were enough images from the day and so it is quite gratuitous to use these two archive images, even though the oral narration mentions they are not the first deaths at the fence.

clearly separating them from the reporter's discourse. But despite that, it is important to look at the fact that interviewing members of NGOs and/or immigrant citizens is not always synonymous with good practices, as they may be aimed at sensationalism. Antena 3 TV's broadcasts included numerous examples where the selection criterion of the statements aired clearly corresponded to their emotional component.

This study also showed that the stations do not always apply mechanisms to make the context (with a high social responsibility) meet the information arriving from the sources. For example, some stations included images from the Home Office (visual explanations of the work to expand the fence) without modifying the original headline "new anti-intrusion system" and, even more significantly, on the first day all the stations were contaminated by a warlike and military language with a predominance of official news sources. Beginning the second day, with the introduction of NGOs as sources of information, the language modified into a treatment more focused on the social and humanitarian aspects.

It is therefore necessary to continue to work to get the recommendations prepared by well-regarded institutions to be known and applied, with everything that involves in terms of dissemination and training tasks.

Besides this general proposal and apart from insisting on the need to apply the recommendations defined by the CAC, this study looked at the need to attend the following particular aspects:

- Stations and their employees have to be concerned with applying good practices in all informational formats on the news. In particular, on headlines (summaries) and presentations, the formats most open to sensationalism.
- Stations have to make a greater effort to contribute contextualised information (background, causes, etc.). The range of information sources consulted must be expanded to make way for this type of information and to ensure that the information that reaches viewers is confirmed.
- With regard to statements by immigrants, it is necessary to identify them and journalistic rigour must be guaranteed in the reproduction of their words (the discourse of the interviewee must be clearly differentiated from the rest and the quality of the translation must be guaran-

teed).

- With regards vocabulary, it is a good idea to use words with more rigour, always bearing their meaning in mind. In the event of using terms in a metaphorical sense, negative aspects must not be connoted.
- When it comes to selecting statements, in no case must the criterion of sensationalism prevail over information.
- The treatment of immigrant women must be improved, as well as the journalistic quality of this treatment.
- Overall, television stations must contribute a lot more to providing an image as normalised and normalising as possible of immigrants and immigration through audiovisual and textual treatments equivalent to those of any other citizen. The condition of immigrant should not be highlighted or differentiated in the information about the events unless strictly necessary to understanding them.
- Television stations also have to meet a pedagogical role and, as well as report and entertain, must support diversity and multiculturalism in their news shows to explain and spread knowledge among the people who come from their home countries and the people who are here in the host countries.

7. Applied Audiovisual Research

As the purpose of this study and analysis was an audiovisual product, to help people understand, consult and even experiment with the news shows in the sample, the complete research work on which this article is based contains, along with a much more extensive text, an annex of written material, photos and graphics and an interactive DVD.

The DVD² includes two alternative videos proposals referring to the events of 6 October, with the aim of showing different ways of addressing the events audiovisually. Fruit of this applied audiovisual research work, Migracom made up an alternative video about the events of 6 October at the Melilla wall which shows it is possible to audiovisually and textually cover the information using standards other than the ones used by the leading stations.

The first proposal corresponds to the Televisió de Catalunya youth channel, K3. It involves a video broadcast

on 6 October on its youth news show called *Info-K*, which goes to air Mondays to Fridays at 7 p.m. It is paradoxical to see that K3, in the information of 6 October, while still using practically the same images, explained the events with a precise language that did not fall into the generalised stereotype of calling the people of Africa who try to enter Spain via the Melilla fence 'sub-Saharan'. Furthermore, the word 'immigrant' was never used in the video that lasted 1 minute and 43 seconds and, on the other hand, the oral narration featured with all naturalness the words 'persons' and 'Africans'. The whole of the news story denotes a certain level of excellence and exquisite manners in covering the events without criminalizing the people who try to come to Europe in search of a better life. The second proposal is an alternative video made by Migracom and narrated in Spanish, as a counterpoint to what was broadcast by TVE-1, Antena 3 TV and Tele-5. It uses images from TV3 and from Moroccan television. The content of the internal textual information, in a more elaborate and even 'provocative' language (compared with the language seen each day on the big TV stations), prioritises human rights, goes more deeply (although still not very deeply) into the immigration phenomenon and avoids a discriminatory discourse. The same text, with images shot expressly with a normalising vocation and with African citizens explaining the reasons why they try to emigrate, could contribute even further to a non-conflictive image and which is often associated with crime among the people who want to come to Europe because the possibility of subsisting in their own countries is slight.

The DVD also contains all the news shows from the four stations and a comparative edit of the summaries and news stories from 6 and 9 October.

In the case of the summaries it experiments with a comparative edit that shows that some of the unifying elements featured in this article and which were used by the public and private stations alike are completely interchangeable without dysfunctions. We put the oral narration of one station with the images of another both for 6 and 9 October and the result was in some cases even better synchronisation. For 6 October we exchanged TVE-1 and Antena 3 TV because both stations used generic images of the Melilla fence, and we changed Tele-5 and TV3 because they both used shots from Moroccan television.

For 9 October we changed the public stations and did the same with the private ones. The fact that the images of the coaches were practically the same meant the exchange could be done among them all without any problem in terms of synchronisation. The experiment also revealed a series of homogenous audiovisual elements in the summaries, such as narrative pace, intonation, music, graphs and the brevity of the oral narration.

Some of these production routines therefore condition and connote the news and audiovisual treatment of events, in this case ones referring to immigration and immigrants. As we saw in the evening news shows of the four stations, the events at the Ceuta and Melilla fences projected an image of events that ranged from sensationalistic, in the most negative case, to humanitarian, in the most positive one. There was also a pre-eminence of political confrontation over migration, despite the social dimension of the events.

Multiculturalism and inter-culturalism were not well enough reflected on the news shows and a general vision predominated about immigrants related with conflict. But by 8, 9 and 10 October the immigrants became victims of inhumane treatment by the Moroccan authorities and the stations reflected this.

Notes

- 1 Study carried out by MIGRACOM-UAB, the Consolidated Research Group at the Generalitat of Catalonia, under the leadership of Manel Mateu and with the support of the CAC.
- 2 The DVD can be consulted at the MIGRACOM website: www.migracom.com i a la web de la Mesa per a la Diversitat en l'Audiovisual del Consell de l'Audiovisual de Catalunya

Delimited Solidarity: Study of the Television Coverage of the Events at the Melilla Fence in October 2005

**Xavier Giró, José Manuel Jarque, Lola López, Mar Carrera,
Antoni Castel and Laura García**

- *The main television stations that broadcast in Catalonia covered the so-called "crisis of the fences" in Ceuta and Melilla with a supportive but alarmist speech in whom the representation of the immigrants ranged between the victimization and the threat of danger. These are some conclusions extracted from the study that appears in this article. The investigation analyses and compares a sample of eight days of the evening news bulletins of diverse televisions to know the informative priorities of the media, the production and evolution of the news, as well as the representation of the actors and the conflict.*

Key words

Television coverage, immigration, television, conflict resolution, thematization, media representation

Presentation and Summary of Results

The information offered by the highest-rating stations in Catalonia about the events that took place at the Melilla fence in early October 2005 altogether showed a caring discourse with regards immigration, but at the same time one delimited by various elements. Among the programmes analysed there were noticeable differences to which we will refer later on, but considered globally, the media discourse weaved together common threads.

Initially, the television coverage generally presented immigrants waiting to enter Ceuta or Melilla in an alarmist fashion, i.e., as a threat for Spain and Europe. Later on, they were shown as victims, in particular of a breach of their human rights by the Moroccan authorities when they were transferred to the desert in southern Morocco. Spanish and European responsibility for the situation was either played down or ignored.

However, they were most frequently portrayed in a simplistic image as 'desperate' to escape their homelands, complemented with a distorted generalisation of Africa as a continent where hunger, misery and war are hegemonic.

These are the main conclusions of the analysis of the coverage offered by the regular evening news bulletins [the study object] of TV3, TVE-1, La 2, Tele-5 and Antena 3 TV between 5 and 12 October 2005. The study, funded by the CAC, was a joint effort by the Observatory for the News Coverage of Conflicts (OCC) and the Centre for African Studies (CEA).

Below, in this order, we set out the methodology used, a very short summary of the most relevant events of those days for the reader to get his or her bearings, the research results and a number of conclusive reflections.

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1. Methodology

The body of the work – the evening news bulletins of TV3, TVE-1, La 2, Tele-5 and Antena 3 TV – which involved one news show from each station and only over eight days, was in itself only a sample of the coverage that the different stations did. We therefore analysed it all, i.e., we took the whole of the body as a sample.

We started from a perspective typical to critical analysis of the discourse combined with anthropology and the theory about conflict resolution and transformation. In other words, we began with the concern about the media's contribution to the construction of the social representation of conflicts – of actors, problems and processes – to the extent that we know it affects the very development of a conflict and, in particular, can be used to both legitimise and de-legitimise abuses of power and the suffering involved.

The general object, which consisted of analysing how the different stations covered the events at the Melilla fence, therefore focused on:

1. Studying the news priorities of the media.
2. Studying the representation of the actors.
3. Studying the presence of clichés and stereotypes.
4. Studying the complexity of the description of the conflict.
5. Studying the ideological position of the media.
6. Comparing the results on a per-station basis while meeting the previous goals.

The analysis was carried out as follows: firstly, we prepared a television script with the description of the images and a transcription of the verbal content of all the stories related with the case, including the headlining presence of the issue and presenters' comments.

Secondly, we filled in a sheet for each news story that included the following items:

- a) The macro-positions that summarised the explicit and implicit story content.
- b) About the actors:
 - Which actors were introduced?
 - How were they described?
 - Did the story lack actors? Who?
 - What actions were they awarded?
 - Who made the statements reproduced in the story?
 - What contribution did they make to the conflict? What

verb was used to introduce them?

- c) About the problem:
 - How was the problem in the story identified? Were its roots mentioned?
 - How were the theses of the different actors with regards the problem explained?
- d) About the process:
 - What was the central issue of the piece?
 - Was the genesis of the conflict explained? Who? What about the evolution?
 - Were solutions explored?
 - What sources were used for the monitoring?
 - Was there enough contextual information? What was it?

It involved a series of standard questions made exhaustively to apply them to all the news stories, even if there were no responses for all the items.

2. Framework of the Events Reported by the Media¹

The data contributed is based on the written press and the news programmes analysed.

Below we set out a series of data highlighted by the media from a few days before the period studied to position the reader at the time when the events the stations covered took place.

According to official figures, from January 2005 to the end of August there were 11,000 attempts to scale the fence at Melilla by people from various south-Saharan² We will use the term 'south-Saharan' which indicates a geographic location in preference to 'sub-Saharan' (the terms most commonly used) which may mean the same but which can also connote a position of inferiority because of the prefix 'sub'.

countries. In a correlative fashion, the number of people arriving in boats and controlled by the security forces had fallen by 37% over the 2004 figures for the same period.

Three deaths among immigrants were recorded between late August and mid-September. In early September, the Moroccan gendarmerie detained a certain number of people waiting to cross the fence.

On 29 September, five people were killed in an attempt by various hundreds of people to cross the Ceuta fence. On 3 September, 350 immigrants managed to enter Melilla after scaling the fence.

On 4 October, the Spanish government announced it would reinforce the two fences with a new metal barrier.

On 6 October, before sunrise, six immigrants died and 30 were injured in a new episode. That same day the Spanish and Moroccan governments agreed on the return of 73 immigrants. The expulsions were carried out between 6 and 7 October.

On 7 October, Moroccan workers cut trees near the Melilla fence. Mobile phone calls showed that hundreds of south-Saharan Saharans had been abandoned by Moroccan forces close to Morocco's southern border with Algeria. The next day, 8 October, television crews arrived, followed by diplomats from Mali and Senegal, organizing the repatriation of their citizens.

On 9 October, the Moroccan government sent a thousand south-Saharan Saharans (seen handcuffed) on coaches to other destinations, including, as it would later emerge, Mauritania and Western Sahara.

On 10 October, the first planes left for Mali and Senegal with the repatriates and coaches arrived at diverse destinations in the southwest. The UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan called for no drastic attempts to be made to stop the migratory movements. The Spanish and Moroccan governments agreed to hold a Euro-African summit on immigration.

On 11 October, there was considerable concern for the location and fate of the immigrants that had been deported to the desert. On 12 October, the EU published a report saying some 30,000 people were distributed between Morocco and Algeria waiting to enter Ceuta or Melilla. Kofi Annan expressed his concern for the cases of political asylum. The Moroccan Home Secretary said the King of Spain had called his counterpart in Morocco, which is why the return of the 73 people a few days before had been accepted.

3. Results

We will show the results following the sequence of the objectives mentioned previously. What we show is not an exhaustive compilation but one that was reduced to the most relevant factors. We will begin with the results concerning the news priorities of the media.

3.1. Subject Matter

The subjects the television stations treated as central were: the diverse attempts to cross the fence and enter Melilla; the measures the Government anticipated to reinforce the border, both increasing forces and reinforcing the fence; the deaths recorded from the different times people scaled or tried to scale the fence and Morocco's responsibility, and the abandonment or transfer of south-Saharan immigrants to the south and south-west and the breach of their human rights by the Moroccan authorities. These subjects were common to all the stations, imposed by the force of the events, although approaches varied in diverse degrees, as we shall see later on.

All the stations also reported the steps taken by the Spanish government, the trip by the Vice-President María Teresa Fernández de la Vega, the Minister Miguel Ángel Moratinos and the statements from both. Another common element was the presence of NGOs and their condemnation rejected to by the Moroccan authorities.

In terms of the continual entry of people from south of the Sahara, the general tone of the information was alarmist. As we said before, the attempts to scale the fence were presented in the first few days with the term *assault* by all the stations, which then changed to *scaling*, while the terms *avalanche*, *wave*, *mass scaling* and *mass entry* were also maintained.

There were exceptions, even though low in tone, such as the brief mention on TVE-1 (on 6 October) of a statement from the ACOGE network, which said the issue was being exaggerated because the total number of people who, whether by boat or via Ceuta and Melilla, entered Spain came to around 60,000 per year, while the most important entry of immigrants 'without papers' (a million a year) was via the airports.

Prior to the deaths on 6 October, we also identified a problem based (and which in fact had been identified long before) on the fact that during attempts to scale the fence, barbed wire led many of the people who got over it to be injured, some very seriously.

Among the causes given that compel migrants, the classics were the hunger, misery, epidemics and wars that affect Africa. And, in association, these characteristics would explain their 'desperation'. Firstly, it is a gratuitous generalisation to talk about the whole of Africa in these

terms. But even when talking about a country, the hyperbole is inappropriate. In a news report on Antena 3 TV on 7 October, the presenter said, "The exodus of sub-Saharan immigrants towards Spain begins in the poorest countries of the most wretched continent" and then, a voice off-screen adds that "in countries like Nigeria, the only food is the small amount of grass that grows in the fields".

Secondly, even if there are one or some of the abovementioned problems in some of the areas that the migrants who hope to enter Melilla come from, it has been shown they are not the most affected people – they are not the desperate people, they are usually educated and have the initiative and ability to get up and go.

So if the adjective *desperate* was acceptable at any time, it would not be because of the environment they come from but rather the existence of a barrier that stops them from realising their goal, i.e., to reach a place where they think they can build a better future, and because of the persecution they are subject to by the authorities on both sides of the fence. However, this was never the dominant representation in the news.

The measures that were presented in the news stories to solve the conflict between the people who want to get in and the people who don't want them to basically consisted of: a) making a more modern fence that would be hard to cross and which would cause less physical damage to the people who try to scale it; and b) increase the monitoring and forces on both sides of the border so they cannot cross. This is not what the journalists or media propose specifically, but rather they are the proposals formulated by diverse political authorities, which are reported by the media and transmitted to the audience. In any case, in both proposals there is an implicit acceptance of the fence and its function. This is what mainly appeared in the media discourse, even though it did not come from the mouths of the journalists. And the media, except for TV3 in one video, did not question it.

In terms of the second problem, i.e., the deportations and maltreatment of immigrants, as we said in previous sections where we highlighted the presentation of the actors, responsibility fell mainly on Morocco and much less on the Spanish government and EU. The Spanish government took responsibility for the 73 people who were returned and the announcement of more, which the Government stopped after the deportations to the desert were made public and

the government even appeared to say the Moroccan government had guaranteed it would treat the returnees appropriately.

As we saw earlier, the (mainly implicit) criticism of the Spanish government and the EU for making the Moroccan authorities responsible for monitoring the fence and stopping new people from scaling it, were few and far between.

Let us now look again at the proposals to solve the problem. There were only three appearances of ideas different to the ones already mentioned. TV3 (on 6 October) aired a piece questioning whether the fences could stop immigration and which provided various examples of other places in the world where they are not effective. As we mentioned before, Antena 3 TV (9 October) broadcast a few seconds of a protest in a Spanish city where there was a proposal to bring down the fence. Thirdly, in a report from Rabat (TVE-1, 10 October), the special correspondent mentioned the points of a memorandum that was to be addressed at the meeting between the ministers Mohamed Benaïssa and Moratinos. The four points were: "to handle immigrants as they are, human beings", "attack mafias with police and judicial collaboration", "establish joint humanitarian aid between Spain and Morocco for the sub-Saharan", and "attack the root problem with a plan for Africa, for which the EU will be needed". The correspondent listed the points and followed them up with a statement from Moratinos saying: "I am going to make it very clear: Spain cannot tolerate the entry of immigrants by force in its national territory. Immigration has to be legal and organised..." - thus ruining the complexity that had just been built up. .

Also, when Kofi Annan said "there should be no drastic attempts to stop the migrations", again there was no follow-up or more details about what that involved or what he meant to say.

In other words, in general and in short, the ideas predominating in presence in the news discourse involved an explicit and implicit acceptance of the fence and its function as an impediment to stop people from reaching Melilla. This result is congruent with the fact that: a) when immigrants were given a voice it was to talk about their experience as victims of abuse or, in a second phase, to say that (after having been dumped in the desert) they were happy to be repatriated, but not with proposals for global solutions; b) the condemnations by the NGOs were particularly also to do

with social welfare or the breach of human rights (threat of dying, inhumane treatment, etc.) and c) the debate about the strategic solutions was practically monopolised by the row between the PSOE and the PP opposition leaders (particularly on TVE-1 and Antena 3 TV) and every now and then by leaders of other parties (IU, IC-V, PNV).

3.5. The Media as Actors

The previous sections feature multiple considerations about the media discourse in this conflict, so that their character not just as witnesses but also as actors is clear.

The previously mentioned alarmist tone did not stop all the stations showing solidarity with the dead and injured, the deportees in the desert or with the fate awaiting the people hiding the forests or setting off again for a new opportunity. Many of the off-camera texts included statements from members of NGOs and some migrants, both those who had crossed the fence and those who had not managed it.

The shots of immigrants bleeding, being deported in handcuffs onto buses, protesting, asking for help, yelling or crying, were also a show of the empathy of the news discourse. Their experiences were presented as dramatic and in some stories not just because of the conditions in which they were found, but because it signified failure in this stage of their migration.

The distribution of food and clothes by an NGO in the forests around Melilla, which was followed by a team from TVE and another from Antena 3 TV (7 and 11 October), clandestinely to prevent the Moroccan police from finding the hidden would-be immigrants, also gave form to news stories with empathy for the immigrants, mainly sub-Saharan immigrants. We have already discussed the awarding of responsibilities.

In this section we will focus on showing how the media are aware of their role as testimony and actor and show some additional examples of them taking sides, both explicitly and implicitly. However, we should remind the reader again that not all the stations did so in the same way or to the same degree.

In the news discourse about the events at the Melilla fence, the media showed they were aware of having a certain degree of prominence, a certain role of actor, both because

of the effects on the public and on the authorities. Tele-5 showed this with the abovementioned airing of the video where a Civil Guard officer is shown kicking an immigrant, and the subsequent follow-up with parliamentary questions, and also in reporting that the station had received a court request to release the video so the case could be investigated.

Similarly, the TV3 correspondent in Morocco (10 October) explained on air that he might not be able to do his job as he would like because he had received a call from the Moroccan authorities telling him they were not happy with the footage he had aired. Also, the TVE-1 correspondent (8 October) said, the day after the first pictures of migrants dumped in the desert were released, “we think that, fortunately, the images that came out of here have made people aware and rung the alarm for the authorities in the countries responsible for this situation”.

In the case of Antena 3 TV, the awareness of being a witness was explicit: “The Antena 3 TV cameramen have today been witness to the difficulty, the hard times that numerous people displaced at the border are going through to provide aid to the thousand-plus immigrants who need to eat, who need to drink”, the special correspondent said (7 October). Also, that same day: “An Antena 3 crew has been able to prove how the returns also affect the Moroccans...”.

The awareness of the importance of the role of the media included the Moroccan ones. “Moroccan TV is filming in this area but not in the desert, where over a thousand people, including pregnant women, babies and the injured, have been abandoned to their fate...” (Antena 3 TV, 7 October). Similarly, Tele-5 criticised Moroccan TV for showing its own version of the events in which six migrants died.

The ideological position of the media was to condemn the abuse and breach of human rights. It was implicitly made clear that this was in reference to the maltreatment, physical integrity and risk their lives were put at when they were abandoned in the desert. However, they did not discuss the universal right of all people to leave their countries, even if this human right is in reality limited by the rights of some states to close their borders.

The geographic/possessive point of view (also loaded with ideology) that the media implicitly transmit with certain uses of pronouns like *us* and *ours* is also relevant. Not all the stations used these terms. For example, on TVE-1, the jour-

nalists did not use them to refer to the country, but the politicians did, and very frequently, in the fragments in which they appeared.

The La 2 news shows, on the other hand, used expressions like: "Now the new system [in relation to the fence] we will have, will include many more surveillance cameras" and "...and also what surely awaits the people expelled from *our country*" [authors' italics].

On TV3, *us* and *our* referred to the station or reporters. La 2 also used this idea. This is a resource known in the profession as an instrument for bringing viewers closer to the station. The same thing happened, although more intensely, on Tele-5. But this station's position flourished when it called Morocco a *neighbouring country*.

In more general terms, there was the almost exclusive use on the part of all the stations of the term *immigrants* – unlike *migrant* or *emigrant* – to refer to the people who emigrate from their countries to immigrate to another, a position which is stated in the country of arrival or rejection.

In short, there was explicit awareness about the importance of the media to the fate of many of the people immersed in this conflict. There was also, particularly on the private stations, an emphasis on the important role of the station and its reporters, a particular insistence on its singularity as a media outlet. And, to different degrees, there was recognition of the stations' being located in the country or state that the migrants wanted to reach.

4. Conclusions and Reflections

We have reviewed the description of the different elements of the conflicts that were used by the news shows studied and shown the ideological position they took at different times about what became known as "the fence crisis". To not repeat ourselves unnecessarily, we hereby set forth the conclusions we consider most relevant:

- 1) The news shows shared a caring position with the migrants, particularly with regards deaths and the hardships they were subjected to. However, it was a delimited solidarity, as some of the reflections below show.
- 2) The news discourse accepted as a fact the existence of the fence and the measures taken to stop immigrants from entering. Only one station, TV3, questioned the

fence as a way of controlling immigration.

- 3) Responsibility for the fate of the migrants fell particularly on the Moroccan authorities and only occasionally was the co-responsibility of the Spanish authorities mentioned, on the basis of the return of immigrants and to award Morocco the task of controlling the border. There was no mention of the responsibility of the migration policy of Spain or the European Union.
- 4) The explanation of the causes of the conflict was not looked at in depth.
- 5) There was an alarmist treatment – because of the supposed threat or danger for Spain/Europe – involving the people who wanted to enter Ceuta and Melilla, and occasionally a sensationalist treatment of their hardships.
- 6) People who wanted to be immigrants were only given speaking time to talk about their drama.
- 7) The recommendation to not associate the word *illegal* with immigration or *immigrant* should have been better promoted. Other recommendations for the ethical treatment of information about immigration and journalistic practices in general, e.g., using the political voice of immigrants, not being sensationalistic, etc., were not well respected, either.

The fact that we found different shortcomings in different stations means it is still possible for all the shortcomings to appear on all the stations. But it also means, although it seems paradoxical, that if one station does not suffer from a particular shortcoming there is no reason why another one should.

In terms of the shortcomings that were common, we either have to get over them or try to correct them. And with regards the good things we found on the different stations – particularly of awarding contexts and responsibilities on La 2 and TV3 – we can say something similar: if some stations do it there is no reason why the others can't.

The necessarily summarised conclusions could lead people to forget some of the tough criticism shown in this study. We do not want it to go unnoticed or for the work to be understood as an operation directed against the media, and even less against the journalists. It is a study that aims to develop reflections that contribute to improving the journalistic work that inevitably affects the reality of society today and tomorrow.

Notes

- 1 The data contributed is based on the written press and the news programmes analysed.
- 2 We will use the term 'south-Saharan' which indicates a geographic location in preference to 'sub-Saharan' (the terms most commonly used) which may mean the same but which can also connote a position of inferiority because of the prefix 'sub'.

Intersubjective and Intercultural Reading of the News Coverage of the Events in Ceuta and Melilla¹

Lena de Botton, Laura López, Jordi Male, Cristina Pulido, Miquel Àngel Pulido, Ababacar Thiak and Iolanda Tortajada

■ *What kind of reality do television stations show when treating a conflict? This article explores the new coverage of the events in Ceuta and Melilla. The analysis has been worked out by people and organisations from the cultural groups concerned. Discussion groups were organised to examine the speeches, images and points of view showed by the stations at the moment of introducing and developing the information. Is it conflict the main news criterion when we talk about immigration? Is the information given by the station basically the same? Which are the actors who give their testimony in the news? The final paragraph includes both the conclusions and some recommendations and suggestions in order to achieve a more appropriate media treatment of this kind of news.*

Key words

Immigration, television, media representation, public agenda, news bulletins, conflicts

Communication should be the first companion of society
—(CDG2)²

Introduction

In a relatively short period of time, Spain has reversed its migration trend to become a new entry port into Europe and a new destination for people to establish themselves. The transformation of our societies into a demos that hosts a great cultural, religious and linguistic plurality is an unquestionable fact today. But the increasingly multicultural transformation of our societies and the arrival of immigrants is not a conflict-free process. The complexity of the migration phenomenon, the contradictions it leads to with regards citizen status and human rights, inequalities between cultures, etc. have lately been highlighted via media coverage of the arrival of immigrants from Africa to Europe across the border fences in the cities of Ceuta and Melilla.

This CAC-funded project studied the news coverage of the events in Ceuta and Melilla. It involved a content analysis, carried out jointly with associations that represent the cultural groups concerned³, of the way a number of Spanish and Catalan television stations covered the events. In particular, we sought to: (1) specify the audiovisual treatment provided by the TV stations TVE, La 2, TV3, Antena 3 TV and Tele-5 to the events in Ceuta and Melilla on the basis of a content analysis of their evening news shows between 5 and 12 October; (2) specify the perspective (preferred reading) with which the events were addressed and (3) compare the news coverage received from each of the abovementioned stations.

As well as having strong political, social and cultural connotations, the migration is a complex and multicausal

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phenomenon. Consequently, its coverage it should reflect this complexity; however, as we found, this was not always the case. Research can contribute towards finding elements and strategies that enable coverage to improve – this is a goal that all the people who took part in the project (researchers and other participants) aspired to and explains why we awarded great importance to the incorporation of the voices of all the people and groups linked to the analysed events in order to evaluate the suppositions of objectivity and the scientific nature of the research.

From this approach, we tried to make the analysis together with people and organisations from different cultural groups that are usually invisible in the coverage of this type of news story. This approach enriched and validated the content analysis with a reading and the voices of the very groups that featured in the stories and showed we do not consider an opinion to be better or worse because it comes from a group of a particular ethnic origin or from people in a particular profession (researchers, journalists, etc.). A profound analysis is achieved via a plurality of viewpoints and a dialogue established throughout the research work.

Talking About Immigrants, But In Their Absence

We are accustomed to looking at the world from an ethnocentric stance whether regards the media or media analysis. One of the aspects that the people and associations who took part in this research often mentioned was the lack of focus on immigrants' voices in the explanation of a news story. This was expressed by a participant in the DLCA's, who commented on the lack of arguments in news stories and thus a lack of elements that can help viewers reflect on the causes of events.

And I have also noticed that, after politicians, it seems the second-most-common protagonists are police officers...and the voices you hear belong to police officers, not immigrants...They do not speak... — (DLCA1)

With respect to this point, authors like Van Dijk (1997) and Giroux (2000, 2003), among others, say that in creating the

images broadcast about cultural minorities, the media often base them on social prejudices and end up contributing to their reproduction. We share this belief and feel it will be hard to escape from this dynamic unless we stop "talking about" and start "talking with" the 'others'.

In this study about the coverage of the events in Ceuta and Melilla, in which one of the most affected groups was people migrating from Africa, one thing we wanted to avoid was ignoring and shunning cultural groups from the media, as the theory shows in the sphere of communication and the public itself.

The immigrant population might not have been the only agent involved in the events, but it was no doubt a key element in approaching the reality to analyse. What are the benefits of including immigrants' voices in the study of the coverage of the arrival of Africans to Spain via the fences?

The distaste expressed by immigrant groups about research projects that posit cultural minorities as simple study objects or where arguments have not been scientifically validated is increasingly being heard. From many points across the globe (e.g., the US via Afro-American Studies or New Zealand and Australia through protocols for including the voices of indigenous groups), cultural minorities are demanding to change the research work done to date. This need arises because of a type of treatment that objectifies these communities and the predominance of interpretations shown through a Western filter on understanding the reality of these groups. Immigrants, in this case different African groups specifically, condemn studies that shore up and even promote stereotypes about their people, which often involve theses based more on supposition and lucubration than scientific rigour, with arguments grounded on prejudice or intuitions that have their roots in a lack of knowledge about African immigrants.

When a research work disregards arguments from immigrants and the associations that represent them, it limits the scientific nature of its content and is vulnerable to the prejudices of the researcher. A work that establishes a dialogue between researcher and researched subject introduces more reflection and quality into the information obtained. The methodological perspective that best enabled us to include the voices of cultural minorities was the critical communicative methodology, which considers that objectivity does not come from distance or the exclusion of the

arguments of the study subjects but quite the opposite, i.e., that the strength of each argument contributes to the work, regardless of who made the contribution. We will discuss this methodology in more depth in the following point.

Starting Point

To carry out this research work, we started from the critical communicative methodology⁴ used by some of the leading authors in the international scientific community today⁵. Its main premises are:

- **Universality of linguistic and communicative competences**
All people, by having communicative linguistic abilities, have the ability to interact through dialogue.
- **Transformative Social Agents**
Everybody is able to elaborate reflective interpretations and create knowledge to influence and modify social structures and thus make headway in the discovery of new forms of coexistence more appropriate to the information society and its multicultural wealth.
- **Egalitarian Dialogue**
This involves seeking processes of dialogue or understanding using arguments guided by aspirations of validity and not aspirations of power. Dialogue and communicative action are essential for making progress towards new, more solid models with a greater ability to respond to new social requirements.
- **Disappearance of the presumption of interpretative hierarchy**
The researcher does not necessarily hold more solid ontological precepts than those held by the people being researched.
- **Rupture of Methodological Inequality**
The researcher participates (both as a speaker and listener) under the same conditions as the others during the research process and when interpreting actions.
- **Participatory Attitude of the Researcher**
If a researcher wants to understand or explain a phenomenon, he or she has to take part on an equal basis with the people with whom he or she wishes to discuss different aspects. We do not consider researcher participation to contaminate research. It is not seen as

manipulation but as understanding between the participants in the work, who decide to share the research goals and generate knowledge together.

- **Dialogic Knowledge: Intersubjectivity as a Solution to Objective Problems**

Dialogic knowledge is created through the intersubjective analysis given to interactions between researcher and researched. Many objective problems are better resolved through egalitarian dialogue than through “neutral” objectivist methods.

- **Common Sense**

Our subjective sense depends on our life experience and consciousness within our cultural context, so we cannot interpret an action without taking people’s common sense into account.

To the basis of these fundamental premises, the critical communicative methodology adds four criteria of scientific rigour to the universals of triangulation, crystallisation of change and coherence of the discourse itself and the social usefulness/impact of the research, which are:

- **Internal Consistency**
Methodological design must be consistent with the theoretical framework of the research and with the formulation of problems and hypotheses and/or objectives.
- **Responsibility of the Research Team**
Power relations are not awarded but strength of argument prevails. The commitment and responsibility of each researcher are important. Each researcher assumes his or her responsibilities and makes a commitment to the research.
- **Intersubjective Dialogue**
It is through the participation of all the people involved in the intersubjective dialogue that truth criteria are reached.
- **Process of Understanding**
Processes of understanding are aimed at reaching agreements between the different people participating in the research. Because a dialogue process is involved, it is important that, for example, a person in a communicative discussion group should coordinate speaking turns while the others dialogue. The process of understanding the problem to research is expanded as people assume the research as their own.

It thus involves overcoming the methodological inequality that separates researcher from researched (Habermas, 1987) and makes the African population the active subject of the research. Diverse benefits are obtained from this methodological approach.

On the one hand, by creating this intersubjective dialogue between researcher and person participating in the research (in our case, people that participate in cultural associations) a richer knowledge of the analysed reality is generated and a greater variety of arguments contributed. To this we should add an important element of social usefulness, as both the goals and analysis carried out are founded on a constant exchange with all the agents concerned. Going into the causes of the situation in depth enables us to later overcome a number of existing inequalities, such as the lack of presence of these groups in the media, and the way to promote them.

The greatest change provided by the critical communicative methodology therefore refers to questioning the knowledge of experts. In this regard, individuals in today's societies are increasingly demanding more arguments from experts instead of passively accepting their decisions. Also, cultural minorities are demanding that studies about them be prepared starting from dialogue with them and not using them as simple sources of information. We would like to mention two examples of previous research work that CREA developed and which validate the approach taken:

(1) In an RTD project carried out by CREA entitled *Workaló: The Creation of New Occupational Patterns for Cultural Minorities. The Gypsy Case (2001- 2005)*⁶, the inclusion of the voices of a traditionally silenced group such as the Gypsy community (which in this case took part in both the definition of the objectives and the previous research requirements, such as the results evaluation) had a significant impact on the political, social and cultural spheres precisely because the methodological perspective guaranteed the scientific rigour of the conclusions and the proposals made. The *Workaló* results were presented at a European Parliament conference in Brussels. At the meeting, a Spanish Euro MP agreed with the president of a gypsy association that was in attendance (and which had taken part in the project) to take the recognition of the Gypsy people to the Spanish parliament. The lower house recently gave unanimous approval to the Bill on the Re-

cognition of the Rights of the Gypsy Population⁷. Adding the voice of the gypsy community gave a very important meaning to the research from its first definition, as it enabled more scientific and socially useful results.

(2) The Advisory Board is one of the most important assessment bodies of the Ministry of Education and Science's R,D&I project entitled *AMAL: Immigration and the Labour Market (2001-2005)*.⁸ The Board includes associations and organisations related with Arab and Muslim immigration, as well as other cultural minorities. It also includes members from the economics and education areas. The Board assesses the analyses carried out by research teams and makes new contributions to projects. In other words, results obtained can be adjusted to a more careful analysis of the reality, which in turn makes it possible to adjust the inclusion proposals from the Arab and Muslim community to the job market. The *AMAL* project also involves a multicultural research team.

Analysis

To carry out our present content analysis, the research team firstly defined the analysis categories, which were discussed with the research participants and used to guide the reading of the different stations' coverage of the events in Ceuta and Melilla. The monitoring of the news shows and the content analysis were carried out jointly with the associations that participated in the project in different meetings, some individually (one association) and others in group sessions (different members of the association, diverse associations).

What we wanted to compare between stations was the preferred reading the broadcasters took towards the events and the point to which the framing and closing elements enabled the public to reflect on them.

The eight analysis categories we defined were:

- **News Criteria:** What news criteria were prioritised in the construction of the story? Some of the criteria we took as reference points were: currentness of the story, proximity, consequence (future repercussion of the events), personal relevance (newsmakers), suspense, rarity, conflict and emotion (human drama). We did not try to make a list or description of the news criteria but rather

determine the criteria on which the stories we analysed were based.

- **Objectivity:** What appeared in the story? Was a supposedly neutral position taken through which events spoke for themselves (e.g., taking part of a statement of a politician and nothing else)? Was any mention made that an objective task was being done? Was the information confirmed? How were figures and testimonials used?
- **Type of Discourse:** Related to the previous point, we took into account whether the person presenting the story or report made spontaneous or reflexive interpretations in the story or news context. By spontaneous interpretations, we mean, for example, the decontextualised use of testimonials, whether the informants contributed something to the story, whether the explanation was decontextualised, etc. By reflexive interpretations we mean, for example, whether there were theoretical or analysis elements in the story (involving causes), whether confirmed information was provided, whether the aim was to get the viewers to take some type of action as a result of reflection, etc.
- **Reflexivity:** Related to the previous point, we checked whether throughout the news story the stations provided analysis elements on the situation to offer a reading of the events that could contribute to viewer reflection or whether no care was taken with the language or it was used in the station's own interests.
- **Protagonist's Viewpoint/Voice:** We looked at who the protagonist of the story was, the viewpoint from which he or she spoke and the person who gave an opinion: politician, presenter, expert, immigrant, etc., and also how the things said were termed (the tone used) and what was not said that might also have been included.
- **Labelling:** In particular, we wanted to discover how immigrants and their actions were classified and, broadly speaking, how the other protagonists in the story and their actions were classified.
- **Respect:** Related to the previous point, we checked whether the facts were addressed by presenting them as a problem from a sensationalistic viewpoint or whether care was taken with regards the language and images used.
- **Inclusion:** Was the story addressed from a viewpoint of

social cohesion? Were solutions to the situation or alternatives of some kind offered? Were associations and/or people who work for inclusion given a voice? Were there testimonials from people who had already immigrated and were currently living normally among us here?

Results

Antena 3 TV

The main news criterion found was conflict: in expressions such as “remains of the battle” in reference to how the fence was seen or when bloody images were shown. These two examples were mentioned in particular in the DLCAs and CDGs.

The news stories emphasised both political and social conflict. In terms of the former, it was the confrontation between political parties, and in terms the latter, the station repeatedly focused on the human drama suffered by immigrants and identified the events with a broader social problem, i.e., immigration. If in the first few days the confrontation between the parties seemed to be the most important part of the crisis, later stories focused on the situation of the immigrants at the border and the solidarity actions undertaken by the Spanish public in different towns. A calmer situation was presented on 11 October, but the problem still persisted.

The coverage also included suspense generated by a situation: on the one hand, possible prognostics given uncertainty, e.g., when it said that everybody in Melilla knew the immigrants were going to try to jump the fence before winter arrived.

A further news criterion found was emotion. Stories focused on emotions such as pain and compassion in expressions like: “abandoned to their fate”; “crowded together, in handcuffs, without food or drink” and “others, with tears in their eyes, begged desperately for help”. We also found stories that sometimes focused on the lack of knowledge about the real situation of hundreds of people, something which contributed to building emotional empathy: “nobody really knows the final destination of the nearly 1,000 sub-Saharan immigrants”.

With regards objectivity, one of the people who took part in

the DLCAs said the story he heard had lacked arguments. It was also said that facts weren't given but rather inserts broadcast featuring statements by politicians or where the viewer could see coordinated police action, but not always with enough context to contain elements about what was really happening. In the station's approach there was no involvement with facts or concern for seeking the voice of immigrants.

People also said facts were generally presented through the use of testimonials, but few references were made to the sources used. Organisations like SOS Racismo were quoted for particular figures or information. However, sources could be ambiguous: "Some NGOs have announced that hundreds of immigrants are being deported", or not specified: "The NGOs believe Rabat is pretending it doesn't know what is going on". This ambiguity contributed to the impression of confusion and lack of control that the very discourse of the story emphasised. With regards witnesses given a voice, on numerous occasions this involved the spokespeople, workers or volunteers of NGOs and at other times it involved would-be immigrants. Organisations were asked to analyse the situation. Immigrants were asked to recount their experiences or personal requirements or were shown requesting help. There were no other witnesses or analysis on the part of people from different cultural groups.

In one of the CDGs, the different activeness/passiveness of witnesses was evaluated as particularly negative. If the selected witness was a person who had just jumped the fence, it is not surprising he would be confused and tired, and the image that reached us was of someone who was helpless. People in the CDGs also said this person would have had enough work on his plate determining where he was without having someone throw questions at him. Maintaining this news criterion with respect to sources that are important to take into account means generating an association of the immigrant-who-doesn't-know, the immigrant-who-needs-help.

Besides the aspects commented on, and in terms of objectivity, we could say that, all up, events were presented without elements for analysing causes or consequences or that invited viewers to reflect. Very occasionally, an image or words were used to help establish society's overall responsibility. For example, at one point a camera zoom focused on a placard someone was holding up at a

demonstration: "Europe: Your Responsibility?" But throughout the news stories broadcast by Antena 3 TV there was no questioning of the use of the fences or any analysis about the home countries of the people concerned. People from the associations with whom we did the analysis commented that, as the causes of the events presented in the stories were not explained, this had particular consequences such as people looking at them in a particular way (e.g., with fear, paternalism or curiosity).

In terms of protagonists, over time the focus moved from the politicians, who still continued to have an important role, towards the immigrants who had scaled the fence and were shown in police stations and reception centres, being transported in coaches or lost. NGOs also had an important role in the stories: they were shown as sources of information and agents who acted on the ground and who demanded respect for human rights.

The representation of the different groups was 'active' in the case of politicians, NGOs and journalists:

Politicians talked, took decisions, deliberated, recriminated each other for different actions and proposed solutions. The station highlighted the discrepancies between the parties and the opinions of the main opposition party and without making specific comments managed to take up a position - as the slant it gave was positive towards a representative of the Popular Party: "[Rajoy] wanted to learn first-hand about the conflict and had an affectionate message for the people", and neutral or negative towards PSOE representatives.

NGOs denounced the situation and also intervened actively. On one occasion, a short report was done on the clandestine aid activities of an NGO.

Journalists also had an active role: they were on the ground where the events occurred, they reported and they asked questions of the people affected.

The police were the other protagonists of the stories and received a positive coverage. One story not just showed a coordinated and welcoming police body, but also wanted to emphasize how hard the police worked, using shots like one of a police car which had been involved in an accident when it was heading towards the fence.

On the other hand, in the case of immigrants, the representation was repeatedly passive. There were shots of young men, always portrayed as victims, defenceless,

dependent, scared or tired. When they appeared, they were shown begging for aid or explaining their grave situation, with petitions along the lines of “help us, please, please”; “we can’t go back, we have been living hidden in the forest for a year”. Their faces and gestures were of fear, suffering, tiredness, resignation and impotence. Similarly, footage showed them receiving aid and eating, hiding or waiting in a reception centre, or with nothing to do: sitting down waiting, wandering around aimlessly, looking around them.

No immigrant was asked to make an analysis of anything beyond his present situation or to provide his viewpoint. People from other cultural groups not present at the place of the events did not appear either, except occasionally in demonstrations called in a number of cities where we could see Spaniards and people from other countries jointly demanding solutions and respect for human rights.

Finally, although it did not go so far as to represent a lack of respect for immigrants, the use of some expressions and images did reinforce labels and stereotypes about them. Expressions like “illegal” immigrants and an “avalanche” of immigrants were used.

I don't like these terms because above all else they are human beings...They shouldn't talk about an 'avalanche' as if they were talking about an avalanche of animals or an avalanche of snow...they are people first and foremost... —(DLCA3)

For the people involved in the DLCAs and the CDGs, the word ‘avalanche’ had exclusive (even offensive) connotations involving something not human, something disastrous. This was frequently remarked upon, as was the fact that the abovementioned images were also exclusive (the one most people best remembered was of immigrants lying on the ground). On the other hand, in some of the DLCAs people commented that, implicitly, there was a rejection of Morocco and the generation of stereotypes with respect to it because the country was identified as being responsible for or the only one guilty of the current situation, and the discourse with regards the Moroccan government and police was solely negative. People even commented on the tone in which the presenters sometimes said the word ‘Morocco’.

Using images like one of a shirt hanging from the fence

also demonstrate a sensationalistic approach and the use of pictures not always respectful with regards the situation. This image in particular was emphasised in most of the dialogues we held:

What's the story with that shirt hanging there?...That person, where is he? I know...it's that...images that, I don't know, that affect you, I don't know how to explain it...They leave it there, so you could think anything, but the most likely thing to think is that that person is no longer, no longer alive. —(DLCA1)

In general, the news stories covered immigration as a problem, usually with statements from politicians: the problem of illegal immigration must be dealt with. In short, through the human drama of the people suffering, but also from the viewpoint of political conflict and the insecurity the situation generated, the issue of immigration was treated as a problem.

Tele- 5

We could see from the analysis that the news criterion that predominated at Tele-5 was conflict. Most commonly this was political conflict, focused on the actions of the Spanish government to seek solutions to the situation and the repeated condemnations of the main opposition party, as well as diplomatic relations between Spain and Morocco and the call for remaining part of Spain that was heard in the autonomous cities of Ceuta and Melilla. Less commonly it was social conflict, exemplified in the irregular situation of the immigrants and the way they were abandoned in Morocco, as well as the Spanish public’s response to this news. Other news criteria were emotion and suspense, particularly in the reports from correspondents on the ground. In this sense, more than a news story they involved assemblies or edits because events were fictionalised to create emotional empathy and personal stories were made very intense in the form of dramatisations.

With regards objectivity, we found that, except in isolated cases (on one occasion a story quoted the Guinea-Conakry Consul), there were no references to information sources and figures given were not reliable because they often did not coincide with what the images were showing. Groundless statements were also made. There were translation

errors and words were put into the mouths of witnesses. For example, one boy said he had not seen what had happened and he was translated as saying the police had maltreated him. Another time, there was a contradiction between what the news presenter and the correspondent in Morocco said: the former said the immigrants that had been unable to scale the fence had been put into a truck and sent south, where they were to be returned to their home countries; while the latter said they were walking home of their own accord.

However, in some of the stories broadcast, for example the ones of 9 October, the testimony of someone who had already immigrated and was currently working as a street salesman was used. The participants in one of the CDGs remarked that this witness contributed an idea that had not emerged at the other stations, which was that the reality that immigrants face when they reach Spain is complicated and leads some people to think that perhaps they would have been better off not coming. This contributed a new element that was not present in the other stories.

With regards type of discourse, it was generally felt that stories were built on spontaneous interpretations along the lines of "Here's a disoriented person" and that sometimes the language used was hugely exaggerated. Also, this type of spontaneity was often fictionalised in a type of mixture of genres aimed at creating a certain realism of a non-existent daily life.

The discourse generated, according to the participants in the DLCAs and CDGs, ended up promoting the rejection of immigrants. That is why, more than any other station, it is necessary to present the news in a more reflexive manner and with more respect for people in order to make viewers aware of the events presented. We found that, except in very isolated cases, the coverage of the events did not promote reflection but rather put up barriers.

The protagonists were the politicians and political parties. The confrontation between the parties was shown, along with the discourse of the politicians, without interpretation or contextualisation, such as when statements were taken from politicians without any accompanying commentary. Proposed political solutions featured prominently, such as with regards aid to be granted to tackle the situation. Government action was underlined through expressions such as: "The government reacts". Immigrants were of se-

condary importance, featuring as objects of the story rather than active subjects. Politicians, on the other hand, usually appeared in an active fashion (most frequently in actions of conflict, i.e., mutual accusations, but also a number of images showing them reaching an agreement). Although immigrants featured in the stories with a frequency very similar to that of the political actors, they were presented in a passive fashion, with images of defencelessness (lining up for a shower, lying or sitting on the ground), which, added to the lack of presence of active actors from cultural groups, meant the direction of the discourse and the images at the end of the day ranged from passivity to negativity.

H: "The government reacts"

A: Yes, "immigrants were turned back" as if they were saying 'thank goodness'...I don't know...if there were other terms that were a bit different...well then..."The government has reacted with the immigrants"...terms...If they could use other terms... — (CDG II)

Unlike the other stations, and with significant frequency, a number of Tele-5 journalists – particularly the special correspondent – became the protagonists of the news because they took part in the personal stories or dramas they were reporting on, which were narrated by and in part starred themselves.

Footage of NGOs worked as a counterpoint and aid agencies were presented as the public voice calling for the defence of human rights.

There are Moroccan NGOs but they don't appear, they are never shown in the media...They exist and they do a lot of work. —(DLCA3)

We have already mentioned that the images that showed immigrants generally showed them to be defenceless. Similarly, Tele-5 showed the protection the Spaniards on the ground offered the immigrants, in an attempt to spark emotion.

The Moroccan police were labelled negatively as Ramadan was related with a supposed lack of vigilance.

The image most often provided of the Spanish police was of an officer hitting an immigrant.

In this regard, it is as if sometimes the journalists were who sent to report from the spot were trying to 'hunt' a story. In fact, in some of the stories there were constructions where immigrants were used to narrate a series of circumstances that bore little resemblance to the truth. Some of the participants in the DLCAs and CDGs felt the station did not cover the situation humanely and believed it often sought sensationalism. They also said the focus was nearly always negative in every way. Positive images were occasionally shown, such as a shot of Moroccans enquiring after the destiny of the people who were moved off, handcuffed, in coaches.

Both the language and images were used in a sensationalist manner. As in the case of Antena 3 TV, Tele-5 also used the 'avalanche' concept, but gave it an exaggerated and alarmist tone.

I think the language is very over-the-top (...), you know? They play it up a lot and turn it into a circus....And it is a really important story, they are red-hot issues.. —(CDG I)

TV3

The news criterion most commonly present at TV3 was social conflict and, to a lesser extent, political and cultural conflict, in that order. However, it could be argued that conflicts were analysed and did not arise purely from a criterion of generating sensationalism or using political interest one way or another.

I think these were the first news stories we saw where the people who spoke weren't politicians or presenters. At least there was the odd immigrant who discussed why he had left his country and they also provided...they also spoke about...I liked...they looked at the problems, why people leave their countries: war, famine, plagues...They didn't focus on the confrontation between the PP and the PSOE but instead tried to base the stories on the problem of immigration and immigrants, why they leave their countries...That's important, isn't it?. —(DLCA1)

With regards objectivity, TV3's news stories in many cases included a look at the reasons for the situation and the

station took a position in statements like "the fences separate the rich from the poor". Over the days, different voices were included: as well as politicians, there were the voices of NGOs, immigrants (not just in the forest or at the police station, but also in the desert), non-Spaniards in Melilla and Moroccans. Unlike the other stations, we heard immigrants talk and their testimonials were contributions to the story rather than an example of them simply being used. Now and then they were subtitled. There were also explanations about the reality of the different countries the immigrants were leaving and references to the social and political reasons, as well as the personal ones, behind their decision. Immigration was posited as a worldwide phenomenon and there was mention of the risks people take when they emigrate.

Also, the figures offered were confirmed with the presence of testimonials and the translations were reliable. This gave a general impression of consistency, although sometimes sources were not quoted (e.g., when pictures were broadcast from Moroccan TV stations without any credit).

The station also featured demands by NGOs and demonstrations and concentrations carried out by people who wanted a change in immigration policies. Civil society played an important role in general, as well as in the vocabulary used.

The station introduced debates about some of the political solutions provided, e.g., the internment centres.

Another general impression about TV3's coverage was that reflection was promoted, particularly in the 5 October evening programme. One issue mentioned in the DLCAs was that it didn't talk about an 'avalanche' so much as a 'human drama'. This approach meant that from the first day it marked, in the opinion of the people from the different associations that took part in the content analysis, a very important difference with respect to the other stations' coverage.

There is an important difference at TV3, i.e., not 'avalanche' but 'drama', showing something that is real, that people have to react to, that another thing...I think it is very good to show it as a human drama. —(DLCA2)

However, it was also found that some of the shots used,

e.g., a pile of wooden ladders leaning against the fence, stereotyped immigration as they reinforced the aspect of misery and precariousness. Also, and in keeping with the other stations, TV3 used images that showed immigrants in situations of defenceless, such as a line of people at the police station, immigrants crying on the coaches, left in the desert and internment camps, with clothes given them by the heads of the reception centres, etc. Situations were shown which, when not compared with other, more positive shots of the cultural groups affected, only served to promote an image of inferiority. In the case of TV3, however, it must be said that these types of shots were less common than at the other stations and were made up for by the presence of other, more diverse ones. On the other hand, facts were also occasionally fictionalised, e.g., in a report that featured the brother of a boy who had scaled the fence. The station followed the boy on a day-long quest to find his brother.

Mention was made in the DLCA's and CDG's that coverage was generally respectful and focused on immigration rather than confrontations between parties and countries. Once again, this was particularly so on 5 October.

The information given could lead to a favourable reaction, a desire to act to change the situation, and we found the coverage contributed many reflexive elements that can lead to a better understanding of the immigration phenomenon and thereby promote the social inclusion of immigrants, particularly when groups that work towards this inclusion were given a voice on-air.

La 2

The two main news criteria found at La 2 were political conflict and emotion. The latter was shown in expressions such as: "For many sub-Saharan, the time they had to wait to scale the fence has remained behind the wall." One of the recourses used to emphasise the emotion was, for example, shown by journalists who tried to put themselves in the minds of immigrants so they mentioned and focused on their interpretation of the feelings that someone who had just scaled the fence might have.

They try to address the stories according to their criteria - they focus them how they like. I don't think they want to go into depth, to ask the person most affected. —(CDG II)

On the other hand, as happened at Antena 3 TV and Tele-5, issues were addressed in an ad-hoc manner so that statements or explanations about events were made that did not relate to the news story or connect with it or expand upon it with other figures.

With regards type of discourse, La 2 usually built/fictionalised one that explained it, which, together with the emphasis on things of an emotive nature, created a feeling of little credibility with respect to facts. The analysis found this construction was supported both on the treatment of discourse and the selection of images. One example came on 11 October: the evening news began with the arrival of a fishing boat used in illegal immigration and then went on to the monitoring of events in Ceuta and Melilla to end with the statement: "For now, the dream of thousands of Africans burns before a wire fence or on a beach in Africa", with a shot of a boat in flames as the context.

Looking at the footage in more detail, we found it was not always related with the commentary:

And finally, they didn't show anything that talked about immigration or true testimonies or respect or anything. Just the shot and that's it, and the shot didn't have much to do with the commentary... — DLCA3

Also, there was not necessarily any agreement between what was said or what the journalist said the immigrants were thinking and the footage shown. For example, there was a story on whether there was concern for the fate of the repatriated immigrants – however, figures were not given nor was there any follow-up about the question of repatriation.

Therefore, as the discussion groups found, although the type of discourse was aimed at reflection, the station presented a very limited vision of the reality and did not include the information needed for viewers to construct their own critical reflection. In this sense, some of the participants pointed out the importance of programmes basing stories on more profound reflections about the facts they report on and enabling the visualisation of the parties most affected, treating them with the dignity and respect they deserve, as we can see from the quote shown above.

With respect the viewpoint and voice of the protagonists of the stories, unlike the other stations that give more weight to

political characters, the actors most usually represented on La 2 were the immigrants involved in the events, although the treatment of their presence was very diverse. The station usually offered a dramatic representation in which we found both cases where immigrants were asked for their opinion and others where only pictures of them were shown in different emotional situations, such as crying or screaming, without contextualising what was happening.

We also found, less frequently, other protagonists, i.e., the representatives of the major political parties. In this sense, La 2, as with TV3, showed on 11 October incredulity with respect to the effectiveness of the diplomatic route, and particularly highlighted the condemnations of the NGOs: "Today we find ourselves facing two different images - Moratinos congratulating Morocco and NGOs condemning the way in which the deportations are being carried out".

NGOs were also protagonists of the stories, playing the role of the critics - as they also did at the other stations - of the situation presented and voicing the defence of immigrants' human rights. A voice was thus given to groups that fight for social inclusion, something which enabled these groups in turn to call for social mobilisation and the search for solutions: "We are calling on the people, because it is the people who are stopping this".

Sometimes, however, the treatment given to immigrants was more sensationalistic than reflexive or mobilising: "On a beach on the African coast, these sub-Saharanans with planks of wood in their hands, are getting ready to build their own boat...we don't know much more, just that later the boat was seen up in flames and surrounded by Moroccan police officers...we don't know who set it on fire".

We can therefore conclude that, on the one hand, the immigrants involved and the NGOs had a bigger voice than on the other stations and it seems the direction was positive and condemnatory but, on the other hand, the stories were very sensationalistic.

TVE

The main news criteria were the political and social conflicts. In this regard, and unlike the other stations, the TVE news shows put a positive spin on the conflicts and the Government's action. Overall, the aim was to show that the situation was 'under control', at least in relation to the political confrontation. There was occasionally a certain

playing down of the problems of the situation. The emphasis was put on the solutions being sought and the advances being made via the actions of the Spanish government, e.g., when it was emphasised that the presidents of the autonomous cities of Ceuta and Melilla had emerged content from a meeting with the Vice-President of the Government, or when the Minister for Foreign Affairs was shown having arrived to manage the crisis. In contrast, TVE's stories condemned and put more emphasis on the difficulties the Moroccan government was having in handling the situation and on its errors. It contrasted the official silence from the Moroccan authorities with denunciations from NGOs and other sources. However, in one of the discussion groups, somebody mentioned that even though these statements were presented as objective facts, the images themselves contradicted the discourse that everything was under control or that political will/action was really solving the situation.

One contradiction is that the pictures suggest it is a common problem and that they want to solve it, and you see the government involved and the NGOs as well, but in that there is a problem, because it turns out that they don't take full responsibility for the immigrants but move them off in a coach and leave them to their fate, and this contradicts what they said before about wanting to find a solution to the problem...—(CDG II)

Also in the political sphere, the station provided a more negative view of the opposition party in comparison to the Spanish government. When mentioning Rajoy's visit to Melilla, the journalist said: "Metres away, and without mentioning them (referring to the immigrants), Rajoy visited the reception centre". Statements from the head of the opposition with regards the need to expel all illegal immigrants were repeated. However, the station also indirectly repeated (via shots of press conferences introduced without any comment, just to present them as facts or responses to the statement of somebody else) what the opposition should do and what it should have done when it was in power.

The social conflict was basically reflected in the conditions the immigrants were living in. They were shown being helped by the police, handcuffed and put on a coach, sitting

on the ground tired and dirty, collecting food, crying and screaming. Sometimes the pictures wanted to represent people's dreams or frustrations, such as when an image was shown of immigrants behind the fence of a reception centre with the shadow of a plane overhead.

With regards objectivity, the resources the station had at its disposal were noticeable as they used many inserts and live broadcasts from places where the events were evolving, including Melilla, Ceuta, Rabat, the Moncloa Palace, a hospital, a reception centre, a demonstration in Ceuta, etc. and various places could be shown within the one story. The camera crews entered the coaches that transported the immigrants, obtaining very detailed pictures of the facilities and equipment set up for them, and were present at ministerial meetings.

The station also included reports within the same news unit, something uncommon among the other stations. For examples, there was a brief report on the expulsion of immigrants, or a report about a mosque.

However, we found information was not always checked and once the presenter and witnesses gave contradictory information within the same story. Similarly, not all the images corresponded with what was being said. One example involved the desert, where the footage used did not show immigrants there at the time, although that was what was being said. In any case, the reports also included a certain construction of narrative fiction, as when, featuring a shot of immigrants praying, the voiceover said: "They are asking God to allow them to stay here, to achieve their dream of finding a future in Europe". However, this was not common.

In principle, there were no elements that specifically promoted viewer reflection or contributed to any type of action or participation on the part of the public, but the station's reports did contribute analysis elements beyond the transmission of events and the previously mentioned examples of lack of precision. For example, some stories were illustrated with an analysis of what the Moroccan press was saying (an element that the participants in the DLCAs and CDGs commented on as being positive) and explanations were sought in contexts such as mosques, outside of the particular place where the events unfolded. This type of report could have an ambivalent potential. On the one hand, it reinforces what was deduced from the

content analysis about TVE focusing on the greater responsibility (fault) of the Moroccan government with respect to the situation but at the same time gave more profound information by including the voice of the Moroccan press, which could help viewers make a more complete reading or reach their own conclusions about the events.

The station also included testimonies and opinions from Moroccans, Muslims and other cultural groups not directly affected by the problem. One representative of a Moroccan immigration-aid association made a harsh denunciation of the decision to expel people by coach, while a representative of the Melilla Islamic Committee prioritised the human condition over the role of religion. In this way, testimonies were used that contributed information about the reality of the immigrants.

In some cases, it was the immigrants involved in the events themselves who featured in the stories, but they were nearly always in the background and did not address the public directly.

The discourse used was based on spontaneous interpretations along the lines of 'the immigrants were sad'. In general, we found footage that showed immigrants behind the fences, quiet or lying down and which was taken from ground level. Common shots were of the injured and defenceless - but overall the human factor was less important than the political one because the one that had most intensity was the justification of the actions of the Spanish government.

There was also an important police presence. The Spanish police were contrasted against the Moroccan one and stories focused on how Moroccan officers mistreated immigrants. This point was the source of debate in the different groups. They agreed that Moroccan authorities have less respect for human rights, but they also found this idea was repeatedly shown by contrasting the two sides and not by specifying the situation. They concluded that one of the ideas transmitted was that the Spanish police went about their jobs and the immigrants were keen to go to the police stations (to be helped by the police) when in general they were just looking for their companions.

In terms of footage, labelling and respect towards immigrants, we found TVE introduced a certain plurality of voices and images as well as ones that focused specifically on groups that tried to scale the fence, people who were

handcuffed, etc. Another conclusion was that the shots of defencelessness used in terms of the immigrants involved in the events had, along with the reports broadcast, an ambivalent potential. It was felt the images were negative and did not respect the immigrants because they breached people's privacy and generated a distance between them and us.

Finally, we found the station tried to take a certain amount of care with regards language, such as when it avoided the expression 'illegal immigration' in favour of 'irregular immigration'.

Conclusions

In general, all the television stations used conflict as the main news criterion: Antena 3 TV, Tele-5 and TVE focused particularly on political conflict, the first two from a negative viewpoint and the third trying to put a positive spin on it; La 2 and TV3 focused particularly on social conflict and TV3 also tried to analyse the conflicts as well as reflect, expand upon or play them down, something TVE also did to a lesser degree.

One of the issues that came up in one of the discussion groups with regards this production criteria was that the issue of immigration was only discussed when there were conflicts. "We have to wait for another 'avalanche' to talk about immigration. What comes after the avalanche? Do we just wait for other another one?" and that it could be discussed on other occasions.

We found that the reality the different stations covered was partial and there were clear contradictions between the information the stations offered beyond the approach taken. A participant in one of the discussion groups said that what he liked least about the stories was that it was hard to know whether the media was covering the stories according to particular interests or whether that was the reality. From the point of view of people who have immigrated and are now involved with the associations, the different stations did not talk about how immigrants, once they have scaled the fence, run into more difficulties. The stories did not always follow the news interests of the immigrants. In this sense, the associations felt this could be addressed within the reports included in the news.

With regards objectivity, generally speaking there was a simplified and limited reading of reality. For example, the use of the word 'avalanche' by La 2, Tele-5 and Antena 3 TV was not faithful to the situation because it was alarmist and not descriptive. Another example was using only one testimony – from a person who had just scaled the fence – as if this person alone could help explain the whole of the real situation.

One area of objectivity where the stations fell down was the provision of unconfirmed information, such as in the case of Antena 3 TV. The least-consistent station was Tele-5, because not only did it not check information or make good use of testimonies, it used a type of spontaneous discourse and fictionalised everything it said to the extent that it finally resulted in the stories being seen as ad-hoc edits rather than pieces of information.

Also, there was a difference in figures mentioned by Antena 3 TV and Tele-5:

Here they talk about 500 people while on A3 they said 1,000 in the desert...There is a very important difference in figures. —(DLCA3)

We found that, in the comparison between the stations, TV3 sought to make a diagnosis of the immigration phenomenon and featured reports that contributed elements that enabled viewers to compare information and reach their own conclusions. It also made good use of computer graphics. In the case of TVE, the reports did not try to analyse the causes of immigration but did include the Moroccan NGOs that were helping the immigrants.

It was felt that at all the stations the type of discourse mostly used was a spontaneous one. The most frequent case was Tele-5 and the less frequent was TV3. This discourse included the way the political parties used the immigration situation in their confrontations and awarded a greater role to the political conflict than to immigration. There was no elaboration of the news. This was also reflected in the language employed, which often contained prejudices, such as for example using 'illegal' instead of 'irregular'. In this area it was TVE who took the most care with language.

With regards reflexivity, TV3, unlike the other stations, diagnosed the phenomenon and tried to explain the causes

of the situation, as well as place the phenomenon in an international dimension.

The associations gave a great deal of importance to reflexive elements because they believed that, if not taken into account, information could generate a limited interpretation of the reality. In one of the discussion groups a real fact was given as an example – that of a woman who ran into one of the group participants: ‘You run into an old lady who says “Aren’t you better off here?”’ he reported.

It was mentioned that in general the media did not go to the heart of the problem but reported a political conflict and political reactions: “We talk about immigration and the problem of immigration, and who is shown but politicians and police. What the PP says to the PSOE, what the PSOE says to the PP”. This was particularly noticeable at TVE, Antena 3 TV and Tele-5.

Sometimes the stations made their reporters the stars of the story or the only interpreters of reality. One person who took part in the discussion groups commented that television gave its point of view but not that of someone who was suffering a situation: ‘From (the point of view of) the television stations, they (the immigrants) have got what they wanted, which was to enter Europe’. More or less all the stations took this approach. Of particular note, however, were the edits of Antena 3 TV and Tele-5, which were considered sensationalistic, but they could also be found at TV3 or when a journalist took a starring role such as at La 2: “Only the crickets break the evening silence. We cannot record their thoughts but we can imagine them”.

Another issue mentioned in the comparison between stations was that European media portray Africa as being devoid of anything. The direction of the coverage is therefore negative, as if Africans are all poor and have nothing, are helpless and without recourses. This means they end up being seen as second-class citizens. Furthermore, the word ‘immigrant’, the classification the stations used most commonly to define the people, was used with differing criteria. Famous sportspeople are not considered immigrants even if they have not been nationalised and have just arrived, and are known by their nationality, something which did not happen in the case of the events in Ceuta and Melilla, except for once on TV3 when one of the witnesses was presented as a citizen of his homeland, although he was living in Catalonia. This was

also considered contradictory - even though the participants in the group discussions preferred it to the label of ‘illegal immigrant’ or just ‘immigrant’. All the stations emphasised the fact that a person was an immigrant above anything else: immigration was seen not a temporary condition, i.e., a process in which a person is currently involved, but as if migration was a state of being: ‘the immigrant’, not ‘a person who is migrating’. From the contributions of the associations we can see that this vision has to change, because the fact of emigrating does not make you an immigrant for your whole life. It is a temporary situation and this should be specified more in the oral discourse of the news stories.

I can't spend my whole life being an immigrant! Now I am here, I have migrated, I am a migrated person...It has to be delimited...For me, personally, an immigrant should stop being known as an immigrant after a year, now they are here, they have arrived...I am also a citizen, we are active but unrecognised citizens, as we participate and do many things... —(DLCA2)

One participant in a CDG felt that, despite everything, there has been a certain transformation in media coverage (extendible to all the stations) because the media have changed a number of practices.

With regards the footage that represented the immigrants involved in the events, the stations generally chose shots of passivity and defencelessness, La 2 and Tele-5 in particular. In some cases, this was somewhat compensated for by testimonials or a greater diversity of images.

All the stations used pictures that showed immigrants in a situation of defencelessness, such as a queue of people outside a police station, immigrants crying on the coaches, in the desert or interment centres, with clothes they had been given by the centre staff, etc. In the different DLCA's and CDGs, people said these images could imply both defenceless and denunciation, i.e., there was an aspect of making viewers aware because they made them reflect on the situation the immigrants were suffering.

The news programmes occasionally generated positive labels to justify the actions of the Spanish authorities and compare them with other countries that supposedly did not act in such a positive fashion. This was particularly so at TVE.

With regards inclusion, the participants understood that confirmed information that tried to explain the reality would spur politicians and NGOs into action.

They said it was associations that, again through the media, had become aware of the issue and considered it important to mobilise, independently of station coverage. That was why the associations themselves got in contact with the media. Some local radio stations had also done interviews, which led other outlets to react, but in the local sphere. In general, the participants said, both the content analysis and the fieldwork carried out found that immigrant associations and cultural groups had virtually no voice in the media.

Some of the suggestions established over the course of the analysis were:

- It is necessary to avoid using expressions such as 'avalanche', 'mass arrival of people' or 'drama' when speaking about immigration. It would be more precise to give figures: '65 people', 'less than 500 people in all', 'out of every 10 people who emigrate in Africa, 8 remain on the continent and 2 go to Europe', etc. 'Avalanche' should not be used when talking about human beings and nor should 'drama'. Perhaps we should use the word 'arrival' and that's it.
- Words themselves may not be as important as tone used and images that accompany them. It is important to listen to how people want to be called, a claim that usually reaches us via their own associations.
- It is important that journalists, when preparing information on newcomers/immigrants, bear in mind the people in the host country, who are the ones who experience it on a daily basis but who are not used to having a voice in the media.
- It is important not only to use the testimony of someone who has just scaled the fence the minute after they land on the other side, or someone who arrived only a few hours before, but also that of people who have been in Spain for some time and now participate in society.
- It is necessary to talk with immigrant associations so they may explain their experiences and contribute their viewpoints to afford them the chance to also reflect on the immigration phenomenon and because they have things to say.
- It is important to show positive coexistence.
- It is important to check information and study problems in greater depth because African immigration has changed greatly and these changes were not reflected in the media. The complexity of the issues was not addressed and there was a simplification of the causes.
- It is important to monitor issues. One of the demands expressed by the people who took part in the research was the need to monitor the issues that shape a news story at a given time. For example, various stories referred to the majority of would-be immigrants being taking back to their homelands by plane or coach. But no station followed up on how this repatriation was carried out. No station covered it and although viewers might have wondered what happened to the people and if they were ok, they would learn nothing about their fate because, once expelled, it seems the story ends. In this sense, the people who participated in the research called for a more humane, dignified and empathic (not sensationalistic or dramatic) coverage.

Notes

- 1 This article is by Lena de Botton, researcher at the University of Barcelona (UB); Laura López, researcher at the UB; Jordi Male, professor at the University of Lleida (UdL); Cristina Pulido, researcher at the UB; Miquel Àngel Pulido, researcher at the UdL; Ababacar Thiak, member of the Ujaranza Foundation; Iolanda Tortajada, professor at the UdL and members of the CREA (Center of Research on Theories and Practices that Overcome Inequalities).
- 2 Quote from the participants.
CDG= Communicative Discussion Group (1 or 2 because two discussion groups were formed)
DLCA= Daily Life Communicative Accounts (1,2, 3 or 4 because 4 accounts were involved)
- 3 Project participating organisations: Lleida solidària – Fundació MPDL (Lleida), Associació Catalana de Residents Senegalesos (Barcelona), Associació Sahbi (Barcelona), Grup Multicultural de l'associació Àgora (Barcelona), Associació de Mali de Lleida (Lleida), Associació de Gàmbia de Lleida (Lleida) and Iniciativa per a la integració social i el desenvolupament social (Lleida).
- 4 For further information on the critical communicative methodology:
<http://www.pcb.ub.es/crea/metodologia.htm>
- 5 Chomsky, Searle, Mead, Vygotsky, Habermas and Beck, amongst others.
- 6 Project results can be consulted at:
<http://www.neskes.net/workalo>
- 7 To consult the resolution taken by the lower house, see:
http://www.congreso.es/public_oficiales/L8/CONG/DS/PL/PL_114.PDF
- 8 Detailed project results can be consulted at:
<http://www.pcb.ub.es/crea/proyectos/amal/index.htm>

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Critical but Dependent: How Young People Interpret Television News (The Impact of the Events in Ceuta and Melilla)

Enric Prats and Elisabet Higuera¹

- *The article refers to research carried out with high-school students to study the impact of television news reports about the incidents in Ceuta and Melilla, which were a focus of interest particularly in October 2005. The fieldwork was carried out two to three months after the story broke, with the objective of establishing the sediment left, both in terms of representations and values about the events themselves and particularly with regard the media treatment afforded them. It should be said that the methodology used began from the supposition that when we bring young people face to face with images like the ones they could see in these stories and we do so in a group setting and reflexive manner, we are providing a number of skills of critical understanding about reality which might, in other spaces such as the school or family, not have been produced. In this way, 'spontaneous' racist prejudices and stereotypes are put to the test with the crudeness of the images and contrasted with the joint reflection. One of the conclusions put to discussion is that the young people that took part in this research showed signs of critical capacity but also appeared to be confused and to have a divided perspective about the facts; the level to which the media contributes to building this confusion and reinforcing a partial and fragmented vision of the phenomenon dealt with is also be discussed in the final pages of this article.*

Key words

Immigration, media impact, youth, news treatment

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Approach to the problem and state of the matter

In the context of the research work about the news treatment of the incidents in the fence battles in Ceuta and Melilla of October 2005, coordinated by the Table for Diversity at the Catalonia Broadcasting Council, this article presents and discusses the results of research work into the impact on young people in obligatory and higher-certificate secondary studies.

We wanted to frame the problem of this research work within three topics: studies about the impact and effects of television; migration and its presence in the media and the ideal pedagogical framework for a careful treatment of education in audiovisual communication.

1. Studies about the Impact and Effects of Television

Research into the broadcast media has traditionally had two major study objects: the preparation of the message and its reception among viewers. The first refers to the processes involved in the design and execution of audiovisual products, which covers such diverse elements as analysis of the discourse, underlying ideological matrices, the technical requirements employed and the study of the economic agents and groups that support the media. In short, it involves studying how and why audiovisual products are prepared. The second major study object refers to how and what reaches the public, what effects the products generate and, in short, which consequences can be attributed to the intervention of the broadcast media. We will focus on the second area.

Leaving aside theories that reject from the start that television has a great importance in people's lives and which therefore do not admit its relevance, we can set out the

study of the effects of the media in three lines: *I*) research that focuses on the study of individual effects in cognitive, emotional and behavioural areas; *II*) research that focuses on studying not so much particular and specific effects but the life environment the media generates in subjects with regard to lifestyle, priorities, values, etc.; *III*) research that seeks to study the conditions of the reception of the message, both in individual terms and those referring to the direct environment of relations. All these presumptions are separate from the debate about whether there is intentionality on the part of the media to produce particular effects on subjects and the anticipated time of the impact². Thus, besides advertising, which would be the main exponent of the intentionality of activating or inhibiting particular behaviour, the question involves establishing whether the news, intentionally or not, has a more or less precise ability to impact the public's agenda of concerns, the construction of perceptions and representations of the world, and in short the elaboration of maps or scales of values, among other aspects³.

The type of effects indicated by scientific research can be summed up in four main areas of interest (WIMMER AND DOMINICK 2000): the antisocial and pro-social effects of media content; consumer uses and gratifications; establishment of an agenda on the part of the media; and cultivation of the perceptions of the social reality. The first of these areas is the one that has been the object of most effort, in a proportion that can be quantified at four to one in comparison with the others, in which studies about the effects of violence have had a prominent role⁴. In relation to consumer uses and gratifications, research in this field focuses on obtaining information about the television habits of viewers associated with particular consumption patterns, which programmers use to adjust their programming schedules. The third area of interest, i.e., the establishment of an agenda on the part of the media, is the one which probably most strongly links with the interests of the research presented in this article; this research interest has been around for nearly a century, since Lippmann suggested in 1922 that the broadcast media was responsible for the images in our heads (WIMMER AND DOMINICK 2000). These studies group programming issues together in broad categories and measure the time each operator dedicates to them; models of the public's interests are obtained through

public-opinion polls and significant correlations between the issues with the most media presence and the concerns expressed in the opinion polls are extracted. The last area of interest also features a number of points to consider in the work presented here, in particular in relation to the consideration that matters learnt through the media are generalised, sometimes incorrectly, into the social sphere. The central idea is that television cultivates or prepares perceptions of reality: for example, there is evidence that people who watch a lot of TV overestimate the presence of violence in the streets and consider themselves possible victims of criminal acts.

Thus, in relation to the impact of the effects of the media from the methodological viewpoint, its analysis has followed three basic alternative lines, according to the scientific discipline and the interests at stake: structural, behaviourist and cultural. The structural tradition is rooted particularly in approaches that focus on the media and has sought to establish television's effects through opinion or audience polls (WOLF 1992). The behaviourist tradition, belonging to psychology and in particular social psychology, focuses more on the repercussion on the behaviour of socially defined members, through the use of experimental methodologies, participant observations and content analysis. Finally, the cultural tradition, provided by sociolinguistics and anthropology, halfway between socio-centric and media-centric approaches, impacts the analysis of cases with qualitative methodologies to obtain information important for a profound understanding of particular cases and situations rather than generalisations (McQUAIL 1994).

At a point where the abovementioned traditions meet, we understand that the audiovisually competent person re-elaborates or re-codes the message in line with particular individual variables, but there are social conditions that can modify or diminish the importance of the initial impact - variables we can get at through in-depth questionnaires, discussion groups and participant observations. With the combination of the three analysis techniques, we are able to obtain relevant data about the process of the reconstruction of meanings.

In particular, when the analysis involves studying the mechanisms of discrimination of cultural diversity and immigrants in particular, it is necessary to assess how the broadcast media reproduces and possibly inflates particular

types of discrimination which are already produced in the social fabric. It is therefore important to observe how this reproduction of social discrimination, by making negative stereotypes visible, by making them invisible and by the use of discriminatory language, materialises in the different television formats (fiction, news, advertising, game shows, channel-hopping, general programmes, etc.), both in general programmes aimed at the whole of the population and specific shows for particular segments (children, sports, the elderly, etc.).

In other words, more than a problem to solve, immigration is a challenge we must know how to handle at all scales and levels of society; that there is discrimination in a good many social spheres cannot be simply attributed to television - but on the other hand, television does have a special responsibility in this matter.

2. Migration on TV

Concern about the image of immigration and cultural diversity in the broadcast media has been a constant in recent years, both from the professional and academic viewpoints and also, but to a lesser degree, from the viewpoint of operators and the Administration⁵. The fronts opened up have included, for example, using a suitable type of language in news bulletins and reports, avoiding sensationalism and simplifications, emphasising positive stories and minimising negative ones, confirming sources, giving a voice to protagonists and becoming aware, in short, of the media's social responsibility in the construction of a multi- or intercultural society⁶. Let us stop here for a moment.

Mentioning the condition of 'immigrant', or in more particular terms 'ethnic group, skin colour, home country, religion or culture' when not strictly essential to understanding a story is a practice that should be avoided⁷. It is based on the principle that, for a correct understanding of the event, the viewer or reader of the news story requires the maximum information available to know the motivations or reasons that produced the story and why, especially, the repercussions that can be produced are determined, both in general and in particular cases. Referring to the frequent news connections between immigration and crime, Giró

reminds us that "the problem is how to avoid contributing to the racist discourse without abandoning the explicative models of events, particularly the explanation of the motivation of the crime and the reasons that led to the crime being committed" and emphasises the need, as the *Style Manual* also does, of turning to reflection to avoid reductionism and sensationalism.

Migration is not a recent phenomenon in any society and has always generated intense debate and controversy. Without a doubt, in the genesis of conflict it is necessary to seek the condition of the foreign or foreigner, or in a broader and vaguer manner, the category of the *other*⁸, which faces a double consideration: it is seen as a threat to *our* lifestyle and values systems, i.e., omnipotent characters prepared to overcome a thousand difficulties and content to take our jobs and belongings, but which also dissolve our identity; criminals and foreigners willing to take extraordinary risks out of fear and desperation; and, on the other hand, a source of income that can help us fill the coffers, like tourists or pensioners who contribute wealth, but also as a source of new ideas⁹. The discourse turns on cultural diversity and immigration, usually with notions of charity and paternalism. There has also been an effort to portray migration in a positive light, recalling the need to attract tax-paying young people to ensure the coffers of the welfare state¹⁰.

It is clear that immigration is not newsworthy in itself but because of the repercussions it has on the host society. In other words, the fact that 200 people scale a fence is not a story, neither are 200 boats full of immigrants setting sail or 200 travellers entering via the airport per month - what does make a story is the fear and desperation of the protagonists, and particularly the context of illegality and the social danger in which they are framed, because the consequences altogether are unpredictable. This explains the morbid interest about immigration as a news story, i.e., the uncertainty of the present and the future.

Therefore, despite the emphasis on eliminating ethnic and religious assignments and geographic sources of origin of the people involved, when there is a report on migration flows it should come as a surprise to no-one that the coverage focuses not so much on negative facts *per se* or their causes¹¹, but rather on hints about the direct impact, in the medium or long term, on the host society, i.e., "they're here" and what is worse "we can't get rid of them".

Therefore, we understand the question is not to try to eliminate these attributes (in the case presented here it would also be absurd and possibly counterproductive to the legitimacy of the sources) but to consider the incident in its strict framework: a set of facts has been produced, with particular causes and consequences. Reporting the three *ingredients* is an ethical decision.

The reporter could forget, for example, that the incident was sparked by a previous situation of injustice (it is not necessary to seek statistics to guess that behind many crimes there is a structure of social inequality) and it would not even be necessary for the operator to question whether it is a crime to scale a border fence (in fact it is, and yet nobody questions immigration laws) or to arrive in a boat or pass an airport control with a tourist visa. What the reporter does not forget is that there is a police force (Moroccan or Spanish, it does not matter) waiting to stamp it out (by death, if necessary) or to catch people who have committed a crime and purge responsibility (deportation to the desert, enclosure in a detention centre). In this storyline, narration is forceful and without loopholes, because the crime can only have been committed by immigrants, who when caught are rapidly classified as criminals in the collective imagination of society.

In short, in news coverage it is more than likely that the balance will lean to the side of negative incidents and that positive milestones featuring immigrants are hidden or forgotten about¹², as is too their daily reality, which strangely enough can coincide to a great extent with that an autochthonous person.

It is interesting to note, in any case, that most of society only knows about the migration reality through the mass media. This knowledge is largely produced by news stories and documentaries, which usually present an ambivalent discourse (the former negative and alarmist; the latter positive and caring); furthermore, direct coexistence with immigrants very often clashes with stereotypes. It seems to confirm what Trenaman and McQuail said in 1961: “the evidence fully suggests that people think *about* something that has been said but never about *what* was said” (italics added by McQuail, 2000, p. 455).

In other words, although it is true that most people know the facts we are dealing with here with some degree of precision because of television, and that the media dis-

course can contribute to building or reinforcing a particular collective imagination about immigration and an agenda of issues to discuss, it is also true that when certain conditions are given, the importance of the definitive impact can be diminished by two elements: inter-subjective reflection, which makes it possible to comment on news stories with other people and adhere to or reject particular group positions, and (in particular) the possession of meta-communicative abilities and strategies of coding and decoding a discourse – tools that are usually explained in educational programmes¹³. Indeed, our position is located in this latter pedagogical dimension.

3. Education in Audiovisual Communication

The process of opinion-forming combines strict knowledge about events with similar previous ones and particularly the set of personal feelings the issue in question generates. Also, with regard to the particular incidents at Ceuta and Melilla, we would say that television, in daily news programmes and specific documentaries, was the most common medium by which people learnt about the events, and that the written press¹⁴ and online information had little impact on the population overall¹⁵. Indirect knowledge is obviously obtained from social interactions with friends, work colleagues or acquaintances and neighbours, who work as multipliers and amplifiers of the narration. As a matter of fact, the population institutionalised in formal training processes, whether adults or children, also have the opportunity to confirm stories with their peers, with the addition that reflexive learning situations *can* be created and prepared in a systematic and methodical manner by an education professional.

The understanding of a reality and *especiallly* the assessment made of it is an unavoidable educational goal and, in particular, is set out in the school programmes of the obligatory levels of high-school education. It does not involve developing a negative perspective about TV or of cutting it out of people’s lives (a highly absurd and inappropriate goal) but having the necessary imagination and ability to design educational tools that make it possible to help construct an audiovisual ability that is sufficient in the current context. We therefore understand that, if it is im-

portant to seek responsibilities about the audiovisual incompetence of viewers, we should first look at training and material shortcomings among education professionals, who have not known or not wanted to develop appropriate strategies in this regard; and only then should we direct our criticism at the media. Of course, we could turn to the inevitable function of the media to educate as well as entertain and report, but this is not one of its founding or principal activities.

Over recent years, the Moral Education Research Group¹⁶, where the research work we present here is located, has developed a conceptual framework and work methodology consistent with the previously mentioned approaches, which it is important to situate in a constructivist and dialogical position, and which seeks the full development of the moral personality of the individual in situations of social interaction. The central hypothesis is that a person is competent, from the ethical and moral points of view, when he or she employs a series of abilities of the construction of the 'I', of coexistence and of socio-moral reflection. In the construction of the 'I', a person develops skills related to self-knowledge and self-regulation and is affirmed in his or her autonomy as a person; in the abilities of coexistence, the person employs skills such as empathy, social ability, dialogue and commitment and is affirmed as a member of a capable community and also projects and proposes changes; finally, in the socio-moral reflection, the person develops skills of critical understanding and moral judgment and is shown to be capable of understanding and addressing ethically compromised situations of particular social relevance.

The intersection of the three previously mentioned spheres, i.e., the actions of becoming aware, taking a position and making decisions, linked to the emotional, rational and volitional areas, can constitute a device to ensure a person has a safe and trusting relationship with the broadcast media. It therefore does not involve, from a pedagogical viewpoint, proposing *moral lessons* to bring out the demons hidden in the television medium, as they say, but rather persuading individuals that the best way of watching TV is with the necessary abilities, and that without a doubt tools that develop a degree of critical understanding and moral judgment are the best guarantee in this regard (MARTÍNEZ AND BUJONS 2001; PUIG 2004; PRATS 2001).

We understand that only with professional codes of conduct about the treatment of news stories can we address an important but insufficient part of the problem. It is necessary to back measures of a proactive nature that impact the abovementioned processes. Along this line, although the Catalonia Broadcasting Council (CAC) promotes recommendations to operators (on the treatment and discrimination of people, users' rights, etc.) so that, in an open and democratic society, they have a fair and balanced treatment, especially in disadvantaged sectors from the social and media points of view, this would only partially solve the situation. It is true that the CAC has worked hard to increase the mechanisms of passive protection, especially for young viewers, through recommendations to families and programme-signalling systems which allow a proper selection on the part of supposedly informed and responsible viewers. But beyond the measures of passive protection, we understand it is necessary for active protection aimed at ensuring the conformation of values that meet the socio-cultural reality and the media reality of the environment, and also aimed at developing particular powers in order to properly enjoy the broadcast media. This active protection can only be guaranteed with a systematic and methodical educational intervention. The research work we have carried out is situated in this active orientation to give a voice to young and adult viewers (CAC, 2005). There is no doubt that the reception of the audiovisual message must have a clearly educational treatment.

3.1. objectives and methodology

The central hypothesis of the research work is that, independently of the ideological macro-positions in the media narration of events, the news has less of an impact if the reception conditions make it possible to discuss the most significant events. The basis of the research work is to find the appropriate methodology to establish the point to which the television treatment of events featuring immigrants, once it has contributed to constructing or reinforcing particular attitudes or values, is able to be modified by the means of a training activity.

The subjects that took part in the research work were 14- to 17-year-old students of obligatory (ESO) and higher-certificate secondary education in five public and State-assisted high schools in Reus, Barcelona, Santa Coloma de

Gramenet and Granollers. The sample was selected on the basis of the voluntary response of the education professionals in 60 centres who had taken part in a previous research work by the same group and about which there were certain guarantees of interest, seriousness and rigour, both in the monitoring of the tutors and on the part of the students. The tutors felt that the participating students presented very diverse features, particularly with regard to academic and personal interests, sociolinguistic profiles and instrumental aptitudes of reading and writing, elements that would impact the discussion of the results.

The methodological device consisted of the following instruments, which combined quantitative and qualitative elements:

a) Initial poll in the form of an individual questionnaire, administered online through the FormSite¹⁷ environment, with closed questions to collect data from the students about four main topics: *i)* the issues that concerned them most in today's society, their degree of critical thought, degree of television consumption and level of tolerance *ii)* the objectivity of the media and the media treatment of immigration in their opinion; *iii)* knowledge about and how seriously they took the incidents in Ceuta and Melilla; *iiii)* the treatment of the incidents on the part of the television news shows.

b) A discussion group, announced as an audiovisual workshop, with three moments: an initial ideas session; watching a summary of the news stories about Ceuta and Melilla (a 15-20 minute selection of the evening news shows of TVE-1, TV3, Antena 3 TV and Tele-5, on the basis of the recordings provided by the CAC) and a group discussion about the news treatment of the events in Ceuta and Melilla on the different stations. The data to collect referred to initial perceptions about the recalling of the TV images relating to the events in Ceuta and Melilla, compared with initial perceptions with the video images, the assessment of the stations that had covered the events best and the most sensationalistic and most serious stations or the ones that had the most social dimension, according to the classification by Ferrés (2005).

c) Final written poll, in the form of an individual questionnaire, as the closure of the workshop, with closed questions to observe the evolution of the phenomenon and to assess the workshop. The data collected in this phase

referred to the overall assessment of the stations and specifically to the ones that best covered the events, with most objectivity, and also the most sensationalistic ones; an analysis and assessment of the headlines and the most representative images from each station, and a selection of the most appropriate image and headline for the incidents overall.

d) Participating observation in the development of the workshop on the part of members of the research group (one or two, as well as the person leading the workshop) to impact specific aspects of the workshop. The data collected in this observation referred to indicators of critical understanding displayed by the students in the development of the workshop, both in relation to the events in Ceuta and Melilla and their media treatment; indicators of changing attitudes at the time of doing the workshops, and elements that could be attributed to the leadership and setting of the workshop that might influence their development.

e) Interview with the tutors of the groups of students, with a semi-structured script, to assess the development of the workshop. The most important information collected in the interviews referred to the general features of the group (with regard to sociolinguistic profile, participation attitudes and cooperation in academic tasks, instrumental aptitudes in reading and writing, critical capacity, etc.), the leadership and development of the workshop and the general results and satisfaction obtained.

4. Results

We present the results of the most relevant elements of the research work: degree of critical thought; television consumption and degree of critical thought; knowledge of the events; treatment of the events on the part of the news shows; treatment by station; final impact.

Degree of Critical Thought

To determine the degree of critical thought of the sample, the initial questionnaire collected information relating to two variables: belief in superstitions and popular beliefs, and opinion on the objectivity of the media.

With regard to the first, nine statements were made referring to superstitions or popular beliefs that have no

basis, such as: *The most intelligent people are those that get the best grades* and *A girl cannot get pregnant the first time she has sex*.

With regard to the second variable, the students were asked if they believed that everything that appeared on the TV news was everything that happened in real life. On the basis of these responses, the sample was divided into three positions: weak, moderate and radical. Responses such as *Don't know* (2%) and *Yes* (5%) were considered 'weak' because they showed no element of critical reflection. Answers such as *Yes, but each station shows their own version of reality* (41%) and *No* (15%) were considered 'moderate'; and the answer *No, because more things happen and they only show the ones that are newsworthy* (37%) was considered 'radical'.

This preliminary classification was crossed with the number of responses about superstitions/beliefs and the result was a new, more detailed, classification based on the number of superstitions and the position on TV, as shown in Table 1.

We considered that subjects who had no or one superstition and a radical position on TV had a *high* critical-thought profile (1+26=27 individuals). Equally, subjects with no or one superstition and a moderate position on TV had a *medium-high* critical-thought profile (1+32=33 individuals). Subjects with two superstitions and a radical or moderate position had a *medium* profile (14+20=34 individuals). Subjects with three superstitions and a radical or moderate

position had a *medium-low* profile (11+16=27 individuals), and subjects with a weak or moderate position and who had marked four items or more had a *low* degree (the rest=29 individuals).

In short, the classification of the final degree of critical thought presented five degrees as a result of combining the responses to the two abovementioned questions, as shown in Table 2.

Television Consumption

The students in the sample had a relatively low television consumption, with an average of around 2 hours a day.

A third of the sample (32.7%) watched TV for less than an hour a day.

Another third (37.3%) watched between 90 minutes and two-and-a-half hours.

The remaining third (30.0%) watched TV for more than three hours a day.

Following with the profile of students identified according to their degree of critical thought, below is a graph about the hours of television consumption and daily consumption of the students in one-hour segments:

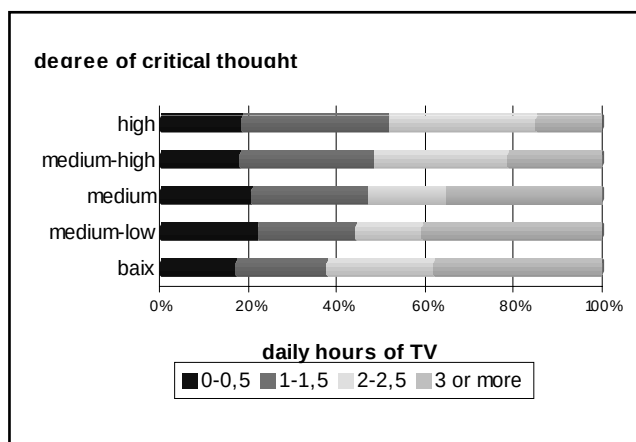
The average hours of consumption per profile and number of individuals of each profile was as follows: students in the *high* profile watched an average of 2 hours and 24 minutes of TV each day; for students in the *medium-high* profile it was 2 hours and 30 minutes; students in the *medium* profile

Table 1. Position on TV and Number of Superstitions

	Position on TV		
superstitions	radical	moderate	weak
0	1	1	0
1	26	32	3
2	14	20	6
3	11	16	1
4 or more	4	14	1

Table 2. Degrees of critical thought in the sample

Degree	Individuals	Percentage
High	27	18%
Medium-high	33	22%
Medium	34	23%
Medium-low	27	18%
Low	29	19%

Graph 1. Hours of television consumption of the sample according to profile of degrees of critical thought

watched an average of 2 hours and 42 minutes, in the *medium-low* profile it was 2 hours and 45 minutes, and in the *low* profile it was an average of 2 hours and 50 minutes. Therefore, despite the fact that the differences are not very significant, there was a relationship between critical thought and television consumption.

Looking at it from a different point of view, of the group that watched three hours or more of TV per day, the ones with a high degree of critical thought had the lowest value, followed by the group with the medium-high profile. Therefore, the degree of critical thought about the events that appeared on TV and the reflection on these events was not linked to the number of hours of television watched. This means we

cannot say that a higher consumption of television (i.e., 'dedication to the TV') results in a better capacity to understand and integrate everything represented on it. This observation provides arguments for the defence that young viewers can or should be trained in audiovisual communication and develop critical tools to be able to reinterpret all the stimuli they receive.

Knowledge about the Events

The level of knowledge about the events in Ceuta and Melilla amongst the students could be considered high, as four out of every five (81.3%) located the incidents clearly on the initial questionnaire, without the issue being previously introduced. About particular events, there were three incidents the students remembered most clearly: firstly, the clearest memory (88.6%) was of people scaling the border fences; secondly (60.0%), "police aggression towards immigrants"; thirdly (48.6%) they recalled the "deportation of immigrants to the desert". Of the other incidents that appeared in the media, we would like to mention the following: from a positive viewpoint, 33.3% recalled "the condemnations of NGOs" with regards the treatment afforded the immigrants, and 15.3% recalled "the construction of detention centres to house immigrants"; and from a negative viewpoint, 22.0% recalled "the political conflicts between Spain and Morocco" and 16.6% recalled "demonstrations by immigrants to demand papers".

The students' remembrances included four incidents that express certain confusion or clear manipulation (whether intentional or not) to relate the events in Ceuta and Melilla with other stories. 16% of the sample expressed certain confusion with regards events and stories, remembering that the news featured "immigrants taking off in boats for the Peninsula" [episodes of boats leaving in the direction of the Canary Islands were shown in November 2005], while 18.6% said they recalled "racist incidents in cities in France" [the incidents involving the burning of vehicles in France were from November 2005]. With regards possible manipulation of events and stories, 18.6% related it to "discussions about reforming the Immigration Law" [an issue that was not being debated at the time], and the same percentage, 18.6%, related it to the "debate about the Statute of Catalonia" [the debate in Congress on this issue was on 2 November 2005, although some stations did pre-

sent the two stories consecutively on some occasions].

Also at the start of the workshop, in the ideas session, they showed quite a lot of precision but few details when asked about their memory of the incidents. They remembered the events particularly because of the images of people scaling fences and immigrants abandoned in the desert. In particular, the events they remembered were the following: the scaling of fences, police aggression (Spanish and Moroccan police), police shooting, deportations to home countries, immigrants abandoned in the desert, immigrants returning on foot, immigrants scaling the fences and getting stuck, immigrants lying on the ground, queues of people demanding papers, demonstrations and deaths. There were also some interferences with other incidents (particularly the events in France in November 2005 and the debate about the proposed Statute).

According to the students, the 'causes' of the incidents had to be sought in the source of the problem: two-thirds (68.6%) said the root of the problem was 'poverty in their homelands', while the remaining third attributed the incidents to factors produced directly at the place of the events and therefore had a limited vision of the phenomenon¹⁸.

The first opinion was reinforced when the students were asked for a news headline they would choose for the events. The results were as follows:

- More than half (56.0%) chose a headline that featured *poverty* and *humanitarian disaster*: "Poverty in Africa Sparks Major Humanitarian Disaster".
- Two out of ten (21.6%) preferred a headline that featured *death*, *immigration* and *Europe*: "Immigrants Die in Attempt to Reach Europe".
- One out of ten (11.4%) chose a *defensive* heading relating to the *fence* and the need to put a brake on immigration: "Melilla Fence Not Enough to Stop Immigrants": Also, one out of ten (10.7%) chose an even more restrictive and alarmist headline: "Europe Invaded by Illegal Immigrants" (6.0%) or "Immigrants Without Papers Storm Europe" (4.7%).

Treatment of the Events on the Part of the News Shows

Before going into the particulars of the events in Ceuta and Melilla with regards media treatment about migration, the opinions given in the initial questionnaire were clearly distributed in three parts:

- Just over a third (38.6%) said the news provided a fairly untrue or inadequate treatment about immigration: "They show negative aspects to win ratings" (20.0%); "They only show them in association with conflicts, problems or similar situations" (18.6%).
- Another third (36.0%) considered the television treatment was pretty neutral: "They show immigrants as they are" (10.0%); "They feature in good and bad things alike" (26.0%).
- The rest (25.3%) said that the news treatment was quite correct but that it had a negative connotation because "it shows how they enter and the problems they cause".

With regard to the specific treatment of the events in Ceuta and Melilla, the students presented a partial and, to a certain extent, confused perception about the treatment provided by the news shows, but had a critical vision in general terms.

According to the critical-thought profiles, we can identify some common elements and others that belong to each profile. With regard to the differential elements, the high critical-thought profile had a more critical opinion of the treatment of the TV news shows about immigration: 19% of these individuals felt the treatment awarded immigration was *inadequate*. If we add to this the 48% that felt it was *not very accurate*, two-thirds (67%) of these students disagreed with the media treatment of immigration. The profiles of the medium (38%) and medium-high (34%) degrees, on the other hand, were more impartial and felt that the treatment was *quite good*. The medium-low profile was approving of the TV news treatment of immigration: 32% said the treatment was *quite accurate* and 15% said it was *adequate*. With regards the students in the low critical-thought profile, 41% felt the treatment was *quite accurate* while 14% felt it was *adequate*.

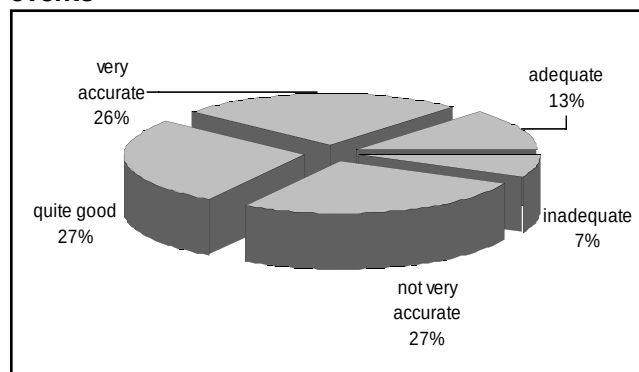
We can therefore say that the higher the degree of critical thought, the less the students agreed with the TV news treatment of immigration-related issues. This denotes a relatively critical spirit about how TV news shows report and a reflection of what reaches students from the TV.

With regard to general trends, as we said earlier, most of the individuals, independently of their profile, felt that the facts were quite or very serious. There were also no differences by profile when asked if television exaggerated the events, a question which clearly divided the

sample. 52% said it did, while 48% said it did not.

In the closing questionnaire after the workshop, the students were asked their individual opinions on the treatment of the events by the four stations that were the study object, using the same typology as the initial questionnaire. The results were as follows (graph 2).

Graph 2. General opinion on the treatment of the events



We can see that 39% (*quite accurate* and *adequate*) felt the treatment was correct. In a more neutral position were the 27% of students who said it was *quite good*, and in a negative position, 34% (*not very accurate* or *inadequate*). Therefore, again there was a division of criteria. A study of this item by degree of critical thought would help us see whether there are indicators of changing attitudes following the analysis and reflection work.

According to the students, the most frequent images on the news were negative. The main results are shown here:

- At a first level of importance, relating to direct events, two-thirds (67.5%) recalled images of “immigrants scaling fences” and close to half (48.6%) recalled “dead immigrants at the bottom of the fence”.
- At a second level, as an immediate consequence of the events, close to a third recalled “arrested immigrants trying to escape” (31.0%), and “receiving attention from health workers” (31.0%).
- At a third level, of the final repercussions of the incidents, they recalled “immigrants abandoned in the desert” (30.4%), and “telling their stories to camera” (26.3%).
- At a fourth level, about events that did not appear or that

were not related, some students recalled immigrants “que-uing up to request papers” (16.2%), and “returning to their homeland on foot” (9.4%).

In short, the degree of critical thought influenced the impact the events had on the students. The more critical tools they had, the more able they were to reflect on how the events came about and what was really happening. This statement is supported by the fact that the students with a higher degree of critical thought were more critical about the news treatment awarded immigration issues.

On the other hand, footage of events, negative connotations and harshness make for a high level of impact, as was the case here.

News Treatment by Station

In the analysis by station, the images of the stories coincided on many points and differed on some. The areas in which the stations coincided were as follows (table 3 and 4)

These differences were particularly emphasised during the workshop to determine which station had done the best reporting job and which was the specific nature of each. The station with the best treatment was TV3, followed by Tele-5, Antena 3 TV and TVE-1, with not many differences between them. All up, it is interesting to see the relationship between the station they considered to have best treated the events and the nature they attributed each station.

The groups voted on the nature of each station, according to three adjectives: sensationalist, social and serious. The students believed the most ‘sensationalist’ station was Antena 3 TV in all the groups consulted, followed by Tele-5, in three of the five groups. The most ‘social’ station was TV3, in four of the five groups and the most ‘serious’ station was TVE-1, also in four of the five groups.

These figures were confirmed in the individual questionnaire at the end, which was used to revalidate the opinions expressed in the group sessions. The figures confirmed that the most sensationalist was Antena 3 TV, followed by Tele-5. To the question of which gave the best overall treatment, it was determined to be TV3, as the workshop had already found. Finally, the station considered the most objective became TV3, comparing objectivity with seriousness, concepts worked on during the workshop, which thus dislodged TVE-1 from the top spot.

Table 3. Issues that coincided on the news shows of all stations

	TVE-1	TV3	Antena 3 TV	Tele-5
Immigrants scaling fences	✓	✓	✓	✓
Moroccan police aggression	✓	✓	✓	✓
Packed detention centre	✓	✓	✓	✓
New fences and security measures	✓	✓	✓	✓
Political debate	✓	✓	✓	✓
Politicians' visits to Melilla (Rajoy and De la Vega)	✓	✓	✓	✓
Deportations agreed on with Morocco	✓	✓	✓	✓
Abandonment of deportees in the desert	✓	✓	✓	✓
Condemnation by NGOs and aid for people affected	✓	✓	✓	✓
Statistical information on immigrants affected	✓	✓	✓	✓
Euro-African Summit (agreements between governments)	✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 4. Different issues on the news shows of all the stations

	TVE-1	TV3	Antena 3 TV	Tele-5
Immigrants' state of health		✓	✓	✓
Immigrants returning to their homeland on foot		✓	✓	✓
Spanish police aggression		✓		✓
Gathering up of immigrants by Moroccan government		✓		✓
Linking of events with articles of the Statute			✓	✓
Pro-Spanish demonstrations	✓			
Explanation of the causes that sparked the events		✓		
Financial cost of the incidents		✓		
Momentary dénouement of the incidents		✓		
Human rights demonstrations			✓	
Fixing up new spaces to look after immigrants				✓

Final Impact: Image and Headlines

In the final questionnaire, the students had to choose three images from among nine on the different stations about the events. The selection criterion had to be the “most significant and that which best defined the events”. The first three were as follows (see page 78).

It is significant to observe how the impact lies in images related with security responses and control of the situation and, secondly, in images related to feelings and human

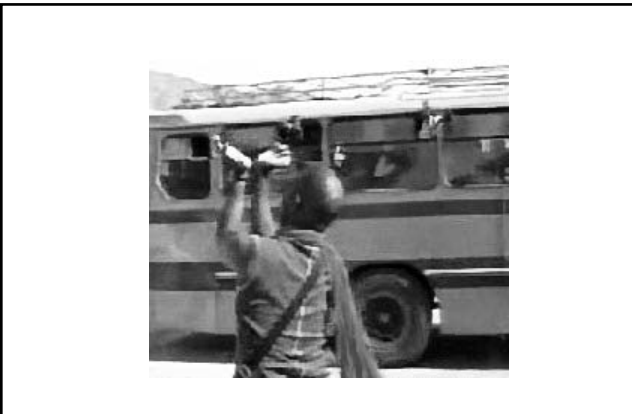
suffering. This corroborates the idea that it is possible to create a feeling of security and appeal to viewers' feelings to get them interested in a story by using images that arouse emotion. This statement is corroborated with comments by the tutors who observed them: “After having seen the images I saw that the group did not make cold judgments and thought more about the people.”

With regards the type of news stories the students would like to see, they were asked to put a heading to an image

1. Increased security



2. Deportation to the desert



3. Desperation



that represented the two previous concepts, i.e., security and emotion. They could choose from three headings: one of a social nature, one of a more serious nature, and one of a more sensationalist nature¹⁹.

The image corresponded to a handcuffed immigrant trying to escape from the coach deporting them.

The results of the headlines chosen for the image were as follows:

- *Social*: Morocco Violates Right to Life of Deported Sub-Saharan (40%)
- *Serious*: Attempt to Flee Deportation Leads to Death (38%)
- *Sensationalist*: Thousands of Sub-Saharan Immigrants Sentenced to Death in the Sahara (22%)

The students' options were firstly of a more social nature, closely followed by a more serious nature, and finally came the group of the most sensationalist nature. The previous information was therefore confirmed with the headlines, which put social news first as the model the students like most.

Discussion

In the final part of the article we submit for discussion the elements of the research work we consider stand out the most. Firstly, we refer to interesting conclusions about side elements of the research, such as the level of knowledge about the events and the seriousness as perceived by the students, or the difference in the treatment by each station. Secondly, we discuss methodological aspects and parti-

cularly the device used and each of the tools. Thirdly, we look at the background to the question, i.e., the discussion about the effects and the contribution of the media in the construction of the collective imagination.

The questions in the initial questionnaire, administered six weeks after the events, and the first onsite workshop activity, carried out two to three months later, show a fairly clear recall of the incidents on the part of the students. Their memories are partial and relatively confused and further research work would have to be done to determine the degree of responsibility of the media. The seriousness they attributed to the events is worth mentioning, bearing in mind the disinterest repeatedly attributed to young people with regards situations like the one we are concerned with here.

Indeed, the study of the recall of the images illustrates this aspect. It is important to point out that the images that made the most impact on the students involved immigrants scaling the fences and dead immigrants at the bottom of the fences (even though this image did not appear on any station). This denotes a certain tendency to associate events like the ones in Ceuta and Melilla with death, and even to internalise headlines or parts of broadcast stories by remaking them in images. It could also be by crossing other stories on the same dates and even other stories about immigration and access in Spain. It is worth recalling that the issue of the Ceuta and Melilla border fence cannot be separated from the location of these two enclaves in Africa and the international legal dispute, and that it is not an exclusive concern of the Spanish diplomatic agenda; furthermore, at the international scale too, migration is a concern that exceeds the Spanish sphere²⁰.

With regard to the difference in the treatment of the events by each station, generally speaking the students all indicated there was a *common agenda* on the part of the media, with a bunch of issues that coincided, but once the differential features of each station were detected in terms of specific topics, the students were able to assess the nature of each operator. We should recall that TV3 was considered to be the most objective station with the highest social dimension; this appreciation, however, has a correlation with the sociolinguistic profile of the students, which goes a long way to determining television consumption: non-Catalan-speaking students, who tended to watch other operators, did not believe TV3 was the most objective

station or the one that provided the best reports. This observation requires a longer-term sociolinguistic study. Furthermore, the students' preferences, which usually coincided with the station they watched the most often²¹, was combined with the operator's 'stamp', something which conditioned the assessment made; e.g., TVE-1 was the station that scored lowest and was considered the most serious because "it is the government station and explains things in the way the politicians want", according to phrases collected by the teachers and by the observers in the workshops.

From the methodological viewpoint, we would like to stop and look at a number of elements. Firstly, the research work prioritised the quality of the interventions over the number of opinions of the interviewees and therefore combined tools of mass data collection (questionnaires before and after the workshop) with tools that made it possible to look more deeply at the reflections of the students. The discussion group, in the form of the workshop on television content, was a very powerful tool, led by an experienced person and two group observers, which was able to gather quite valuable information. This procedure, however, is relatively expensive and furthermore, the need to standardise interventions to make the collected information more valid means that not many groups can be attended at the same time. So therefore, although we value the device used in quite a positive fashion, we consider it important to make a number of adjustments of a technical nature before future interventions.

All up, there is no doubt about the validity of the workshop itself. The students' immersion in a 15- to 20-minute long video showing images they could see any day but charged with crudity and desperation, enabled us to unearth a number of emotions that, if channelled correctly, could help unmask prejudices and stereotypes. The reflection process carried out after they watched it went very much more directly into the burning issues of the matter, and when we tried to establish the responsibility of the media overall, the attitudes were very sensitive. The observations of the tutors show this. The tutors said that by the end of the workshop, the students were aware of the need to identify causes in problems shown on the news, and political profitability in the treatment given by the media. In short, watching the images served to reproduce the original impact (the scaling of

fences, clothes caught on wire, deportation to the desert, blows from police ,etc.), refresh memories, put them up for discussion and reconsider opinions. Also, as the work was done in a group, individual viewpoints became less important. We can conclude that the educational validity of putting controversial issues up for discussion and reflection is guaranteed.

The background discussion, however, was the point to which the media contributes to the construction of the collective imagination of young people, in particular with regards immigration. The purpose was obviously to measure critical capacity, both in relation to the events themselves and in areas strictly related with the media treatment of the events. In the first area, the critical understanding of the events at least meant that, two or three months on, the subject could produce or articulate responses such as: identify the protagonists and the passive or active agents involved, and the most significant incidents or actions; recall the most representative images of the incidents or the ones that most precisely narrated the set of the actions; attribute a degree of seriousness to the events in comparison with other social phenomena; identify the causes of the problem and the repercussions at the social level. On the other hand, critical understanding of media treatment meant producing or articulating one or more of the following responses: calibrating the level of news coverage made by the media, so that both because of geographical proximity and number of people affected, it could be compared with other news (events in France, the tsunami, etc.); attributing a meaning to the distance detected between the most significant and the most repeated images (explanation for the insistence on particular morbid images); measuring the proportion assigned to the causes of the phenomenon shown on the news; assessing the alarmist nature of the repercussions of the incidents shown by the media, etc.

The analysis made it possible to observe that the media reinforce a partial and fragmented vision of the phenomenon involved because the students made this perception obvious and we checked that information on the issue could only have arrived via the TV. Altogether, surely, the individual framework of reception, together with the environmental conditions of this reception, are ingredients that should not be underestimated. In other words, the research

showed that, individually and to a greater or lesser extent according to the case at hand, the students possessed a number of critical capacities to handle the television discourse, but that these capacities were only activated in a heteronomous fashion, from outside, and in situations that required a painstaking methodological design that prevented reductionism and simplism, such as the our onsite workshop. We are talking, in short, about critical but dependent viewers.

Generally speaking, the students in the final year of obligatory secondary education and those in the higher-certificate course were more reflexive than students in the lower years. Among the interviews at the end of the workshop, one teacher from a group of first-year higher-certificate students said she had noticed in the workshop that the students “were aware that interests of parties, groups and/or people influenced what was reported and the discourses that reach us”. The same teacher also said it was necessary to re-channel television inputs in high school and that “at levels like the higher-certificate level, it will always be easier to be able to re-channel these types of issues because there is a high level of thinking”. This belief was shared by the five tutors who took part in the study. In other words, the school years contribute to discriminating the television discourse and also provide knowledge to adopt a more critical point of view.

The results identified both the degree of critical thought of the sample group and other indicators that help confirm the starting hypothesis: *The message that young people recall and integrate in their perception of events is partial and has variable effects depending on their degree of critical thought*. Despite this hypothesis being confirmed by the data obtained, the results did not refer to a long enough period of time to be able to state anything with conviction. However, as we said, the methodology will be reviewed for future studies to be able to more clearly collect essential aspects that improve the corroboration of the starting premise.

As the impact is not contained in a perfectly identifiable individual receptacle, as we said earlier on, it is important to try to find indications in three areas. Firstly, we understand that the supposed *individual* effects could be established on the basis of the level of knowledge about and seriousness of the events on the part of the subjects (as we have ana-

lysed here) but also on the basis of the subjects' emotional filters and the pragmatic responses usually generated in similar situations ("What do you do when you see a story like this? Do you turn off the TV or change the channel? Do you get upset or do you think it is normal?" etc.). Secondly, in terms of the reception environment, it is important to discover the degree of coincidence between the concerns and interests of the research subjects and the general population, measured in opinion polls, i.e., the *agenda* of concerns, and also to establish the news alternatives for young people. Thirdly, we consider it essential to go into more detail about the repercussions of creating a space favourable to the emergence of feelings and the exchange and confirmation of opinions and reflections with others, and to analyse the importance of the educational level in the assessments made.

In short, we can endorse the statement by Trenaman and McQuail that we mentioned earlier on, in the sense that the media provide discussion topics but in no way can we conclude that they dictate the orientation of these discussions.

Notes

- 1 We would like to thank Alba Pascual for helping design the research work and developing operational support tasks. We would also like to mention the dedication and involvement of Claustre Bofarull, Jaume M. Giménez and the 4th-year ESO (obligatory secondary education) students from Josep Tapiró High (Reus); Ramon Breu and the 1st-year higher-certificate students from Solc School (Barcelona); Joaquim Fernández-Díaz and the 1st-year higher-certificate students from Sant Ignasi School (Barcelona); Alfonso Salomón Ripeu and the 1st-year ESO students from Ramon de Berenguer High (Santa Coloma de Gramenet) and Elvira Duran and the 1st-year higher-certificate students from Celestí Bellera High (Granollers).
- 2 An analysis model that distinguishes between intentional or planned, and non-intentional, and short- and long-term effects can be consulted in McQuail, 1994, p.507. In the crossing of the two variables, intention and term, we obtain four possibilities: "tendentiousness", "involuntary ten-

dentiousness", "operator policy" and "ideology". In this work we have expressly omitted this part of the analysis.

- 3 Other aspects would be the media's ability to charm, television's impact on the socialisation of individuals, the ability of acculturation, etc. These possibilities (more in the long term) as well as no doubt the conformation of values, require long-term longitudinal studies.
- 4 Important revisions of studies about the effects of violence and presence of minorities, among other matters, can be found in Bryant and Zillman (1994). Also see the CAC (2003) proposals and recommendations in this regard.
- 5 The 3rd Journalists' Congress of Catalonia in 1996 warned about the media treatment received by 'ethnic minorities' and proposed the creation of a style manual dedicated to this issue. Previously, diverse academic studies had warned about the image of immigration in the press and on TV; the respective teams of professors Lorite and Rodrigo were the leaders of the day.
- 6 See a critical, not negative, revision of these postulates in Giró (2002).
- 7 Set out in the *Style Manual* of the Catalonia College of Journalists (www.periodistes.org) and in decision 1/99 from the CAC on the treatment of ethnic minorities on TV (CAC, 2000).
- 8 The gypsy population is also included in this category, along with all forms of racism based on ethno-centric positions that generate social inequality. For a conceptualisation of racism, see Prats (2001).
- 9 In previous decades, xenophilia in our country focussed on Francophile or Germanophile sympathies. This has lately given way, in general terms, to Westernophilia and in particular sympathy for anything from the United States (a 'philia' that covers many spheres, from trade to science, and the word for which is hard to construct let alone pronounce).
- 10 This defence collapses under its own weight: what happens to immigrants and non-immigrants who work in the underground economy and do not directly contribute to the Social Security coffers? Do we throw them out?

- 11 It goes without saying that social inequality (due to poverty in the home countries) and legal injustice (due to laws that restrict the passage of persons, but not products or money) do not make a 'good' story.
- 12 Stories that raise the protagonist to the category of hero were not included because they are anecdotal and extraordinary, e.g., the cave-in of a house in Hospitalet de Llobregat (Lorite, 2004), even though the condition of immigrant was not always mentioned in these reports.
- 13 McQuail (1996, p. 533) holds that, although a *superficial* understanding of a news story is facilitated by narrative interest, relevance and specificity, a profound *critical* understanding is assured when a story is commented on with other people and the individual has a particular level of education.
- 14 For a study on the impact of the free press, see Kathleen P. Mahoney (New York Times) and James H. Collins, (Scarborough Research) (2005) *Consumer Newspaper Choice in Markets with Free Print Options: Are Free Daily Newspapers Competition or Opportunity for Traditional Paid Products?*. Available at: <http://www.scarborough.com/press.php> [consulted: 5.2.2006]
- 15 Using the search engine Google it is possible to see how the Internet contributes to shoring up stereotypes and prejudices: see in particular the procedure for preparing the world prejudice map: <http://blog.outer-court.com/prejudice/> [consulted: 22.1.2006]
- 16 Research group from the University of Barcelona formed by university staff, researchers and other professionals. The group enjoys a consolidated position thanks to the Generalitat of Catalonia.
- 17 Questionnaire available at: <http://fs19.formsite.com/UB-CAC/melilla/index.html>. FormSite is a registered trademark.
- 18 The distribution of this group would be as follows: 11.3% of the total sample said the root of the problem was 'the low height of the fences'; 9.3% believed it was 'the lack of papers among immigrants'; 8.0% attributed it to the 'low presence of border police' and only 2.6% gave 'poor understanding between Moroccan and Spanish politicians' as the root of the problem.
- 19 It is important to mention that the headlines were not elaborated by journalists and are therefore approximations to each topic made by education professionals.
- 20 It would be interesting to compare these incidents with the ones of the Albanian and Turkish vessels that arrived at the south of Italy and Sicily in March 2002, or African boats in August 2004 and summer 2005, or even the latest incident, regarding the publication of caricatures of Mohammed, in February 2006, which usually generate a forceful response from authorities and significant media coverage.
- 21 It is worth remembering that we limited ourselves to news stories, programmes not often popular amongst young people, and which are probably watched because the TV is one at the time (mainly at meal times).

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TV News and Immigration Issues with Regards Access to the Public Agenda

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- *The purpose of this article is to examine how the main Spanish television stations intervene in the processes of selecting and narrating immigration-related conflicts through the TV news. It also aims to offer a specific methodology for the monitoring and analysis of television information on the issue of immigration and to facilitate the continuation of comparative studies between stations and over time. The article summarises the results obtained from a qualitative analysis of a sample of three periods in 2003 when we compared the agendas of the general-interest Spanish stations TVE-1, Antena 3 TV and Tele-5 and the Catalan station TV3. The results made it possible to detect important insufficiencies in the television coverage of immigration problems, as well as noticeable differences in the activity of each station as a selector and narrator of conflicts relating to the new migration flows to Spain.*

Key words

Television, immigration, thematic agenda, TV news, Spain, Catalonia, agenda setting.

1. Objectives

The reception of immigrants from around the world in Spain is, as has been said before, a relatively new phenomenon. It is new from the socioeconomic viewpoint and also from the political one. In recent years, the constant flow of new emigrants crossing the Spanish borders has begun to be one of the main objects of public and police attention.

Indeed, the immigrants reach the borders and are immediately identified, detained, registered and possibly returned to their home country by the border police. This repeated image in the now-commonplace iconography of European Union border countries sums up the crucial role of the guard in an immigrant's access to the position of new citizen.

The purpose of this article is, similarly, to explore the role of guard that the media, and most particularly TV news shows, are awarded in the creation of public images and agendas on the processes and conflicts of immigration. In this regard, the article sets out some of the results of a broader research project entitled "Television and the Construction of a Public Image of Immigration in Spain"¹, funded as part of the 2001-2003 National Knowledge Plan.

The international research tradition in journalism and communication has interpreted and explained these processes of media intervention in the control of information and the public agenda as processes of gate keeping, agenda setting and news-worthiness.

In this framework, the basic goal of the article is to contribute a number of preliminary, exploratory approximations on how the main Spanish television stations intervene in the processes of selecting or marginalizing immigration-related conflicts through TV news shows. It also aims to prepare and justify a specific methodology for the monitoring and analysis of television information on the issue of immigration with the purpose of facilitating the continuation

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of comparative studies between stations and over time. The methodology applied in this research work has been used with more or less significant variations in different studies by the UNICA Group from the Pompeu Fabra University on the thematic agendas in TV news shows.²

2. Methodology Notes

2.1. Theoretical Framework

This study is located at the crossroads between two of the main current lines of research about the role of the media and its mediations in the definition of public problems. On one hand, the sociology of knowledge proposes considering the media as narrative and discursive instruments central to the social construction of reality. In this area, the study of news and the role of journalists and news companies in the processes of selection and classification and the building of hierarchies about events of public interest in order to attribute them public relevance has a solid tradition of reference studies.³

On the other hand, a strong research orientation proceeding from political theory, and more particularly political communication, considers the media as fundamental intermediaries in the construction of public problems. In other words, fundamental in the determination of reference images of social unrest, which compete between political actors and appeal to the intervention of political power. In this regard, we are particularly interested in a number of lines of thought that propose researching how social problems become public problems, which actors are more likely to successfully compete and which types of involvement between the media and political systems are involved in the processes of defining particular problems as public ones⁴.

In this theoretical context, we can presuppose that the definition by the media of a thematic agenda and the definition of a particular field of social unrest as a public problem are intimately linked.

The research tradition of an empirical basis that belongs to the agenda-setting school has set out part of both orientations. The theoretical and methodological framework of agenda-setting, particularly on the basis of the innovative contributions of Iyengar and Kinder and the founder himself,

McCombs⁵, as well as the new perspectives introduced by framing methodologies, make it possible to establish the methodological bases of this work.

2.2. Study Object

The empirical object of the study project was the news shows on the general-interest television stations in Spain during 2003. Given the volume of the universe to examine, a sampling strategy was imposed which was broadly significant of the whole and which enabled economic management of the sample and the application of analysis protocols.

The particular study object was a sample of primetime news shows from the three State general-interest stations, i.e., TVE-1, Tele-5 and Antena 3 TV, and the Catalan general-interest station TV3.

The total of the news shows analysed covered six weeks in 2003, distributed over three periods of two weeks each, corresponding to the months of February, July and September, as indicated in the table 1:

The selection of these three periods responded to the adopted qualitative research strategy (following the recommendations of authors like Altheide and Cassetti and De Chio⁶): a first period chosen at random (July) and then completion of the sample with two significant periods (February and September) in line with the monitoring of the journalistic information published in a selection of the written press between November 2002 and September 2003.

Following the press agenda made it possible to determine significant periods on the basis of contextual criteria that could influence the probabilities of access to the news shows of immigration-related information. Thus, the periods analysed were periods that were not, in terms of news, greatly conditioned by unusual political or journalistic factors (mainly the war in Iraq and the municipal and autonomous-community electoral campaigns and the autonomous-community campaign in Catalonia), which might have altered the results.

2.3. Research Strategy

The research strategy applied to this objective followed the steps described below:

1. **Preparation of the repertoire of key words.** To facilitate content classification of the units and subsequent

Table 1. Television News Samples from the Stations Analysed

Station	Period	Month	Year	Number of News Shows	Time *	Station total
TVE-1	Days 1-14	February	2003	14	10h 36'05"	30h 15'32"
	Days 30-13	June/ July	2003	13	10h 44'39"	
	Days 6-19	September	2003	14	8h 54'48"	
Antena 3 TV	Days 1-14	February	2003	14	9h 12'35"	25h 47'48"
	Days 30-13	June/ July	2003	13	9h 47'04"	
	Days 6-19	September	2003	13	6h 54'09"	
Tele-5	Days 1-14	February	2003	14	9h 52'45"	29h 54'39"
	Days 30-13	June/ July	2003	13	9h 46'58"	
	Days 6-19	September	2003	13	10h 14'56"	
TV3	Days 1-14	February	2003	14	10h 49'03"	32h 08' 07"
	Days 30-13	June/ July	2003	13	10h 30'27"	
	Days 6-19	September	2003	13	10h 48'37"	
Total time analysed						118h 06'06"

* The time of each news show includes advertising breaks in the middle

analysis, a list of key words⁷ was drawn up with regards the problematization of immigration on television. To make this catalogue of key words, the need to include all the descriptors that appeared in the selected time samples was taken into account, along with the criterion of not making a universal catalogue about the study topic. We monitored the press (key to the sample selection) as a basis for a preparing a wide range of descriptors that made it possible to exhaustively identify the sub-issue, types of characters, actions and reference territories that predominated when it came to preparing the news proposals. The particular fields established to classify the units, and within which many key words were grouped, were: "Sociogeographic Space", i.e., the sociogeographic reference in relation to the place of the events or actions or with the place the protagonists came from; "Social Agents", which classified the protagonists of the actions according to whether they were public authorities, social institutions, individuals, etc.; and the fundamental "Themes/Actions" the analysis unit referred to, which included a double level (issue and sub-issue) to optimise unit identification.

2. Design of an analysis matrix. This was designed to apply to all the information units related with the study object.⁸ The matrix not only made it possible to identify, define and describe the presence of the issue on the news agenda of each station, but it could also be evaluated in terms of position on the news rundown and presence and importance on the summary. The matrix also considered the study of the journalistic genres used, the identification and evaluation of the sources of information, both with regards news and images, the definition of the main characters that appeared and many other elements that contributed to drawing the narrative strategies of each station when it came to constructing the public image of immigration. The quantification of the news units and items involved made it possible to establish comparisons between different stations, both with regards number of units over the whole and time devoted, as well as the corresponding specifications related to the importance, issue, main character and identification of the sources of each of the units and of the stations as a whole.

3. Contextualisation of the news selection. The analysis

and evaluation of the empirical selection of the sample took into account both the external context of the news and the internal context within the station and its programming policies. The first factor made it necessary to consider the news context of the weeks analysed in order to detect the presence of major events and issues that captured the attention of all the news media, and therefore also television, and limited attention to problems considered of lesser importance (which the case of immigration may be, for example). In this sense, the war in Iraq, floods and major sporting events are three examples of big issues that 'contaminated' all the news information during the selected sample period. The second factor to bear in mind referred to the programming analysis of each station and the programming availability that each station had to meet its news function. In this sense, the presence of the issue which was the study object in the news could not be considered in isolation, but had to be framed within the whole of the station's programming. The assessment of the access of the issue of immigration to the stations' news agendas had to bear in mind the fact that some stations only have news shows to meet their news function, while others (public stations mainly) include other reports and documentary spaces where news and current-affairs content can be expanded on.

4. **Comparison with the press agenda.** The methodology applied to the analysis of the television samples involved, as I have said, comparing the television agenda with the one detected in the overall set of reference newspapers⁹. This made it possible to relate the thematic selection that appeared on TV with what the daily papers did on the same dates. It was based on the consideration that TV news shows include a smaller number of thematic units than newspapers and that the latter have a much greater facility for shaping coverage space than TV news shows do, so the press can be followed to obtain a fairly exhaustive list of events and news stories that TV shows could choose in the same period. Consequently, a comparison between the press news list and the list of issues included on the television news shows has significant elements for assessing the selection made by the different stations and knowing the proportion of immigration-related news items that were

excluded from the attention of the TV news show. This exercise was therefore aimed at trying to complete and explain the selection processes the matrix identified.

3. Results

3.1. The Presence of Immigration

The first thing to mention from the analysis of the three samples examined is the scarce number of news units dedicated to the issue of immigration during the periods analysed. This means the results obtained must be considered with caution and in any case be taken as a basis of comparison for future research work.

From the four stations analysed, the most unusual feature is the figure recorded by TVE-1, which devoted only eight units (half or less than the other stations analysed) to immigration-related topics. Tele-5 and TV3 were the two stations with the greatest number of units collected (18) and Antena 3 TV was halfway, with 14 news items. Consequently, the time devoted to immigration by the news shows of the four stations analysed in the sample periods chosen was very small with respect to the total sample time: immigration represented the object of a news story in 0.57% of the news time at TVE-1, 1.24% in the case of Antena 3 TV, 1.44% in the case of the Catalan station, and 1.86% in the case of Tele-5, which devoted a relatively more important space to the study object.

In terms of the distribution of the news units considered, there was a homogenous tendency among the four stations. Although the number of units differed, the proportions were similar in all cases. As we can see in Table 2, the sample period when all the stations recorded a relatively lower time than the total news time was the first half of February, when the number of collected units was lowest. The other two periods, i.e., the months of July and September, included the same number of units if we consider the stations separately and practically the same for all the stations (around 7 units) except TVE-1 (around four units). It is interesting to note that the amounts did not correspond with expectations when selecting the sample, based on press monitoring of the months of February and September and on chance or intuition in the month of July. As I will show further on, in the analysis of the news time discriminated by television and

Table 2. Units and Time Devoted to Immigration on the TV News Shows of TVE-1, Antena 3 TV, Tele-5 and TV3

Station	Period	Units	Time	Relative
TVE-1	February 2003 (01-14)	1	1'40"	0.26 %
	June-July 2003 (30-13)	4	5'15"	0.81 %
	September 2003 (06-19)	3	3'26"	0.64 %
	Total	8	10'21"	0.57 %
Antena 3 TV	February 2003 (01-14)	0	0	-
	June-July 2003 (30-13)	7	11'32"	1.96 %
	September 2003 (06-19)	7	7'45"	1.87 %
	Total	14	19'17"	1.24 %
Tele-5	February 2003 (01-14)	4	9'49"	1.66 %
	June-July 2003 (30-13)	7	12'57"	2.21 %
	September 2003 (06-19)	7	10'37"	1.73 %
	Total	18	33'23"	1.86 %
TV3	February 2003 (01-14)	5	6'22"	0.98 %
	June-July 2003 (30-13)	6	8'24"	1.33 %
	September 2003 (06-19)	7	13'03"	2.01 %
	Total	18	27'49"	1.44 %

included in the press, in February there were a number of stories picked up by the press which one would think would have been transferred to the TV news, but which were not.

3. 2. Arranging Immigration Issues In Order of Importance

Despite the scarcity of units devoted to immigration, the decision to include or exclude them from the summary constituted a clear intervention in the hierarchical structuring and therefore the process of prioritising the public image of social unrest derived from migration flows.

The four stations analysed featured approximately a quarter of the units devoted to immigration-related issues (between three and four units in overall figures) in the summaries of their respective news shows. The two stations with the lowest number of units, Antena 3 TV and TVE-1, had three on the summary, but in both cases, two were lead stories. On the other hand, TV3 and Tele-5, with a higher total number of stories devoted to the study object,

had four on the summary, but led with very few only one in the case of TV3).

With regard to the level of inclusion of the news units referring to the various issues of immigration on the summaries or news shows of the diverse stations analysed, I would like to mention the following: Of the 11 stories relating to studies and statistical figures referring to immigration as a major social phenomenon, almost half (four) appeared on the summaries of the different stations, most (three) during the third fortnight analysed which, as I said before, included the start of the school year and provided the stations with lots of figures. Of the ten units referring to legislative bills, more than half appeared on the summary. Of these, four were produced during the third sample period, when the reform of the Immigration Law was approved, a story that featured on all the news agendas. The only two stations that included this when it was still in the discussion phase, and which even included it on the summary, were the two public stations, the Catalan and Spanish ones, during July 2003 (second sample period). In

terms of school enrolments, the third biggest topic all the stations had in common, it was completely linked to statistical figures. Of the six units referring to education, two-thirds were included on the summary and featured at the start of the school year. It is important to mention here that only two units of the total did anything more than show figures to refer to the integration of immigrant children in the classrooms. These two units were broadcast by the two private stations analysed and only in the case of Tele-5 was the story included on the summary.

In terms of three of the issues associated with the news agenda on immigration during those months, i.e., social unrest, 'pateras' (small fishing boats often used in illegal immigration) and the living conditions of immigrants, their presence on the summaries was practically irrelevant. Of the stories referring to attacks and assaults, only one-quarter appeared on a summary. In terms of pateras, none of the five units collected with this key word appeared on the summaries. Only TV3 and Tele-5 referred to this issue on a few occasions spread over the three sample periods, and neither awarded it particular importance. With regards the news stories recorded with the key word 'beating', not only was there a minimum presence (two units), but in no case was it on the station summaries. In relation to living conditions of the immigrant collective, it was not often found in the analysed survey, but it should be said that only once was it on the summary and that was on the Catalan station, the one with the most units devoted to questions referring to immigrants' lifestyles, traditions and customs.

Finally, the distribution of the news units in one position or another during the course of the news show was another criterion of forming a news hierarchy. In this regard, there was a marked difference between TVE-1 and Antena 3 TV on the one hand, and TV3 and Tele-5 on the other. The first two took the general line observed and put half their news stories in the first third and the other half in the second. TV3 and Tele-5 distributed their stories over the length of the news shows, reserving most for the second-third (practically half the news units) and the other half between the first and the third. As well as this similarity, they were the two stations with the greatest volume of information broadcast about immigration, and the ones that paid attention, to a greater or lesser degree depending on the case concerned, to background issues to the phenomenon (lifestyles, traditions, integration, etc.).

3.3. Repertoire of Sources and Treatment of Stories

The identification of sources (both in terms of news and the specific case of images) warrants special theoretical and empirical attention in a research work that focuses on the media's contribution to the construction and definition of public problems. Using the theory of 'event-driven problems' (Lawrence, 2000) we prepared a typology that made it possible to define the type of source that the news stories analysed were based on and subsequently the type of conflict that was the object of attention on the basis of the level of anticipation. I would like to distinguish between two models of journalistic construction: the 'institutionally driven' model (i.e., the official model, where information comes from official and institutional sources characterised by a higher level of anticipation) and the 'event-driven' model (i.e., accidental and unexpected events where journalists are forced to seek and interrogate the sources of information from among the people involved in the events). The origin of the images is also obviously of interest for analysis purposes. Often the availability of images about an event is what determines whether it will be included on the summary or news show and in which position.

Firstly, news relating to immigration collected by the stations during the period analysed presented a fairly balanced distribution in terms of anticipation and most could be anticipated (nearly 40% of cases). Anticipated and non-anticipated events had a practically symmetric level. If we look more closely at each of the stations analysed, we see that Tele-5 was the one most likely to feature events that could be anticipated in its information, and Antena 3 TV the one with most stories that were not anticipated. The case of TVE-1 was the most balanced (bearing in mind the few units analysed by the station) and TV3 stood out for the low number of non-anticipated units included. This is contradicted by the institutional presence in the journalistic coverage which, in all cases and particularly that of Tele-5, was minimal.

Secondly, if we analyse the type of news sources used, we see that official sources (including parliamentary, governmental, judicial and police sources) were used in 65% of the units, while the remaining 35% used non-official sources (protagonists, civil organisations, family members, neighbours, other media, etc.). While the official sources were

explicitly mentioned in nearly 82% of the cases, the same did not happen when non-official sources were used, when they were usually not named. The exception was the Catalan station, the only one to invert the proportions and mention non-official sources in 5 out of the 7 total cases.

On the other hand, with regards the visual content of the news units, in nearly all the cases the images used came from either the newsroom or a reporter or correspondent. The proportion for these two options, however, was different at each station. While Antena 3 TV and TV3 presented a balance between the two, at Tele-5 and TVE-1 we can see inverse tendencies: TVE-1 very rarely opted for the reporter or correspondent and Tele-5 almost never used footage from the newsroom. Some stations also opted sometimes for news archives (e.g., TV3) and sporadically, agencies (Tele-5 and Antena 3 TV), the police (one unit on Antena 3 TV, Tele-5 and TV3) or an amateur source (once only in the case of Tele-5). In all cases, the assessment of access to sources was practically always neutral (there were two cases where it could be defined as positive).

Finally, and in the context of this section, it is worth mentioning some of the data relating to the use of particular journalists to introduce and lead the unit. Although we can see small differences in each case, the stations analysed fundamentally used the presenter and off-screen reporter in the journalistic introduction of the units related to the study object issues (in 90% and 72% of cases, respectively). The use of the off-screen presenter was also important in the cases of TV3 and Antena 3 TV, although less than with the two previous options. The practically complete absence of correspondents for the units devoted to immigration reveals the isolated nature of this type of information.

3.4. Immigration-Related Topics

The three big topics associated with immigration identified in the studied sample were immigration policies (including legislative bills, expulsions and legalisations and permit procedures), immigration as a social phenomenon (due to the high frequency of stories related to statistics and studies) and education (through school-enrolment figures and stories about integration in classrooms). The results at this level were conditioned by the incidence of three of the big events that took place during the two sample periods with the highest figure of units related to the study object issue:

the presentation of the *Anuario de Inmigración en España* (*Yearbook of Immigration in Spain*) of July 2003, the reform of the Immigration Law and the start of the school year in September that year. Indeed, if we look at the partial results referring to the third sample period, which includes the start of the school year and the time when the legislative reform was approved, we see that the level of agreement between the different stations analysed when it came to drawing up their news agendas was much higher than in the two previous periods.

If we take a detailed look at the three big categories that group together all the list of key words we drew up¹⁰, the results can be broken down more fully. Firstly, a recount of the presence of issues grouped under the category “Themes/Actions” allows us to establish the activities or types of events that most frequently framed the immigration phenomenon. Secondly, counting the presence of words in the category “Social Agents” allows us to look more closely at the parties involved in the framework of action in question. Finally, the “Sociogeographic Reference” of the content unit completes the issue thematic classification of the news agendas and positions the events and/or protagonists in a particular space.

Although the news agenda about immigration in the different stations analysed included diverse themes and hierarchies, the analysis of the selected news units enabled us to show the presence of thematic categories that can be added to the three big ones mentioned (immigration policies/legislation, immigration as a social phenomenon and education). Using summaries of the units collected and above all through listing key terms about the presence of the issue of the problematization of immigration grouped under the categories “Themes/Actions”, we can see, in order of most to least volume, the presence of stories related to: statistics about the presence of immigrants in Spain; the political debate about the Immigration Law; the impact of immigration on compulsory education figures (only on the dates in September when the study was done); movements across the borders and around Spain; and some diverse facts associated with crime with some point of notoriety in terms of news treatment, e.g., the breaking up of bands of foreigners, contraband, fraudulent marriages, etc. (it is important to say that nationality was used in these television stories rather than the condition of an immigrant person).

With regard to “Social Agents”, the list of terms with the most appearances was headed by immigration as a collective (to be developed further on), police (secondly) and the Spanish government. There were also numerous appearances of immigrant minors, criminals, organised groups or mafias and immigrants as individuals. The “Sociogeographic Reference” of the content units was predominantly Spanish and Catalan and also the local and municipal sphere.

In terms of the territorial identification of the theme or protagonists, only 17 units from the total sample (19 occasions) identified non-Spanish origins. Of these references, only four corresponded to the stations involved in this article: two by Tele-5 and one each by TV3 and Antena 3 TV. The two mentions by Tele-5 and that of Antena 3 TV identified the issue of the protagonist as a sub-Saharan African. In the case of TV3, the territorial reference was Asian.

3.5. The Main Characters

The study of the character that received most coverage in the unit was done on the basis of a typology that differentiated between individuals (classifying them according to sex, age and national condition), groups (social, NGOs or other types) and institutions (including politicians and the parliaments of various geopolitical spheres, the judicial power, trade unions, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, business and finance activity, scientific and technical activity, intellectual and artistic activity, journalism and social communication, crime, terrorism, sport and entertainment). The stations analysed tended to identify the main character in their news stories as a group (in 63.8% of the cases), while institutional characters and individuals (with a presence of 20.7% and 15.5% respectively) were in very equal second and third positions. The station that demonstrated this trend the most was TV3, where its news shows, at least in the period analysed, did not present any character as an individual and very few as an institution (4 out of 18, i.e., 22.2%). The station that included the greatest number of units or stories featuring a character presented as an individual was Antena 3 TV. The news shows of this station were also the ones that presented the most balance in the distribution of the three categories. Although Tele-5 and TVE-1 followed a similar line, TVE-1 was more similar to Antena 3 TV in terms of the weight awarded individual

characters, while Tele-5 was similar to TV3 in terms of the presence of groups.

Bearing in mind that immigration was mainly shown as a group, it is interesting to look more closely at the categories made and to analyse what types of groups had the most presence. At this level, the results were more homogenous. Tele-5, TVE-1 and Antena 3 TV showed all the groups as social ones. Only TV3 presented four units of the 14 in which the group was of a different type, particularly an NGO (two units). In terms of institutional characters, broadly speaking half the cases involved a Spanish government policy, followed by 15% with a policy by the autonomous community. The rest was distributed between autonomous community parliaments, European Union policies, foreign policies, trade unionism and others.

3.6. The Stations as Selectors and Narrators

The study of the immigration agenda at each station shows a number of differences worth pointing out in their functions of selectors and narrators. The two public stations (TVE-1 and TV3) approached social unrest mainly in terms of public policies on immigration and as a social phenomenon. TV3, however, was different from the State station in terms of the volume of time devoted to immigration-related stories and the large diversity of units dedicated to issues relating to cultures and lifestyles of immigrant communities, difficulties in getting job contracts and condemnations by organisations such as SOS Racismo and Amnesty International. On the other hand, the two private Spanish stations included a higher number of cases related to police actions, crime and attacks and assaults, with a particular emphasis at Tele-5 on units related to immigrant movements and the development of stories relating to public policies in the case of Antena 3 TV.

On the other hand, the analysis of the volume of immigration-related information and issues on each station has to take into consideration a number of contextual factors that allow an assessment that better adjusts to the stations' role in the construction of the public image about immigration. The general framework of the programming, the context of the major issues on the media agenda and the news environment collected by the press offer some significant elements in this regard.

Firstly, and as stated in the programming studies included

in this issue of *Quaderns*, the two public stations analysed, TVE-1 and TV3, had complementary news spaces in their programming, where they could more exhaustively develop some of the issues raised in the news or complete the range of their news agenda through the use of reports. The two private stations, Antena 3 TV and Tele-5, on the other hand, had to situate all their news proposals on their news shows because of a lack of complementary programmes. This might help explain the differences detected in the way of covering stories and their very selection.

Secondly, in a similar fashion in all the stations, the existence of other big current affairs issues impeded the presence of information relating to the topic at hand. So, while the run-up to the war in Iraq featured heavily in the news shows during the month of February and contributed to the scarcity of stories about immigration, July and September featured a higher volume of units because of the force of stories on the topic imposed by others: in particular, the agreement between the PP and the PSOE on a new Immigration Law and the start of the school year in which the presence of immigrant children became one of the key news element in all the media.

Thirdly, the differences between television and press in the coverage and treatment of immigration over the three periods examined is very significant. Indeed, it is important to highlight some stories that the press mentioned but which had zero or very little presence in the conventional news shows of the television stations. During the sample period in February, competing with other major issues (Iraq), the news shows did not feature political proposals such an idea from the Home Office about programmes for the voluntary return of immigrations, or the Generalitat of Catalonia's idea to subsidise private schools to take in immigrant children. Although these stories featured in all the leading Spanish newspapers, the statements by Ana Botella, wife of the president of the Spanish Government, José María Aznar, in which she associated public insecurity with illegal immigration, were not included in any of the news bulletins of the stations analysed. In the July sample, information about the debate on the state of the nation in the Spanish Parliament did not include any speech about immigration policies, or the result of a poll which found that 58% of Spaniards linked insecurity with immigration. In the specific framework of Catalonia, there was a remarkable absence

on TV3's news agenda of three issues that all the Catalan papers featured at the time: the criticism and denunciations about sending immigrants without papers to Lleida which was ordered by the Spanish Government; the consequences for immigrants of the evictions and demolishing of houses in Sant Andreu and the statements by Artur Mas and Jordi Pujol in relation to the need to learn Catalan as a requisite for becoming legalised¹¹. Along the same line, during the sample period in September, there was nothing on any of the stations analysed (not even the Catalan one) about the story that appeared in all the papers with regards the Catalan Government's announcement to establish an official act of adhesion of immigrants to obtain the recognition.

4. Conclusions

Among the most significant aspects of the exploratory study about the construction of the television agenda on immigration in Spain, employed in 2003 on the basis of three samples of news shows from the Spanish stations TVE-1, Antena 3 TV and Tele-5 and the Catalan autonomous station TV3, we would like to highlight the following points:

Firstly, with regard to the coverage of the issue of immigration, it was surprising how few news units there were on the four stations dedicated to this issue. In the three samples considered, which totalled six weeks, the relative time devoted to the issue was 1.86% (of the total news shown) at Tele-5, 1.44% at TV3, 1.24% at Antena 3 TV and 0.57% at TVE-1. The case of TVE-1, the Spanish public station, is particularly eloquent in showing the lack of interest in the coverage of a problem that is progressively present in public life.

Secondly, if we list the sources and treatment of the stories, we see that more than two-thirds of the news units (65%) came from official sources. Although approximately half the stories about immigration arose from non-anticipated or non-scheduled events, the great dependence of the information on this point with respect to official sources suggests a low diligence or clear inhibition on the part of the stations in taking the new circumstances of immigration into consideration as a central issue of public life.

Thirdly, and despite the previous appreciation, television

does not completely ignore the new phenomenon that is upsetting Spanish society. Characters and issues with regards immigration are beginning to flourish on the surface of the agenda. Indeed, the four stations analysed tended to identify the main immigration character (in 64% of cases) as a group of immigrants rather than institutional (20%) or individual characters (15%). With regards the main issues associated with immigration, the samples identified three of the most important: legislative and immigration policies (particularly news about the Immigration Act), high figures and immigration as a social phenomenon (materialised in the presentation of a report on the state of immigration) and immigration in relation to education (particularly with the start of the school year).

Fourthly, the singular condition of each station as a selector and narrator of immigration issues can also be seen at many levels. There was a consistent differentiation between public and private in the predisposition to particular approaches to immigrant conflicts. The public stations (TVE-1 and TV3) approached social unrest in terms of public policies that should apply to immigration as a new social phenomenon. The private stations (Tele-5 and Antena 3 TV) tended to emphasise the aspect of the conflict most susceptible to dramatisation and sensationalism, such as police actions, crime, assaults, movements, etc.

Finally, the comparison of the thematic agenda about immigration during the three sample periods between the four television stations and the written press with a similar overall coverage or dissemination raised questions about the level of reduction of the television agenda. The question is not so much whether the press overall handles and deals with immigration issues with more breadth and depth, because it obviously does. The question this study raises is the point to which the stations analysed, both public and private, devoted the attention and consideration that the problems of the new immigration required in 2003, and which the press largely detected. There are issues and debates of importance that did not make it onto the TV agenda. The provisional conclusion that this suggests is that, in general, major television stations were not diligent enough during 2003 in their news coverage and in the definition of a sufficiently representative agenda of the new problems and challenges of immigration.

Notes

- 1 The project “La televisión y la construcción de una imagen pública de la inmigración en España” was awarded a PGC-MCYT grant from the Spanish Ministry for Science and Technology in the 2001 official announcement and was led by the consolidated UNICA group from Pompeu Fabra University, under the leadership, as the principal researcher, of Dr. Josep Gifreu. The following researchers also collaborated in some phase of the project: Agustín García Mantilla (Complutense University of Madrid), María Ángeles González Abrisketa and Rosa María Martín Sabarís (University of the Basque Country), Aurora Labio Bernal (University of Seville), Rosanna Mestre (University of Valencia) and Francisco Javier Vaz (University of Santiago de Compostela). The project also enjoyed the active collaboration of the Technical Services Department of the Catalonia Broadcasting Council to obtain copies of the television samples of the four stations analysed.
- 2 See the summary of applications in the presentation of Annex1.
- 3 See the examples of ALTHEIDE (1976), TUCHMAN (1978), GANS (1979), GITLIN (1980), GRABER (1980), BENNET (1983).
- 4 See EDELMAN, M. (1971, 1988); GUSFIELD, J. (1981); KINGDON, J. W. (1984); PALETZ, D. L. (1987); BEST, J. (1988); ERICSON, R. V., BARANEK, P. M., I CHAN, J. B .L (1989).
- 5 Particularly see IYENGAR, Sh. and KINDER, D. R. (1987); IYENGAR, Sh. (1991); MCCOMBS, M., SHAW, D. L. and WEAVER, D. (1997).
- 6 ALTHEIDE (1996) and CASSETTI and DI CHIO (1999)
- 7 See Annex 1
- 8 See Annex 2
- 9 The newspapers monitored in the period between November 2002 and September 2003 were: *ABC*, *El Mundo*, *El País*, *La Razón* i *La Vanguardia* (Spain-wide); *El Periódico de Catalunya*, *Avui*, *Regió 7*, *Diari de Tarragona* and *Diari de Terrassa* (Catalonia-wide); *Diario de Burgos* and *Diario de Navarra* (regional Spanish sphere), *Expansión*, *Expansión Cataluña*, *Cinco Días* (economics); and *Le Figaro* and *Le Monde Diplomatique* (international sphere).
- 10 See Annex 2 for the distribution of the topics into three categories (“Themes/Actions”, “Social Agents” and “Sociogeographic Reference”) and see section 2.3. on research strategies for a more detailed development of the list.
- 11 According to the CAC report entitled “Informacions sobre immigració aparegudes en els teletinformatius d'àmbit català durant els anys 2002, 2003 i 2004” (*News Stories about Immigration Grouped Together in the Catalonia-Wide Television News Shows During the Years 2002, 2003 and 2004*), TV3 included information about the immigrants in Alcarràs beginning 15 July 2003, two days after the finalisation date of our July sample. In terms of news relating to the Sant Andreu district, it is important to mention that although the CAC said TV3 reported the start of the campaign to get rid of rats and knock down buildings on 3, 9 and 10 July, our analysis does not include them in the sample because they did not specifically deal with the relation of these events with immigration, the object of our study.
The CAC publication, which was not taken into account when the report was drawn up because it was dated 13 April 2005, analysed the presence of information about immigration in the lunchtime and evening news shows of the Spanish stations (TVE-1, Tele-5 and Antena 3 TV), the Catalan stations (TV3 and K3/33) and the local broadcasters Barcelona BTV and Citytv.

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Annexes

ANNEX 1

MATRIX FOR ANALYSING IMMIGRATION IN THE TELEVISION NEWS SHOWS OF SPAIN

Josep Gifreu i Joan M. Corbella

Presentation

This analysis matrix of television news shows, conceived specifically to apply to the research project entitled “La televisió i la construcció d’una imatge pública de la immigració a Espanya” (*Television and the Construction of a Public Image of Immigration in Spain*) is a new version of the basic matrix developed over the years by the UNICA group at Pompeu Fabra University to study the agenda of the television news shows. One of the applications of the basic matrix is the preparation of diverse competitive projects and research contracts and in particular three studies into the political agenda in the electoral campaigns for the Parliament of Catalonia (elections of 1995, 1999 and 2003), two works on the image of Catalonia (1999) and the identity of Spain on the news shows of the Spanish stations (2001), one work about the format and agenda of news shows in Spain (1996) and a comparative study about European news shows and the transformation of national public spaces (1994).

1. IDENTIFICATION OF KEY WORDS

2. IDENTIFICATION OF ANALYSIS UNITS

2.0. UNIT NUMBER

2.1. IDENTIFICATION OF TELEVISION STATION

2.1.1. Television news (TN):

2.1.1.1. Midday/afternoon

2.1.1.2. Afternoon/night

2.1.1.3. Station:

Antena 3 TV

Tele-5

TVE-1

TV3-K3/33

2.1.2. Date (day/month/year)

2.1.3. Day of the week

2.1.4. Broadcast time

2.1.5. Incidences

2.1.6. Duration, position and order on the news show

2.1.6.1. Duration

2.1.6.2. Summary (yes) (no)

2.1.6.3. Summary number (1) (2) (3) (4) (others)

2.1.6.4. Order of the unit's appearance on the news show.

2.1.6.5. Block (per ¼ hour): 1st, 2nd, 3rd.

2.2. GENRE IDENTIFICATION

2.2.1. News units

2.2.2. Opinion units

2.2.3. Documentation

2.3. IDENTIFICATION OF THE JOURNALISTIC ACTOR

2.3.1. Presenter

2.3.2. Reporter

- 2.3.3. Correspondent
- 2.3.4. Off-screen presenter
- 2.3.5. Off-screen reporter
- 2.3.6. Off-screen correspondent

2.4. SUMMARY OF THE NEWS UNIT

2.5. IDENTIFICATION OF THE MAIN CHARACTER

[Types of characters]

2.5.1. Individual

- 2.5.1.1. Sex (male/female)
- 2.5.1.2. Age (child/adolescent/young person/
adult/old person)
- 2.5.1.3. National condition (Spanish/Not-Spanish;
if Not-Spanish: European Community /
Extra-European Community/
Africa/Asian/American, etc.)

2.5.2. Group

- 2.5.2.1. Type
 - NGO (non-governmental association)
 - Social (neighbours, religious, students,
etc.)
 - Others
- 2.5.2.2. Name or description

2.5.3. Institutional

- 2.5.3.1. Spanish government
- 2.5.3.2. Autonomous community government
- 2.5.3.3. Local government
- 2.5.3.4. European Union policy
- 2.5.3.5. Foreign policy
- 2.5.3.6. Legislative power
- 2.5.3.7. Spanish parliament
- 2.5.3.8. Autonomous community parliament
- 2.5.3.9. European Parliament
- 2.5.3.10. Judicial power
- 2.5.3.11. Trade union
- 2.5.3.12. Ecclesiastical hierarchy
- 2.5.3.13. Business/financial activity
- 2.5.3.14. University and/or scientific
and technical
- 2.5.3.15. Intellectual and artistic activity
- 2.5.3.16. Journalism and social community
- 2.5.3.17. Crime
- 2.5.3.18. Terrorism

- 2.5.3.19. Sports
- 2.5.3.20. Entertainment
- 2.5.3.21. Others

2.6. IDENTIFICATION OF MAIN TOPIC

[Elaborate type of main topics on the basis of key words, up to a maximum of four]

3. IDENTIFICATION OF SOURCES (OF NEWS STORIES AND IMAGES)

3.1. TYPE OF CONFLICT THAT IS THE OBJECT OF ATTENTION

- 3.1.1. Extent to which it could be anticipated
 - 3.1.1.1. Anticipated event
(continuation or development)
 - 3.1.1.2. Scheduled event
(agenda, press conference, etc.)
 - 3.1.1.3. Non-scheduled event
 - 3.1.1.4. Others
- 3.1.2. Journalistic coverage
 - 3.1.2.1. Coverage with institutional presence
 - 3.1.2.2. Coverage without institutional presence
- 3.1.3. Level of Novelty
 - 3.1.3.1. New conflict
 - 3.1.3.2. Conflict in development
- 3.1.4. Intervention of the TV station
 - 3.1.4.1. Originated by the TV station
 - 3.1.4.2. Not originated by the TV station

3.2. NEWS SOURCE

- 3.2.1. Official source
 - 3.2.1.1.Types:
 - 3.2.1.1.1. Parliament
 - 3.2.1.1.2. Government
 - 3.2.1.1.3. Judicial power
 - 3.2.1.1.4. Police
 - 3.2.1.1.5. Other (specify)
 - 3.2.1.2. Sphere of power:
 - 3.2.1.2.1. Local
 - 3.2.1.2.2. Autonomous community
 - 3.2.1.2.3. State
 - 3.2.1.2.4. European

3.2.1.2.5. International

3.2.2. Non-Official Source

3.2.2.1. Protagonists of the news story

3.2.2.2. Civil organisation (specify)

3.2.2.3. Family members

3.2.2.4. Neighbours

3.2.2.5. Other media (specify)

3.2.2.6. Others (specify)

3.3. MENTION OF THE SOURCE

3.3.1. Explicit reference

3.3.2. Implicit reference

3.3.3. No reference

3.4. IMAGES

3.4.1. SOURCE OF THE IMAGES

3.4.1.1. Newsroom

3.4.1.2. Own reporter or correspondent

3.4.1.3. News agency (specify)

3.4.1.4. Another station (specify if known)

3.4.1.5. Police

3.4.1.6. Amateur

3.4.1.7. Archive

3.4.1.8 Not specified

3.4.1.9. Others

3.4.2. LINK BETWEEN IMAGES AND THEME

3.4.2.1. An additional complement

3.4.2.2. Graphic illustration of the issue
(maps, graphs, etc.)

3.4.2.3. Constitutes the issue of the unit

3.4.2.4. Biographical information

3.4.2.5. Others

3.5. ASSESSMENT OF ACCESS TO SOURCES

3.5.1. Positive assessment

3.5.2. Negative assessment

3.5.3. Neutral assessment

3.5.4. No assessment made

4. ANALYSIS OF WHAT IS SAID

4.1. ATTITUDE AND BEHAVIOUR OF THE SPEAKER

4.1.1. Explicit implication of “us exclusively”

4.1.2. Implicit implication of “us exclusively”

4.1.3. Explicit implication of “us inclusively”

4.1.4. Implicit implication of “us inclusively”

4.1.5. Neutral behaviour on part of the speaker

4.2. TERRITORY OF THE INFORMATION

4.2.1. Neutral information

4.2.2. The implicit reference is the State

4.2.3. The explicit reference is the State

4.2.4. The implicit reference is the autonomous
community

4.2.5. The explicit reference is the autonomous
community

4.2.6. The implicit reference is the EU

4.2.7. The explicit reference is the EU

4.2.8. The implicit reference is abroad

4.2.9. The explicit reference is abroad

4.3. MENTION OF THE TERRITORY

4.3.1. No reference to geographic location

4.3.2. Reference to Spain

4.3.3. Reference to the autonomous community

4.3.4. Reference to a province

4.3.5. Reference to a people (explicit)

4.3.6. Reference to a foreign country (specify)

4.3.7. Reference to a geopolitical region (specify)

4.3.8. Reference to a continent

4.3.9. Others

4.4. SPOKEN RELATIONSHIP OF PROXIMITY

4.4.1. Use of inclusive expressions

4.4.2. Use of exclusive expressions

4.4.3. Implicit reference to close relations

4.4.4. Implicit reference to distanced relations

4.4.5. No reference to proximity

4.5. PRESENCE OF ELEMENTS INDICATING CONTACT

4.5.1. In the presentation of the unit

4.5.2. In the development of the unit

4.5.3. In both cases

4.5.4. No presence of indicators of contact

4.6. SPOKEN ASSESSMENT OF THE UNIT (by the speaker)

4.6.1. Explicit positive comment

- 4.6.2. Implicit positive comment
- 4.6.3. Explicit negative comment
- 4.6.4. Implicit negative comment
- 4.6.5. Neutral assessment

5. EVALUTION ANALYSIS

(‘bias’ factor: positive vs. negative)

- 5.1. Positive: only positive references to a particular political action
- 5.2. Quite positive: there were more positive references than negative ones
- 5.3. Negative: only negative references
- 5.4. Quite negative: there were more negative references than positive ones
- 5.5. Mixed: an equal mixture of positive and negative references
- 5.6. Neutral: no references, either positive or negative

6. EPISODIC DIMENSION / THEMATIC ANALYSIS

- 6.1. Episodic
- 6.2. Mainly episodic
- 6.2. Thematic
- 6.3. Mainly thematic

7. ANALYSIS OF CAUSALITY ATTRIBUTION

- 7.1. Mechanical cause
 - 7.1.1. Intermediary agent (e.g., person being tortured)
 - 7.1.2. Machines
 - 7.1.3. Trained animals
 - 7.1.4. Unconscious individuals
- 7.2. Accidental Cause
 - 7.2.1. Nature
 - 7.2.2. Weather
 - 7.2.3. Earthquakes
 - 7.2.4. Machines out of control
- 7.3. Intentional Cause
 - 7.3.1. Assaults, violence
 - 7.3.2. Oppression

- 7.3.3. Conspiracy
- 7.3.4. Action plan

7.4. Inadvertent Cause

- 7.4.1. Intermediary circumstances
- 7.4.2. Unanticipated effects
- 7.4.3. Negligence
- 7.4.4. Lack of attention
- 7.4.5. Omission

8. COVERAGE ANALYSIS

- 8.1. Strategic coverage
- 8.2. Quite strategic coverage
- 8.3. Political coverage
- 8.4. Quite political coverage

9. ANALYSIS OF THE MEDIA AS ACTORS

- 9.1. Taking of an explicit position of the unit on the principal topic
 - 9.1.1. In this case, summary of the taking of position (favourable, unfavourable, with qualifications, etc.)
- 9.2. Explicit proposal to solve the problem in question
 - 9.2.1. In this case, summary of the proposal
- 9.3. No position is taken

ANNEX 2

IDENTIFICATION OF THE KEY WORDS

The research team prepared a brief repertoire of key words related with the problems concerning recent immigration in Spain. To prepare the list, the team consulted documents that already existed on the problems of immigration and

used a sufficiently significant sample of the news on this issue in the press. Once prepared, the team carried out diverse tests for checking among analysts to apply it to the television samples properly.

Proposal of key words to analyse immigration on the television news shows in Spain

GROUP 1. SOCIOGEOGRAPHIC SPACE

Spain
Andalusia
Canary Islands
Catalonia
Galicia
Madrid
Basque Country
Valencia
Ceuta/Melilla
Strait of Gibraltar
Local/municipal
Arabic countries
Morocco
Other Maghreb countries
Others
Sub-Saharan Africa
Latin America
Argentina
Colombia
Ecuador
Peru
Mexico
Others
Asian countries
China
Pakistan
Others
Eastern European countries
Albania
Former Yugoslavia
Russia
Others
Other sociogeographic references

GROUP 2. SOCIAL AGENTS

Municipal/local administration
Autonomous community administration
Spanish central administration
Spanish parliament
Autonomous community parliaments
Spanish government
Autonomous community governments
Spanish courts
European Commission
European Parliament
Police/forces of order
Other public authorities
Business organisations
Trade union organisations
NGOs
Catholic church
Other religious institutions
Religious leaders
Intellectuals
Other social leaders
Journalists/communicators
Media
Family members
Immigrants (individuals)
Immigrants (groups)
Immigrants (minors)
Autochthonous individuals
Criminals/groups/mafias

GROUP 3. THEMES/ACTIONS

General social phenomenon	Speeches about immigration
	Racism
	Demographic impact/effect
	Formation of urban immigrant ghettos
	Coexistence
	Multiculturalism
	Studies and statistics
Social opinions and response	Racism
	Speeches about immigration
	Demonstrations-protests
	Demonstrations-acts of solidarity
	Humanitarian actions
	Insults/opinions of rejection
	Assaults and attacks
	Opinion polls
Immigration policies	Legislative bills
	Legalisation/residency permits
	Nationalisation
	Justice
	Repatriations/expulsions
	Beatings
	Other government and administrative actions
Education	School integration
	School enrolments
Cultural practices	Customs and traditions
	Conflict between cultural practices
	Family models
	Religious practices
	Religious conflicts
Work and jobs	Contracting
	Unemployment
	Effects on the economy
	Job position quality
Movements	Accidents and rescues
	Pateras
	Illegal transport networks
	Immigration routes
Housing	Difficulties in obtaining housing
	Living conditions
Public health and health	Economic effects
	Illnesses
	Healthcare

The Public Image of Immigration in Television Series

**Xavier Ruiz Collantes, Joan Ferrés, Matilde Obradors,
Eva Pujadas and Oliver Pérez**

- *When the television fiction recreates the reality, it projects images, stereotypes and frames of reference that influence the citizenship. For this reason, fiction is important when it comes to create and to build collective imaginary on specific group, such as the immigration. In this article are presented the results of a comparative analysis of the public image of the immigration in the Spanish and Catalan series related to the origin, the physical and psychological features, the stereotypes and the role of the immigrants at the fiction series, as well as the narrative structures they are involved in. According to the authors of the research, a suitable management of the image of the immigration in the television fiction needs a constant and a deep analysis of the contents and values that are transmitted.*

Key words

Television, immigration, public image, television fiction, Spain, Catalonia

**Xavier Ruiz Collantes, Joan Ferrés, Matilde Obradors,
Eva Pujadas and Oliver Pérez**

Members of the UNICA/UPF Group

1. Introduction

In this article we present the main results of a research work into the image of immigrants projected by television series on the Spanish TV stations and Televisió de Catalunya. This study forms part of a broader research project entitled *La televisión y la construcción de una imagen pública de la inmigración en España (Television and the Construction of a Public Image of Immigration in Spain)*, funded by the Ministry for Science and Technology¹.

This part of the research work focuses on studying how television fiction affects the processes of creation of collective imagination and social prototypes that impact the way the public perceives, thinks about and experiences the social reality, in particular the way that Spanish and Catalan series impact the construction of a public image about immigrants and the problems that arise from immigration processes.

With this purpose, we established an analysis methodology based on narrative semiotics which addressed the characteristics of the immigrants that appeared on the series and the narrative roles they exercised in each storyline.

1. 1. Methodology

The methodology prepared for this work led to an analysis schedule. This schedule, attached as an annex, was implemented as an information database offering three basic blocks of information. The first block includes the definition of the characteristics of the immigrant; i.e., what he or she looks like, what types of temperamental features they could be attributed, where they come from, etc.

The second block looks at the definition of their actions, e.g., what are the motivations that lead to their intervention, what types of abilities do they apply to develop the action,

what type of actions do they develop, and finally what are the final states or results of the action they carry out. In effect, the public construction of the image of the immigrant does not consist of a simple matter of casting, i.e., which types of actors play immigrants and what they are like, but rather is also constructed on the basis of what they do. In this regard, the image of immigrants constructed in the fictional series was not the same if, for example, they carried out legal activities (worked in a bar, were football players) or illegal ones (mafia, prostitute), if they held managerial positions or were workers or if they were motivated out of passionate or economic reasons.

Finally, the third block characterises the image of the immigrant in line with the narrative role they play in the plot, and the relationship they establish with the other narrative roles that appear in the plots. We thus analysed the context of the appearance of the immigrant in relation to the other narrative categories. Questions included: When the immigrant is the star of the action, what types of goals does he or she usually seek? Who helps them achieve them? What do they have to face?, etc. This information is particularly relevant for completing the image constructed about the

immigrant because it makes it possible to conceive him or her in a broader action environment, which contributes to characterising his or her image in an implicit but also significant way.

1. 2. Analysed sample

The analysed body of the research was made up of Spanish and Catalan series with the participation of at least one character representing an immigrant which went to air throughout a whole television season in 2002-2003. The analysed series and number of plots of each were as in the table 1:

Using the series we could see and within the selected season, we developed analysis units on the basis of all the plots that contained at least one character representing an immigrant in some narrative role. The concept of 'narrative role' was associated with a specific function that a character developed within the narrative structure of a plot, with the understanding that a character was not the same as a single narrative role, but could develop diverse narrative functions within the same plot.

With regards the stations that broadcast inhouse-produc-

Table 1. Analysed series and number of plots. Season 2002-2003

Broadcast area	Station	Series	Number of plots per series	Number of plots per station	Number of plots per broadcast area
Spanish stations	Tele-5	<i>El comisario</i>	12	23	41
		<i>Hospital Central</i>	4		
		<i>Los Serrano</i>	3		
		<i>Javier ya no vive solo</i>	2		
		<i>Siete vidas</i>	2		
	Antena 3 TV	<i>Un paso adelante</i>	11	17	
		<i>Policías</i>	5		
		<i>Código fuego</i>	1		
TVE-1	<i>Ana y los siete</i>	1	1		
Televisió de Catalunya	TV3	<i>El cor de la ciutat</i>	12	25	25
		<i>Majoria absoluta</i>	11		
		<i>Setze dobles</i>	2		

tion fictional series during the analysed season, TV3 had the highest number of plots that included a character representing an immigrant (25 plots), but we should bear in mind that nearly all of them were on the series *El cor de la ciutat*, which went to air with a new episode every day, unlike the other series. The lowest number of stories featuring immigrants in fictional series was Televisión Española, with just one plot.

2. Results analysis

2. 1. Quantification and description of the characteristics of characters representing immigrants

2. 1. 1. Spanish stations

In the 41 plots of Spanish series analysed there were 29 characters representing immigrants and a total of 86 narrative roles interpreted by immigrants. The most recurring character was a young Cuban man on the series *Un paso adelante* named Pavel. Of the total of 86 narrative roles exercised by immigrants, Pavel accounted for 20, a very high figure which was mainly down to the fact that he was the only immigrant in the body of work of the Spanish stations who was a regular character and had a leading role in the series he belonged to.

Below we look at the analysis results with regards the characterisation of the characters that immigrants repre-

sented in the Spanish series, without going into narrative structures for the moment, which we shall leave until further on.

- **Origin:** To begin with, the graph below clearly shows the predominance of characters representing immigrants from Latin America in Spanish series during the analysed season. It is also important to play down the importance of the four characters from the Near East, as they all appeared in a single episode that featured a family from Kurdistan.

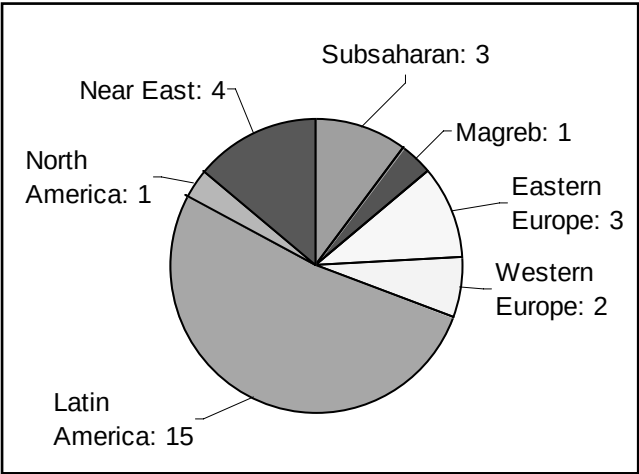
Of particular interest is the fact that of the four African characters, three were sub-Saharan and only one was from the Maghreb, which is paradoxical with respect to the immigration phenomenon in the Spanish social reality. Also conspicuous by their absence were characters representing Asian immigrants, in contrast with the important presence of Chinese immigrants in Spain.

- **Physical features:** In terms of the physical features of the characters representing immigrants, no race clearly predominated over the others: most of the characters were adults aged 18 to 40 and in terms of gender there was a slight predominance of men.
- **Character:** The character of the characters representing immigrants, according to the analysed body, usually responded to three fundamental variables, associated with the following semantic fields:
 - Extroverts
 - Charmers
 - Swindlers

Depending on the origin, the results suggest that the Latin American characters were charmers, extroverts and to a lesser degree swindlers, while the African characters were mainly swindlers. With respect to European immigrants, those from Eastern Europe were generally intelligent and swindlers while those from Western Europe were proud, traditionalist, ambitious or stubborn. Characters from the Near East were characterised basically by passionate traits, such as jealousy and infidelity. Finally, the only immigrant from the US was arrogant and patriotic.

- **Types of actions:** In terms of the characteristic action framework that marked the character representing an immigrant, there was the almost null public presence of immigrants, who usually acted in the personal or professional spheres and almost never as social or

Graph 1. Origin of immigrant characters in Spanish series



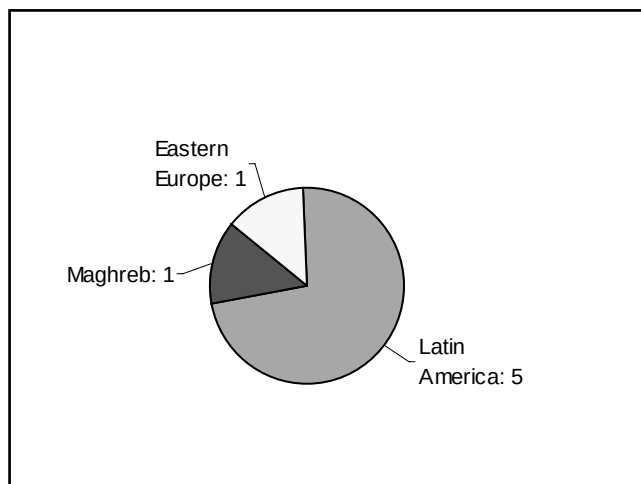
political/institutional actors. With respect to professions, the most common jobs for immigrants were in the services sector, illegal or semi-legal activities (crime, prostitution, etc.) and entertainment (circus, football, etc.).

- **Environment:** The analysis of the environments where the activity of the characters representing immigrants occurs offered very similar figures to those of the type of action, although with a higher level of public spheres. However, it is important to underline that in some of the public spheres recorded, the immigrant participated or attended under force or some type of pressure – because of an arrest, because they were suspected of being guilty of a crime, etc.

2. 1. 2. Televisió de Catalunya

The analysis sample of Catalan series included all the plots of TVC series that included the presence of a character representing an immigrant during the analysed season. In the 25 selected plots, we found seven characters representing immigrants and a total of 50 narrative roles for these characters. The most significant characters in the analysed season were Huari and Nelson in *El cor de la ciutat*, Jairo and Kòstia in *Majoria absoluta* and Alexei in *Setze dobles*. Despite the numerical amount of characters representing immigrants in TVC being less than that of the Spanish stations, it is important to bear in mind that on the Catalan series the characters were usually regulars, which means

Graph 2. Origin of immigrant characters in TVC series



that quantitatively the sample was lower but in qualitative terms it offered fairly significant results

- **Origin:** The graph below shows the origin of the characters representing immigrants in the sample plots of Catalan series. Again we see a predominance of characters representing immigrants from Latin America, in this case via three characters from Ecuador and two from Cuba. However, it is important to mention that the 'weight' of the two Ecuadorians was moderate because in fact one of them did not appear physically on-screen. In terms of the home countries of the other characters, there were a Moroccan and a Russian. On the other hand, as with the Spanish stations, it is important that there was no Asian immigrant, taking into account the important presence of Chinese immigration not just in Spain as a whole but also in Catalonia. Also there was no immigrant from sub-Saharan Africa, Western Europe, the Near East or the Middle East.

- **Physical features:** In terms of the physical features of the characters representing immigrants, no race clearly predominated over the others and the majority were aged 25 to 35. With regards gender there was a clear predominance of men, at a rate of 6 to 1.
- **Character:** The character of the immigrants according to the sample of plots of Catalan series usually responded to the following semantic fields:
 - Generous
 - Extroverts
 - Charmers
 - Swindlers

In terms of origin, starting with the characters that represent Latin American immigrants, Jairo, the Ecuadorian on *Majoria absoluta*, features all four characteristics in different episodes; Nelson, the Cuban on *El cor de la Ciutat* is a charmer and an extrovert. Huari, the Maghrebi from the same series, is generous, i.e., a character described in a fairly positive way, who transmits the value of trust. Finally, Alexei, the Russian on *Setze dobles*, responds on various occasions to the variables of generous and charmer.

- **Types of action:** In this aspect, the results in the Catalan broadcast area were similar to those of the Spanish stations, given that no character representing an immigrant had a public role or any action as a social, political or institutional representative.

Within the private sphere, in the distinction between personal and professional, the characters representing immigrants were much more often represented in line with personal relations than their professional dimension. Particularly significant on the Catalan series was the emphasis put on projecting the integration of immigrants in the family area, particularly on *El cor de la ciutat*.

- **Environment:** The environment in which the characters representing immigrants acted featured a clear predominance of the private sphere, particularly the family area, and we only found one case of the institutional sphere: a courtroom. In terms of action spaces, in line with the previous results, the home was the space where immigrants appeared most frequently. However, there were a large number of references to the work sphere in terms of physical spaces rather than classifications about action spheres. This was because action spheres were more closely related with plot content, while physical spaces where we saw immigrants were not necessarily so.

2. 1. 3. Comparative analysis

By comparing the features of the characters representing immigrants in the Spanish series with those in the Catalan ones we found a number of particularly significant details, some of which we will develop in more depth in the section on conclusions:

- The Catalan series awarded a more important role in the distribution of regular characters representing immigrants than the Spanish ones did.
- The physical characterisation of the immigrants on the series observed usually responded to two features shared by the Spanish stations and TVC alike: they were young, aged 20 to 40, and there were more men, particularly in the characters representing immigrants on TVC.
- In terms of the origin of the characters representing immigrants, there was a predominance of Latin American ones on both the Spanish and Catalan stations. On the other hand, neither the Spanish stations nor TVC featured any character representing an immigrant from Asia. It is important to mention the scarce presence of Maghrebi immigration in the Spanish series, in contrast with the importance of Huari in *El cor de la ciutat*, on TVC.
- Both the Spanish and Catalan series very often resorted

to character features such as extroverted, charming and swindlers in the description of characters representing immigrants, but Catalan series stood out for also assigning them quite frequently the characteristic of generosity, which adds a slightly more positive note to these types of characters.

- In the analysed sample, the character representing an immigrant in a Catalan series, like in the Spanish series, had a null or practically null public presence.

- The family integration of characters representing immigrants was more accentuated in Catalan series than Spanish ones, while Spanish series projected an image of immigrants more closely linked to the work world. However, it is important to bear in mind the general tendency of the Spanish series to emphasise professional spheres, compared to the traditional relevance of the family and domestic sphere in the Catalan series.

2. 2. Narrative roles of the immigrants

2. 2. 1. Types of narrative roles

With the aim of analysing the narrative roles assigned to immigrants in the sample plots, we turned to categories of narrative semiotics, to which, depending on the particular interests of the research work, we incorporated some slight distinctions. To facilitate reading we will not use the corresponding theoretical terms, but maintain the same categories analysed, which would correspond to the following narrative roles:

1. Star of the action: the character that carries out the principal action in the plot to achieve a particular goal.
 - 1.1. Star of the action who acts for him/herself: the type of star of the action who takes an initiative to solve a problem, a desire, etc., by themselves.
 - 1.2. Star of the action who acts for another: the type of star of the action who tends to benefit another character.
2. Character who benefits from the action of the star: the character who tends to benefit from the star of the action.
 - 2.1. 'Passive' beneficiary: the type of beneficiary of the principal action of the plot who exercises no other narrative role in the same plot, but is left on the sidelines.
 - 2.2. 'Active' beneficiary: the type of beneficiary of the action of the plot who also exercises another narrative role in same plot, generally charging the mission and/or

appreciating or criticising the star at the end of the storyline.

3. Character who charges the mission: the character who requests the star of the action to undertake the action at the start of the storyline.
4. Assistant to the star of the action: the benefactor, who in some way facilitates the achievement of the object on the part of the star of the action.
5. Opponent to the star of the action: the character who interposes themselves in the path of the star of the action and makes achieving their goal more difficult.
6. Rival of the star of the action: the character who has the same goal as the star of the action and is situated in a competitive relationship with the star.
7. Character who acknowledges the star's action: the character who, at the end of the plot, thanks or recriminates the star of the action for the work done.
8. Goal of the star of the action: that which the star wants to achieve for the beneficiary of the actions, which may be him/herself or another character.

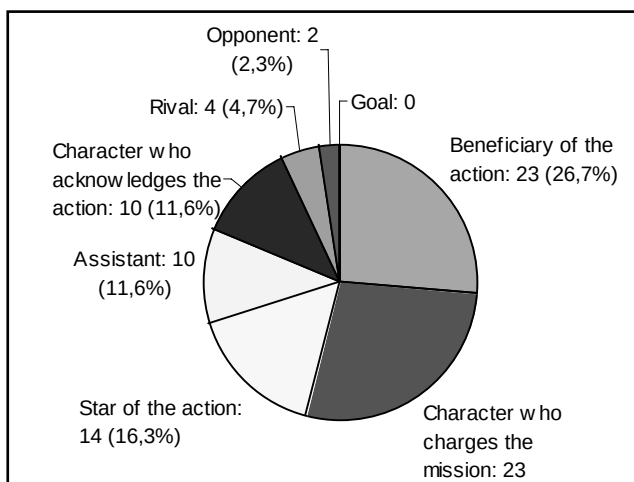
2. 2. 2. The spanish stations

The first significant results offered by the analysis of the narrative roles starts from a general quantification of the roles developed by characters representing immigrants. The graph 3 shows these results in reference to the Spanish stations.

As we can see, immigrants appeared on the Spanish stations more than half the times as beneficiaries of the principal action of the plot or as characters charging the mission to the star of the action. It is important to mention that the character who charges the mission was a figure that often coincided with the figure of the beneficiary of the action, e.g., in 15 of the 23 examples recorded, where an immigrant charged, for his own benefit, a mission to another character, generally Spanish. The major relevance of the two narrative roles takes place in the initial part of the plot, the phase where the narrative conflict is established: someone wants or needs something or, even if they do not want or need it, someone considers it would be good for them, and the action begins. Given that the beneficiary of the principal action of the star is an 'incomplete' character, and resolving his problems is the goal that the star of the action pursues, the high frequency with which immigrants were portrayed as characters with some type of important

Graph 3. Narrative roles of immigrants in Spanish stations

(of a total of 86 narrative roles exercised by immigrants)



problem or shortage that a Spaniard had to resolve was significant. On the other hand, the presence of immigrants as stars of the action in the Spanish series plots is slightly less.

The benefits most regularly assigned to immigrants were in relation to achieving justice – avenging an assault or attack, uncovering a murder, etc., while other purposes related to housing (security, protection, freedom) or a socio-economic benefit (money, work) or legal benefit (residence permit or job).

On the other hand, with regards the narrative roles where immigrants appear less frequently (goal, opponent and rival), firstly we should say that only on rare occasions was 'goal' played by a character, which could generally only be produced in plots involving passion. On the other hand, the great scarcity of immigrants as opponents and rivals should be emphasised. The fact that only 6 examples were found of immigrant opponents and rivals from the 86 interventions means the representation of immigrants as adversaries of Spaniards was practically inexistent in the Spanish series. So, far from drawing an image of immigrants as enemies of the star (generally a Spanish character) it seems that Spanish fiction series tend instead to adopt a politically correct position where immigrants can cause frequent conflicts because of their shortages, which have to be resolved, but almost never voluntarily. In short, immigrants can cause problems but they do not want confrontation.

2. 2. 3. Televisió de Catalunya

In terms of the Catalan series, the analysis of the narrative roles exercised by immigrants obtained the following general quantification (graph 4)

There were many times when the immigrant acted as the star of the storyline on the Catalan series compared with the Spanish ones: 26% on the one hand and 16.3% on the other.

In terms of the presence of immigrants as beneficiaries of the action of the Spanish or Catalan protagonist, the TVC results were very similar to those of the Spanish stations. On the other hand, the figure of the immigrant appeared with clearly less frequency as a character who charges the protagonist with a mission on the Catalan series than on the Spanish ones. Again, characters representing immigrants in Catalan series almost never appeared as opponents or rivals to the star of the action.

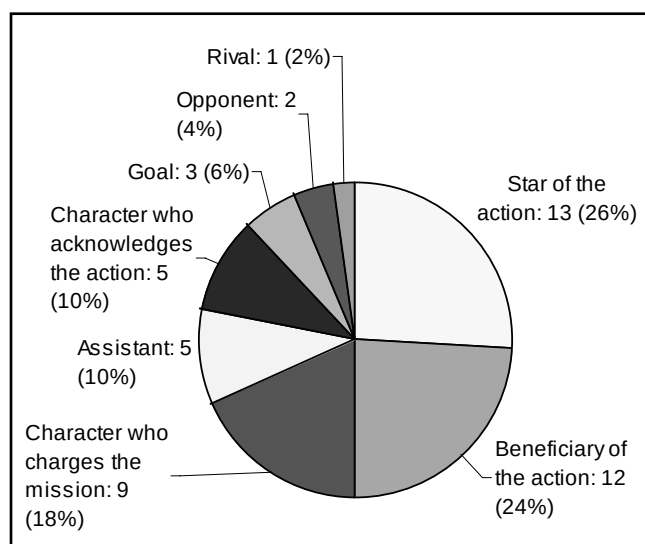
2. 2. 4. Comparative analysis

The general quantification of the narrative roles of immigrants on Spanish stations and on TVC offers three fundamental lines of analysis from the comparative point of view, which we will go into in detail in the conclusions:

- Firstly, there was the high frequency of the appearance of a character representing an immigrant as the bene-

Graph 4. Narrative roles of immigrants on TVC series

(of a total of 50 narrative roles exercised by immigrants)



fiary of an action by a Spaniard or Catalan, both in the Spanish and Catalan series, although less so in the latter.

- The slightly higher frequency of the appearance of immigrants as the stars of the action in Catalan plots compared to Spanish ones tends to suggest a higher level of integration as active subjects in the society of the characters that the immigrants represent in the Catalan series.
- On the other hand, in Spanish and Catalan fictional series alike, there were few examples of an immigrant as a direct adversary (opponent or rival) of Spanish or Catalan characters.

3. Prototypical narrative structures

The detailed analysis of each plot in the sample in line with the narrative role exercised by characters representing immigrants resulted in eight prototypical narrative structures in which immigrants are involved. The first we present was shared by the Spanish and Catalan shows, while the others had significant differences between them. It is important to say that the most relevant prototypical narrations were those that corresponded to the central narrative roles, basically the star of the action and the beneficiary of the action. The narrative structures about an immigrant as an assistant to the star of the action was slightly less in the series' plots overall.

3. 1. Prototypical narrative structured shared by the Spanish stations and TVC

The immigrant as a passive beneficiary

The epic of good, fair and caring Spaniards and Catalans

A young, responsible and caring Spaniard or Catalan acts in the personal sphere or as a public-service professional or gets another Spaniard or Catalan to act for an immigrant or group of immigrants (family or group of friends, generally) with the aim of doing justice (avenging the immigrant, destroying a false accusation, uncovering who killed him, etc.) or getting some type of socioeconomic benefit for the immigrant/s.

The fundamental impediments for carrying through the mission comes from laws and institutions and the racist culture of a group of Spaniards or Catalans, or are problems that the immigrant brings with him from his home country.

In any case, the Spaniard or Catalan who adopts the positive mission for the immigrant ends up succeeding and reaching his goal.

3. 2. Prototypical narrative structures that differed between the Spanish stations and TVC

3. 2. 1. Prototypical narrative structures of the Spanish stations

The immigrant as the star of the action working for him or herself

The great swindler

A Latin American immigrant, who may be male or female and is young, attractive and has affectionate ties with a Spaniard, urges him or her to obtain a benefit of a socio-economic or passionate type for him or herself and resorts to the swindle, seduction or manipulation of Spaniards to achieve it.

In the sentimental sphere, he or she runs up against possessive Spaniards, while in the professional sphere (which appeared less than the personal one), the obstacles come from the Spanish authorities, e.g., bosses, laws or police or legal institutions. On the other hand, the immigrant does not usually seek help and, if he finds it, it is merely by chance.

Despite that, thanks to his or her ability at swindling, charming or manipulating, they nearly always achieve their goal even though sometimes a jealous person or Spanish authority ends up recriminating the damage caused by the swindle.

The immigrant as the star of an action working for someone else

The feared initiative of the immigrant with good intentions

A black or mixed-race immigrant, male, Cuban, young, open and charming, tries to compensate for or avoid a loss or damage that his partner or a friend has suffered or is about to suffer. With a caring impulse, the immigrant acts even if

he has not been asked to and despite the fact that the only effective collaboration he receives is from family members.

Because he has moved either in the past or present within a sphere of illegality, sooner or later he runs into a Spanish authority (bosses and laws, mainly) so that when he acts for other immigrants he always ends up failing and when he acts for Spaniards he could either succeed or fail.

The immigrant as an active beneficiary

A Spaniard responds to a call from an immigrant

A Latin American immigrant, male or female, young and charming but able to feign and manipulate, gets a young, generous and caring Spaniard, usually one who works in the public service (in a hospital, as a police officer, etc.) to help them win more security, freedom or protection, or an economic or legal benefit.

During the development of the mission, the assistant to the star of the action, another Spaniard who is a work colleague, helps out, but the achievement of the goal is hindered by a group of racist and intolerant Spaniards, or restrictive laws and regulations regarding immigrants' rights.

Finally, the immigrant thanks the Spaniard for the effort they made to achieve the benefit.

The immigrant as assistant in the action

The tragicomedy of the big-hearted justice seeker

A black immigrant of a pleasant nature (open, generous, friendly) if a man, or a mixed-race woman with a negative temperament (anxious, unsure, scared) if a woman, acts with good intentions to help a young white Spaniard with whom he or she has a personal relationship, in order to make up for the action of Spanish public institutions or situations of inequality and social injustice.

The immigrant moves in spheres of private action, i.e., the family or professional sphere, and the actions he or she carries out are good or are aimed at achieving a good cause, even though the person at whom the aid is aimed sometimes acts on the motivation of negative characteristics. Despite the good intentions, the immigrant's intervention usually ends up serving for nothing and he or she is shown to be incapable of substituting functions that are usually up to public organisations.

3. 2. 2. Prototypical narrative structures of Televisió de Catalunya

The immigrant as the star of the action working for him or herself

The immigrant who seeks affection above all else

A young immigrant, male and from Latin America, who is extroverted and charismatic but who is sometimes also a swindler, has a goal of a sentimental nature for himself.

Even though he usually needs money, the immigrant acts fundamentally out of emotional reasons. When he receives aid, it is usually from an intelligent Catalan who belongs to his family circle. On the other hand, the action of authority figures, as well as laws, nightclub bouncers or swindlers, make his life difficult.

Even if the immigrant manages to get what he wanted at first, he still ends up failing in the end.

The immigrant as the star of the action working for someone else

The caring immigrant that nobody wants to join forces with

A young male immigrant from South America or the Maghreb, who is caring, charismatic and charming, acts in benefit of a family member with problems.

The immigrant is shown to be generous and carries out actions of a communicational nature within the passionate and emotional spheres. Although he is working to help Catalans, the immigrant usually receives no help in his actions and instead runs up against very diverse obstacles: the media, laws, bureaucracy, manipulating Catalans. Despite it all, he usually succeeds in his caring action.

The immigrant as an assistant to the star of the action

The sex advisor to Catalan men

The immigrant who helps the star of the action is a young man and has personal relationships with white, Catalan characters who he tries to help via communicational actions. The immigrant is defined on the basis of his sexual experience, which he uses to advise male Catalan characters on questions about sex.

The motivations that guide the immigrant are of a passionate type, or beliefs or instincts of a sexual nature, to achieve passionate benefits for the Catalan man with

regards his sexual experience (at the start of a relationship, learning to kiss, picking up girls) and of a cognitive type in relation to sex (sex information).

4. Conclusions

In the final conclusions, rather than present a summary of the content of the previously mentioned sections, we developed a number of reflections that refer to the most profound and significant values that make up the image of immigrants on the television fictional series of the Spanish and Catalan stations.

4. 1. About the visibility of immigrants

The figure of the immigrant is found in a series of characters that appeared on the different TV series, something which involves a reflection of the presence of immigration in Spanish and Catalan social life. In this regard, the TV series tended to introduce the figure of the immigrant in some of their narrative plots, making the figure visible in the fictional worlds represented in the series. We have to bear in mind that this fact was favoured by the circumstance that, in general, the Spanish and Catalan series tried to reflect, in a realistic, dramatic or comedic vein, worlds of daily lives in the professional and domestic and private spheres.

However, the visibility of the immigrant was very unequal, bearing in mind a number of specific criteria:

With regards television stations, the practical absence of the immigrant on inhouse production shows aired during the 2002-2003 on Televisión Española is extremely important. For the social world that this station reflects in its fictional series, immigration in Spain does not exist, producing an effect of the invisibility of immigration. TVE thus limits the treatment of issues referring to immigration and the construction of the image of immigrants to its news and current-affairs shows alone. In any case, it is strange that the public Spanish station was the only one that did not include the issue of immigration in the fictional worlds of its internally produced series, and therefore does not seem to assume responsibility for establishing parameters for transmitting any type of social or civic value with regards the issue of immigration.

By contrast, the Catalan public station, by introducing

immigrant characters in a significant manner into the internally produced series it broadcasts, does seem to have assumed this social responsibility via fictional series.

On the other hand, in the series of the different stations, the visibility of the different types of immigrants in relation to their origin was very unequal. There was a clear predominance of Latin American immigrants at the Spanish and Catalan stations alike. There was also not a single Chinese character in any of the series and very few people from the Maghreb on the Spanish series, in contrast with the important presence of Maghrebi immigrants in Spanish society. A number of different hypotheses could be made about why this happened, which could range from the more or less problematic or discreet image of the two types of immigrants through to the difficulty for screenwriters to write credible and attractive characters. In any case, it warrants an in-depth reflection on the media and social image of these two groups of immigrants.

With regards Catalan series specifically, it is important to mention that *El cor de la ciutat* did include a relevant Maghrebi character (Huari), unlike the Spanish shows. On the other hand, in the TVC sample there was no sub-Saharan African immigrant, something which, bearing in mind their considerable presence in Catalonia, could be interesting to continue to observe with attention. Also the Catalan series featured no characters from Western Europe or the Near East, geographical areas that were represented in the Spanish series during the analysed season. However, it is important to bear in mind that the biggest number of Spanish stations and series in the sample made it easier to reach a higher number of different zones of origin of the characters representing immigrants.

Another datum of interest refers to the centrality or marginality of the character representing an immigrant on the TV shows. On the TVC series there were various characters who were important to the plots and who lasted throughout the episodes. By contrast, these characters on the Spanish stations tended to appear in the series in plots and subplots that were developed over one or two episodes. In short, they were not protagonists within the fictional worlds presented and appeared as marginal and temporary characters. This projects the image of a Spanish social reality in which characters born in other countries have a peripheral position and are not integrated in a stable manner within the social

life of the country. Also, bearing in mind that the stable characters in the series are the ones that viewer tends to identify with, the absence of immigrant protagonists in Spanish television fiction could be considered a symptom of the Spanish viewer's difficulty in identifying with immigrants and at the same time involves a lack of will on the part of producers and scriptwriters to help train the viewing public in this type of identification with the figure of 'the other', i.e., a person who comes from a different country and a different culture.

As we said before, quite the opposite happens on TVC, where the majority of characters representing immigrants in Catalan series are stable characters in the fictional worlds, e.g., Huari and Nelson from *El cor de la ciutat*, Jairo and Kòstia from *Majoria absoluta* and Alexei from *Setze dobles*. However, it is important to bear in mind that the trend by the Spanish series to include new characters in each episode is much less significant in Catalan series, where plots tend to be articulated through regulars in the cast, with few casual appearances by other characters. In any case, independently of the importance that the different script and production trends have here, it seems that Catalan fictional series better favour the projection of a figure of the immigrant integrated in society in a more stable fashion.

In this sense, there was only one remarkable exception on the Spanish stations: in the series *Un paso adelante*, on Antena 3, there is a stable protagonist named Pavel, who has a number of interesting features. He is a young, black Cuban who is charming and who works in show business. He is therefore a prototypical figure in some aspects: the Latin American origin connects with the higher presence of Latin Americans in television series with respect to other types of immigrants (a clear predominance on the Spanish stations and one that is even more noticeable on TVC). Also, his features are associated with a number of people in Spain who have become famous and appear constantly in the gossip magazines and television talk shows. In other words, he is a prototype of a person with an important media presence.

4. 2. On the plenitude of immigrants as positive characters

Characters in any narrative plot, depending on the role they play, can have different features. The figure of the proto-

typical hero would have the following qualities: central, active, independent, efficient and positive.

Central: the central narrative roles in a plot are basically the star of the action and the person who benefits from the action and, if applicable, the subject who confronts the star of the action competing for the same goal. More peripheral narrative roles would be the character who propels the star of the action to act, the subject who helps or hinders the star develop the mission and the character who finally thanks or recriminates the star of the action for what he or she has done.

In the Spanish fiction series, immigrants usually occupied a central position, fundamentally as beneficiaries of the action of a Spaniard, while the most frequent narrative role of immigrant characters in Catalan fictional series was that of star of the action. This is one of the main differential factors between the Spanish and Catalan shows, and brings the immigrants in the TVC series closer to the figure of the prototypical protagonist. However, in the Spanish and Catalan series overall, immigrants occupied a central position predominating as the beneficiaries of an action by a Spaniard or a Catalan.

Active: a prototypical hero must appear as a character who takes charge of accomplishing a mission. In this sense, the characters representing immigrants that appeared on the Spanish series were not usually the stars of the action, but on the Catalan shows they tended to have greater action potential.

Independent: the independence of a character is based on his or her initiative, not just to tackle missions but to develop them personally, whether for their own benefit or for others. On the other hand, a dependent character is one who needs others to carry out actions on his or her behalf. In this sense, there was a majority of cases when the image of the immigrant was constructed as a dependent character in the Spanish series and, in contrast, a predominance in the Catalan shows of storylines in which the immigrant that presents some type of problem decides to initiate an action off his or her own back.

Efficient: an efficient character is one who, in developing an action with a particular objective, goes on to achieve the proposed objective. It could be a protagonist action because the protagonists of the action acts, or an action helping the protagonist. Bearing in mind that the prototypical hero

usually always gets what he wants, the figure of the immigrant as the star of the action presents an image of considerable inefficiency, and is successful in his actions around 50% of the time, a figure too low for a prototypical protagonist. It is important to qualify, however, that in the storylines of the Catalan series, the immigrant star of the action achieves partial success on various occasions, in the sense that he manages to get what he wants but eventually ends up losing it at the end of the episode or in subsequent episodes.

Positive: this feature of a character is defined on the basis of the ethical and social values that can be gleaned from the goals pursued and from the resources and actions put into practice to achieve these goals, whether they be of a socioeconomic, institutional, housing-related, passionate type, etc. In general, characters representing immigrants who appeared in the series did not pursue goals of a negative ethical or social nature. However, they did tend to use strategies to achieve these goals based on cheating, seduction or the manipulation of other characters, usually Spaniards or Catalans. Swindles, pretences and tricks were particularly predominant in the way immigrants acted in the Spanish series, but were also relatively frequent in the Catalan ones.

In short, although the Catalan series projected a vision of the immigrant that is closer to that of the prototypical hero, in general terms, neither the Spanish nor Catalan ones managed to offer a significant image of the immigrant as a 'complete' hero. In particular, the characteristics 'central', 'active', 'independent', 'efficient' and 'positive', according to how they were defined, were only found altogether in a character representing an immigrant in three narrative roles from a total of 86, in the case of the Spanish series, and twice from a total of 50 narrative roles exercised by immigrants on the TVC series. This is a very low percentage and similar in both broadcast areas, i.e., around 4%.

So, when an immigrant appears as an active character, he turns out to be inefficient or negative in the development of his action strategies: when he is active and independent he does not occupy a central role within the narrative structure of the plot; when he is efficient he is at the same time dependent – in fact, the figure of the immigrant was often presented as efficient in dependency; and when he is positive he is at the same inefficient.

This lack of plenitude in the image of the immigrant as a hero of an action contrasts with the image which the same plots present for many Spanish and Catalan characters who do appear at the same time to be central, active, independent, efficient and positive.

4. 3. On relations between locals and immigrants

Relations without confrontation

The recent mass flow of immigration to Spain can generate a perception of a situation of conflict between the locals and the different groups of people who come from abroad.

In the Spanish and Catalan series alike, there were clear inferences of an image in which relations of conflict appeared. In this sense, the fact that the characters representing immigrants only very occasional confronted Spanish or Catalan characters, whether to compete for a same goal or to directly hinder the action of a local protagonist, is very important.

Although the image of direct conflict did not appear through the immigrant confronting a Spaniard or Catalan, the image of the immigrant regularly presented two clearly negative values in relations with Spaniards or Catalans: the problem and the pretence.

The immigrant as a problem

Conflict and competition for a same goal, whether social, economic, institutional or passionate, would project an image of immigrants as a collective willing to somehow undermine the good or value of locals. As we have indicated, this image was not at all common on the Spanish or Catalan series – however, neither did there clearly appear the opposite image, i.e., that of a collective of immigrants as people who contribute values to the new country, whether cultural, social or economic. In this regard, it is important that, as well as the activities included in the services sector or in small trade, many of the professional activities of the immigrants that appeared in the series, particularly in the Spanish ones, were linked to the worlds of entertainment or illegal activities, but immigrants were not presented in professional activities like the building industry or agriculture, frequent in the social reality of immigration and which would project the image of a production effort beneficial to the development of the society.

On the other hand, characters representing immigrants who with a certain frequency do successfully carry out actions aimed at favouring other Catalan characters did appear on TVC, but the fact that when they succeed it takes place almost always within the strictly personal or family circles of the immigrants makes it hard to project these positive actions as a social and collective value in the storylines of the Catalan series.

Therefore, in very general terms, we could say that on the series immigrants did not undermine but neither did they contribute. A very common image in the Spanish storylines, and less so in the Catalan series although it did appear on a number of occasions, was that of the immigrant with shortages and problems and which a generous and caring Spaniard or Catalan eventually has to solve. Here the image of the immigrant is that of a problem. The immigrant is almost never presented as a usurper, but neither is he clearly shown as a benefactor, and in the dichotomy between appearing as a problem or a solution, immigration appeared more to be a problem.

Trusting relations: pretence and transparency

In the storylines of the Spanish television series, the immigrant usually appeared as a character who resorts to manipulating, charming or cheating a Spanish character to achieve his goals, which he gets in many cases. In this sense, the Spanish characters appeared as ingénues who allow themselves to be tricked or who have to be permanently alert to avoid being swindled. We thus have an element of a very important problematic relationship between immigrants and Spaniards that fundamentally affects trusting relations between them. It is important to bear in mind that trusting relations are totally founded on developing activities of cooperation between the two groups.

On the other hand, the immigrant sometimes appeared as an individual with serious problems and shortages which were the result of different factors, such as the situation in his homeland; legal, institutional and socioeconomic difficulties in the new country; groups that personify the racist culture in our society or international immigration mafias. In any case, the immigrant usually appeared as a victim, i.e., as someone whose negative situation was not the fault of his own behaviour which could be condemned.

In that regard, the immigrant appeared in principle to be exempt from blame; like all victims he was an innocent victim. However, also frequent in the plots of the Spanish series was the fact that the immigrant used his victim status to get caring Spaniards to work on his behalf. This was usually tied to strategies of cheating and manipulation on the part of the immigrant to ensure that the Spaniards acted in his favour. Consequently, what in principle was a situation of innocence occasionally ended up becoming, because of the use of victim strategies, a position of culpability.

With regard to the Catalan shows, the figure of the immigrant was not so often linked to pretence or acts of persuasion or manipulation of other characters to get them to work for them, firstly because the immigrant on the TVC shows who presented some type of problem usually acted for himself and, secondly because, although the immigrant on the Catalan series occasionally resorted to cheating or swindling, this was less so than in the plots of the Spanish series. Bearing in mind the abovementioned appearance of swindlers on the part of immigrants on Catalan series too, which although not very recurrent could not at the same time be considered merely anecdotal, we cannot say that the immigrant on these series was clearly situated in the value of transparency but in any case we can say that the immigrant on the Catalan series was not markedly associated with pretence and cheating like he was on the Spanish ones.

Integration or exclusion

We could classify the different levels of integration in society via four fundamental spheres: the personal, the professional, the social and the institutional. In terms of the last two, we found that characters representing immigrants on the TV series had very little participation in social or institutional spheres and when they did it was usually by force or under some sort of pressure. If we add to that the elevated presence, in the Spanish and Catalan series alike, of institutional subjects or subjects of authorities as the adversaries of the immigrant, we can clearly see that the integration of immigrants in the TV shows in the social and institutional spheres was practically non-existent.

In terms of the personal and professional sphere, there were significant differences between the Spanish series and those of TVC:

Most of the characters representing immigrants on the TVC series were married to a Catalan or integrated within a Catalan family while on the other hand, in the analysed season, they were not often presented in their respective work spheres, and in fact some of them were on the dole. Despite the relevance of family integration among immigrants in Catalan series, it is important to point out that in various storylines the stability of this integration was threatened by conflicts with racist groups that led to the temporary abandonment of the family, the arrival of a new component of the family or because of relationship problems that led to a separation.

On the other hand, in the Spanish series there was a much higher visibility of immigrants in the workplace, particularly the service sector and the world of entertainment, but also on many occasions the immigrant was linked to illegal or quasi-legal spheres such as prostitution and crime.

In short, generally the series did not manage to completely consolidate the integration of the immigrant, either in the Spanish or Catalan spheres, as the appearance of a family problem with important consequences or the legally dubious condition of the work sphere tended to hinder the projection of an image of full integration by the immigrant.

Friends and enemies

To resolve their problems and shortages, the immigrant runs into characters who support him or who, on the contrary, tend to make the resolution of his problems impossible. In the majority of cases, the characters who support the immigrant and take on the mission of caring for his needs were personified by Spaniards or Catalans who work individually and from a private role, although their action was usually developed within the framework of a public institution. The appearance in the series of caring, generous, headstrong and intelligent Spaniards or Catalans who work in benefit of the immigrants was therefore common. The negative position was almost always transferred from the sphere of what is individual and private to the sphere of what is abstract, collective or institutional, in the Spanish and Catalan series alike. In this way, the factors that impede the possible solution of the immigrant's problems were abstract characters such as social and institutional regulations and the laws of the state that affect these collectives, as well as collective characters such as

racist groups or international immigration mafias. There was therefore a certain tendency to project an image which, explained in a very direct fashion, would respond to the following outline: Spaniard or Catalan 'good'; system 'bad'.

We should point out that on the Spanish and Catalan stations alike, there was no significant presence of solidarity among immigrants themselves, beyond some cases that responded to reasons of family, love or friendship. Even more important was the absence of support by social organisations for immigrants. This fact projects the image that the immigrant is an isolated subject who resolves his problems in an individual manner, incapable of generating support structures through social organisations. These associations already exist in our country although they are probably still in their early stages. It is astonishing that this fact was not reflected on the television series which instead, particularly the Spanish ones, repeatedly referred to the existence of illegal and criminal organisations, such as immigration mafias, drug traffickers, and white slave trafficking with foreign women, etc.

4. 4. Communication management of the social image of the immigrant

The world of television fiction, particularly that which purports to represent a country's social reality, is very important in the creation of the collective imagination about specific social groups. In all likelihood, the political, social, institutional and cultural management of relations between locals and immigrants will be a fundamental question in the development of society in the decades to come. The construction of fictional worlds, in a medium as influential as television, will play a very important role in this regard. Television fiction not only reflects the reality but also, particularly and especially, projects and disseminates reference frameworks, images and stereotypes that directly impact how people experience the social reality.

As we have been able to see through the results of this research work, television fiction series in Spain and Catalonia do not fuel the most directly racist and xenophobic values that could be incubating in the society; however, there are some figures that invite reflection. For example, why are there stations that sidestep the presence of immigrants in their fictional worlds? What problem exists with respect to the figure of Chinese people in Spanish and

Catalan societies that makes them non-existent in television fiction shows? And what about people from the Maghreb on the Spanish stations?

Also, certain values were assigned to immigrants, more often on the Spanish series than the Catalan ones, that do not facilitate their full incorporation into the life of the society or a positive attitude among other citizens. It can be said that, depending on the images transmitted and narrative structures constructed in the Spanish series, they generate among Spanish viewers an attitude of mistrust towards immigrants: in the plots of the Spanish series, immigrants were usually inefficient and incompetent; unable to achieve the goals they set and/or had a tendency to resort to pretence, manipulation or cheating. As a consequence, it is not possible to trust the efficacy of what the immigrant does or the veracity of what he says. As we indicated earlier, a common collective project, shared by immigrants and Spaniards alike, has to be based on a previous relationship of mutual trust, and the construction of this possible and desirable relationship could be negatively affected by the collective imagination projected via the series shown on TV.

In this regard, as on other occasions, we found in the Catalan series a toned-down reflection of things found in a more obvious fashion on the Spanish ones: although the characters representing immigrants in Catalan series did not project mistrust as often as the ones on the Spanish series did, the portrayal of immigrants on Catalan shows often went hand-in-hand with a certain shade of mistrust.

Finally, it is important to recall that the appropriate management of the image of immigration requires the constant questioning of the fiction content aired in the mass media, an analysis that has to go increasingly beyond the superficial and obvious to take an in-depth look at the underlying structures and values of the messages that are transmitted - structures and values that have a great importance with respect to the construction of the collective imagination generated in our society about immigration.

Note

- 1 With this title, the project obtained a PGC-MCYT grant from the Spanish Ministry for Science and Technology at the 2001 official announcement and was led by the consolidated UNICA group from Pompeu Fabra University, under the leadership, as the principal researcher, of Dr. Josep Gifreu.

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ANNEX

The Public Image of Immigration in Television Series

Fiction analysis

Methodological template for analysing narrative plots

The analysis template shown here was designed with the aim of identifying the most noteworthy and significant features of the narrative structures within a body of work that included a large number of study units.

This analysis template specifically addressed the analysis of fiction plots in television series that featured a character representing an immigrant. However, it can also be used, introducing the appropriate specific changes, to study other bodies of work on different genres and themes.

The template was organised on the basis of the different types of narrative roles a character can meet. These narrative roles basically correspond to the ones defined in the theoretical framework of narrative semiotics. Each character in a narrative plot is situated within the narrative role or roles that he or she plays within the plot and, on the basis of this situation, the template makes it possible to identify different aspects of their Character: such as characterisation in terms of subject type; physical, cognitive and emotional features; the spaces and times in which the character acts; the beliefs and passions that drive him or her to act; the abilities and powers that enable him or her to carry out an action; the type of actions developed; the goals pursued; the results of the action; relations with other characters, etc.

The analysis template was therefore organised to obtain systematic and exhaustive information on each Character: or each character type, within a great many narrative plots. The template also enabled us to obtain information on the most significant profound structures in the analysed narrative units overall.

To use this template, it was necessary to develop, imple-

ment and utilise a specifically designed computer programme that enabled us to organise and cross-reference information in a flexible fashion for its appropriate use.

Four basic phases were established to use the present template:

1. Each narrative unit was analysed on the grounds of the established categories. After studying each narrative unit, the template was used with the aim of reflecting the pro-found structure of the unit's content.
2. Records of the overall narrative units analysed were entered in a computer system designed for this purpose.
3. The questions to which we wanted answers were decided on, and the information stored in the computer system used to that end.
4. The data obtained were analysed and conclusions drawn.

I. ANALYSIS UNIT IDENTIFICATION

1. Unit number
2. Analyst number
3. Analysis data
4. Fiction product ID card number

II. ANALYSIS PLOT IDENTIFICATION

1. Analysis unit (plot)
2. Number of plots (total)
3. Type of plot
 - a) Principal
 - b) Secondary
4. Number of scenes (plot)
5. Plot duration/total
6. Plot summary
7. KEY WORD IDENTIFICATION
 - a. Principal theme
Key words
 - b. Actors
Key words
 - c. Actions
Key words
 - d. Territorial areas
Key words

NARRATIVE FRAMEWORKS

I. ACTION SUBJECT (HERO)

1. TYPES

- a. **Type 1**
 - I. Individual
 - II. Collective
- b. **Type 2**
 - I. Figurative
 - II. Abstract
- c. **Type 3**
 - I. Supernatural element / specify
 - II. Natural element / specify
 - III. Artefact / specify
 - IV. Human individuals or groups/ specify
 - V. Cultural elements / specify
- d. **Public**
 - I. Political-institutional / specify
 - II. Social / specify
- e. **Private**
 - I. Professional / specify
 - II. Personal / specify

2. CHARACTERISTICS

- a. **Physical features, age and gender** / specify
- b. **Character: ethical, passionate, cognitive** / specify
- c. **Origin** / specify

3. COMPETENT FOR THE ACTION

- a. **Want**
 - I. Yes
 - II. No
 1. Explicit
 2. Assumed
 3. Undefined
- b. **Have to**
 - I. Yes
 - II. No
 1. Explicit
 2. Assumed
 3. Undefined

- c. **Can**
 - I. Yes
 - II. No
 - 1. Explicit
 - 2. Assumed
 - 3. Undefined

- d. **Know**
 - I. Yes
 - II. No
 - 1. Explicit
 - 2. Assumed
 - 3. Undefined

4. PASSIONS AND BELIEFS

Driven to act by:

- a. **Passions** / specify
- b. **Beliefs** / specify

5. ACTION SPACES AND TIME

- a. **Spaces** / specify
- b. **Times** / specify

6. ACTIONS/TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE ACTION SUBJECT

- a. **Aimed at:**
 - I. Making someone win an object
 - II. Making someone lose an object
 - III. Maintaining possession of an object
 - IV. Maintaining lack of an object
- b. **Type of action:**
 - I. Material-somatic / specify
 - II. Cognitive / specify
 - III. Communicative / specify
 - IV. Institutional / specify
- c. **Action sphere:**
 - I. **Public**
 - 1. Political-institutional / specify
 - 2. Social / specify
 - II. **Private**
 - 1. Professional / specify
 - 2. Personal / specify

II. STATE OF SUBJECT (BENEFITTED/HARMED)

1. TYPES

- a. **Type 1**
 - I. Individual
 - II. Collective
- b. **Type 2**
 - I. Figurative
 - II. Abstract
- c. **Type 3**
 - I. Supernatural element / specify
 - II. Natural element / specify
 - III. Artefact / specify
 - IV. Human Individuals or collectives / specify
 - V. Cultural elements / specify
- d. **Public**
 - I. Political-institutional/ specify
 - II. Social / specify
- e. **Private**
 - I. Professional / specify
 - II. Personal / specify

2. CHARACTERISTICS

- a. **Physical features, age and gender** / specify
- b. **Character: ethical, passionate, cognitive** / specify
- c. **Origin** / specify

3. ACTION SPACES AND TIMES

- a. **Spaces** / specify
- b. **Times** / specify

III. OBJECT OF VALUE

TYPE

- 1. **Existential** / specify
- 2. **Social/economic** / specify
- 3. **Ethical/political** / specify
- 4. **Passionate** / specify
- 5. **Cognitive** / specify

6. Abilities to act and achieve objectives

- a. **Want**
- b. **Have to**
- c. **Know**
- d. **Can**

IV. AID

1. TYPES

- a. **Type 1**
 - I. Individual
 - II. Collective
- b. **Type 2**
 - I. Figurative
 - II. Abstract
- c. **Type 3**
 - I. Supernatural element / specify
 - II. Natural element / specify
 - III. Artefact / specify
 - IV. Human individuals or groups/ specify
 - V. Cultural elements / specify
- d. **Public**
 - I. Political-institutional/ specify
 - II. Social / specify
- e. **Private**
 - I. Professional / specify
 - II. Personal / specify

2. CHARACTERISTICS

- a. **Physical features, age and gender / specify**
- b. **Character: ethical, passionate, cognitive / specify**
- c. **Origin / specify**

3. BENEFITS OF THE AID ACTION TYPE

- a. **Existential / specify**
- b. **Social and economic / specify**
- c. **Ethical and political / specify**
- d. **Passionate / specify**
- e. **Cognitive / specify**

f. Abilities to act and achieve objectives

- I. **Want**
- II. **Have to**
- III. **Know**
- IV. **Can**

4. AID ACTION

- a. **Aimed at:**
 - I. Making someone win an object
 - II. Making someone lose an object
 - III. Maintaining possession of an object
 - IV. Maintaining lack of an object
- b. **Type of action:**
 - I. Material-somatic / specify
 - II. Cognitive / specify
 - III. Communicative / specify
 - IV. Institutional / specify
- c. **Action sphere:**
 - I. **Public**
 - 1. Political-institutional / specify
 - 2. Social / specify
 - II. **Private**
 - 1. Professional / specify
 - 2. Personal / specify

V. OPPONENT

1. TYPES

- a. **Type 1**
 - I. Individual
 - II. Collective
- b. **Type 2**
 - I. Figurative
 - II. Abstract
- c. **Type 3**
 - I. Supernatural element / specify
 - II. Natural element / specify
 - III. Artefact / specify
 - IV. Human individuals or groups/ specify
 - V. Cultural elements / specify
- d. **Public**
 - I. Political-institutional/ specify
 - II. Social / specify

- e. **Private**
 - I. Professional / specify
 - II. Personal / specify

2. CHARACTERISTICS

- a. **Physical features, age and gender** / specify
- b. **Character: ethical, passionate, cognitive** / specify
- c. **Origin** / specify

3. HARM IN THE OPPONENT'S ACTION TYPE

- a. **Existential** / specify
- b. **Social and economic** / specify
- c. **Ethical and political** / specify
- d. **Passionate** / specify
- e. **Cognitive** / specify
- f. **Abilities to act and achieve objectives**
 - I. **Want**
 - II. **Have to**
 - III. **Know**
 - IV. **Can**

4. OPPONENT'S ACTION

- a. **Aimed at:**
 - I. Gaining an object
 - II. Losing an object
 - III. Maintaining possession of an object
 - IV. Maintaining lack of an object
- b. **Type of action:**
 - I. Material-somatic / specify
 - II. Cognitive / specify
 - III. Communicative / specify
 - IV. Institutional / specify
- c. **Action sphere:**
 - I. **Public**
 - 1. Political-institutional/ specify
 - 2. Social / specify
 - II. **Private**
 - 1. Professional / specify
 - 2. Personal / specify

VI. CONTRACT (ADDRESSOR / ADDRESSEE)

ADDRESSOR

1. TYPES

- a. **Type 1**
 - I. Individual
 - II. Collective
- b. **Type 2**
 - I. Figurative
 - II. Abstract

2. Internal within the subject

- a. **Type**
 - I. **Character** / specify
 - II. **Ethical values** / specify
 - III. **Passions** / specify
 - IV. **Beliefs** / specify
 - V. **Instincts** / specify
 - VI. **Others** / specify
- b. **Contractual manipulation**
 - I. **Promise** / specify
 - II. **Threat** / specify
 - III. **Seduction** / specify
 - IV. **Provocation** / specify
- c. **Effect of contractual manipulation**
 - I. **To make someone want** (provoke desires) / specify
 - II. **To make someone have to** (provoke obligations) / specify
- d. **Action spaces and times**
 - I. **Spaces** / specify
 - II. **Times** / specify

3. Extern to the subject

- a. **Type**
 - I. **Public**
 - 1. Political-institutional/ specify
 - 2. Social / specify
 - II. **Private**
 - 1. Professional / specify
 - 2. Personal / specify
- b. **Characteristics**
 - I. **Physical features, age and gender** / specify

- II. **Character: ethical, passionate, cognitive** / specify
- III. **Origin** / specify
- c. **Ability for the action**
 - I. **Want**
 - 1. Yes
 - 2. No
 - 3. Explicit
 - 4. Assumed
 - 5. Undefined
 - II. **Have to**
 - 1. Yes
 - 2. No
 - 3. Explicit
 - 4. Assumed
 - 5. Undefined
 - III. **Can**
 - 1. Yes
 - 2. No
 - 3. Explicit
 - 4. Assumed
 - IV. **Know**
 - 1. Yes
 - 2. No
 - 3. Explicit
 - 4. Assumed
 - 5. Undefined
- d. **Passions and beliefs**
 - Driven to act by:*
 - I. **Passions** / specify
 - II. **Beliefs** / specify
- e. **Contractual manipulation**
 - I. **Promise** / specify
 - II. **Threat** / specify
 - III. **Seduction** / specify
 - IV. **Provocation** / specify
- f. **Effect of contractual manipulation**
 - I. **To make someone want** (provoke desires) / specify
 - II. **To make someone have to** (provoke obligations) / specify

- g. **Action spaces and times**
 - I. **Spaces** / specify
 - II. **Times** / specify

VII. SANCTION (ADDRESSOR / ADDRESSEE)

ADDRESSOR

1. TYPES

- a. **Type 1**
 - I. Individual
 - II. Collective
- b. **Type 2**
 - I. Figurative
 - II. Abstract
- c. **Type 3**
 - I. Supernatural element / specify
 - II. Natural element / specify
 - III. Artefact / specify
 - IV. Human individuals or groups/ specify
 - V. Cultural elements / specify
- d. **Public**
 - I. Political-institutional/ specify
 - II. Social / specify
- e. **Private**
 - I. Professional / specify
 - II. Personal / specify

2. CHARACTERISTICS

- a. **Physical features, age and gender** / specify
- b. **Character: ethical, passionate, cognitive** / specify
- c. **Origin** / specify

3. ABILITY FOR THE ACTION

- a. **Want**
 - I. Yes
 - II. No
 - 1. Explicit
 - 2. Assumed
 - 3. Undefined
- b. **Have to**
 - I. Yes

- II. No
 - 1. Explicit
 - 2. Assumed
 - 3. Undefined

c. Can

- I. Yes
- II. No
 - 1. Explicit
 - 2. Assumed
 - 3. Undefined

d. Know

- I. Yes
- II. No
 - 1. Explicit
 - 2. Assumed
 - 3. Undefined

4. PASSIONS AND BELIEFS

Driven to act by:

- a. Passions** / specify
- b. Beliefs** / specify

5. ACTION SPACES AND TIMES

- a. Spaces** / specify
- b. Times** / specify

6. SANCTION

Types of sanction

- a. Recognition**
 - I. Positive / specify
 - II. Negative / specify
- b. Retribution**
 - I. Prize / specify
 - II. Punishment / specify

VIII. ANTI-SUBJECT

1. TYPES

- a. Type 1**
 - I. Individual
 - II. Collective

b. Type 2

- I. Figurative
- II. Abstract

c. Type 3

- I. Supernatural element/ specify
- II. Natural element / specify
- III. Artefact / specify
- IV. Individuals or collectives / specify
- V. Cultural elements / specify

d. Public

- I. Political-institutional/ specify
- II. Social / specify

e. Private

- I. Professional / specify
- II. Personal / specify

2. CHARACTERISTICS

- a. Physical features, age and gender** / specify
- b. Character: ethical, passionate, cognitive** / specify
- c. Origin** / specify

3. ABILITIES FOR THE ACTION

a. Want

- I. Yes
- II. No
 - 1. Explicit
 - 2. Assumed
 - 3. Undefined

b. Have to

- I. Yes
- II. No
 - 1. Explicit
 - 2. Assumed
 - 3. Undefined

c. Can

- I. Yes
- II. No
 - 1. Explicit
 - 2. Assumed
 - 3. Undefined

d. Know

- I. Yes
- II. No

1. Explicit
2. Assumed
3. Undefined

4. PASSIONS AND BELIEFS

Driven to act by:

- a. **Passions** / specify
- b. **Beliefs** / specify

5. ACTION SPACES AND TIMES

- a. **Spaces** / specify
- b. **Times** / specify

6. ACTIONS/TRANSFORMATIONS OF THE ANTI-SUBJECT

- a. **Aimed at:**
 - I. Making someone win an object
 - II. Making someone lose an object
 - III. Maintaining possession of an object
 - IV. Maintaining lack of an object
- b. **Type of action:**
 - I. Material-somatic / specify
 - II. Cognitive / specify
 - III. Communicative / specify
 - IV. Institutional / specify
- c. **Action sphere:**
 - I. **Public**
 1. Political-institutional/ specify
 2. Social / specify
 - II. **Private**
 1. Professional / specify
 2. Personal / specify

IX. FINAL STATES

1. Relation between state of subject/object of value

- a. Conjunction
- b. Disjunction

2. Action of the action subject

- a. Success
- b. Failure

Programming Strategies and Possible Places for Constructing a Public Image of Immigration: the 2002/2003 Season in Catalonia

Lorena Gómez Puertas, Arantxa Capdevila Gómez and Ivan Pintor Iranzo

■ *A comparative study of the programming policies of the major television networks makes it possible to appreciate opportunities of access and how social conflicts are posited as public problems. In the case of problems deriving from immigration to Spain, the programming strategies of the major stations determine the supply of possible places for constructing a public image on immigration-related issues. This article summarises a study of the free-to-air television offer in Catalonia during the 2002/2003 season, made up basically of the coverage of the three Spanish networks TVE-1, Tele-5 and Antena 3 TV, and the Catalan regional station TV3. A comparative analysis of the four programming schedules suggests significant differences between the two public stations and between them and the private ones: a strategy of silence used at TVE-1, a notable pre-sence at TV3 and fictional options at Tele-5 and Antena 3 TV.*

Key words

Programming policies, immigration, news treatment, conflict, television, public opinion

1. Introduction

The particular problem arising from migration from the Maghreb, sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, Eastern Europe and Asia and their new settlements is common in EU countries. Conflict generated with regards immigration is seen in the debates that have taken place in Europe over the past decade, which deal with both the processes of regularisation or control of access to immigrants and issues such as integration, identity, multiculturalism, political rights, racism and xenophobia.

The complexity of these social problems translates into an increasingly vast diversification of media discourses in the media's work of constructing a public image about immigration in our most immediate context. It involves a diversification that goes beyond thematic spheres to cover the variety of discursive strategies used in the media: immigration is shown on TV news shows and other programmes not only in the form of information but also as fiction and viewer entertainment.

An analysis of the programming strategies of the highest-rating stations among the free-to-air channels in Catalonia during the 2002/2003 season enables us to note these trends as well as the way the stations positioned themselves as social actors, the discursive strategies they used and the spaces they reserved for constructing a public image of immigration in Spain.

This article presents part of the results of a broader research project entitled "Television and the Construction of a Public Image of Immigration in Spain", funded by the Ministry for Science and Technology as part of the 2001-2003 National Knowledge Plan¹.

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Members of the UNICA/UPF Group

2. Television Programming Policies: Station Strategies as Narrator and Social Actor

Television programming policies, like the strategy of the station that transmits them, respond to a multiplicity of conditioning factors that can be grouped into two major dimensions: economic (which responds to advertising funding on the basis of ratings) and cultural (which refers to the relationship between the station and public on the basis of particular content)².

Factors in the first dimension include station goal according to the hierarchical order of functions it has to meet, which is largely defined by management type (public or private); its classification as a generalist or special-interest station, and whether it is a free-to-air or pay channel. The selection of TV stations that were the study object of this analysis (TVE-1, Tele-5, Antena 3 TV and TV3) were among the latter group, i.e., they all formed part of the free-to-air TV offer in Catalonia.

To these factors we should add other more specific ones that affect the programming policy of each broadcaster: return on investment, performance of the advertising market, socio-geographic coverage area, target public and competition between stations and other audiovisual uses.

With regards the cultural dimension and the relationship the station establishes with the public, there are a number of preliminary considerations that are the hallmarks of TV today: flow programming³, television viewing habits and potential public and definition of television genres.

Viewing habits and seasonal variables marked by a country's social lifestyle and cultural habits determine the definition of the stages of the season and the viewing times of television programming according to needs (news, entertainment, etc.) at each time of the day. This means an analysis of programming by timeslots speaks not only to the public at which the station is aimed but also the intended scope of spaces where it is possible to address social problems such as immigration, according to the position on the programming schedule⁴.

With regards television genres, any systematic classification of programming would remove us from the current context of programmers and television producers who increasingly plump for "container" programmes that include

elements from different genres, or programmes where a genre hybrid is the essential feature.

Some key trends in programming in recent seasons reaffirm the dissolution of genres. One example is the application of 'cross-genre' strategies in particular stations' programming schedules, whereby content from a top-rating programme (generally a reality show) is included in all the station's talk shows. This practice has even generated a style that goes beyond supplying content from a particular programme to instead become a feature of and reference point between station programmes. This confirms the principle of flow television and in some cases can lead to the extreme of progressive content homogenisation⁵.

Taking into account the matters shown here, we adopted a certain generic denomination of programme groups: news (general, sports, specialised, weekly, etc.), entertainment (infotainment shows, game shows, talk shows, chat shows, general entertainment programmes) and television fiction (specifically inhouse productions). We excluded sports broadcasts and foreign film fiction from our analysis as we considered them to be productions not strictly related to television and because we saw they had little impact on the explicit treatment of the issue of immigration as defined herein⁶.

This generic denomination makes no attempt at being exhaustive but is simply an operative orientation, as the goal was to discern the way each programme addressed social issues like immigration. The type of treatment was observed on the basis of programme format or genre and each one's ability to transmit a discourse on difficulties or progress made in the integration of migrants; publish figures or reports about migrant groups; or offer spaces for a public debate about questions of social interest related to immigration⁷.

3. Possible Places to Construct a Public Image of Immigration Via Television Stations

The comparative analysis that follows emphasises the existence of spaces that could easily include the presence of social issues like immigration, contextualised within programming schedules to try to assess the importance and scope that each station gave to these issues, as well as the coverage of them that they promoted.

The delimitation of these possible places in television programming made it possible to define fragments of television broadcasting that were key elements in analysing the construction of a public image of immigration via the selected television stations, i.e., defining the significant sample on which it would be possible to analyse the presence and treatment of this issue in the television discourse. Also, by contextualising the importance and scope of these possible places, we could see the mediation role each station awarded itself in its work as a political actor who promoted particular social constructions of the issue of migration.

Broadly speaking, the three Spanish and one Catalan station used in the analysis presented a practically stable programming structure on work days and weekends alike throughout the 2002/2003 season. The main variations responded to particular feast or holiday days and vacation periods. This, together with the need to keep this analysis brief, led us to present the results obtained by each station in the fashion of an outline, focusing particularly on programming from the months of September to December and March to June, the heaviest viewing periods of the year.

3.1. TVE-1: Absence of Immigration Beyond News Shows

In the 2002/2003 season, TVE-1 had a programming policy in line with sector trends, although it displayed an attitude of risk reduction that practically eliminated new concepts from the schedule altogether. Under the Popular Party government's second term, the public station opted for entertainment shows in primetime and limited any difference with the programming schedules of its private competitors.

The backbone of the station's programming was its various news shows, although besides *Telediario* and the traditional *Informe Semanal*, spaces devoted to generalist information were conspicuous by their absence. The presentation of issues of difficulties or progress in the integration of immigrants, or figures or reports on immigration were limited to the space of one-hour reports per week or the 45-minute news shows.

The station's programming policy with regards inhouse fictional series showed they were a privileged product clearly capable of gaining a loyal primetime following. The season analysed featured *Ana y los 7*, *Cuéntame* and *La*

vida de Rita. *Ana y los 7* is a comedy in the tradition of TVE-1's sitcoms (e.g., *Hostal Royal Manzanares*) that was not only its highest-rating show but was also very popular amongst younger viewers. *Cuéntame cómo pasó* was comedy as a historical review and, thanks to its quality format (the show has repeatedly won prizes) added to its functions that of establishing itself as an image standard of the station brand to an extent that the comedy about everyday life *La vida de Rita* was unable to do in its five broadcasts, despite a significant production effort.

Despite that, none of the three series presented the issue of immigration either in the main storyline or through any other plot or character. This is significant, because the absence of immigration in a fictional series implies an absence of stories in which questions are established relating to the integration of migrants in structures of conflict and resolution, i.e., the presentation of difficulties and progress towards coexistence. It renounces the representation of behaviours and attitudes linked to this social problem and, in short, the recognition of the existence of immigration as a social reality that occupies our stories⁸.

Another noteworthy aspect of TVE-1's programming policies was the uniformity of the morning and afternoon slots, aimed at a predominantly female, adult audience. This meant that children and young people's programming was relegated to the weekends and in turn featured spaces that could present public issues like immigration on the weekdays. These spaces, although different in structure and treatment, shared elemental features. In the context of the season analysed, they included: the talk show *Por la mañana* and the informative programme *Saber vivir* in the morning block, the interview show *Cerca de ti* in the afternoon, and, in the night access slot, the magazine/report format of *Gente*, somewhere between entertainment information and commentary on society and the world of celebrity gossip.

In both the section on current events in *Por la mañana* and the first half of *Gente*, issues are presented with a format similar to the news, but with a treatment of proximity that falls somewhere between the anecdotal and most pure form of sensationalism on the one hand, and thorny real-life crimes on the other. The same thing was found in the afternoon interview programme *Cerca de ti*, although it increased the manner of exploiting intimacy as it selec-

ted issues and content directly linked to interpersonal relationships from the private sphere.

As programmes that could offer spaces for debating social and public issues, we found on TVE-1 only the potential of *Saber vivir*, restricted to the health field, and *Ésta es mi historia*, a debate format about personal stories, although this was in the night slot.

With regards the former, there was a complete absence of any reference to the issue of immigration, which led us to think that either immigration involves neither any positive or negative changes in the field of health and public health, or that immigration does not exist, at least for this programme that purports to be a public service.

The second, *Ésta es mi historia*, is defined by being the only space open to debating public issues of social concern and which could most easily tend to include issues of immigration. The debate dynamic, even though the tone is one of controversy and exacerbation, at least promotes the exchange of opinions and even the public manifestation of discrepancies on issues such as immigration-related crime, coexistence between different cultures and changes needed for integration. However, in the 2002/2003 season, there was no evidence that any of these questions were discussed on *Ésta es mi historia*.

In short, TVE-1's programming in the 2002/2003 season was aimed mainly at a female, adult audience, which wanted a regular news service and a high level of entertainment content. Entertainment was provided by comedy and game shows and by news programmes, interview programmes and news formats where the content was based on the world of celebrities and news in briefs. The inhouse fictional offer was very limited, although it did have a consolidated trajectory.

Spaces that could have transmitted immigration-related content of a public nature were limited to the four news programmes, the hour devoted to *Informe Semanal* on the low-rating Saturday night slot, and potentially the sections that offered reports on current events on *Por la mañana* and *Gente*. To this we should add the possibility of *Ésta es mi historia* establishing a debate which, although controversial, could address public issues. However, the transmission time of this space, on Fridays just before the dawn slot, speaks to the weight the station gives to these types of public forums and media debates.

3.2. Antena 3 TV: Immigration in Fiction to Complement News Spaces

Like TVE-1, Antena 3 TV's programming was grounded on the four news programmes. But unlike the public station, the daily *A3Noticias* news spaces were shored up by significant dedication to information in morning slots, thanks to the new space *Buenos días, España* and the interview and debate format provided by *El primer café*. I should also add two programmes that fell halfway between information and show business and which aired in low-rating time slots: *Espejo público*, before Sunday night prime time, and *Alerta 112*, in the early hours of Friday mornings.

Espejo included more in-depth and up-close reports on daily current affairs, while *Alerta 112* focused on attractive images and extraordinary events. These included situations of conflict and tension in the form of warnings from emergency services officers, which, because of their treatment, tended to be entertainment pieces using examples of isolated cases rather than contextualised information on conflictive events.

With regards inhouse fictional programming, Antena 3 TV had a number of consecutive failures in its premieres throughout the season: *London Street* was the first to fold, after just three episodes; *Código fuego*, one of a number of workplace-based series, this time set in a fire station, got to five episodes; *Un lugar en el mundo* aired all 13 episodes of the first season but only when moved to the dawn slot, while production on *El pantano* was abandoned altogether. In fact, changing places on the schedule was one of the factors that collaborated in the speedy demise of these fictional premieres in a context of a financial crisis at the station and therefore the need for slashed production costs. The fictional series that survived the season was not a premiere but the consolidated classic *Un paso adelante*⁹.

This cordial series featured the issue of immigration in a constant fashion, as it included among the characters and main storylines a Cuban character called Pável, who gave rise to diverse plots relating to the integration of immigrants. The series provided significant material for analysing conflict and resolution structures that we found in scenes where the main problem in the storyline concerned immigration.

Uniform morning and afternoon blocks aimed predominantly at a female, adult audience, as seen at TVE-1, were repeated at Antena 3 TV. However, the private station did

not relegate children and youth programming to the weekend, and aired the children's "container programme" *Megatrix* in the morning and reduced *Buenos días, España* after Easter.

The spaces that occupied the morning and afternoon slots followed a logic that proved to be common to all the Spanish stations over the course of the season: the rise in 'gossip magazine'-style content. Morning chat shows were structured around diverse sections and the presenters and collaborators varied, but broadly speaking they followed the same development.

In terms of Antena 3 TV, it is important to mention a lesser dedication to issues of a public nature in the programme *Como la vida*, presented by Alicia Senovilla. This was due to the already mentioned 'cross-genre' content arising from a top-rating programme, in this case the adventure reality show *La isla de los famosos*.

On the other hand, the treatment of public issues from the standpoint of illustrated examples of regular people's lives was the predominant formula in the afternoons. This formula was common to Ana Rosa Quintana's chat show, *Sabor a ti* and the programme *El diario de Patricia*, which aired after it.

Sabor a ti devoted a section to briefly interviewing people involved in stories that did not transcend the personal sphere of development¹⁰. The afternoon interview show *El diario de Patricia* was a testimonial programme based on stories of regular people who allow their daily lives to be used in the programme's feature topic or discussion to exhibit private feelings. The general trend of featuring sometimes less than exemplary behaviour not to be debated or questioned unless via laughing at or mocking the people concerned does not allow immigration to be treated as a public issue.

In short, Antena 3 TV's programming in the 2002/2003 season opted for regular news services and (because of the failure of its inhouse television fiction) films and entertainment programmes: i.e., game shows and chat and interview programmes.

Its commercial orientation was shown in the scarce presence of possible places for the construction of public issues or social problems such as immigration. From among the best-rating entertainment places, there was only room on spaces like *Alerta 112*, and, in a private capacity, in the testimonial sections of *Sabor a ti* and *El diario de Patricia*.

The weight of the analysis must lie with the daily news shows, the weekly programme *Espejo público* and the fictional series *Un paso adelante*.

3.3. Tele-5: The Potential of Television Fiction in the Construction of the Issue of Immigration

Similarly to Antena 3 TV, Tele-5 also devoted its first morning time slot to supporting its news services with an interview and debate programme, *La mirada crítica*. This was the only news space that rounded off the daily editions of the *Informativos Telecinco* news programmes.

With regards inhouse fictional series, Tele-5's premieres did not fail as heavily as Antena 3 TV's, but they did suffer from the station's attempt to exploit the new cycle of inhouse fiction. *Una nueva vida*, a sequel to *Hospital Central* starring the well-known gynaecologist from the latter, did not survive five broadcasts, while *Javier ya no vive solo* found its footing after a second season on the wane. This series modified its approach by placing the star in a children and youth protection centre, which made it possible to introduce social issues that went beyond the family structure.

The classic workplace-based series *El comisario* and *Hospital Central* continued to win the Tuesday and Wednesday primetime slots. And, after a number of programming adjustments, Sunday nights were a success for the classic sitcom *Siete vidas*. However, the series that consolidated its position as the station's top rating show was the family comedy *Los Serrano*.

Tele-5's inhouse fictional series were the perfect place to address public social issues like immigration, firstly because of the workplace-based series set in the health and police spheres where the stories presented were inspired by real events and revealed current social issues. It was not unusual to find plots where immigration appeared as an issue through characters or situations in which immigrants were involved and where their condition as an immigrant marked the evolution of the storyline. To this we could also add *Javier ya no vive solo*, where the plotlines concerned issues such as child anorexia, sexual or racial discrimination, xenophobic violence and others.

On the other hand, comedy series were also permeable to issues such as immigration. *Los Serrano* presented a group of school friends of one of the family's children which included an Argentinean and a Moroccan. *Siete vidas* parti-

cular form of humour was based on current events and the ironic criticism of problematic situations.

Television fictional series dominated the station's prime-time slots throughout the season. The alternative was imported series (the premiere of *CSI*) and reality shows along the lines of *Gran Hermano*: i.e., *Hotel Glam* and *Vive cantando*. Also, Tele-5's 'gossip magazine'-style shows included one long one, *Salsa Rosa*, on Saturdays and, in the first months of the season, the broadcasting of another controversial programme, *A corazón abierto*. Tele-5 opted for films to a lesser extent than Antena 3 TV (*Cine 5 estrellas*), but it did programme them on weekend afternoons (*Cine Fiesta*).

With regards morning and afternoon programming, the uniformity of the blocks already discussed in the cases of TVE-1 and Antena 3 TV also applied here, but Tele-5 varied them slightly over the course of the season. The failure of the youth series *20 y tantos*, which tried to emulate the great success of the earlier show *Al salir de clase*, led the station to overhaul its programming. In the second quarter of 2003 it premiered *Aquí hay tomate*, a chat show characterised by its irreverent and provocative tone. Another show to disappear was the interview programme *Nadie es perfecto*, when it failed to reach minimally acceptable ratings after a month on air. It was replaced by the US series *Charmed* and the daily summary of *Hotel Glam*.

In fact, *Hotel Glam* was one of the main content suppliers to Tele-5's immovable morning and afternoon chat shows, *Día a día* and *A tu lado*. The structure of each gave rise to the appearance of sections of a variable length and presence throughout the week where the issue of immigration could potentially be raised.

While *A tu lado* included a brief testimonial interview space as the only section not devoted to gossip, María Teresa Campos' *Día a día* included a discourse unrelated to this type of stereotype in the form of the section dedicated to commenting on current events. Unlike TVE-1's morning programme, it established a debate between the collaborators and the programme presenter that could be analysed as a commentary on the news agenda of the day.

An ironic and humoristic commentary was offered by the format *Pecado original* after the nightly news. Through an anonymous presenter, who changed each episode, different sections were connected ranging from strange things

found on the Internet through to parodies of the most controversial news stories of the day. The emphasis on political and social stories made this programme a possible place for a discourse on public issues that go beyond the strictly news and/or fictional genres.

After July, Tele-5's morning programming became a clear attempt to capture children and youth audiences via series and repeats. One new fictional series that was a failure, although a discreet one, was the comedy *Tres son multitud*, which did not survive the summer period. Fiction repeats and the broadcasting of feature-length films made up for the lack of inhouse premieres during the holidays.

In short, Tele-5's programming in the 2002/2003 season backed regular news services, inhouse and foreign fiction and reality shows and programmes dedicated to gossip as the main source of entertainment. This limited the number of possible places for the construction of immigration as a social problem. Together with the daily news shows and *La Mirada crítica*, there were a number of inhouse fictional series, especially ones set in workplaces or of a public nature. With regards the rest of the programming, social issues were relegated to the sections of the two morning and afternoon chat shows, and the former was the only one that did in fact address them.

The scarce presence of spaces to transmit public issues again revealed the commercial orientation of the private Spanish stations. Far from a broad proposal to complement the public service, they built their corporate image to include a certain amount of work that extended from information shows through to certain special programmes.

At Tele-5, as well as televised charity events, there was an initiative called *Doce meses, doce causas* which consisted of approaching an issue or problem of a social nature through a campaign made up of adds starring station celebrities, a brief section in the news, the odd one-off report and special editions of the afternoon chat shows. These played two roles: to make people more aware of the problem concerned and to reinforce the station's corporate image. Issues relating to immigration were not the 'cause' under discussion in the season analysed.

3.4. TV3: Support for the Construction of Immigration as a Public Issue: Plural and Diverse Presence

TV3, the leading station of the Catalan autonomous

company Televisió de Catalunya (TVC), which has been broadcasting regularly since 1984, publishes its programming goals and criteria on its website each year and emphasizes its work as a leading broadcaster for Catalan viewers and its desire to maintain its ratings leadership with a varied and plural programming offer. In terms of the 2002/2003 season, the station particularly established the goal of shoring up news shows and consolidating the inhouse fictional offer, along with chat shows, documentaries and new formats¹¹.

Unlike the Spanish stations, TV3 offers not just regular news shows (morning, lunchtime, evening and night) but a series of programmes and spaces devoted to a greater or lesser extent to general information which, with an absolutely diversified presence on the programming schedule and different treatment on its programming schedule, enable the presentation of issues of a public nature. Chat shows based on news current affairs that do not resemble the dominant model aimed at gossip and the world of show business (*Bon dia, Catalunya, La columna*), interview and debate programmes (*Coses que passen, En camp contrari*), local news (*En directe*), reports (*Entre línies*) and documentaries (*30 minuts*) are just some of the spaces that make it possible to expand the reduced information of the classic news format and go into greater depth into knowledge about and public debate on difficulties and progress in migrant integration beyond the publication of institutional data and reports or the immediacy of the political/social news agenda. These programmes, that air at all times of the day and night, mainly have entertainment and guidance functions, but give most priority to information as a transversal and cohesive element of the Catalan station's programming.

With regard fiction as a pillar of quality and cultural proximity, internally produced series were the station's clear bet for optimal yield in the primetime slots. *El cor de la ciutat*, a series that aired each day after the news, was the leader in the lunchtime primetime slot as well as being the station's most-watched show. The presence in the night primetime of inhouse shows, mostly comedies or humour programmes, was also important: *16 dobles*, *Majoria absoluta*, *Dinamita*, *Jet lag* and repeats of *Plats bruts* and *La memòria dels Cargols*.

In terms of the treatment of immigration through various

characters and storylines, one highlight was the most dramatic ensemble series *El cor de la ciutat*, which during the analysed period included as stars of the main storylines the Moroccan immigrant, Huari, who is fully integrated in the Barcelona neighbourhood where the action is set and, when he disappeared, the Cuban immigrant, Nelson. With this new regular character, the station entered discourses about the acceptance of new foreign members of a reception community via structures of conflicts and resolutions that demonstrated possible types of behaviour and attitudes with regards mutual knowledge and the integration of social habits and which revealed some of the difficulties and progress in immigrant integration and the progressive formation of new cultural identities.

The existence of immigration as a social reality of great importance was transferred to other TV3 fictional stories in a form that was not so realistic, such as in *16 dobles*, where an immigrant from Eastern Europe raised the issue of marriages of convenience to obtain legal resident status, or the comedy *Majoria absoluta*, which included a young South American in a rather eclectic family. The treatment of the issue of immigration in TV3's inhouse fictional discourses was not only broad but also plural in forms and references.

As with the Spanish stations, TV3's morning and afternoon blocks were uniform, although, as we have said before, they stood out for a greater news component in the morning and afternoon chat shows. This involved a greater potential for the presentation of public issues in these time slots. The morning chat show *Bon dia, Catalunya* was based around current issues as debate topics of the day with the participation of the public and included the controversy surrounding immigration in schools and the need to rebalance the number of immigrants at public schools (80%) with the number at subsidised centres (5%) and to implement integration methods.

The programme that occupied this time slot between March and July 2003, *Dies de tele*, also allowed a significant and more unexpected presence of the issue of immigration, as the events section raised the issue of international adoptions by repeating a report on Chinese orphanages that had led to a rise in the number of adoptions in Catalonia; the integration of the Muslim community through the battle of the mosques; and the image of immigration-related crime,

which it showed by recovering a report on Peruvians who rob travellers on Catalan motorways.

The afternoon slot, on the other hand, softened the news component in favour of a family-based, quotidian treatment of 'issues that interest us all' in politics, society and culture. The plurality criterion of Julia Otero's show, *La columna*, diversified the characters that appeared: from politicians and professionals through to all types of anonymous people who play a role in the social reality. This approach, the multiplicity of different sections that appeared throughout the week, and the desire to break from the trend of focusing on gossip or private issues made *La columna* a reference point in terms of approach towards immigration-related issues. To complement this line, in the night access spot we found *En directe*, a local news show based on connections with young reporters who interact with the protagonists of the stories. They looked at issues related to social questions to the extent that they configure the current situation of the Catalan society they try to reflect from a local angle. Examples from the season studied included the immigrant sit-in staged in churches, the integration problems of some migrant groups and the cleaning works in the Sant Andreu barracks occupied by immigrants.

The Catalan station stood out for its inclusion of the issue of immigration in primetime programmes due, to a large extent, to the strong formative and news vocation revealed even in spaces which in recent years are usually related with the field of entertainment. A particular example was the report programme on social issues that went to air at 10.30 p.m. on Mondays called *Entre línies*, which frequently addressed aspects related to immigration on the basis of following real stories¹².

Also, the new debate format through reflection generated by coexistence between people of opposite opinions, *En camp contrari*, addressed the issue of immigration by looking at the difficulties of integration involved for both the newcomers and society alike.

This issue was raised in a similar fashion in the current affairs debate programme *Coses que passen* on Sunday nights, although it focused on the need to learn Catalan. Before this space, the station rebroadcast the classic in-depth report programme, *30 minuts*, which has been internationally recognised and where social issues related to immigration often appear¹³.

To this we should add sporadic appearances of the issue of immigration, filtered in a more subtle manner, such as in *Vides de pel·lícula*, a night interview programme broadcast in summer: the transmission of the film *Out of Africa* was followed by an interview with a young African living in Catalonia; and the variations on a number of programmes of *La setmana de TV3* devoted to Africa (*Totes les cares d'Àfrica*), an initiative of the station which aimed to provide the public with reflection elements on social values by showing them a number of realities or issues not normally addressed with the depth they deserve. Although the issue was not specifically immigration, it did touch on its origins and causes.

In short, TV3's programming in the 2002/2003 season, aimed at a majority public, characterised by being mainly middle class and adult, clearly shored up its news and formative nature as well as fictional stories as a basic pillar of entertainment.

The presence of the issue of immigration was extended across practically all the time slots with a special significance in primetime and through any genre.

It is especially significant that the programmes which featured the issue of immigration nearly always addressed it from the perspective of the integration or conflicts arising from it, although debates were established in the manner of a public and media forum. It is even more significant that some of them appeared on the station's most emblematic and highest-rating shows. This makes it possible to conclude that the Catalan station's programming throughout the study period was very sensitive to this issue and it was addressed extensively.

4. Conclusions

The comparative analysis of the programming policies of the Spanish and Catalan generalist stations made it possible to show the common and divergent aspects in their positioning as social actors with responsibility for the programming of the most popular television stations in terms of the construction of the public image of immigration. As a conclusive summary, we have noted a number of reflections on the delimitation and scope of the places that the analysed stations offered on their programming schedules for the

construction of issues of a public nature such as immigration, along with an analysis of the strategies they used to address them. A first element common to all the stations analysed was without a doubt that the daily news shows, in their various editions, were the leading station references with regards their role as a social and political actor through the narration of the daily reality. The difference was the stations that complemented the rigid format of the daily news (subject to the imperatives of currentness and novelty, as well as brevity of onscreen time) with diverse formats that provided an alternative to the news treatment.

While TVE-1 reduced the possibility of addressing the issue of immigration as a problem of a public nature almost exclusively to the news formats in its editions of the *Telediario*, the private Spanish stations offered, in their morning slots, in-depth discussion or treatment spaces of this and other issues on the public agenda (*Buenos días, España* and *El primer café* on Antena 3 TV, *La mirada crítica* on Tele-5, and *Bon dia, Catalunya* on TV3).

Except for Tele-5, which opted for a humorous and ironic commentary on the news agenda (*Pecado original*), all the stations analysed had a common tendency in the afternoon or access slots to give space to more extensive reports that opted for an approach of proximity both in audiovisual style and in terms of the socio-geographic boundary mark, although with different nuances (*En directe* on TV3, *Espejo público* on Antena 3 TV and *Gente* on TVE-1).

However, the Catalan regional station was the one that stood out in this informational work circumscribed to regular editions and an evening format of proximity. TV3 expanded and diversified the offer of programmes whose principal goal was to report both with regards discursive strategies (interviews, reports, onset debates and documentaries were some of the proposals presented) and the location of these spaces on the schedule, mainly in primetime viewing hours (*Coses que passen*, *En camp contrari*, *Entre línies*, *30 minuts*). The Catalan station opted for constructing the issue of immigration as a public problem with a broad and plural scope in news terms, which enabled it to not only publish data and reports on immigration but also transmit discourses about difficulties or progress in the integration of immigrants, or to generate and promote public debates about questions of social interest related with immigration.

The presence of information in primetime contrasted

with the programming policy of the Spanish stations, which opted exclusively for an entertainment offer to maximise ratings. In the 2002/2003 seasons, this offer involved reality shows and, to a lesser extent, inhouse fictional series.

Reality shows were the star programmes not just in ratings but also particularly in terms of potential to generate content that could nourish spaces outside the primetime slots. The 2002/2003 season showed the expansion of this phenomenon in the Spanish stations, where the homogenisation of the morning and afternoon blocks was indisputable. This reduced the possibility of creating possible places for the construction of immigration as a public issue, as the spaces proposed, which were practically identical from one station to another, aside from the content of the reality show in question, were limited to the private sphere and the anonymous testimonial sections of general members of the public and did not go beyond the exhibition of singular experiences, thus avoiding articulating a debate on the public dimension of the issues concerned.

The Catalan station also stood out in this area because, without having any reality show on its schedule, it presented a longer morning chat show which addressed current-affairs issues that required reflection or a social debate because of their nature of a public problem. Similarly, the afternoon chat show *La columna* stood out from its Spanish counterparts because although entertainment continued to be the main goal, it chose more social and local content (fashion, television, film, etc.) to avoid gossip and the exploitation of the private sphere.

The other big entertainment genre was the fictional offer, which contributed to the creation of the stations' corporate image and provided an essential value for television programming, i.e., the promotion of viewer loyalty.

In the context of a season where innovation in fictional series was left to the private Spanish stations and which primetime premieres cornered, it was interesting to see the audience's response in favour of series with a consolidated trajectory (*Un paso adelante* on Antena 3 TV; *El comisario* and *Hospital Central* on Tele-5). This, together with the fact that they involved fictional series set in the health, police or education sectors, which acted as a source of inspiration, made them an essential reference point for analysing the construction of the public image of immigration in Spain.

Fiction activated a field of discursive strategies that enabled the establishment of logical links among actions shown and, therefore, readings and reflections on types of behaviour and attitudes represented with regards conflicts arising from the integration of immigrants in a narrated social context that resembled the real one. That is why the absence of immigration as an issue, whether through episode plots or regular characters, was especially significant in the only two inhouse series of the Spanish public station. At the opposite end of the spectrum was the Catalan station again, not just for a constant presence of the issue of immigration in its inhouse fictional programmes but because of its plural and diversified fictional offer.

As an overall conclusion to the comparative analysis of the programming strategies of the generalist stations in the 2002/2003 season, we could mention a clear disparity between the Catalan public station and the Spanish stations, regardless of whether they were private or public.

If we judge by the sensitivity, plurality and diversity of treatment and presence of the issue of immigration that was observed in the analysis of the 2002/2003 season, the constant effort TV3 made to meet the programming criteria that the station set in its public service condition was clear to see.

On the other hand, Tele-5 and Antena 3 TV, in line with their commercial goals as privately managed stations, established themselves as active political and social actors through the editorial line of their daily news shows and fictional series. The latter became a clear element of relation between the station and the surrounding social reality, as it was framed in a context of television programming where reality shows and interview programmes and gossip content held sway and which thus prevented an active role on other fronts.

Finally, it is important to point out that TVE-1 opted for a position that was no doubt closer to that of its competitors at the Spanish level than its public counterpart in Catalonia. Its work as a social and political actor in such a burning issue as the problem of immigration in the context of the 2002/2003 television season was a long way from the firm, plural and diverse approach of TV3, and was reduced practically to an informational minimum, and its most significant feature was its absence.

In short, we found a clear divergence in the analysis of the

programming strategies of the Spanish and Catalan generalist stations, both in terms of opportunity or offer of possible places as in terms of discursive treatment of issues of public interest such as the problems arising from migration. These differences were what made it possible to assess their role as social and political actors in the construction of the public image of immigration in Spain.

Notes

- 1 The research project entitled "Television and the Construction of a Public Image of Immigration in Spain" was carried out by the UNICA Group at Pompeu Fabra University under Dr. Josep Gifreu.
- 2 See: J. M. Contreras and M. Palaus, 2001.
- 3 Flow or continuous programming to attract and maintain ratings throughout the television process is redefining the very act of programming as a strategy for constructing the television discourse beyond discreet units.
- 4 Television timeslots in Spain have been consolidated among the different stations into nine: early morning (7-9 a.m.) which marks the start of most people's school or work day; morning (9 a.m. to 1 p.m.); lunch (1 p.m. to 3 p.m.), when students and some members of the workforce return home; day primetime (3 p.m. to 4 p.m.); a long afternoon slot (4 p.m. to 7 p.m.), night access (7 p.m. to 9 p.m.); night primetime (9 p.m. to midnight), i.e., the time with maximum television viewing; late night, a slot that began in the 1990s (midnight to 2 a.m.) and finally the final slot, where viewing figures are not taken by Sofres in Spain, called dawn (2 a.m. to 7 a.m.) to close the cycle. [Contreras, J. M. and Palaus, M., 2001].
- 5 This was confirmed as a perception shared by people who study television programming in our immediate context, and as a significant demonstration there is the point made by the Catalonia Broadcasting Council in its 2003 Report (*Quaderns del CAC*, extraordinary issue September 2004, page 40).
- 6 The basic premises that delimited our study of immigration were the consideration of migrants from the EU or outside it in the context of contemporary Spain. We could add that we only studied television spaces that featured the explicit presence of immigration as a topic. For example, the appearance of an immigrant on the television palimpsest was not in itself relevant, except if his or her condition as an immigrant was the issue addressed in the programme.
- 7 The reference to this functional classification, adopted using strictly pragmatic criteria, can be found in the report entitled "*Inmigración y racismo. Análisis de radio, televisión y prensa española. Informe anual 2002*" (*Immigration and Racism: Analysis of Spanish Radio, Television and Press. 2002 Annual Report*), Ministry for Work and Social Affairs.
- 8 For a more detailed analysis of this perspective on the approach to fiction as an element of social construction as a story of a society for itself and of itself, see the reference work by sociologist Milly Buonanno published in Spanish (*El drama televisivo*. Barcelona, Ed. Gedisa, 1999).
- 9 A series set in a dance academy, aimed mainly at a young audience and which began at around the same time as the boom in the number of workplace-based series. But while *Policías, en el corazón de la calle* only appeared during the season as a repeat in the form of a made-for-TV film broadcast in the early hours of the morning, *Un paso adelante (UPA)* became the star fictional series of Antena 3 TV.
- 10 The programme featured personal conflicts (infidelities, family disputes, illnesses, cases of wife bashing, etc.) with the aim of providing examples, rather than reflecting on the field of the public sphere (i.e., it did not address questions of family structures, health, domestic violence, etc.) Although immigration was sometimes featured as a social issue, the dominant attitude in the programme was lack of seriousness and reflection and continual recourse to entertainment.
- 11 The goals of the Catalan regional station can be summed up in these terms: to be the leading station in terms of information, quality in terms of content and form, safety and the stabilisation of majority public consumption habits in each time slot and proximity in the cultural dimension. It also aims to stand out from the other stations in the configuration of a line of drama, entertainment and documentary programmes. It is important to point out TV3's backing of a sphere for Catalan audiovisual production, thanks to agreements to promote coproductions that set an annual minimum of made-for-TV films, documentaries and cartoon series, something which has allowed it to increase their

programming space in recent seasons. It is also important to recall that in the 2002/2003 season, as the Catalan public station, TV3 was governed by the policies of the government of Jordi Pujol, in what would be the final term for the Convergence and Union party in 23 years of holding power at the Generalitat of Catalonia.

- 12 These included: the growing presence of young Europeans working in Catalonia as nannies; the multiracial football team from Raval as a vehicle of integration; the adaptation of Maxi Rodríguez, an Argentinean player signed to RCD Espanyol in Barcelona; marriages of convenience promoted by marriage agencies between Catalans and Ukrainians; the integration of the Philippine community in Catalonia; a look at a Guinean student living with a Catalan family; the occupation of the Sant Andreu barracks and the coexistence of the 500 people who lived there, immigrants from different countries; and the integration of the second generation of Chinese immigrants, among other issues.
- 13 Over the course of the season, 30 minutes included issues such as the experience of the children of immigrants after the tightening of the Immigration Law, society's negative perception of immigration and the resolution of conflicts deriving from two cultures, the maternal and paternal one, on "Fills de dos mons"; and the problem arising from mass immigration in analysing the situation of risk of social conflict between different groups living together in the Badalona neighbourhood of La Pau, where 40% of the population are immigrants, in the report "Recuperar la pau".

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Invitations to Reconciliation: Immigration Via Local and Autonomous Community Informative Programmes

Ingrid Guardiola

■ *For a number of years now we have begun to see spaces on television schedules that seek and propose invitations to reconciliation and which break both with a certain hegemonic discourse about the dangers of immigration and with more regular formats such as the news. They usually take the shape of reports and cultural programmes, encouraged by a more social and human orientation about the problems of immigration and interculturism. Paradoxically, these programmes, innovative not just in terms of format but also in their way of articulating content, are not easy to fit into general station programming schedules, where they are conspicuous by their absence. This article presents the results of a brief exploration of the recent programme offers that could be considered 'exemplary' of the treatment of 'the other' in the television discourse.*

Key words

Immigration, interculturism, local and autonomous-community television, pedagogical response (pedagogy), audiences, public institutions

1. Introduction

In general, we do not know much about the communities and cultures that coexist with us - particularly in a time of accelerating immigration flows and new settlements in our environment. The approximation to 'the other' is always a stereotypical and very often demonised approximation, as the unknown is often demonised. Obviously, our experience of immigration is basically via the media and is thus constructed and self-interested (politicised).

The news spaces on television stations are often the most common place for this mediation. However, news programmes are not necessarily the right space for dealing with the issue of immigration from a broad and diverse social viewpoint. Firstly, there is the fact that news shows are broadcast at prime time, the most profitable time for any information and therefore the time advertisers want the most, whether commercial advertisers or the organs of power. To the good intentions of the professionals¹ we have to add economic interests, which strongly condition the criteria of objectivity, neutrality and transparency. Also, the approximately 30-minute length of a news show does not allow a story to be treated with reflection and therefore hinders clear understanding. News stories usually contain brief messages and lots of images which are repeated in a redundant serialisation and which die when a new event/object comes on the scene.

Despite the importance of news shows as primary sources of the discourse about immigration-related topics, TV stations can also turn to other genres and formats to approach these issues in a more plural, creative and serene manner. Does our television environment include initiatives that could be considered 'exemplary' in this sense? The answer I propose here is limited to a preliminary approximation, as a pilot study, although I do try to argue the point of the

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exemplariness of a number of programmes in relation to the problem of immigration. In particular, what I propose here is a set of informative programmes, mostly programmed by local stations.

1.1. Selected Programmes

For this pilot study, the following programmes were selected as 'exemplary examples':

- *KARAKIA*² is a production of Televisió de Catalunya. Through the culinary culture, the programme takes an in-depth look at the traditions and customs of the immigrant collectives in our country. It is broadcast each week in prime time on Channel 33. It began in 2001 and is still going in 2006.
- *DICCIONARI DE LA DIVERSITAT*³ was a programme created in the second quarter of 2004 by the CRID (Consortium of Resources for the Integration of Diversity) and the Local Television Stations Network. It involved 26 episodes that were broadcast on a weekly basis (first at 7 p.m. and then again at 1 a.m.) over a six-month period on 12 local stations (BTV Barcelona Televisió, TV L'Hospitalet, Televisió de Badalona, Canal Terrassa TV, TV Mataró, Canal Blau Informació, Granollers TV, TV Manresa, El 9 TV, Canal Reus TV, Lleida TV and TV Girona). It described the key concepts that a possible glossary on 'diversity' would contain, with the goal of promoting these values among the viewing public. The theme of the 26 generic topics linked to diversity was the letters of the ABC organised alphabetically.
- *NYAM NYAM* was a series of 20-minute weekly reports produced and directed by Clot RTV-Sant Martí and sponsored by the CRID and the Social Welfare Area of Barcelona Provincial Council. The first programme was produced in early 2002 and the series aired from January to 26 March 2003. The programme used the cuisine of the different ethnic and cultural populations that coexist in Catalonia to teach people more about the ways others live and to better understand their lives.
- *UNÍSON* is a 12-episode series of 10-minute pieces produced by Orfeó Lleidatà and Fluïda Comunicació broadcast across Catalonia. It is shown each Wednesday in the new-formats section of the Local Television Stations Network called 'Denominació d'Origen' (DO). It aims to establish a dialogue to take a deeper look into the

way different people live together in our society through the universal language of music.

- *ELS NOUS CATALANS*⁴ is a half-hour programme that premiered on 3 November 2004 and which is still shown on La 2 at 11.30 p.m. on a Saturday night. It portrays and analyses the phenomenon of immigration and looks at how citizens and cultures from around the world coexist and share spaces.
- *INFO IDIOMES*⁵ is a production of Lavínia TV for Barcelona Televisió which began in 1998 (in four languages) and which continues on the same station in 2006 (in 18 languages). It is a weekend news space (from 10.30 a.m. to 2 p.m.) with a very special nature, as it is broadcast in 18 languages and two different dialects in order to establish a bridge between the different linguistic communities resident in Barcelona (the most representative ones).
- *ANDALUCÍA SIN FRONTERAS*⁶ is a 30-minute programme which, since early 2005, has been broadcast by Canal Sur (autonomous television) at 1.50 a.m. on Thursdays, 2 a.m. and 8 a.m. on Saturdays and 12.45 a.m. on Sundays. The main purpose is to report the leading immigration-related stories that have taken place over the week, together with spaces that help promote social plurality and the traditions to which immigrants contribute.

If we argue that these programmes adopt an unusual point of view or approximation towards the figure of 'the other/the immigrant' removed from the stereotyped version of news shows, it is important to see which basic elements are involved and how they are articulated. To obtain this information, the bibliographic sources that may be consulted are few, so we opted for more direct information on the basis of viewing the programmes (a selection), their websites (where applicable) and information obtained from the press conferences when they were presented to the public.

My comparative analysis of these programmes will focus on the following aspects: format, title, basic theme, storyline and structure, the treatment of 'difference', the characters, the linguistic treatment and the relationship with the public space.

a) The Format

All the selected programmes are diametrically opposed from

the news format. They begin from the 'informative' format that can contain multiple proposals. Opting for a new format meant they could avoid the clichés typical of a format that would be pigeonholed from the start.

For example, the fact they were not a report within a news show meant the story had time to unfold (and so the viewpoints from which it could be explained multiply). This is much more agreeable, can be pedagogical (because of the previously mentioned factors) and breaks with news barriers through a special treatment of the image, language and structure of the episode (with the possibility of being serialised), while still carrying out the function of reporting - as although it doesn't pronounce on an issue it does show the parties involved. Only thus is it possible to understand a problem, without having to have made it into a problematize it beforehand.

b) The Title

The title helps us see the difference between the role given to the issue of immigration in a news story and the role given in these programmes. The title is the doorway into the issue we will find later. Take the first program, *Karakia*, for example. The word *karakia*, in the daily life of the Maoris of New Zealand and Polynesia, is a prayer used to open the earth and cook, with the underground oven symbolising a road towards the gods, turning the earth into a 'large common range'. With this title, we can already glimpse the vast perspective from which it begins. In the second case, i.e., *Diccionari de la diversitat*, the fact that the word 'diversity' headlines this space means that automatically the viewer who is prepared to receive it will presume there will be a more plural and less pigeonholed treatment of information than in a standard news show. With *Nyam nyam*, the makers opted for a 'primitive' title and at the same time one that was quite explicative about what a viewer would find in the show. Adding the onomatopoeia typical of the act of eating (*Nyam nyam* is "yum, yum" in Catalan), it appeals to a universal gesture belonging to all mankind and removes any possible prejudice of a cultural type. The title *Uníson* transmits to us not just the main theme of the programme but also an idea about voices that ring out without any type of distinction built in later. *Els Nous Catalans* is another attempt at convergence between cultures, appropriating the new one to that which is already settled. In a certain fashion,

it breaks with the 'us vs. them' idea and, from a point of difference, brings together the cultures that have settled in our country. The title *Info Idiomes* is based the news format but instead of the agenda focusing on the most newsworthy issues, it uses the news stories most relevant in the culture that speaks the language in which the story is given. Finally, *Andalucía sin fronteras* takes the last step in the policy of coexistence between cultures while showing (through its negation) what hinders this goal: borders (whether physical or conceptual).

c) The Theme

Through the theme, what I want to show is simply that all the programmes focused on the issue of immigration.

The theme of *Karakia* starts from the fact that in all cultures eating is a sign of hospitality. It teaches us about new foods (unknown here) and how to cook them. In the case of *Diccionari de la diversitat*, the theme is to present, from different perspectives and through the letters of the ABC, 26 generic themes related with diversity, giving as a result the key concepts of a hypothetical glossary on diversity in order to promote these values among the viewing public. *Nyam nyam* (the immediate predecessor to *Karakia* with regard to theme) uses the cuisines of the different ethnic and cultural populations that live in Catalonia, also as a way of helping people learn about other cultures (ways of life). *Uníson* establishes a dialogue between the different people who make up our society through music, which does not need any type of translation. *Els Nous Catalans*, showing the main collectives of immigrants (with their jobs, forms of leisure, culture, etc.) wants to discover more about the new citizens (with their diversity of classes) and for everyone to be enriched by the diversity of cultures. The theme of *Info Idiomes* is obviously to provide news in different languages (Japanese, Arabic, Italian, Danish, Finnish, Portuguese, German, Swedish, Norwegian, Amazigh, Occitan, Urdu, Catalan sign language, French, Chinese, Russian, Tagalog, Bubi and Mandinga) to bring the realities of the collectives represented closer to the citizens of Barcelona and at the same time bring the collectives closer to the linguistic reality of Catalonia. Finally, the theme of *Andalucía sin fronteras* continues to be that of immigration, but from a fairly heterogeneous viewpoint: it ranges from legal advice through to news stories about immigration, music and food,

all with the goal of promoting coexistence among cultures.

d) Storyline and Structure

Presenting the storyline (or programme structure) is useful for seeing the different forms the informative format presents and how each programme uses its own and non-transferable structure in order to reach its goals.

Karakia looks at the daily life of the immigrant cultural communities who experience the whole of Catalonia as a field of exploration. On the basis of this daily nature we can see what their traditional customs involve. Conceiving a culture with its tradition helps us humanise it and identify with it from our own tradition (which has had to engage in a dialogue with other traditions to survive). We move from an detailed to a historical view.

Diccionari de la diversitat aimed to help the population understand the changes that immigration involves, to explain how we are different from the new cultures we coexist with and the common features that we share. To achieve the initial aim, the programme had a number of researchers in the fields of sociology, history and language who contributed their opinions. The selection of the 26 themes responded to elements that structure or feed diversity in different ways: language (linguistic diversity), public space (diversity present in the street), housing (diversity in living conditions), ethnic groups (ethnic diversity) and so on. Each chapter was structured in blocks of content, introduced by words that began with the reference letter. The approximation to each of the themes was done through the intervention of the different 'experts' on the issue, who spoke of concepts of a more technical nature, as well as different 'citizens' who contributed their opinions and analyses from a more quotidian perspective.

Nyam nyam let its characters speak before the camera and observed them (without too much artifice or aestheticism) while they cooked, and while the memory of a whole tradition, the nostalgia for an abandoned homeland or the fear of the emotional conquest of the new homeland emerged naturally. The production team said the programme understood cooking to be "a visual ceremony and a pretext of knowledge and understanding about *the other*". Also, this was a groundbreaking programme in including the term 'interculturism' in the description of the basic guidelines and the most immediate programme goals.

Uníson brings together in each episode two people from different backgrounds to talk and explain their experiences, using music as the excuse. Throughout the episode, we learn about the links the protagonists have with the music (anecdotes, experiences, first contacts, etc. and we see them share the preparation of their performance and finally listen to the interpretation of the piece they have chosen. This is all done with the aim of "promoting knowledge about the music of other ethnic groups and facilitating mutual knowledge and coexistence between diverse people and cultures" (according to the production team). Television not only sets the agenda on issues we talk about in the street, but also opens up fields of interest. To record each episode, we are first introduced to the participating pair and the interview is carried out jointly, explaining the key points of the project. Individual interviews are then done, where the participants explain their first contact with music, their experiences, the meaning music has in their lives, interaction between where they come from, their culture and music and how they personally understand this universal language. Finally, the pair interprets the chosen piece or dance. We see the preparation and rehearsals for the piece and are present at the individual and joint explanations from the two participants. Each episode is independent of the others and organised around a previously designed format that makes it possible to offer a panoramic vision of the different musical rhythms, reflecting the cultures that mix together in our society.

Els Nous Catalans is structured around four reports which have something in common. The first report lasts five minutes, is general in theme and deals with current issues that affect one or more of the communities that live in Catalonia, such as the problems involved with getting families reunited, the existence of mafias, the process of regularisation, coexistence in towns and cities with a high level of immigration, the difficulty in finding housing, etc. The second report (also five minutes long) involves daily Catalan life, seeing the arrival of immigrants as enriching for the towns and cities of Catalonia. The programme tries to reflect (from a less folkloric and more plural viewpoint) the most popular cultural manifestations, such as Chinese New Year, Ramadan, Bollywood fashion, etc. The third report (also five minutes long) focuses on food as a distinctive element of each country. The programme also includes a

two-minute interview with popular and important people in Catalan society who, although not born in Catalonia, live and work here and are 'new Catalans'. Different episodes are articulated around these reports that complete the programme content. The episodes include: a) Counterpoint: two people from different cultures explain what they find the most surprising about the other person; b) The Figure: this section expands on the information of one of the reports with representative figures and statistics; c) The Object: the immigration phenomenon has involved new goods available in import shops. This section explains their origin and how they work; d) If You Go To...: gathers tips related to the home countries of the people who appear on the reports; e) The Saying: the linguistic reality of each collective of immigrants is also present in the programme through popular refrains which reflect the idiosyncrasies of each community.

L'Info Idiomes is a medium-length news space which, although at first glimpse could mistaken for just another news show, structures its stories (focused on the communities in Barcelona, making this demographic reduction a point of opening up to understanding the realities involved), the treatment given and the policy behind them in such a way that we soon see this is not the case. One of the most groundbreaking points is that the programme is co-managed with community associations that define the news content and the presenter, prioritising important news for the communities and defining the most appropriate style, all under the supervision of the programme coordinator. This format, a symbiosis between news and an educational programme about foreign languages and cultures, is groundbreaking because it brings the news closer to a more plural and responsible social approach with the immediate reality of the country.

Andalucía sin fronteras is a programme that contains completely heterogeneous material in the following sections: *Panorama* (mosaic of current events, including the content of seminars, courses and meetings looking at friction between immigrants and the host society), *No me llames extranjero*, *Ventana a Europa* (a look at the European reality), *Encuentros: Noticias culturales* (with content such as the relationship between foreigners living in Andalusia with the world of culture, traditions and leisure, including the section *Cocina sin fronteras* which includes

recipes from the immigrants' home countries), *Temas sin fronteras*, *Consultas* (where an Andalusian lawyer of Haitian origin, Max Adam, advises viewers on residence and work permits) and *Música sin fronteras* (which broadcasts live concerts by immigrants in Andalusia).

e) The Treatment of 'Difference'

All the programmes do something that was previously unheard-of, i.e., take the differences between different cultures and make them not a motive for disagreement or incomprehension but rather an added value for a necessary mutual understanding.

Over the years *Karakia* has shown us a long list of dishes, drinks, songs, dances, customs and dress. *Karakia* brings us closer to differences in order to learn, thus enriching our culture. In *Diccionari de la diversitat*, we find in the immediate goals of the programme policy (a necessary procedure if we want it to provide everything mentioned here) the sociocultural differences involved with diversity (diversity as a source of differentiation), the sociocultural inequalities present in the diverse societies (diversity as a source of inequality) and, finally, the economic, social and political contexts on which sociocultural diversity is settled (diversity as a challenge to coexistence). The production team was very clear that "diversity does not just involve being aware of differences but also showing the discriminatory dynamics involved in social relations between these differences". With regard to *Unison*, the programme also marks, in the basic programme policy guidelines, this equal treatment of 'difference' by trying to establish a television space of dialogue, presenting the wealth of the world's culture and discovering the pleasure of creating, of making visible different immigrant communities and assessing their culture, promoting coexistence and tolerance among people from different cultural or ethnic groups that live in our environment, contributing to their integration from a position of respect for the differential features of each and discovering different ways of experiencing, using and listening to music. On *Info Idiomes*, difference defines the editorial line of the programme, as to prepare the stories it has an advisory board of people from each culture (it is important to bear in mind that the programme is broadcast in Japanese, Arabic, Italian, Danish, Finnish, Portuguese, German, Swedish, Norwegian, Amazigh, Occitan, Urdu, Catalan sign

language, French, Chinese, Russian, Tagalog, Bubi and Mandinga). To bring the citizens of Barcelona into closer contact with the realities of the represented collectives and at the same time bring the collectives closer to the linguistic reality of Catalonia, BTV anticipates adding Catalan subtitles as of September, with the collaboration of the Secretariat for Linguistic Policy at the Generalitat.

f) The Characters

With regard to the characters, the programmes tried to use not just the victims of a natural disaster or people without resources who seek an economic way out by illegally entering our country, but citizens from different social classes and with different professions.

At the same time, many of the programmes (e.g., *Karakia* and *Els Nous Catalans*) feature people linked with the protagonist immigrant both from their home country and from here. On *Diccionari de la diversitat*, the 'experts' and the 'citizens' involved appeared in the different episodes to become the characters/protagonists of the series. However, it should be said that the experts varied according to the theme of each episode. This was a very diverse sample of the citizens who make up our own culture.

Uníson takes an in-depth look at the life of 24 people who live in Catalonia, whether born here or in other parts of the world. Because it focuses on these people, what is shown are their experiences, fears and desires, i.e., the basic impulses that motivate all mankind, feelings as universal as that which music reveals but always saving the differences and peculiarities from recurrent stereotyping. The different episodes featured pairs such as an African percussion teacher born in Mali and one of his pupils born in Catalonia; a Gypsy guitarist and a belly dancer; a young Moroccan and a farmer from the Borges Blanques; an expert in Guinean music and his companion; a singer from the Orfeó Lleidatà and a Uruguayan singer; a Colombian teacher at the Orpheus music school and one of his students; a Colombian girl and a Catalan girl, etc.

The characters on *Info Idiomes* depend on the news interest. The recurring characters are the presenters (who come from the community to which the programme is devoted) but the real protagonists of the story vary in line with the events featured. This hybrid format is the one that most closely resembles the news and therefore it will follow part

of its design: this will happen when involving characters, as each half hour show does not give enough time for us to see the psychological profile of the character. In any case, the programme gives them a voice they do not have in standard news shows.

The main characters in *Andalucía sin fronteras* are the three immigrant presenters, a Venezuelan woman (Albania Ferrer), a Moroccan man (Ahmed Sefiani) and a Cuban woman (Odette Samá). The characters they speak about vary because, as well as reporting, the programme responds to a structure close to that of the television infotainment programme, with the difference that the main focus is on news and events directly involving or related to immigration. Topics range from the Tetuan painter Ahmed Ben Youssef (who lives in Seville) to Zamari (a girl who studied teaching in Cuba and set up a daycare centre in Seville), through to veteran Argentinean actor Hector Alterio and characters like Clàudia (a Rumanian immigrant who works and is writing a thesis).

g) Linguistic Treatment

Linguistic treatment is one of the key points of the programmes. On news shows we often find that both the correspondents who report from foreign countries and those who broadcast stories related to immigration from here do not understand the languages of the events concerned, which rules out the necessary dialogue.

These informative programmes put us in contact with the language of *the other*. For example, in a special episode dedicated to the Bolivian community on *Karakia*, one of the sections was devoted to talking about the Quechua language which 9.5 million people speak and which we know nothing about here. As well as putting us in contact with the native language of the immigrants, what it highlights is the relationship these immigrants have with the Catalan language.

In the case of *Diccionari de la diversitat*, language serves to structure the episodes, as each begins with a letter and a word, e.g., in the episode 'I' for 'Identity' we find an exploration of the concept of identity from a personal and collective viewpoint with the aim of leading the discourse towards the idea of cohesion and respect for difference.

Info Idiomes works with 18 languages (as already mentioned) and two dialects to establish a bridge between

the different linguistic communities resident in Barcelona, something which will be shored up with the Catalan subtitling supported by the Secretariat for Linguistic Policy at the Generalitat.

h) Relationship with the Public Space

One of the fundamental features of these informative programmes is that, on the one hand, the production team includes professionals in the thematic area (to offer a richer and documented vision) and, on the other hand, they work with public institutions to make the programme a true public good at the service of general interest.

It is therefore not surprising that Josep Mulet and Alba Casals-Potrony (director of *Karakia*) should have won the 2004 Television Prize from the City of Barcelona Awards for “the ability and originality of the programme, which reflects the cosmopolitan and plural image of the city and manages through food to uncover the different cultural traditions of the communities that have been arriving in our country in recent years”⁷. While in 2001 the news shows bombarded us with images of armed Iraqis extorting money from American soldiers, *Karakia* taught us about the country’s age-old cuisine. The programme *Els Nous Catalans* also won an award, the Francesc Candel Prize “for the important work of integration and meeting space it makes in the media, which constitutes an open window to the mutual understanding of all the cultures that currently live together in Catalonia”⁸. It is important that public institutions have recognised the significant work of these television programmes and also that content production should motivate investment in this type of programming and for programming policies to give them considerable space on programming schedules.

Nor is it surprising that *Diccionari de la Diversitat* should be made by the Local Television Stations Network and the CRID (Consortium of Resources for the Integration of Diversity). Thanks to this, the programme, as well as wanting to bring the viewing public closer to and make them more aware of the issue of diversity from a fairly quotidian perspective, was also a source of material for city councils: audiovisual tools earmarked at municipalities to facilitate understanding about the changes that the immigration phenomenon leads to locally and to help improve perception and understanding among citizens. *Nyam nyam* is sponsored by the CRID and the Social Welfare Area of

Barcelona Provincial Council. Similarly, *Info Idiomes* has the collaboration of the Secretariat for Linguistic Policy at the Generalitat, and *Andalucía sin fronteras* is sponsored by the Andalusian Ministry for Governance and receives aid from the European Commission.

Uníson is a programme that forms part of a project by the Orfeó Lleidatà entitled “A World of Music” which covers such diverse activities as family workshops and music scholars from around the world and Diversity Week. The programme therefore does not work autonomously, but forms part of a whole network of services that the Lleida’s pedagogical and cultural team put at the service of the public. With regard to the other programmes, you only need to go to the websites of *Karakia*, *Els Nous Catalans* and *Andalucía sin fronteras* to see the documentation, information, education and entertainment work the portals offer, a service that expands the information contained in the programmes themselves.

2. Conclusions

Seeing (according to the most immediate experience) the lack of a real debate about immigration in the media that responds to the name of ‘news journalism’ I decided to describe a series of television programmes that respond to the following: they were informative programmes in the local and/or autonomous community sphere (XTVL, BTV, C33, TVE-Catalunya and Canal Sur); they took immigration as the basic programme theme from the viewpoint of the fundamentals of a culture (language, food, music); they all played a public service role; they prioritised content over sensationalist information to achieve a fairer treatment of the issue; they were programmes that worked with associations and public institutions; they sought a focus that combined pedagogy with entertainment and the learning of new cultures with sympathy for characters and different stories, most of them used particular people in determined contexts, something which allowed a more humane viewpoint about the figure of the immigration and they tried to give the other a body with everything involved therein⁹; immigrants were given something they hadn’t had before, i.e., a chance to speak, and also the chance to express themselves; they diversified sources and therefore points of view; they appealed to universal cultural values to bring us

closer to the figure of the *other* from the idea of differences to make a bridge towards multiculturalism; they tried to provide an image of the immigrant without pejorative connotations; finally, the lack of distance between the reality they represented and from where they represented it, the absence of censoring filters and the proximity of the media to the people made it possible to reinforce coexistence and mutual understanding between the new population and the host society.

The real motivation of public television, i.e., offering itself as a true public service that transmits positive and enriching values with regards a social problem, finds a form of expression in these programmes. With the backing of a team of specialists and the public institutions that provide some of the funding, they are presented as a “resource at the service of the public”, a resource at the service of coexistence, which is generalist, respectful and close to the people but which does not lose the quality of the content they aim to promote.

In accordance with all these points, it is important to ask ourselves why we do not find programmes that provide a pedagogical, informative and responsible response to the pressing issue of immigration within the sphere of general-interest stations.¹⁰ Firstly, a State-wide station, if it talks about immigration, can only do so by generalising (making an abstraction that makes all real understanding of the issue impossible) or by providing very specific news if it is spectacular enough to be of interest to the more sensationalist news programmes. What is very difficult is that a programme like the ones presented here could compete with the midday and evening news show audiences. Also, these initiatives of a civil and social nature need affective involvement with the issue on the part of the public, and true support from public administrations. Local public administrations can provide it, because they invest in focalising and taking the mystery out of a problematic situation of proximity, a situation they know about because they experience it. What does not make sense is to talk about a reality removed in space, while all the problems blindly accumulate on the corners of our cities. How can we get people talking in general about the reality of an issue that presents as many versions as locations that exist in our country? I believe that programmes like the ones presented here are an example of how to establish a profound,

serious, pedagogical and entertaining dialogue. If what the major general stations are not clear about is which bit of the reality to begin with, they could start by undoing the political link between these stories in the news, getting rid of the negative connotations they project and opening up spaces where legislative and social improvements about this timely and pressing issue are put within the reach of the people in a comprehensive fashion. The starting points are there - we just have to take more seriously the need for coexistence that this fractured world (fragmented from the television news) demands.

Notes

- 1 See the website where you can find the *Style Manual* drawn up by the Journalism Committee for Solidarity within the Catalonia College of Journalists after a long reflection process by the College's Media and Ethnic Minorities working group: <http://www.periodistes.org/cat/CpcSolidaritat.htm?elmenu=1>
- 2 For further information on the programme *Karakia* see <http://www.tvcatalunya.com/pprogrames/karakia/krkSeccio.jsp>
- 3 For further information on the programme *Diccionari de la Diversitat* see <http://www.xtvl.org/news/pressroom/detall.asp?id=162279&root>
- 4 For further information on the programme *Els Nous Catalans* see <http://www.rtve.es/tve/b/elsnouscatalans/index.htm>
- 5 For further information on the programme *Info Idiomes* see <http://www.barcelonatv.com/programacio/detail.php?id=52>
- 6 For further information on the programme *Andalucía sin fronteras* see <http://www.andaluciasinfronteras.com/>
- 7 According to a statement made at the award ceremony
- 8 According to a statement made at the award ceremony
- 9 Devereaux says that what is important is capturing how these subjects experience first-hand the social reality that surrounds them and of which they form part.
- 10 Generalist programmes that have dealt with the issue of immigration (we can add Televisió de Catalunya and La 2):

TVE:

La noche temática:

- (17 March 2000) Los sin papeles en Europa
- (20 March 2004) En el nombre del color

Informe semanal

(25 September 2004) Inmigración, en busca de la legalidad; Alzheimer, la oscura enfermedad; San Sebastián, días de cine, i Tíbet, entre el cielo y la tierra.

Televisió de Catalunya:

30 minuts:

- (26 March 2000): Els viatges il·legals de magribins cap a Europa i l'existència de les màfies que trafiquen amb aquests treballadors il·legals.
- (2 December 2001) Units o separats per la fe: Melilla
- (26 August 2001) Els nens dels camions
- (30 June 2002) Una mesquita a Premià
- (9 February 2003) Els fills de dos móns
- (4 May 2003) Recuperar la pau, el barri de la Pau de Badalona
- (12 February 2004) Àfrica, anar i tornar
- (5 December 2004) Travessia clandestina
- (6 November 2005) Haixix fora borda
- (18 September 2005) Començar de nou
- (14 May 2005) Paelles de tots colors

33:

Entre línies:

- (21 May 2001) La casa d'Al·là
- (1 October 2001) Islam pròxim
- (17 March 2003) Guineans amb beca
- (2 February 2004) Som cubans
- (8 December 2003) Entre cultures
- (10 November 2003) Aprendre a conviure en una escola pública de Barcelona

Millennium:

- (10 December 2001) Immigrants, lluitar per uns papers

Tele-5:

12 meses, 12 causas: Over the course of a month, Tele-5 broadcast an institutional advertising campaign to raise awareness about the fact that cultural diversity is an asset to our society.

The Treatment of Immigration in TV News Shows in 2005

Laura Rodas

- *This article approaches three fundamental questions related to the treatment of the immigration in the TV news shows: how much they speak, what topics are associated with this phenomenon and who speaks about it. The information is taken from a sample that includes the midday and evening Catalan news shows of TV3, K3/33, TVE in Catalonia and the bulletins of the local broadcasters BTV, Citytv and Localia, between January 1 and December 31, 2005. It is necessary to specify that the article focuses on the information that, beyond discussing the strictly migratory fact, help to build the image that our society has about the immigration.*

Key words

Immigration, thematization, television, TV news shows, news treatment

1. Introduction

Article 2 of Act 2/2000 of 4 May establishes that the Catalonia Broadcasting Council should monitor social pluralism in the Catalan broadcasting system as a whole. This mission implicitly involves the duty to supervise how the media treat minorities and cultural diversity. In fact, both the presence of immigration in the media and the treatment given are aspects of enormous interest to all institutions that investigate broadcasting issues. This is partly because it is currently a very topical phenomenon and partly because the way the media handle the issue has a great impact on the public's feeling and attitudes towards this sector of the population.

The first report the CAC prepared on this issue was in February 2001. It was a brief and simple analysis of the news treatment surrounding the shipwrecking of a boat used for immigration on Tarifa beach. The second study, in November 2001, had a much broader scope and was based on a more complex methodology. Indeed, it was a study which, under the title *The Treatment of Immigration in TV News Shows*, analysed the image of immigration that the broadcast media transmitted and configured on the news programmes of the day. For this work, the types of presence the TV awarded immigrants was observed and both visual and storyline elements were examined, along with the issues of the immigration-related news stories.

In 2002 and 2004, the CAC made two reports on particular issues relating tangentially with immigration. The first (2002) analysed the way TV news shows handled the controversy that broke out when a young Moroccan girl wore a *hijab* headscarf to school in San Lorenzo de El Escorial (Madrid). The second dealt with the way the TV news handled the arrests of 10 Pakistani citizens allegedly related to Islamic terrorism, on 15 September 2004. The second report led to

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a complaint from the Association of Pakistani Workers in relation to the way the news shows had treated the people under arrest and the criminalisation of the Pakistani community by the media. This report also studied the level of compliance with the CAC recommendations on the news treatment of immigration¹.

Finally, during spring 2005, the CAC prepared a study that offered figures on the presence of information about immigration on the Catalan-wide news shows between April 2002 and December 2004. It is important to mention that the preparation of this study was made possible thanks to the database on social and political pluralism available at the CAC.

Now the CAC is proposing to study the media treatment, and particularly news shows' treatment, of immigration during 2005. The starting point is again the figures on social and political pluralism, but this time around, all the immigration-related stories were extracted for subsequent special treatment. The figures that appear in this article come from a sample that included the Catalan-wide lunchtime and evening news bulletins of TV3, K3/33, TVE in Catalonia and the news shows of the local broadcasters BTV, Citytv and Localia between 1 January and 31 December 2005. It is followed by details about some of the analysis concepts the CAC Content Analysis Service regularly uses when making studies.

2. Definition of Concepts

- **News Time**

This is the time resulting from the sum total duration of stories referring to a particular issue.

- **TER (Topic of Special Relevance)**

TERs are categories that make it possible to group together stories that are interrelated because of their content and to monitor them sequentially over time.

- **Immigration TER**

The Immigration TER includes stories that talked about immigration from any angle and which because of their nature could not be included in any other more specific TER.

- **Immigration-Related TER**

This group includes all the TERs about particular

events related to immigration and those that could in some way impact the social perception of immigrants and immigration in general.

- **Thematic Describers**

Categories that make it possible to group stories in line with their thematic content.

- **Actor**

Person who appears in the broadcast media representing an interest group, association or organisation, political party or institution.

- **Speaking Time**

Sum total duration of inserts (insertion of images and voice of an actor without any type of expression on the part of the media). It measures the direct presence of the actors in the media space.

- **Groups of Actors**

Large categories that permit the location, within the category, of diverse actors that meet the defined criteria. As well as individually, actors appear in groups and we can uncover data relating to the different groups established. It is possible to distinguish between two big groups: political actors and non-political actors.

3. Purpose of the Article

This article aims to respond to three fundamental questions in the study of the treatment of immigration on TV news shows:

- How much is immigration talked about?
- What is discussed when talking about immigration?
- Who speaks on the news about immigration?

It is also important to settle from the start what we mean by 'immigration-related information'. In this regard, we identified and analysed all the stories in the sample that formed part of the Immigration TER or any other immigration-related TER. It is important to bear in mind at all times that this article not only tackled stories that reported on aspects strictly related to immigration but was also interested in stories that contributed in one way or another to configuring our society's image of immigrants.

Having made this clarification, the starting point for the article was the analysis of the volume of information about

immigration offered on the TV news shows. But the response to this question only allowed us to say whether the media spoke about immigration a lot, quite a lot, little or not at all. To analyse in a preliminary stage the image the media construct with regards this social phenomenon, it is necessary to make a qualitative leap and uncover the issues associated with immigration. Finally, to establish whether the media gave immigrants a voice or not it is essential to analyse the presence of actors in these types of stories.

In fact, the news treatment of immigration is like a triangle, because the features of the three vertices that configure it (How much? What? Who?) determine its final shape. Not for nothing have these three aspects been studied before and raised the interest of different study groups and institutions, such as the European Institute for the Media (EIM). This independent organisation, which investigates the media's impact on society, has examined the broadcast industry in five countries and concluded: "ethnic minorities are under-represented. When they are represented, they are shown in a negative or inappropriate manner (...) their representation and the representation of their points of view depend on the will of others..."²

4. How much is immigration talked about? Immigration-related information during 2005

If we compare the figures obtained during 2005 with re-

gards the news presence of immigration with those from the 2002-2004 period, we can see a general upward trend in all the stations except K3/33. In fact, the format of the news show *La nit al dia* (which K3/33 aired up to 8 July), which included a great many in-depth interviews, determined that the reference data with regards news time varied greatly according to who the interviewees were.

If we analyse the evolution of the figures on the news presence of immigration throughout 2005 we can make a number of interesting observations (see table 1).

April had the highest level for the whole of 2005 in terms of the presence of immigration on the news shows and, in fact, there are different factors linked to the events of that month that explain this increase. April coincided with the end of the normalisation process for foreign workers carried out by the Spanish government and, at exactly the same time, protests grew by immigrant groups demanding more flexible immigration requirements. Also, during April, two verdicts came down from trials which could have a negative impact on society's perception of immigration: the verdict in the 'Ronny Tapias case' and the verdict against the Spanish Al-Qaeda cell linked to the 9-11 bombings.

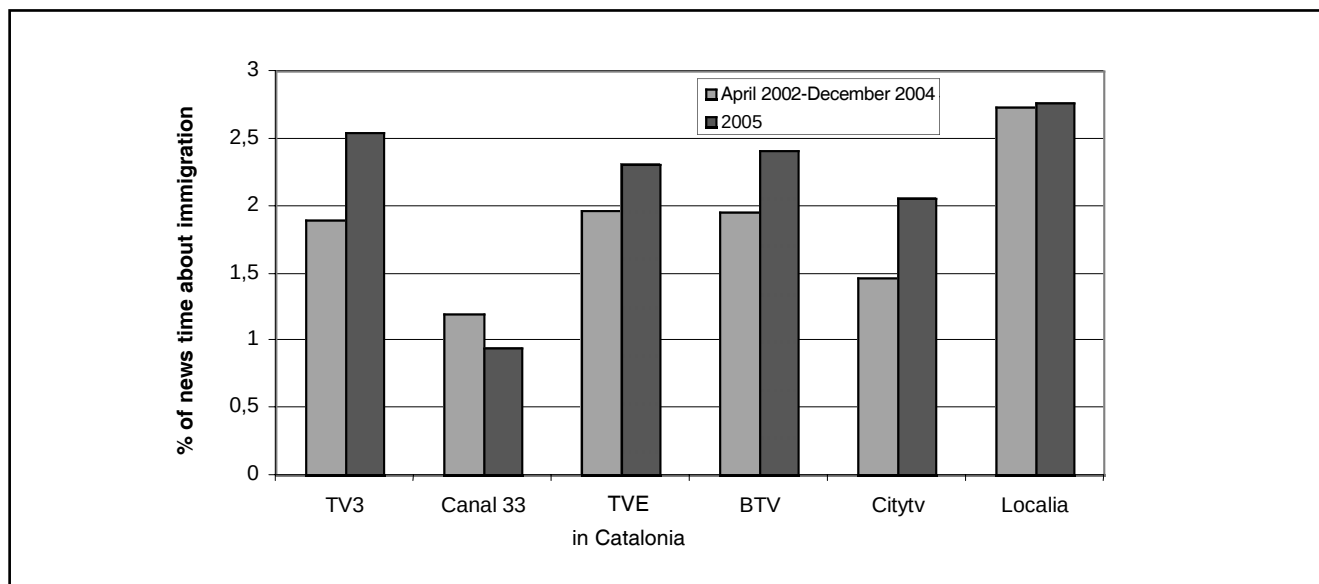
The volume of information related to migration flows began to drop off in May and reached its lowest point in July. Oddly enough, this figure contrasts with the ones obtained in the study for the period April 2002-December 2004, which reflected a rise in information related to these flows during the summer months (particularly June and July). In that re-

Table 1. News time of immigration-related stories

Station	Period April 2002 – December 2004 ³		2005	
	News time about immigration	% of total time analysed	News time about immigration	% of total time analysed
TV3	28:04:22	1.89	16:34:43	2.54
K3/33	06:37:32	1.20	1:43:12	0.94
TVE in Catalonia	10:03:02	1.96	4:57:13	2.31
BTV	20:44:26	1.95	11:07:58	2.41
City	01:01:09	1.47	0:36:33	2.06
Localia	00:20:07	2.73	2:22:47	2.76
Total	71:02:04	1.82	37:22:26	2.30

Source: Author's own work

Graph 1. Presence of immigration on the TV news shows



Source: Author's own work

gard, it could be worth seeing if the number of boats that reached the Spanish coasts during summer 2005 were really fewer or whether, on the other hand, it was a type of information which, because it had become commonplace, was no longer included on the media agenda.

During September, particularly in the final week, the number of stories about the arrival of immigrants at the border fences of Ceuta and Melilla intensified, having begun to appear in the final days of August. These events aroused great news interest which was maintained in fairly high levels through to mid-October. During all this time, the condemnations by various NGOs in relation to the way the authorities had treated the immigrants were also reported in the news.

Finally, the information about immigration reached its second peak in 2005 in November. During that month, there were reports particularly on the incidents in France that had begun in late October, the start of Ramadan and the arrest in Spain of 11 alleged members of a Salafi group linked to Al-Qaeda. Finally, during December, the volume of stories about immigration fell again and gave way to other stories traditionally linked to the Christmas period.

5. What is discussed when talking about immigration?

5.1. The Immigration TER and the other TERs

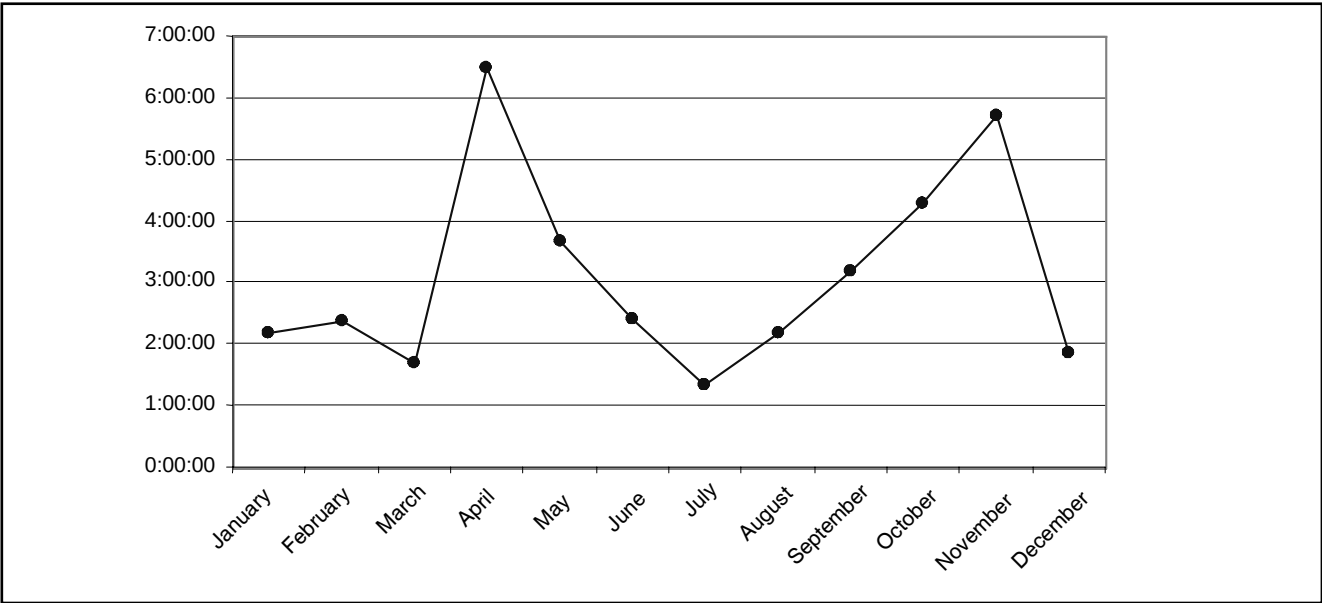
During 2005, the Immigration TER took up 12 hours and 29 minutes of the TV news shows analysed, i.e., 33.43% of the total stories broadcast in relation to immigration. The set of immigration-related TERs therefore represented the remaining 66.57%.

In the table 2 we detail all the immigration-related TERs that appeared in 2005.

As can be seen from the table, there were three TERs that accounted for more than 42% of the total time dedicated to immigration-related news. It is worth briefly commenting on their content and incidence.

- **Extraordinary regularisation process for immigrants**
On 30 December 2004, the Council of Ministers approved the new regulation of organic Law 4/2000 of 11 January on the rights and freedoms of foreigners in Spain and their social integration. This new regulation established a normalisation process for foreign workers which was developed between 7 February and 7 May

Graph 2. Evolution of news time about immigration throughout 2005



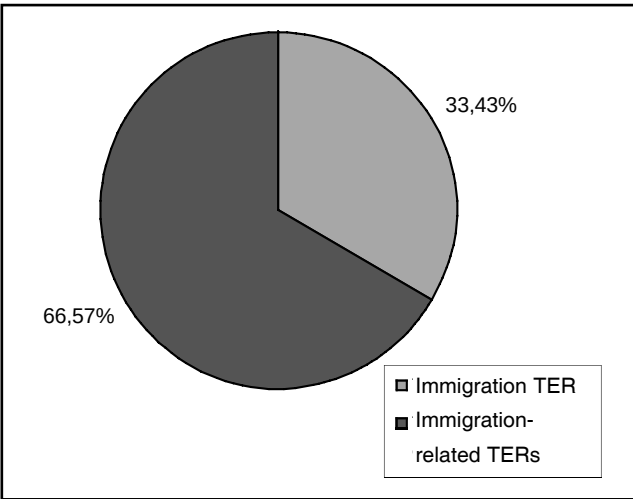
Source: Author's own work

2005. In the end, aspects related with this process accounted for more than seven hours of news time during 2005, i.e., 19.20% of total information on immigration.
- Arrival of immigrants at the border fences of Ceuta and Melilla
- On 31 August 2005, the death of a young Cameroon

man, allegedly at the hands of the Civil Guard when he tried to cross the border between Morocco and Melilla, catapulted the issue of the entry of immigrants via the Ceuta and Melilla borders onto the news agenda. Stories were then divided into three main directions: the actions and diplomatic efforts of the Spanish Government to tackle this phenomenon, which was the cause of certain social alarm; the successive attempts by immigrants to cross the borders; and the actions various groups carried out to denounce the breach of human rights they felt was taking place at the borders.

The stories about these events (179 in total) accounted for more than four-and-a-half hours of news, i.e., 12.35% of immigration-related stories. The news interest in relation to these events was extended during a good part of the month of October but practically disappeared as of November. Indeed, during this month only one brief, 18-second report appeared on BTV about a demonstration in Ceuta against what was known as the “death fence”. In December, three stories were aired relating to these events: the withdrawal of the Spanish army from the fences, the demand from a family to clear up the circumstances in which their son died when attempting to scale the Melilla fence, and the condemnation of an

Graph 3. Distribution of information on immigration



Source: Author's own work

Table 2. News time of immigration-related TERs

TER	News time	% of total immigration stories
Extraordinary regularisation process	7:10:29	19.20
Arrival of immigrants at the border fences of Ceuta and Melilla	4:36:50	12.35
Disturbances in the suburbs of various French cities ⁴	4:03:59	10.88
Verdict in the Ronny Tapias case	1:48:25	4.83
Verdict against the Spanish Al-Qaeda cell linked to the 9-11 bombings	1:24:26	3.77
Fires in social housing in Paris	0:57:04	2.54
Operations Tigris and Segell against international terrorism	0:47:27	2.12
Arrests in Spain in relation to international terrorism	0:41:05	1.83
Police operations against the authors of 11-M ⁵	0:37:04	1.65
Celebration of Ramadan ⁶	0:34:17	1.53
Knife assault at a high school in l'Hospitalet ¹	0:29:20	1.31
Killing of a pedestrian in Tortosa	0:26:10	1.17
Judicial process against the authors of 11-M	0:16:40	0.74
Operation Vespa against mafias from Eastern Europe ⁷	0:13:50	0.62
Disappearance and murder of a student from Lleida ²	0:11:42	0.52
International Migrant's Day	0:10:10	0.45
Verdict against the people arrested in Operation Nova ⁸	0:08:27	0.38
Verdict on the crime at Maremàgnum ⁹	0:05:48	0.26
Assassination of Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh ¹⁰	0:04:38	0.21
Murder of a young person in Granyanella	0:03:33	0.16
Operation Nova against international terrorism	0:01:25	0.06
<i>Total Immigration-Related TERs</i>	<i>24:52:49</i>	<i>66.57</i>

Source: Author's own work

NGO about the abandonment of immigrants that the Spanish and Moroccan governments had deported to the Western Sahara when the events occurred.

- Disturbances in the suburbs of various French cities
Throughout autumn 2005, France watched with alarm a growing wave of disturbances that began on 27 October in the commune of Clichy-sous-Bois, on the outskirts of Paris. The disturbances were sparked after two French-born African teenagers were electrocuted as they ran from police. Over the following days, the disturbances were reproduced both in other points of the Paris outskirts and other cities in France such as Rouen,

Dijon, Marseille, Lille and Toulouse. The events were followed with great interest in Spain, fearful that they would be reproduced within its borders, and led to an in-depth debate about the efficacy of the reception mechanisms of the immigrant population. The enormous interest these events started in Spain were reflected in the more than four hours of news time the shows devoted to them (10.88%).

It is interesting to see that the immigration-related TERs included eight relating to international terrorism. These eight TERs added up to a news time of four hours, i.e., 10.55% of the overall news time of the stories analysed. The decision to include these stories in a study about the

presence of immigration on news shows may be debatable, but what is certain is that it involved stories which, although not directly involving immigration, negatively impacted society's perception of immigrants, Muslims above all.

5.2. The Thematic Describers

To carry out this report, 14 categories were established that grouped together immigration stories aired by the news bulletins during 2005 according to the thematic area they referred to. The categories were very useful in studying what was discussed when talking about immigration, although adding a story to a particular category involved a certain degree of subjectivity. In this regard, we cannot say there was any issue that particularly stood out, but rather that the news time was well spread among the diverse categories.

In any case, the thematic group that accounted for the most news time during 2005 was *Arrival of Immigrants* (16.85%). Indeed, in the stories about the arrival of boats to the Spanish coasts which the TV shows often offered, it was important this year to add stories relating to the arrival of immigrants at the Ceuta and Melilla borders, as we saw above, which was given a great deal of news attention by the media.

The second category with most news time was *Social Conflicts* (12.07%). In this case, the wave of disturbances that took place in different cities across France largely explained this figure. However, this category also included smaller-scale conflicts of coexistence experienced here at home, e.g., the events between the locals of the neighbourhood of Sant Roc in Badalona and a group of Romanian immigrants who moved there, or the discontent of the people of Poblenou with the presence of Maghreb immigrants sleeping in the open.

The third and fourth positions were taken up by *Bureaucratic Procedures* (10.86%) and *International Terrorism* (10.49%), respectively. The high number of stories related with the formalisation of bureaucratic procedures, which were usually illustrated with shots of immigrants in very long queues, was down to the regularisation process developed between February and May. It is also clear that stories about terrorism-related arrests and verdicts were of great interest in Spain, especially following

Table 3. News time of the thematic describers

Thematic Group	News time	% of total stories
Arrival of immigrants	6:17:47	16.85
Social conflicts	4:30:42	12.07
Bureaucratic procedures	4:03:26	10.86
International terrorism	3:55:09	10.49
Protests and calls for rights	3:41:59	9.90
Criminal activity	3:04:56	8.25
Reception	3:03:35	8.19
Statistics	2:14:00	5.98
Labour market	2:07:55	5.70
Marginality	1:38:14	4.38
Culture and traditions	1:10:43	3.15
Assaults on immigrants	0:46:07	2.06
Others	0:24:40	1.10
Immigrants being swindled	0:23:13	1.04
<i>Total</i>	<i>37:22:26</i>	<i>100</i>

Source: Author's own work

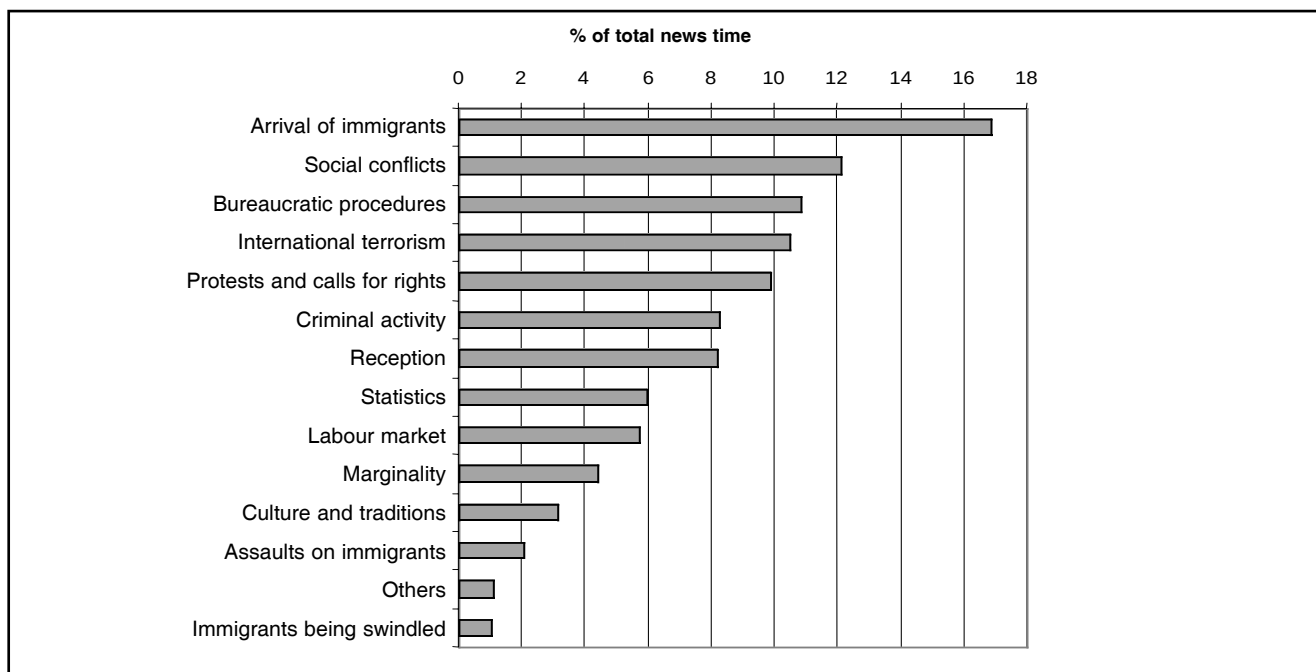
the 11 March bombings in Madrid.

But what is especially significant is the fact that, if the figure on stories relating to international terrorism (10.49%) is added to that on stories in which immigrants appeared in relation to other criminal activities (8.25%), stories in which immigrants are presented as the authors of a crime accounted for 18.74% of the total stories about immigration. On the other hand, the two thematic describers that presented immigrants as victims of a criminal act (*Assaults on Immigrants* and *Immigrants Being Swindled*) appeared at the bottom of the table and together account for only 3.10%.

6. Who speaks on the news about immigration?

The most relevant figure with regards the distribution of speaking time in immigration-related stories aired during 2005 is the clear pre-eminence of the group of non-political actors, which accounted for practically 78% of the time (7 hours and 24 minutes) compared to 22% of the groups of political actors (2 hours and 5 minutes). This advantage is also obvious with regards the number of interventions: 1,012 versus 380. (see graphic 5)

Graph 4. Distribution of thematic describers

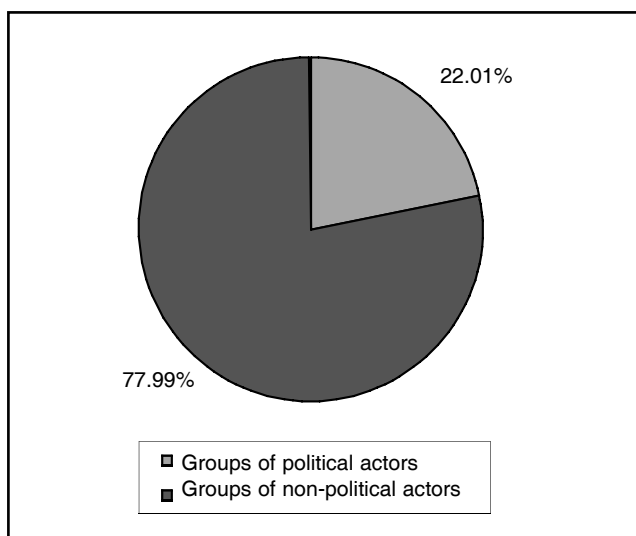


Source: Author's own work

6.1. Non-Political Actors

The predominance of non-political actors encouraged us to do a more extensive analysis of how the speaking time was distributed within this actor category. In that regard, there

Graph 5. Distribution of speaking time

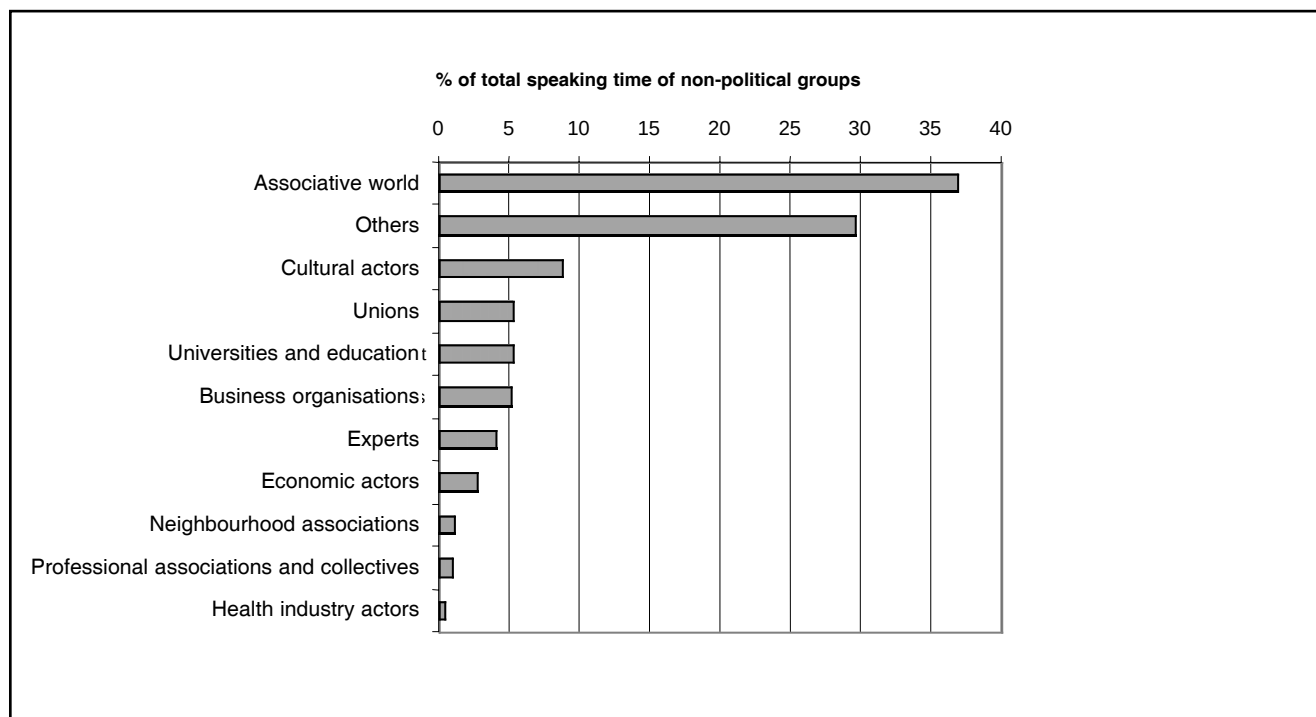


Source: Author's own work

were two groups, *Associative World* and *Others*, which stood out clearly from the rest and which between them accounted for nearly 67% of the speaking time of the groups of non-political actors. In fact, within these two groups we find the bulk of the interventions by immigrants themselves, through which they express their individual or collective points of view. (see graphic 6)

In terms of the group *Associative World*, we found the ten associations with the highest number of inserts. Oddly, we found that, in these positions, there were five associations formed by immigrants and five associations which, although dedicating part of their activity to immigrants, were not formed in their majority by members of the immigrant collective. The immigrant associations with the highest number of inserts (*Assemblea per la regularització sense condicions* and the *Papers per a Tothom* platform) shared a common *raison d'être*: the demand for more flexibility with regards the regularisation of immigrations. The NGOs SOS Racismo and Doctors without Borders (MSF), on the other hand, appeared particularly in stories related to the clandestine arrival of immigrants to our country, given the precarious circumstances in which they take place. In particular, many of the interventions of representatives of

Graph 6. Speaking time of the groups of non-political actors



Source: Author's own work

Table 4. List of the ten associations with the highest

Association	Number of inserts	% of total inserts
<i>Assemblea per la regularització sense condicions</i>	49	18.4
SOS Racismo	36	13.5
<i>Papers per a Tothom</i>	22	8.2
Doctors without Borders	13	4.9
Red Cross	10	3.7
Casal d'Infants del Raval	10	3.7
<i>Association of Pakistani Workers</i>	8	3.0
<i>Fedelatina</i>	7	2.6
Càritas	7	2.6
<i>ASOPIX Chilean Association</i>	6	2.2
<i>Total inserts</i>	267	100

Source: Author's own work

Table 5. Distribution of the actors included in the group *Others*

Actors	Number of inserts	% of total inserts
Immigrants	257	61.8
Immigrants as defendants in court	78	18.8
Locals giving opinions on immigration	13	3.1
Diverse actors	68	16.3
<i>Total</i>	<i>416</i>	<i>100</i>

Source: Author's own work

the two NGOs were related with the incidents at the border fences in Ceuta and Melilla.

The group *Others* was mainly made up of immigrants taking part in the story to give their viewpoint on different aspects related to immigration and, particularly, the bureaucratic procedures needed to regularise their situation in our country. However, the number of immigrants who appeared as defendants in court (particularly in the verdict against the Spanish cell related with the 9-11 bombings and the verdict on the death of Ronny Tapias) was quite high.

6.2. Political Actors

As we have seen, political actors accounted for 22% of the total speaking time counted in stories dealing with immigration. Within this category, the group of actors that obtained the most speaking time was, by quite a long way, the *Spanish Government*. The fact that the Spanish Constitution awards the State exclusive power over "nationality, immigration, emigration, alien status and the right to asylum" ¹¹ could explain this figure to some extent. In any case, what is certain is that the extraordinary regularisation process of immigrants carried out between February and May 2005 had a decisive impact on the predominance of this political group above the others. Also, the scarce presence of political parties in immigration-related stories was surprising. In fact, no political formation accounted for more than 2% of the total speaking time of the groups of political actors. (see table 5)

It is interesting to see, in a personalised manner, the political actors that had the most interventions. In this regard, the Minister for Works and Social Affairs, the person with maximum responsibility for the immigrant regularisation process, came first with a total of 31 interventions. Second came the Home Minister with 28 interventions recorded, most with regards stories about arrests. In third place came the Government's delegate in Catalonia with 23 interventions referring to the development of the regularisation specifically in Catalonia. The three top spots in terms of the number of inserts were thus taken up by three actors in the group *Spanish Government*, which in total accounted for 82 interventions, i.e., 21.7% of the total number of inserts by political actors. (see table 6)

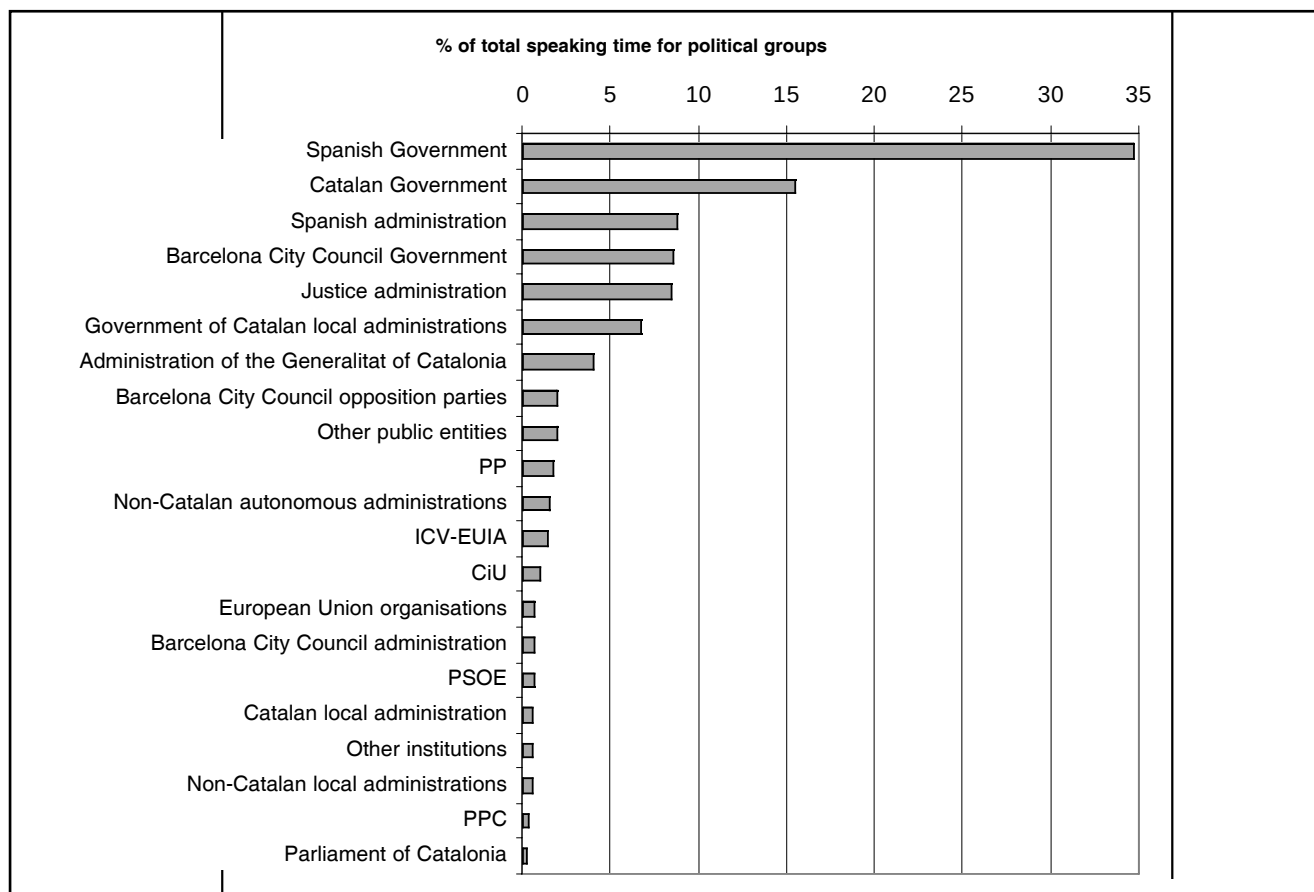
7. Conclusions

In terms of the first question we established, i.e., **how much is immigration talked about in the TV news shows?** we found a general upwards trend, as during the period between April 2002 and December 2004 immigration-related stories represented 1.82% of news time, while in 2005 the percentage was up to 2.30%.

The months of April and November 2005 were the ones that had the highest amount of news time devoted to immigration. In April, there were 6 hours and 29 minutes of stories relating above all to demands to make the regularisation process more flexible and the celebration of two trials that aroused great media interest. In November, there were 5 hours and 42 minutes of stories relating mainly to the disturbances recorded in various French cities, the start of Ramadan and the arrest of 11 alleged terrorists linked to Al-Qaeda.

With regards the second question, i.e., **what is discussed when talking about immigration?** and from the perspective of the TERs, three events accounted for more than 42% of immigration-related stories: the regularisation process developed between the months of February and May, the arrival of immigrants at the border fences of Ceuta and Melilla, and the disturbances in France. The generic Immigration TER accounted for 33.43% of the stories analysed. Finally, there were eight TERs relating to international terrorism which all up accounted for 10.55% of stories on immigration.

Graph 7. Speaking time of the groups of non-political actors



Source: Author's own work

Table 6. List of the ten political actors with the highest number of inserts¹²

Actor	Position	Group	Number of inserts	%
Caldera, Jesús	Minister for Work and Social Affairs	Spanish Government	31	8.2
Alonso, José Antonio	Home Minister	Spanish Government	28	7.4
Rangel, Joan	Government delegate in Catalonia	Spanish Government	23	6.1
Simó, Anna	Minister for Social Welfare and Family	Catalan Government	15	3.9
Planells, Eduard	Government's sub-delegate in Catalonia	Spanish administration	14	3.7
Ros, Adela	Secretary for Immigration	Catalan Government	9	2.4
Rumí, Consuelo	Secretary for Immigration	Spanish Government	9	2.4
Rodríguez Zapatero, José Luis	President of the Government	Spanish Government	9	2.4
Cid, Marta	Education Minister	Catalan Government	8	2.1
Gomà, Ricard	Councillor for Social Welfare	Barcelona City Council Government	7	1.8
<i>Total inserts by political actors</i>			<i>380</i>	<i>100</i>

Source: Author's own work

From the perspective of the thematic describers, we cannot say that any one issue particularly stood out during 2005. In any case, the three topics that obtained the most news time were directly related with the three above-mentioned events. The describer *Arrival of Immigrants* (16.85%) was related with the incidents at the Ceuta and Melilla fences; the describer *Social Conflicts* (12.07%) was related with the disturbances in the suburbs of various French cities, and the describer *Bureaucratic Procedures* (10.86%) was related with the regularisation process. On the other hand, if we add the news time of stories included in the describers *International Terrorism* and *Criminal Activity* together, we obtain a percentage of 18.74%, more than any other thematic describer. The two thematic describers where immigrants appeared as victims (*Assaults on Immigrants* and *Immigrants Being Swindled*) only added up to 3.10%.

In relation with the third question, i.e., **who speaks on the news about immigration?** we can say that the TV news shows gave most speaking time to non-political actors. Indeed, their time represented 78%, compared to the 22% of political actors. Among the non-political actors, the ones that appeared with the most frequency and most directly to discuss immigrants' viewpoints were *Associative World* and *Others*. Among political actors, on the other hand, there was one group, i.e., the *Spanish Government*, which clearly stood out from the others with regards speaking time. The Minister for Work and Social Affairs, the Home Minister and the Government's delegate in Catalonia were the three political actors with the highest number of inserts.

Notes

- 1 Recommendations published in April 2002
- 2 Research Project *More Colour in the Media: Access of Ethnic Minorities to the Television Industry* (The European Institute for the Media)
- 3 Because of the size of the analysed period, the sample is not homogenous but varies over the course of the two-and-a-half years analysed.
- 4 The people arrested for the crime and the victim were all Latin Americans.
- 5 Both the attackers and the injured were Latin American.
- 6 The murdered pedestrian was Moroccan.
- 7 The author of the crime was Ecuadorian.
- 8 The murdered man was Ecuadorian.
- 9 The filmmaker had openly criticised Islam in his films.
- 10 The young murdered man was Maghrebi.
- 11 Article 149 of the Spanish Constitution
- 12 The prosecutor in the Ronny Tapies case was excluded from the list because his inserts were mainly extracted from interventions during the trial.

Approximation on Broadcasting Experiences of Cultural Diversity and Immigration in Europe and Canada

Doris Boira Bueso

- *The article sets out the most significant results of the research work entitled “Approximation on the Broadcasting Experience of Cultural Diversity and Immigration in Europe and Canada” commissioned by the CAC Round Table on Diversity. On the basis of the migration and audiovisual context, it presents the evolution of public television programming in Europe and Canada in relation to immigration and cultural diversity. A review of the most representative and consolidated broadcasting experiences, as well as knowledge about the internal and external mechanisms of the stations to address the issue, makes it possible to extract the key issues surrounding the role of the media in multicultural societies.*

Key words

Immigration, cultural minorities, cultural diversity, representation, access, audiovisual, television, Europe Canada

The issue of cultural diversity and the media has been gathering weight in Catalonia in recent years, although in Europe and Canada work has been done from diverse spheres, including the professional, political and public, for nearly half a century and has resulted in research and television programmes, policies and mechanisms to promote its presence on TV. This article is in fact the result of the CAC Round Table on Diversity's desire to learn more about these experiences, having been commissioned to carry out research, funded by the Jaume Bofill Foundation, entitled, “Approximation of the Broadcasting Experiences on Cultural Diversity and Immigration in Europe and Canada”.

During the research period, a number of important events relating to the issue took place. For example, Unesco approved the Convention on the Protection of the Diversity of Cultural Contents and Artistic Expression at its most recent general conference¹. The council representing the Intercultural Programmes Group at the EBU (European Broadcasting Union) met² to assess its work and to begin two projects: the preparation of a diversity tool kit³ and the organisation of an international conference of public media to reflect on diversity policies in 2006. The Panos Institute in Paris organised a meeting of the Mediam'Rad network, entitled “Media of Diversity in Europe”, with the aim of sharing the situation in respective countries, analysing relations with the conventional media and proposing coordinated work⁴. In Canada, the meeting entitled Innoversity Creative Summit 2005 worked on cultural diversity, bringing together creators from diverse cultural trajectories and media professionals. Aside from the meetings of specialists, institutions and media on the topic, the present situation is marked by events like the terrorist attacks in London and the youth riots in the Paris suburbs – events that have shown the need to establish communication channels between the new generations that have emerged from immigration in

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Western societies and the recognition of diversity as a constitutional feature and not a problem to solve. Some media outlets try to incorporate this approach with the best of intentions. But finding out whether or not they achieve it in practice was not the aim of this work. Instead, it was to gather information on the most representative broadcasting experiences in relation to cultural diversity in the European and Canadian contexts in order to extract the key points of the role of the media in multicultural societies.

Methodology: Focus, Scope and Structure of the Research Work

The research work was initially established as an approximation on the television experience of the general-interest media with regards cultural diversity, but the qualitative and quantitative importance of the meetings justified expanding the scope to include radio and cultural-minority media⁵. We considered it important to include elements of the migration context and the broadcasting policies of various countries and at the European scale. On the basis of these considerations, the research work went beyond the media-focussed approach towards a comprehensive take on the issue. Evaluations of specific or general programme types on issues of immigration and cultural diversity were ignored as a sterile debate. Experience shows they are all necessary. If we have to respond to the information needs of populations that arrive, so too must we make all society aware of the social changes that immigration generates and what living in a culturally diverse environment entails. Similarly, we found it unnecessary and even counterproductive to assess whether the general-interest or minority media were preferable, as both use different ways of approaching cultural diversity and/or specificity, which is why they complement each other.

In terms of the structure of content and following the approach of the research work, in the first section we reviewed the evolution of the treatment of the issue from the European framework and by countries. In the second chapter, we looked at the internal and external mechanisms of the stations that aim to promote diversity in the media.

The Approach Towards Cultural Diversity in the Media in the European Institutional Framework

The discussion about media and cultural diversity in the European sphere has developed at the grassroots level in recent years, far from the institutions and the big media. Conferences, seminars and events have been held around Europe, particularly after 9/11, to reflect on the role and impact of the media in multicultural societies. The issue has been addressed from diverse perspectives, such as the media representation of cultural diversity, media staffing policies, media education in schools and the promotion of cultural minority media. From the geographic viewpoint, the issue has transcended the old countries of the EU to include the OSCE⁶, which considered it important to approach linguistic questions of minorities in the ex-Soviet republics and the Balkans.

The Council of Europe recently included the issue of 'media and diversity in contexts of crisis' on the political agenda in a new action plan agreed upon in Kiev in late 2005. But it has been skirting around the issue since the late 1970s, with the study 'The Big Media at the Service of the Cultural Identity of Migrant Workers'. This study did not give rise to precise orientations despite its results, nor was much effort made to publicise it. At the end of the 1980s, there were a number of European conferences focusing on ex-changes between researchers, organisations that promote cultural diversity in the media and representatives of the media most aware of this issue. The issues that concerned the Council of Europe at the time were respect for pluralism in the audiovisual landscape, the fight against multimedia monopolies and television's public service mission with regards cultural pluralism in society. Assessing the situation at the start of the 1990s, experts from the Council of Europe drew up various reports on the issue but few directives or guidelines were translated into political texts, particularly with regard to public-station policies, where intervention was, in principle, easier. On the other hand, a step forward was taken in making people aware of cultural diversity and immigration, which changed from being considered a social problem to being considered an aspect inherent to society. So, although the contribution of international organisations has not had a significant impact on the improvement of institutional policies, it may be that they have affected the field of reflection and promotion.

The Approach Towards Cultural Diversity on Television in Europe and Canada

Although the migration and audiovisual situations of the European countries and Canada cannot be compared, and possibly in fact because of that, a review of the trajectory of this relationship in diverse national contexts enables us to learn about a rich range of experiences in relation to addressing cultural diversity. Each country has a history of migration and each television station has developed a certain type of programming depending on its political and broadcasting framework. Comparing the current situations and trajectories in various countries, which is not explicitly established, makes it possible to find similar and different aspects in audiovisual policies, programming and multicultural media. Bearing diverse criteria in mind, we selected the following European countries: Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

Germany

The first public programmes of a national and regional scope for immigrants began to be broadcast in the 1960s. The 'guest workers' programmes became a crucial part of the daily rituals of many immigrant families. According to Unesco, more than 75% of immigrant workers in Germany listened to them faithfully in the mid-1970s. As in the rest of Europe, these programmes disappeared for various reasons based on the evolution of the country's migration and broadcasting situations, such as the entry of satellite and cable stations, giving rise to a more multicultural type of programming in Germany addressed at the general public. In terms of multicultural initiatives aimed at hybrid and ethnically diverse audiences, today's situation is not terribly encouraging. On the one hand, this is due to competition between the big TV stations in the immigrants' home countries and on the other, because of most German people's and stations' lack of knowledge about multicultural issues. In fact, the political and social process towards the recognition of the migration reality in the country has had a very limited repercussion in the media production industry. Many journalist children of immigrants confirm the significant difficulties they face getting into the German media, particularly television. Figures from 2001 speak of between 1% and 3% of journalists on staff at the stations having an

immigrant background. On the other hand, there are experiences that support a multicultural approach, such as the regional public station WDR in Cologne, which has maintained a policy sensitive to the migration reality both in terms of production and programming.

The French-German public station ARTE warrants special mention in the framework of media with specific approaches towards cultural diversity. ARTE appeared on the European broadcasting scene in 1998 with the aim of designing, realising and promoting television programmes of a cultural and international nature, and promoting understanding between the peoples of Europe. In this regard, the immigrant population, and more particularly cultural diversity in European society, became a transversal line both in the approach towards issues and in programming. ARTE is associated with various public stations in Europe, including TVE in Spain, ORF in Austria, RTBG in Belgium, NPS in the Netherlands and the BBC.

Belgium

Cultural diversity in the Belgian media has been tackled from various angles. The French-speaking public station began to be concerned with the issue and to incorporate it in its programming in terms of the news service in the 1960s, 20 years after the arrival of the first waves of Italian migrants to the country, to respond to the information requirements of the immigrants of southern Europe, Turkey and North Africa. These programmes evolved over the years, but it was not until the extreme right used immigration to capture votes that the government reacted. Between the 1970s and 1980s, anti-racist campaigns began and immigration committees started to establish links with immigrants and the ethnic communities that had been ignored for decades. Today the programming of the country's public stations is diverse. While the Flemish-speaking channel offers a range of multicultural programmes of diverse genres, ranging from current-affairs shows to the hybrid genre of the docusoap, fiction series and children's shows, the French-speaking public station has not diversified its multicultural offer.

For their part, the local media have taken up communication experiences from the associative world over the past few years which, as well as complementing the institutional television offer, have promoted immigrants' access to

the broadcasting space, taking power away from the simplified representation of immigration that the big media generally show.

France

The issue of diversity in the French media has been taken up over the past 15 years, on the one hand from the social and professional fields, and on the other hand from the institutional and media ones in a process towards visibility and proposals for change. In 1998 the Collectif Egalité denounced the absence of *visible minorities*⁷ in the media and called for a better representation of black-blanc-beur France. The Collectif's president denounced the Ministry of Culture for its discriminatory attitude towards black people. In a second phase, the group took up a position in favour of a policy of quotas on television stations, questioning republican principles, and took its demands to the CSA⁸, which assumed a mediator role in the process of raising awareness about the situation. To bring the issue to an end, it commissioned a study entitled "Presence and Representation of Visible Minorities on French Television". In 1999, on the basis on the results of this study, the CSA released a statement saying that a fair representation of visible minorities in the media was the only credible way, in terms of television, to carry out its role as an integrator, i.e., to reflect French society as it is, and pledged to monitor compliance of the new obligations of the *cahiers de charges* of the public media on the basis of the application of the 2001 decree, and to also transfer it to private stations, usually more open when it comes to reflecting social diversity.

With regards the presence of journalists on French TV as a measure of reflecting diversity, besides the period of specific chat shows promoted by the Fund for Social Action during the mid-1970s, the issue was taken up at the start of the 1990s with the progressive incorporation of journalists of diverse cultural backgrounds at the head of news programmes and as characters in popular fiction series. In fact, after 2000, many professionals from cultural minorities joined cable and terrestrial stations, presenting the news, weather and other types of shows. Despite isolated cases that illustrate an evolution towards visibility, these initiatives show the stations' desire to develop a situation in which there is still a long way to go in the field of representation to overcome stereotypes.

Italy

Italian public television has followed two parallel roads since the end of the 1980s to inform about immigration coinciding with the rise in the arrival of foreigners to the country. On the one hand, by approaching the issue in programmes addressed at a general audience, and on the other hand via specific programmes addressed at immigrants. The general stations give little importance to immigrants as a potential audience, an attitude that will possibly grow over coming years. On the other hand, since the 1990s the local media have promoted numerous experiences of multilingual programming, particularly on radio, with the aim of favouring access to the media for immigrants in the region and at the same time guaranteeing a more correct representation. Some of the most significant initiatives of this era in local television include *Una strada a colori*, from Teleregione in Rome and *Bianco, nero e a colori*, from Antena Vesuvio in Naples. Other shows appeared around the year 2000, following a mixed funding model. These included *Extra TG*, from TV Vicenza, *Mosaico*, from the local television station in Pisa, and *TG Multietnico*, from TeleBrescia, with a scope that covered 12 provinces.

The Netherlands

Cultural diversity has been a key issue in Dutch broadcasting policies, particularly in the public and local media, because of social and professional organisations that have devoted themselves to this issue and because of the proliferation of media aimed at minorities which has favoured the legislation. Besides the programmes on public stations in the 1970s addressed at immigrants, institutional measures to support the diversity policy of the 1990s have been transmitted by the public broadcasting authority with regards the work sphere, by programming and by the production of national and regional public media.

Despite progressive institutional support for broadcasting companies to promote a diversity policy, and the growing demands of professionals from cultural minorities, there is still a certain resistance on the part of the broadcasting industry to become inter-culturalised. However, their presence in the general media, and particularly at the head of minority media, has contributed to an improvement in the media representation of multiculturalism in Dutch society. In this sense, the diversity of radio and television cable sta-

tions managed by and addressed at cultural minorities warrants special attention because of the role they play in the processes of integration and representation. On the basis of the broadcasting policy of concentration and professionalism of local media, in 2001 local immigrant television stations in Holland's major cities formed a single national television station called Multicultural Television of the Netherlands. As well as MTNL, there are presently around 200 local radio and television initiatives managed by and addressed at cultural minorities in the country.

United Kingdom

The representation of cultural diversity has been an important base of the British media, both in terms of institutional policies and internal media initiatives to show a faithful reflection of the multicultural society. Today, social pressure in the area of the fight against racial discrimination and the demands of channels of expression by cultural minorities have influenced the proliferation of media and initiatives to promote self-representation. In terms of television, the first waves of immigrants to the United Kingdom coincided with the birth of TV. Since then, immigration gradually became a concern of the public stations, both because of the fact the immigrants developed into a new audience and in terms of the stations' responsibility to show them on-screen. Over time, the stations, particularly the public ones⁹, began to incorporate the diversity of British society in their programming, either through specific programmes or ones of a general scope, and with the support of internal mechanisms such as Channel 4's Multicultural Programmes Unit and the BBC's Asian Network, among many others. The presence of professionals from ethnic minorities in the media took on an official and planned character in 1988, when the BBC adopted an equal opportunities policy so that the composition of the staff would fully reflect that of society. The creation of Channel 4 also contributed to a rise in the number of professionals from ethnic minorities for three reasons: the station's vocation to serve all minorities, mixed funding, and the opening up to independent producers. In fact, in 2003, 11% of the station's employees were from minority groups, along with 8% of managers. For 2006 the prevision is for 13% and 9% respectively. In the case of the BBC, 22.5% of job applications in 2004 came from ethnic minorities, although they represented only 13% of

contracted staff. For 2007, the BBC has proposed new goals for the representation of ethnic minorities to cover 12.5% of the whole workforce and 7% of management positions.

Despite the critics, the United Kingdom is the country with the highest level of good practices in relation to the representation of ethnic minorities in the media, particularly because of the rollout of the equal opportunities policy, compared with other European countries which still do not have institutional mechanisms to check the presence of minorities in the broadcast industry.

Canada

In Canada, the media plays an important role in the public perception of multiculturalism, which is at the same time a defining trait of the country at the official level, making it a link for the newly arrived in the new context and helping the rest of society be more aware of the changes of a diverse society. "While the general-interest media usually broadcast problems related to immigration, the ethnic media tend to show stories of integration in daily life"¹⁰. Even so, there are increasingly more general media aware of the need to improve treatment with regards diversity both behind and in front of the camera.

In 2003, research work by the Canadian Private Broadcasters' Association, commissioned by the broadcasting regulatory authority, publicised the state of the matter with regards the presence and representation of cultural diversity on private Canadian television. The results confirmed the existence of serious problems of under-representation of visible minorities and aborigines in front of and behind the camera. The study spoke of the trend towards 'ghettoes' of professionals from cultural minorities in media outlets or programmes addressed at their group, and of the difficulties in accessing the conventional media. This was despite the application of an equal opportunities work policy in public stations of a national scope based on the principles of justice, balance and equality. In principle, the CBC¹¹ has a workforce "as diverse as that of Canadian society".

In relation to Quebec, where there are media outlets in English and French, ethnocultural and racial diversity is not so well represented on the French stations as on the English ones. This might be because the French-speaking industry is more focused on the history of the Quebecois rather

than immigrants. Also, there is the fact that the audiences of cultural minorities, for diverse reasons, tend to watch broadcasts in English. The broadcast production market with regards cultural diversity is concentrated particularly in Montreal because of the multicultural composition of its society. In general, besides the Canadian public stations, private and community ones also apply the multicultural approach to their work and programming spheres. Special mention goes to Télé Québec and City TT, as well as the multilingual radio and television stations that began in the 1970s, CHIN International and OMNI TV in Toronto.

Mechanisms to Promote Cultural Diversity in the Media

There are a number of initiatives in Europe linked to organisations and institutions aimed at promoting cultural diversity in the general media, raising professional awareness, training cultural minorities and promoting ethnic media. One example is On Line More Colour in the Media, OLMCM, which has been promoting the European Day of Media Monitoring since 2003, a project that forms part of the European Week of Media and Minorities dedicated to analysing the treatment of cultural minorities and immigrants in the conventional and minority media of diverse countries and at the European level. The 2004 congress disseminated the European Manifesto of Minority Community Media, both at the institutional level of the European Parliament and through media outlets and associations.

Prizes are another important mechanism when it comes to assessing audiovisual productions in favour of social integration. Some of the most consolidated in Europe and by countries are: Prix Iris, "European Media Prize for Equality and Tolerance"; Prix Civis, which depends on the Civis Media Foundation for integration and cultural diversity in Europe. This award gave rise to the Civis Youth Video Award, aimed at young filmmakers on the issue of "living in cultural diversity"; the Ebu Prix Jalla, an award created on the 10th anniversary of the EBU's Intercultural Programme Group which recognises young filmmakers committed to a multicultural Europe, and IFJI, an award from the International Federation of Journalists for the journalistic production that has most contributed to improving unders-

tanding within the multicultural European society.

Once again, the internet has become an essential tool in coordinating initiatives at the European level and offering resources. Highlights include three portals specifically devoted to the media and multiculturalism: the On Line More Colour in the Media network manages a resources portal called The Multicultural Skyscraper¹²; MMC 2000¹³ (Multicultural Multimedia Channel), created by the Italian NGO Cospe, a member of the OLMCM network and conceived as a platform for multicultural media from that country with links to European initiatives; and TV Plurielle¹⁴, created by the organisation Médias France Plurielle by journalists from different backgrounds.

However, in the various countries there are internal mechanisms in the channels that affect work and production policies, as well as external initiatives from different professional and social organizations. Below is a selection, without entering into any type of assessment, of the most representative and best consolidated in the different countries. Beginning with TV stations' internal mechanisms, there are the following: In Germany the regional station of North Rhine-Westphalia, WDR, has had a reference figure for questions of integration and cultural diversity since the late 1990s¹⁵. In Belgium, the Flemish public station VRT started a Positive Action Plan in 1999 to increase contracting of staff from diverse cultural backgrounds and achieve a balanced representation in programming, which gave rise to mechanisms like the "Diversity Charter"¹⁶ and the "Diversity Cell"¹⁷. In France, the Week for Integration and Against Discrimination on France 3 has been held since 2003, with institutional support from the HCI¹⁸, linked to the OLMCM's European Week of Media and Minorities. Another important measure is the Positive Action Plan for Integration at France Televisions, presented in 2004, with the aim of improving the representation of the diversity of the French population on TV which arose from a report on visible minorities in the public television service.

Countries with a long history of migration feature policies to promote equal opportunities, such as positive discrimination, which is followed by the public TV stations of the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Canada to ensure the presence of staff from minority groups in proportion to their representation in society through a system of quotas. In the UK, the BBC has begun other initiatives and pro-

grammes: Ascend, a training course for members of ethnic minorities within the company; the BBC Mentor Project, an initiative to promote access to students interested in working in the media through a mentor figure; BBC New Talent, a programme that promotes talents in diverse genres and functions; Diversity Database, a database that permits access to people and organisations related with cultural diversity in the country, and the position of the Head of Diversity, in charge of coordinating and following the station's measures with respect to diversity, in the areas of programming and staff.

At the same time, the involvement of institutions in improving the representation of cultural diversity in the media has generated a range of measures of significant impact. In the Netherlands, the government has developed policies aimed at promoting multiculturalism in the media through the preparation of documents debated in Parliament, regulations, ongoing research, the signing of agreements, government plans and prizes. One example is the integration policy document *Getting Opportunities, Taking Opportunities: Integration Policy for the 1999-2000 Period*, which includes the role of communication in the framework of the integration policy; the 1999 government plan on the media and minorities entitled *Make Way for Cultural Diversity*, which aimed to transfer the changes in the composition of Dutch society to the media in terms of programmes, production and audiences; and the signing in 2001 of the agreement of the public radio and television authority (NOS) with the ministers of Social Affairs and Employment and Urban Policy and the Integration of Ethnic Minorities to start up an intercultural policy of human resources.

As a measure implemented by diverse British public and private stations¹⁹, the Cultural Diversity Network has been dedicated since 2000 to promoting the improvement of the representation of ethnic minorities both in front of and behind the camera, from a commitment on the parts of the managers and directors. Some of the mechanisms the CDN has shored up are quotas for contracting people from ethnic minorities in all positions, the creation of online databases of ethnic minorities, the promotion of research about cultural diversity in the media, and the implementation of cultural diversity monitoring systems on stations and the incorporation of a multicultural approach to news production and presentation.

In the associative and professional areas there are initiatives in all the countries dedicated to raising awareness about the multicultural reality of communication, the promotion of access of cultural minorities to the media and the improvement of their representation. In Italy, the Federation of Foreign Cultural Media became a platform for the media and journalists from diverse backgrounds, and Asterisco is responsible for the Comunicando Festival dedicated to intercultural communication. In the Netherlands, Mira Media is a reference point in this field and also promotes European initiatives like the OLMCM Network. In France, the Collectif Égalité and Club Averroes develop monitoring, reflection and claims work on the representation of visible minorities on the stations. In the UK, the CMA²⁰ supports the third audiovisual sector from a multicultural perspective. In Canada, the ACTRA²¹ has become a defence organisation of minority interests and demands, and the Innoversity meeting creates bridges between innovation and diversity in the media.

By Way of an End or Beginning

Beyond the presentation of programmes about immigration and cultural diversity on European public television stations that this article sets out, the issue of their representation can be tackled from diverse viewpoints, such as an equal opportunities policy, anti-racism, the right to access and even the commercial requirements of the broadcasting industry. These aspects have not been dealt with here, despite how interesting they are, but I do want to mention a reflection by Club Averroes on the role of the media today. "Given the impossibility of fighting discrimination against cultural minorities without resolving the issue of the negative clichés that society surrounds itself with, communication is the key sector that will make it possible to repair this injustice". Despite the media's limitation in this respect, there have been successful and consolidated experiences that show how the media can handle the multicultural reality. Knowing how other countries with a longstanding tradition of migration have approached this challenge is fundamental to being able to profit from and adapt these experiences to the media and sociocultural contexts of Catalonia. This article represents a step in that direction.

Notes

- 1 Unesco intergovernmental conference which took place in Paris from 3 to 21 October 2005.
- 2 Meeting held in Berlin on 18 October 2005.
- 3 The diversity tool kit is established as a collection of diversity mechanisms and policies of Europe's public stations.
- 4 With this meeting (21 and 22 October), the Panos Institute decided to include representatives from Catalonia and Spain in the Mediam'Rad network.
- 5 The publication's topic, i.e., "Immigration and Television" and space limits mean the article focuses only on the public television experiences, leaving aside private and community ones or looking at the issue from genres. It also does not include radio initiatives, the section devoted to the legal framework or recommendations on this question.
- 6 Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.
- 7 *Visible minorities* are understood to mean ethnic minorities of a non-European origin, classified into three groups: blacks, Maghrebis/Arabs and Asians.
- 8 Conseil Supérieur de l'Audiovisuel.
- 9 Channel 4 was included in this category, even though it is an exclusively private station.
- 10 Reflections from the article "Ethnicity and Media" at the Diversity Now! Website of OVNI TV (29 June 2005).
- 11 Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.
- 12 www.multicultural.net
- 13 www.mmc2000.net
- 14 <http://tvplurielle.free.fr>
- 15 Its action principle considers that "the keys to acquiring competence in a multicultural context are mobility, flexibility and integration". It says that cultural diversity among staff is an indispensable condition for producing mutual learning relations and progressing in a multicultural capacity from the professional sphere.
- 16 A declaration of commitments to be able to reflect cultural diversity in all spheres of the station.
- 17 Specific staff members dedicated to stimulating a balanced representation of cultural diversity in programming, creating awareness on the issue among programme heads and favouring the incorporation into the station of new talents from diverse cultural backgrounds.
- 18 High Council of Immigration.
- 19 The member stations of the CDN are: BBC, Channel 4, Sky, Five, GMTV, ITN, ITV, PACT and SMG Television.
- 20 Community Media Association.
- 21 Alliance of Canadian Cinema, Television and Radio Artists.

Public Service in the Digital Environment: Theory and Practice

Juan Luis Manfredi Sánchez

- *Deregulation and the liberalisation of European television markets, as well as the popularisation of digital TV, have led general-interest and state public broadcasters to a structural challenge. In the face of the challenge of the digital era, the new technologies can improve and complement television's public service mission. I studied the Spanish, British and Finnish cases to check whether public action can motivate or delay the expansion of digital television and internet over public TV.*

Key words

Public television, digital television, internet and public sphere.

Deregulation and the liberalisation of European television markets, as well as the popularisation of digital TV, have led general-interest and State public broadcasters to a structural challenge, similar to that of the 1980s.² Since then, we have seen a number of strategies to reverse falling ratings, such as the popularisation of content, cooperation with third parties in funding projects and the rationalisation of management through programme contracts. These actions have proven to be insufficient, because they did not assume the change but rather covered the successive holes that appeared. In the current context it seems fair to suggest that there is a real danger of concentration, that commercial operators barely meet the social and political functions of communication and that the experience of 20 years of liberalising policies and deregulation have not led to more pluralism. Signal digitalisation, as well as its interaction with other technologies, represents a unique chance to open the range of services and renew and innovate the public television mission within a broad concept of communication policies.

As proactive measures for overcoming these difficulties, public television has to meet three goals: become a counterweight to business oligopoly and audience fragmentation, expand consumers' possibilities of choice and positively influence the national media ecosystem. The idea that the public media play a central role in the national media ecosystem is presented as a central theme in the discussion of the *Report on the Reform of State-Owned Media* and in the review of public service broadcasting in the United Kingdom.

The health of contemporary democracies is explained in line with their media systems, while television, which acts as the organiser of private life, is the catalyst and debate forum of the affairs of public life. Television's social responsibility lies in obligations taken on with society, something that has

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traditionally been known as public interest and which is reminiscent of the illustrated project of modernity. How is this abstraction determined in the daily task of 24/7 broadcasting? How can we survive the hyper-commercialism of the media, the concentration of ownership and infotainment? Any attempt at reaching goals must be associated with quantitative and qualitative indicators involving meeting the public service mission. The first two goals have immediate effects on the weekly programming schedule. The duty of public stations is to provide content that is substantially different from that offered by the private stations. As in other areas of the public service, the idea is not to repeat but, on the contrary, renew and innovate, and offer alternatives in leisure, information and culture. In this definition there is room for general and minority programming alike. The cost analysis has to focus on meeting the mission, not on tenths of audience figures. The way to reach this goal is to set up a stable funding system that makes it possible to sustain an audience figure and plough any possible profit back into new services and risk content. The third goal is the result of the establishment of long-term public policies. The national media ecosystem is the result of the television system, the institutions that monitor its proper operation, the content that is broadcast, the pluralism and impartiality of the news service and the interaction between market, public and audience. In an open society, all these elements interact in the creation of active citizens.

A New Model for a New Environment

There is widespread consensus about the fact that public stations have to meet their tasks in the digital world. The functions are innovative and alien to the traditional view of public-service television, anchored in the analogue world. Some private agents have opposed the participation of public operators in cyberspace, believing that most online activities distort the commercial basis of the services associated with new technologies, in particular the internet. To counter this argument, public operators have to abandon the economic version of the use of digital TV and internet and invent a synergetic vision of the management of public broadcasting companies in the framework of global public policies for the development of the information society. The

paradox is the multitude of possibilities the technologies offer when applied to the public-service concept. The more successful a public operator is, the more criticism it receives from private agents. I believe this conceptualisation is erroneous, because “the *commercial* concept is only valid if there is a difference between the behaviour of the public and commercial systems, which is also recognised by public opinion and vouchsafed at the judicial level”.²

The first step towards reaching this goal is to convert public operators’ websites into reference portals. The idea is to make use of the force of the brand, which in today’s competitive environment is the most important commercial and institutional asset. As a value in the cultural industry, the brand is a substantial part of products and a signal of identity above and beyond quality. The public-television consumer has to find online the initial response to his or her social communication needs: the public-television website becomes the main door to accessing the network and an authorised source of news and leisure information. At the same time, a reference website makes it possible to obtain new income from other commercial information possibilities. In the field of programming, a complete rundown of prepared programming can be published online, with all sorts of details about the production (actors, directors, languages in which it is available, etc.) and successive complementary channels of archive material, related links, etc., can be created. Also, the web can act as an authority source that redirects the user towards other hyperlinks of interest. It would be a good idea for quality content with a loyal public to be closely related to the production team. As a source of income, the internet makes it possible to expand the framework of action to right across the planet. In the area of distribution and dissemination, webstreaming does not appear to be a short-term technology. On the other hand, digital television opens the door to a more democratic distribution of station content via the multiplication of basic channels, the creation of minority channels, individualised services, interactive services, standard online content services, online pay services and other more advanced management resources.

The fragmentation of television audiences reduces the common public space, which is the basis of the democratic concept of the media. The synergetic model opens the range of possibilities of advancing in and shoring up the public

service mission as a centripetal force that encourages plural communication and as a vehicle for revitalised civic culture. The content has to vouchsafe equal opportunities for citizens to actively take part in civil society and must promote independence and individualisation. Synergy is explained on the basis of the creation of added-value content for the citizen in way that ensures the opportunity of obtaining and using knowledge in an increasingly globalised world.

The Experience of Spain, Finland and the United Kingdom

The erratic broadcasting policy of the 1990s has heavily punished the RTVE group. The multiplication of its debt and the absence of a general plan of public communication policies has further affected its crisis. It has not adapted to the new environment, but maintains a structure and content typical of the analogue world. In relation to its online projection, the issue was barely touched on during the Popular Party's time in office, despite there being a framework of action within additional provision 16 of Act 24/2001 on fiscal, administrative and social order measures. The Act accompanying the budgets defines the public service function and explicitly mentions the active promotion of the development of the information society through four lines of action: 1) Participation in technological development; 2) Use of all the distribution and dissemination platforms and channels, new production technique and the dissemination of audiovisual communication programmes and services; 3) Development of new services, including digital ones, and 4) Bringing the services and actions of the different public administrations closer to the public. Of the measures begun, I only want to highlight the project to digitalise the TVE historic archive, included within the framework plan, which aims to open the possibilities of using the content of the television catalogue. Until now, new technologies have contributed almost no income to the organisation's funding and it has let a number of opportunities pass it by, such as those resulting from the most successful programmes like *Operación Triunfo*, *Memoria de España* and *Cuéntame*.

In the summer of 2004, shortly after taking over as the head of the group, Carmen Caffarel acknowledged it did not

have a good enough online presence and announced a new design of the portal with the aim of improving the content and the informative services as part of a broad commitment to a quality public service. In the field of information, teletext, the station Canal 24 Horas and Radio 5 would be transformed into digital services that would contain staff members. 18 months on, the success of the measures is arguable. Programmes like *Redes*, *El mundo en 24 horas*, *Crónicas* and *En portada* do not have an online team to put material of interest, primary sources, unaired cuts, original programme scripts, hyperlinks, etc., on the web. The programme websites provide information on the technical team and timetable or are linked to private interests, e.g., in the case of *Redes* (www.smartplanet.es).

The web services indicate the level of adaptation to the digital environment, because they show the process of the creation of value and confirm that public service television does not necessarily have to be exhausted in the analogue world. The RTVE website does not meet any of the three classic functions of journalism: the news services do not have a specific section, with nothing even rudimentary like teletext. From the viewpoint of the internet consumer, the webpage holds no interest because it contributes no added value or differential elements. In relation to the creation of public-sphere spaces, it does not permit the creation of forums, interest groups, email or any other service typical of the digital environment. One can only find, with difficulty, seven blocks with a dubious level of updating. There are no audience figures on the site.

The sales area of RTVE is a bit better, although it still not provide figures of comparison. In 1998 the first steps were taken in the online contracting of spaces and it was positioned on the online television advertising market. For five years, experiments were done with sales formats and the online contracting service was launched in March 2003. This involved a multichannel system for reserving advertising spaces which, over the internet, supported the whole of the advertising purchasing process at TVE, from sending a purchase request through to the definitive awarding of the campaign. It included an XML channel designed for the media buying agencies and a web channel for non-specialised enterprises.

The process of legal dispersion has been very damaging to the normal development of the public service in the digital

environment. A lack of legal definition and administrative chaos have been a hindrance to digital TV, which should have acted as an engine of transformation. Royal Decree 2169/1998 of 9 October published the National Technical DTTV Plan which organised the broadcasting industry on the premise of conditional access and forced users to pay part of the changeover from analogue to digital technology". This strategy was a mistake in the development of DTTV and confirmed the hypotheses that users were not interested in the reception technology but rather in content, which was more interesting in the satellite offers and which led to expectations of the failure of the new operator. According to the Telecommunications Market Commission (CMT), the lack of viability of two or more projects on the Spanish market and the difficulty companies had in meeting balances would end up promoting concentration or a single dominant operator. This trend occurred in year 2002, when the two main agents merged and the third one, Quiero TV, which purported to have more than 200,000 subscribers, disappeared. After its closure, the CMT recommended "maximising the involvement of the current terrestrial television licensees and public, state and autonomous-community companies that constitute the terrestrial analogue television market, as well as the definitive resolution of the conflicts and problems that are a burden to the development of this market".³ It also advised that, after a particular date, it would be necessary to distribute and market television sets with technical devices for the reception of digital broadcasts. As these sets already existed, the obligation of incorporating them to analogue ones would stimulate the rollout of digital television and generate a virtuous circle of growth.

The new regulatory framework approved by the Socialist government is aimed at putting an end to the above-mentioned conflicts and establishing a stable and long-term legal order. The first regulation approved was Act 10/2005 of 14 June on urgent measures to promote terrestrial digital television, the liberalisation of cable TV and the promotion of pluralism. The legal strategy does not seem to be appropriate, because it allows analogue broadcasts until 2010, subordinates development to autonomous-community regulations (which will increase dispersion in the legal field and in terms) and authorises the creation of a new analogue station. The framework is complemented by Royal Decree

944/2005 of 29 July establishing the DTTV National Technical Plan, which repeals the plan of 1998. The new technical plan reorganises frequencies and awards the RTVE group the main role in migration. It will manage a complete multiplex with the possibility of making autonomous-community-wide breakouts for the dissemination of four free-to-air TV stations, as well as connection services for public service provision. A second multiplex is reserved until the conclusion of the reform of RTVE. Multiple frequency channels will be able to do regional breakouts, while these in turn will be able to do provincial breakouts. Antena 3 TV, Tele-5, Sogecable, Net TV and VeoTV received a channel within the three multiplexes available for private operators, although the first three already carry out broadcasts in simulcast.⁴ At the same time, after the analogue blackout scheduled for 2010, each operator will have a complete multiplex. It will then be considered whether private operators will be able to make territorial breakouts. The seven remaining stations available in the current system will be assigned by a public competition. The frequency of the former Quiero TV will be reassigned to free programmes for State coverage. In the autonomous-community field, each community will have two multiplexes which will be assigned in line with their own regulations. The two multiplexes will enable the broadcasting of eight complete programmes (stations), with a capacity to make provincial, local, insular or regional breakouts. The local stations that broadcast will be awarded shortly, no later than January 2008. Royal Decree 945/2005 of 29 July approved the general regulation on the DTTV service provision, which corrected the excessive laws determined by a final ruling from the Supreme Court. The new technical regulation is developed in ITC Order/2476/2005 of 29 July. Royal Decree 946/2005 of 29 July created, in fact, a new analogue television station. It was an erroneous strategic decision because the Spanish experience demonstrates that DTTV needs the unconditional support of all the levels of the sector. The modification of the licence contract and the authorisation for uncoded broadcasting in analogue contradicts the spirit of Regulation 10/2005 of 14 June. The definitive distribution of the 20 free digital stations that will broadcast DTTV was approved in November 2005. RTVE will have a digital version of TVE-1 and La 2, Canal 24 Horas, Teleduarte and Clan TVE/TVE 50 Aniversario.

Each of the three private companies will have three channels, while Net TV, VeoTV and GAMP (Gestora d'Inversions Audiovisuals, the license holder of the 6th analogue station) will only have two for now. Each autonomous community will have a further two multiplexes (eight channels), except Catalonia, which will have three. Finally, 281 local demarcations will have one multiplex.

In conclusion, RTVE has not been able to handle the digital challenge, even though it is a station with leadership capacity (30% of the audience with the two stations) in the analogue world. A lack of strategic planning and absence of a previous definition of what the broadcasting public service involves has put a brake on the public group acting as a promoter of the digital migration. In her latest appearance before Congress, Carmen Caffarel presented a plan with five work lines and a reinforcement of TVE's role in the development of DTTV. She urged that the measures become a reality now, for qualitative and quantitative indicators to be agreed upon and for long-term revisions to be made about the level of compliance of the public broadcasting mission in the digital environment.

In comparison with the public and private failure of the Spanish case is the success of the Finnish public station, YLE. In 1995, the Ministry of Transport and Communications approved the 2010 Strategic Plan for Radio and Television, which served as a reference framework for successive broadcasting projects, such as signal digitalisation (1996); the creation of a satellite to cover the needs of Finns living abroad (1997); the establishment of a stable debate forum on digital television (1998); the awarding of licences for DTTV broadcasting (1999) and successive development phases. In late 2005, 99.9% of the Finnish population had access to two multiplexes and 78% to a third one. The distribution of licenses awarded a four-channel multiplex to YLE to meet its public service broadcasting mission. YLE TV 1-D broadcasts fiction content and current-affairs documentaries, while TLE TV 2-D offers general programming simulcast with the second public analogue station. YLE Teema is a station dedicated to culture, science and education in all their manifestations. Finally, YLE24 is a 24-hour news channel. YLE has upheld a nucleus of general public interest with high viewing figures (20-25%), while the other stations complete the catalogue of universal service duties. With this strategy, YLE has overco-

me the crisis of the transition to a new broadcasting system and avoided its marginalisation in the broadcasting panorama.

Experience confirms the hypothesis of the European Broadcasting Union that defends the maintenance of one or two strong channels that profit from the strategic position of the public operator brand and which lead migration. Without this leadership, the permanent lack of liquidity and low short-term profitability would have destabilised the national industry and left it in the hands of Swedish and British companies. YLE's visibility in the new market conditions has been a success: 62% of productions broadcast by the public operator are domestic ones, a figure that rises to 70% when it comes to children's programming. In the sphere of new technologies, the YLE website is one of the most popular and enjoys great credibility. During the 2005 municipal elections, 657,000 different hits were recorded in a week, and during the disaster in South East Asia in December 2004, there were 900,000 hits one weekend. Since 2004, it has offered a specific space for the creation of virtual communities. Finally, since 2004, YLE has offered part of its news services in a 3G version for mobile phones, as well as applications for education and culture.

The United Kingdom has opted for a mixed solution. The BBC has been a pioneer in the changes applied, both in its public television function and as a business model. The Board of Governors has accepted the digital challenge and considers the Corporation to be an organisation composed of radio, television and the new media, which enrich the services offered by the two traditional ones. Its interactive services (BBCi) and website (www.bbc.co.uk) are natural extensions of the service and have different objectives, but always with a view to meeting the BBC's mission.⁵

Investment in the digital curriculum has increased in a sustained fashion over the past four years. In 2003, spending came to 451.52 million euros, 29 million up on the previous year. This figure was maintained in 2004 with 451.80 million euros and underwent a qualitative leap in 2005 when it grew to 512.87 million euros.⁶ These investments are justified by the constant investment in infrastructures, content and differentiated services, and meet the public value philosophy, which aims to increase the range of services and defend democratic values in a globalised world, and value for money, which aims to optimise the value of the license fee.⁷

The web services are aimed at complementing the broadcasting offer and increasing the profundity, interactivity and ease of access to information, training and entertainment information. The internet services work in a very acceptable manner and receive an average of over 10 million monthly users, with a rise in 2005 of 1.7 million over the previous year.⁸ According to figures from metasearch engine Lycos50.com, BBC News is the second-biggest source of information in the world after CNN. It has RSS technology, downloads to mobile phones and PDAs and is the British site with most recorded content, with more than two million pages, specialist sites, virtual communities, associated blocks, etc. The public mission was even more closely adjusted following complaints from the private sector and the publication of the Graf Report, which included the revision of the Corporation's functions in the digital world. It closed services and cancelled offers that distorted competition. In total, it relocated 10% of the budgets earmarked at content to meet the public service and agreed to commit 25% of its content to outside production. In 2006 it wants to increase access facilities for the handicapped.

Its success has facilitated online commercial expansion via two activities: the BBC Creative Archive, which has been offering more than 2,000 video clips and audiovisual archives (over 100 hours of content) since September 2003, and the Interactive Media Player (iMP) system, which makes it possible to download radio and TV programmes broadcast. They are available free to users who pay the licence fee and on a pay system for other users.

BBCi offers two ranges of interactive services.⁹ On the one hand, BBCi 24/7 includes news, weather information, sports and programming-related information. In 2005 it had an average of 6.1 million hits per month. BBCi eTV offers specific services for particular events. It scored a noticeable success during the 2004 Olympic Games, with more than four million hits. Its success seems to rely on the type of media event, because the pilot project Ten O'Clock News, a daily news service, was withdrawn due to low ratings.

Thirdly, digital television received a public and private boost after the failure of ITV Digital, the first British experience, which was composed of 28 television stations, two radio stations and three interactive platforms. In March 2002, the company's administrators declared a suspension of payments because "the market did not ask for this type of

business". The leading shareholders lost 3.65 billion euros in the initial investment in content, confirming the vicious-circle theory we saw previously with the case of Quiero TV in Spain. As a result of the closure, 1,500 direct jobs were lost and the hegemonic position of BSkyB was consolidated. Following the collapse of the ITV Digital pay station, the licences from the awarding company went to the BBC and the company Castle Crown which, in collaboration with BSkyB, launched a new DTTV offer. Freeview, as it is called, is free and offers more than 30 TV stations, more than 20 radio stations and a wide range of interactive services. The price of the digital TV receiver is around 85 euros. A single payment is made for access to the whole of the offer. The service includes BBC1 (a digital version of the analogue station), BBC2 (a digital version of the analogue station), BBC Choice 3 (to promote new talents and innovation), BBC4 (designed for a multicultural society), CBeebies (under 5-year-olds), CBBC (children aged 6 to 13), BBC News 24 (24-hour news channel), BBC Parliament (parliamentary and related information) and the interactive services of BBCi.

Coordination between public and private organisations has generated a stable offer and one the public likes. In 2005, the Corporation's digital stations obtained 44% viewing figures (three points higher than in 2004). I should also point out the leadership of the channel BBC News 24 within its segment and the success of the children's stations, with 6.4% for CBeebies and 5.7% for CBBC.¹⁰ The BBC has completed its function as a driving force with a complete and varied content offer, while the awarding organisation left more than 800,000 decoders already installed in British homes. Fruit of the expansion of demand was the appearance in March 2004 of Top Up TV, a second DTTV offer. It includes the basic Freeview package plus a further 10 thematic stations (including TCM, the Discovery Channel and Boomerang, among others) at a price of 12 euros per month.

Conclusions

The Spanish, Finnish and British experiences demonstrate that the action of a public station can either motivate or delay the information society in a country. Public and private

companies have to work together in order to move towards a competitive environment in which there is no absolute free competition. All other things being equal, the fixed costs will be increasingly higher and the sustainability of the companies on the market will be lower. If there is not enough financial support, the crisis will not be overcome and, as in the case of Quiero TV and ITV Digital, the operator will disappear. On the other hand, if public television leads the aggregation of services of a compensated offer and with a reference price, the audiovisual market can receive the boost needed, as has happened in the United Kingdom and Finland. All the agents come out winners, because the service is standardised, minimum requirements marked and technical standards established.

Secondly, public television can participate in the processes of the creation of value if it adjusts its content to the mission and raises the level of quality. The values that have to prevail are the promotion of active citizens through information, education and social integration, as well as diversity and innovation. The criteria for evaluating these values have to be expressed in a particular manner in programming percentages, audience figures, attention to minorities and minors, promotion of national cultural diversity and independent productions, coordination with public administrations, support for innovation, digital literacy programmes, the elaboration of quality and style manuals and a privileged relationship with institutes of education, among others.

Notes

- 1 A wave of liberalisation invaded the sector in the 1980s. In 1980, Western Europe had 36 public operators and only three private ones. Other countries in the environment, like Japan, Canada and Australia offered a similar panorama with the prevalence of the NHK, the CBC and the ABC respectively. At the end of the 1990s, the figure was turned on its head: private stations represented 56% of the total market and grew from three to 59 operators.
- 2 MCQUAIL, D. "Commercialization and Beyond". In: MCQUAIL, D.; SIUNE, K. (eds.): *Mitjana Policy. Convergence, Concentration and Commerce*. London: Sage, 1998, p. 126.
- 3 *El sector en 2002: Informe anual (The Sector in 2002. Annual Report)*. Madrid: Telecommunications Market Commission, 2002, p. 89.
- 4 A simulcast consists of maintaining identical programming in digital and analogue.
- 5 See GRAHAM, A. and DAVIES, G. *Broadcasting, Society and Policy in the Multimedia Age*. Luton: University of Luton Press, 1997. ISBN 186020550X and GRAHAM, A. et al. *Public Purposes in Broadcasting: Funding the BBC*. Luton: University of Luton Press, 1999. ISBN 1860205615.
- 6 See *Annual Report and Accounts 2001/2002*. London: BBC, 2002; *Annual Report and Accounts 2002/2003*. London: BBC, 2003; *Annual Report and Accounts 2003/2004*. London: BBC, 2004; and *Annual Report and Accounts 2004/2005*. London: BBC, 2005.
- 7 *Building Public Value. Renewing the BBC for a Digital World*. London: BBC, 2004.
- 8 *Annual Report and Accounts 2004/2005*. London: BBC, 2005, p. 39.
- 9 Idem, p. 41.
- 10 BBC News/Entertainment: UK shows 'boost digital watching', <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/4529658.stm>

The Unesco Convention on Cultural Diversity: A Treaty That Comes Too Late?

Martí Petit Bozzo

- *The Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, approved by Unesco in October 2005, recognises the specific nature of cultural goods and services beyond their trade value. Despite returning to Unesco in 2003, the US was not able to stop the Convention, conceived as a counterweight to the WTO agreements and its neoliberal logic, from being approved. The new Unesco agreement is a shake-up of international law and the legal doctrine it could generate is worth looking at. Also, the Convention, together with the new proposed Statute of Autonomy approved by the Parliament, opens the door to the application of cultural policies and Catalonia's international projection (such as participation in particular Unesco spheres) that should be taken advantage of. Finally, this article analyses the US strategy in the audiovisual sector following this diplomatic setback at Unesco. In this sense, the assessment is not very encouraging for the supporters of cultural diversity.*

Key words

Unesco, cultural diversity, Convention, cultural policies, international trade, new Statute of Catalonia, Motion Pictures Association of America (MPAA), online film, e-commerce.

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The 33rd general conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (Unesco) approved the **Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions**¹. Following a process of negotiations that began in November 2001, the definitive voting took place at Unesco headquarters in Paris on 20 October 2005 at 19:13 local time. The Convention had the favourable votes of 148 Unesco member states, while the US and Israel voted against it, and Australia, Honduras, Nicaragua and Liberia abstained. With the approval of the Convention text, a process of ratification by the different states then began. The Convention will enter into force in the states that have ratified it when there is a minimum of 30. In this regard, the European Parliament adopted a report that recommended its ratification in the 25 EU² member states. However, it should be said that six months after the Convention was approved, only two countries have ratified it: Canada and Mauritius.³

The convention establishes, within the sphere of international law, the legitimacy of States to apply cultural policies. Its main bases are:

- The recognition that the specific nature of cultural goods and services means they cannot be treated in terms of their commercial value only, but also as bearers of values, identity and meaning.
- The right of States to apply preservation and development measures to all their own cultural expressions.
- Aid for the cultural industries of developing countries.
- The non-subordination of the convention to other international agreements and treaties, such as the World Trade Organization (WTO)
- The creation of a conciliation mechanism for conflict resolution which does not have the authority to set penalties but does open the door to the creation of a legal

doctrine and jurisprudence on cultural policy at the international level⁴.

The approval of the convention on cultural diversity marks a turning point in the confrontation between France and the US that began in the mid-1980s and which has ultimately seen America left out in the cold.

The 'diplomatic battle' over the legal treatment that culture should be accorded began with the 1986 Uruguay Round, i.e., the round of negotiations over the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), which ended in 1993 and gave rise to the WTO. Countries like France and Canada held that culture should be excluded from the liberalisation of international trade because it was a fundamental activity for society, like tax collection or the preservation of the environment. This defence gave way to an expression that quickly took hold in the media, i.e., 'cultural exception'. For its part, the European Commission (under the leadership of the EU Trade Commissioner at the time, the UK's Leon Brittan) said it should be included in international trade agreements but 'with a specific treatment', given that culture (and the audiovisual industry) generated an important trade exchange that ought to be regulated (here we could talk about 'cultural specificity'). Finally, the US held that culture was a commercial activity like any other and that state intervention was not legitimate because it could distort proper market operation.

In terms of 'winners' and 'losers', it could be said that the liberalising position of the US 'won' by getting culture included in WTO treaties. As the lesser of two evils, the level of commitment in liberalising the culture sector accepted by the European Community and its member states is currently low and enables us to preserve the existing legislation (even though in some cases it is not definitive). But culture is included in the general agreement on free trade and therefore there is no cultural exception (in the same way that we talk about the *air exception* with WTO agreements). This means, in particular, that the cultural sector is included within the liberalisation negotiations under way at the WTO and within those which could be carried out in the future. The supporters of the cultural exception were thus the 'losers'.

That is why it has been necessary to reformulate the strategy of the sectors that oppose the marketing of culture. The discourse has evolved on the basis of the new context:

if the approach adopted during the Uruguay Round was 'defensive', now the discourse was 'constructive'; from the cultural exception we have moved on to promoting cultural diversity. And this new leitmotiv led to the Unesco Convention.

In any case, the adaptation of the new Convention to the international legal system is certainly ambiguous. Article 20 establishes the Convention with the same legal value as other international treaties, but the way it is drawn up is ambivalent, as it mentions 'non-subordination' but also 'complementarity', and makes it clear that nothing in the convention can be interpreted as modifying the rights and obligations that the parties have agreed to under any other treaties to which they are signatories. This point has already been the object of opposing interpretations by the signatories to the convention: while the UK said it did not permit the exclusion of cultural goods and services from WTO agreements (thus restoring the cultural exception), France said that it did ⁵.

The press has helped increase confusion over the issue. For example, on 17 October (three days before the Convention was approved), the French daily *Le Monde* published an article under the headline 'Government Satisfied with Unesco Text on Cultural Exception'. It is important to observe the inappropriateness of this statement, because 'cultural exception' is a term used in the context of the WTO, not Unesco. Also, culture was included in (and not excluded from) WTO free trade agreements, which have promoted progressive liberalisation since they first began. This means that first the GATT and later the other WTO agreements, might well evolve slowly, but they would never be regressive. In terms of international law (and also cultural and trade policy), it is therefore a serious mistake to uphold the validity of the concept of 'cultural exception'.⁶

Arguments in Favour of the Convention: French Mobilisation

Given the growing social and economic importance of the audiovisual sector, diverse countries, international organisations and professional and social sectors mobilised to achieve a legal framework favourable to cultural diversity⁷.

In this regard, one highlight was a speech by the secretary-general of the International Organisation of the Francophone (OIF), Senegal's Abdou Diouf, on 11 October 2005, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Association pour la Diffusion Internationale Francophone de Livres, Ouvrages et Revues (ADIFLOR): "We have seen that growth in the communications, information and audiovisual industries has been accompanied by the massive and uninterrupted dissemination of cultural products in an almost single direction. If we fail to act, this will inevitably lead to the disappearance of numerous cultural expressions, or their frightened withdrawal into communities cut off from the world."⁸

In fact, the movement for the promotion of cultural diversity was conceived and led by the OIF. Its promoters argue that it is the necessary response to the standardising globalisation led by the major Anglo-Saxon countries. France's Minister for Culture and Communication, Renaud Donnedieu de Vabres, said in a speech at the 33rd Unesco general conference: "One of the fundamental responses to the challenge of modern terrorism and violence resides in culture and in the preservation of cultural identities. [...] It is up to our generation today to inscribe in international law that works of art and the mind cannot be treated as mere goods. It is up to our generation to decide that in our age of all-encompassing trade, where anything can be bought and sold, we must reserve a special place for culture, one in keeping with the dignity of human beings [...] This is not a message of withdrawal, it is not a surrender to close-mindedness and idiosyncrasies that would justify acts of violence or fanaticism. This message is one of the values that form the basis of the Declaration on Human Rights."⁹

In any case, however, other, states that do not have the French language and culture have supported cultural diversity in the terms set out under the Unesco Convention. Let us review the most noteworthy:

- **International Meeting of Culture Ministers, Madrid, 11-12 June 2005¹⁰**

This meeting, promoted by France, Brazil and Spain, ratified each State's right to "adopt measures for the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions" and insisted that the Convention had to "have an adequate and legitimate place in the inter-

national legal system that does not involve a hierarchical submission with respect to other international instruments".¹¹

- **2nd Meeting of ASEM (Asia-Europe Meeting) Culture Ministers, Paris, 7-8 June 2005. "Cultural Diversity: Opportunities and Challenges – ASEM's Long Term Action Plan"¹²**

The first informal meeting of ASEM culture ministers was held in 1996 at the joint initiative of France and Thailand. The 2005 meeting brought together the 25 States of the European Union, the European Commission, the 10 Member States of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the People's Republic of China, the Republic of Korea and Japan.

The Action Plan approved at the meeting aimed to contribute toward the adoption of the Convention at the 33rd UNESCO General Conference.

- **Message by Pope Benedict XVI at the "Culture, Reason and Freedom" meeting, UNESCO, 3 June 2005¹³**

In this message given at the Unesco headquarters, the Pope said: "In a world which is both multiple and divided, and often submissive to the strong demands of globalization of economic relations and, even more, of information, it is important at the highest levels to mobilize the energies of intelligence so that man's rights to education and culture are recognized, especially in the poorest countries."

- **Meeting entitled "Cultural Diversity: Dialogues Between Filmmakers of the South", Cannes Film Festival, 27 May 2005**

(Summary by Olivier Barlet, from the organisation Africultures.¹⁴)

As Miguel Necoechea from the Mexican Coalition for Cultural Diversity¹⁵ said, Mexican film production has dropped by 72% due to the invasion of the market by US products as a result of the North American Free Trade Agreement. 280 films were released in 2004, of which 166 came from the US. Moreover, the US controls 2,500 of the 3,000 cinemas in Mexico. Necoechea feels that the relationship between the Mexican film industry and the Mexican public has broken down because the US ideology has come to prevail. Consequently, production houses have closed, industry unemployment risen and

film exports fallen. A very different situation is occurring in Canada, which did not include culture in NAFTA and which can apply measures to promote its sector. Mexican filmmakers are therefore lobbying for an amendment to the free trade agreement and asking for the Convention to have retroactive effects to remedy the situation.

Barlet goes on to discuss the speech given by Nabil Ayouch from the Moroccan Coalition for Cultural Diversity. Ayouch said that two or three years ago, the US accelerated bilateral agreement negotiations with around 30 countries. The negotiations for trade liberalisation were established in packages that included all economic sectors, greatly weakening the negotiating ability of the countries involved. Morocco is one example of a country that can no longer apply policies to promote its national culture because of the liberalisation agreement with the US.

For his part, Kim Hong-Joon (Korean Coalition for Cultural Diversity) said his country represented a unique case, with a screen quota system that requires big screens in Korea to show 40% local films. However, the US asked Korea to abolish its quotas in 1999 as a precondition to signing the bilateral treaty on US-Korean investments. This opened the eyes of both the domestic industry and the public. Hong-Joon concluded that US pressure continues today and that, "for the rebirth of Korean cinema, we need the UNESCO convention as a weapon."

Arguments Against the Convention: the United States

With regard to the US, its position has also changed over time. America withdrew from Unesco in 1984 because of a falling out with the then director-general, Senegal's Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow¹⁶. But nearly 20 years later, on 29 September 2003, First Lady Laura Bush gave a speech at the Unesco plenary session as a symbolic gesture of the US returning to the table¹⁷. The country's reincorporation took place gradually and the latest intergovernmental conference was the first at which it was present with full rights. The US's attitude at the meeting took the form of making contacts and observing, as can be seen at the website that reports on the

work done in the lead-up to the delegation's presence: *Re-entering and Looking Ahead*.¹⁸

Indeed, it was at that moment two years ago when Unesco was debating the draft Convention on Cultural Diversity. The posture of the US delegation in the re-entry was formally conciliatory, but it made it clear that it opposed the Convention as a barrier to the free circulation of information and ideas and could be an attack on the freedom of expression. Indeed, the strategy of the US delegation aimed to deactivate the process or at least cool it down. In all its statements, the US said it did not understand the speed with which others wanted to adopt the agreement.

In fact, however, the trajectory for the approval of the Convention began in November 2001 at the 31st Unesco general conference, when the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity¹⁹ was approved to applause. This declaration was accompanied by an action plan that proposed an international instrument of a binding nature and with force of law. This instrument is in fact the Convention. After various work meetings between the delegations of the member states, the draft Convention reached the Intergovernmental Conference of May-June 2005. This conference had to be (and eventually was) fundamental in the approval process. It was also, as I said before, the first meeting that had involved a US delegation in 20 years.

The debate at the Intergovernmental Conference began from an internal document that set out, on the one hand, all the previous works and, on the other, the proposal made by the conference president, Kader Asmal²⁰. Asmal had received a mandate from the Unesco director-general Koïchiro Matsuura to present a document to speed up the decision-making process. The second part of the document therefore represented a boost to the process and included the participation of Mounir Bouchenaki, assistant director-general for culture at UNESCO, Katerina Stenou, the director of the division of cultural policies and intercultural dialogue, Jukka Liedt of Finland and president of the drafting committee and Artur Wilczynski of Canada and rapporteur of the Convention negotiations²¹.

The Intergovernmental Conference therefore arrived with the 'dirty work' already done. But this policy of *fait accompli* deeply bothered the head of the US delegation, Robert S. Martin. The final declaration from the US published on 3

June (one day before the end of the conference) included a firm complaint about the fact that the conference president had given instructions to agree on a definitive text. “The rules of procedure – as well as Unesco’s normal practices – have been inconsistently applied and at times completely ignored (...) What we have done here in the past week has undermined the spirit of consensus that normally characterizes the work of Unesco. It will surely weaken Unesco’s reputation as a responsible, thoughtful international organization.”²²

In fact, one of the effects of the Convention is the ‘principle of non-subordination’, giving it a status under international law equivalent to other international treaties such as trade agreements. That was the basis of the US’s beef at the last Unesco conference: the meeting was not dealing with culture, but trade. In the complaint mentioned previously, the US said that, “because it is about trade, this convention clearly exceeds the mandate of UNESCO. Moreover, it could impair rights and obligations under other international agreements and adversely impact prospects for successful completion of the Doha Development Round negotiations [of the WTO]. In so doing, it will set back progress toward the economic liberalization that has done so much to increase prosperity throughout the world, particularly in developing countries, where culture plays such an important role in development.”

In any case, the obstruction by the US did not achieve its goal and the draft Convention reached the general Conference with a very broad consensus. After the agreement at the Intergovernmental Conference, the General Conference (the maximum organ of government at Unesco) had the voting of the Convention on the agenda. Given the importance of the event, none other than Condoleezza Rice, the US Secretary of State, wrote to her foreign-affairs counterparts, urging them to withdraw support for a project that had already been signed and blessed. Faced with diplomatic isolation, the Department of State argued that the text to be voted on was deeply flawed and contradictory. It called (in a single version written in French) for the preparation of a new draft convention that could not be erroneously interpreted to say that States had the power to take protectionist trade measures under the pretext of protecting culture.²³ The problems with the text, according to the US, lay in the following areas:

- A vague definition of the convention’s field of action.
- Provisions susceptible to being radical in reference to the measures parties could take to defend poorly defined cultural objectives.
- An ambiguous relationship between the Convention and other international agreements, especially those relating to trade.

The major American dailies pedalled the same line. On 14 October 2005, a week before the voting, the *Wall Street Journal* set out its doubts about the convention’s validity: it legitimised State intervention in creative affairs, and said that “China and other repressive countries are keen on the Convention”.

However, not all the US press shared this view. On 12 October, the *New York Times* published an article by Alan Riding, where he underlined the United Kingdom’s support for the Convention and said the British delegation had asked Washington to accept it. “The Convention will be adopted and, once ratified by 30 countries, it will go into effect. The United States will not sign it and, as with the Kyoto Protocol climate treaty and the treaty creating the International Criminal Court, will likely remain a critical - and perhaps obstructionist – outsider”²⁴.

The Convention and the Role of Catalonia

Besides these details of the *realpolitik* that surrounded the approval of the Convention, it is important to analyse the effects the treaty could have on designing cultural policies in Catalonia, because international agreements related both with the trade of cultural goods and services, and with the promotion of diversity, affect the Catalan government’s ability to manoeuvre in this area. But contrary to what people might think, it is not true that in the face of the negotiation and signing of these treaties “there is nothing we can do”. Both the Unesco Convention and the WTO agreements do not only take into account nation states but also cultural and linguistic communities that do not have a state to defend their personality in international forums.

This is the case, for example, of the different treatment that Quebec receives in terms of cultural and audiovisual industries in the WTO’s General Agreement on Trade in

Services (GATS). During the Uruguay Round, the Canadian delegation defended Canada's federal nature and managed to get it included in the final agreement - in the list of GATS Article II exemptions for Canada, as well as the exemptions valid for the whole of the country, there are provisions that refer only to Quebec. The case of Catalonia is similar. In the words of Ramon Torrent, the former director of international economic relations at the Council of the European Union's Legal Service, "there is no legal obstacle to Spain (or the European Community in the sphere of its own authority) giving a different treatment to Catalonia in relation to particular aspects of GATS, such as the audiovisual industry"²⁵. As can be seen, the Spanish and Catalan authorities have a certain degree of manoeuvre in this field. Complete fatalism before a type of globalisation that falls outside the sphere of Catalonia is therefore a grave political error.

The same thing applies to the Convention on cultural diversity. That a state signs an agreement, warns Torrent, does not mean it assumes uniform commitments for all its sub-central government levels²⁶. The party that signs an international agreement is one thing, while the territorial sphere of the obligations assumed by the signatory, in states with a decentralised structure, is something else entirely. Torrent goes further and underlines the importance of article 30 of the Convention, referring to states with "federal or non-unitary constitutional systems". This article establishes that, in those provisions of the Convention that are up to the constituent units of the signatory state (such as states [of a federation], counties, provinces or cantons), the signatory state shall inform the sub-central governments with a recommendation for its adoption²⁷. In federal or non-unitary states, therefore, the role of the sub-central government authorities is certainly decisive in terms of the assumption of international obligations. In this regard, it is worth pointing out that some of these communities have already ratified the Convention. This is the case of Quebec, which on 10 November 2005 became 'the first state' (in the words of prime minister Jean Charest) to approve the Convention, and by the unanimous vote of the National Assembly.²⁸

However, it should be observed that the wording of article 30 is quite confusing and even the official English and French versions do not say the same thing. The non-official

Catalan version has translation problems, as already mentioned in note 28.²⁹

In any case, it is important to say that with the 1979 Statute of Autonomy³⁰ to hand, this provision that gives a certain role to sub-central governments is not applicable to Catalonia. Article 27 of the Statute mentions "the execution of international agreements" but nothing about negotiation or celebration. To date, the Generalitat has therefore only had the ability to use agreements of this nature, signed by the central government. Let's see the Statute valdi until 2006.

Article 27

3. The Generalitat of Catalonia shall adopt the measures necessary for the execution of international treaties and agreements in the areas that affect the matters attributed to its power, according to the present Statute.
4. To ensure Catalan is the heritage of other territories and communities, the links and correspondence maintained by the academic and cultural institutions are maximised. The Generalitat may ask the Government to sign and present (if necessary) treaties and agreements that enable the establishment of cultural relations with States in which these territories and communities are included or reside, to the Spanish Parliament for its authorisation.
5. The Generalitat shall be informed, in the drawing up of treaties and agreements, as well as customs bills, of points that affect issues of its specific interest.

Leaving aside the 1979 Statute, article 30 of the Convention is not applicable for many in Spain because with the current constitutional system, it is a unitary State. Unlike Germany (a federal state in which the constituent units are the *Länders*), the 1978 Spanish Constitution establishes that the constituent unit of Spain is popular sovereignty³¹. On the other hand, in section III "On the Spanish Parliament", chapter three "On International Treaties" (articles 93 to 96) the Constitution says that the 'signing' of treaties is up to the Spanish Parliament or Government, depending on the case. Further on, when it defines the territorial organisation of the State and, in particular, the autonomous communities (section VIII, chapter three), it lays down in article 149.3 that the State has exclusive powers in inter-

national relations. But independently of the validity of this thesis, which other constitutionalists would argue about, what the constitutional text does not impede in any way is that the state should assume differential international obligations for its autonomous communities. If in treaties of an economic nature, like the European Community treaty, there is a differentiation in the rights and obligations for the Canary Islands, why is there no differentiation in favour of Catalonia and other autonomous communities with their own cultural characteristics in agreements involving cultural content?

Whatever the case, the draft Statute of Autonomy approved by the Parliament of Catalonia on 30 September 2005 draws a new framework of relations between Catalonia, Spain and international organisations³². Thus, chapter III, "Actions of the Generalitat Abroad" of the draft statute includes a series of articles that set out a new political and power structure in the area of culture and international agreements. Article 199, "Participation in International Organisations" was quite explicit when it said "the Generalitat must participate in international organisations with powers in areas of interest relevant to Catalonia, particularly Unesco and other organisations of a culture nature, *in an autonomous fashion if the corresponding regulations allow, or, in any case, forming part of the Spanish delegation*". After the negotiation and subsequent voting in the Lower House of the Spanish Parliament, this article was left practically intact, although the fragment marked in italics was replaced by a more ambiguous formula: "*in the form established by the corresponding regulation*".³³

It is clear that this section takes as a reference point Quebec's capacity to manage particular areas of its foreign relations (in fact, this federal province of Canada has the support of its own Ministry of International Affairs³⁴). The latest challenge in the projection of Quebec has been gaining a permanent presence in the Canadian delegation to Unesco. On 5 May, Canada's president Stephen Harper announced this before the Quebec primer minister Jean Charest.³⁵

However, the draft Statute of Catalonia did not end here and, in article 197, "International Treaties and Agreements" awarded a leading role to the Generalitat in this area:

1. The Generalitat must be previously informed by the

State Government about the negotiation processes of international treaties and agreements, if they affect the powers or interests of Catalonia. The Government of the Generalitat and the Parliament may direct to the State Government and the Parliament the observations they consider pertinent in this regard.

2. *The Generalitat must participate in the negotiation process of the international treaties and agreements that affects its powers. This participation involves, in all cases, the incorporation of a representative of the Generalitat in the negotiating delegation and the final report of the Catalan Parliament when the matter involves exclusive powers.*
3. *The Generalitat can ask the State Government to sign international agreements and treaties, or for it to request authorisation from the Parliament to sign them, in matters of interest to Catalonia. In the case of exclusive powers, the Generalitat can conclude international preliminary agreements which require the authorisation of the State.*
4. *The Generalitat can request the State's authorisation to sign, on behalf of the Catalan Government, international treaties and agreements in the area of its powers.*
5. The Generalitat must adopt the measures needed to execute the obligations based on international treaties or agreements ratified by Spain or which bind the State, in the area of its powers.

Again, the draft statute was cut during negotiations. The three points of the article (italicised) were modified and point 4 was removed. The article was left as follows (this version is not official in English):

1. The State Government shall previously inform the Generalitat of the signing of treaties that directly and singularly affect the powers of Catalonia. The Generalitat and the Catalan Parliament can put to the Government the observations they consider appropriate.
2. When it involves treaties that directly and singularly affect Catalonia, the Generalitat may ask the Government to join the negotiating delegations in representation of the Generalitat.
3. The Generalitat may ask the Government to sign international treaties in issues of its power.
4. *(Previously point 5. No changes to the text).*

As can be seen, the 'spirit' of the article is substantially modified and opts for a wording that can fit within the Constitution without modifying it. From here on, after the Statute approval, it will be important to see how chapter III is interpreted after it is analysed, and which attitude the central Government will take with regards requests from the Generalitat to participate in the negotiation and signing of international treaties.

To return to the Unesco Convention, the fact is that the Government of the Generalitat has shown interest. This was shown in a speech by Caterina Mieres, the then Minister for Culture, at the 4th International Meeting of Cultural Professional Organisations, held in Madrid from 9 to 11 May 2005³⁶. One of Miere's proposals was the creation of the Observatory on Cultural Diversity to monitor the Convention. For this analysis instrument to be really an international reference point, it would have to have top-rate experts, such as Ivan Bernier, professor at the university of Laval (Quebec), or Ramon Torrent himself. It will also be important to see whether the new Culture minister, Ferran Mascarell, maintains interest in this area.

The Unesco Convention: An Agreement That No Longer Has Any Purpose?

Finally, and for the first time in history, a multilateral organisation approved a treaty with force of law that established cultural diversity as an inalienable human right. However, Ivan Bernier warns that any pleasure gained from David's victory over Goliath may be brief. According to the Canadian expert: "The free trade agreements concluded by the United States with Chile³⁷ (December 2002) and Singapore³⁸ (February 2003) mark a new development in the way the United States envisages the treatment of cultural goods and services in trade agreements"³⁹.

Up until the year 2000, Bernier said, America's official position had been that cultural products should not be differentiated from other ones. The US then changed position, as evidenced by a communiqué on audiovisual and related services in the WTO in December 2000⁴⁰, in which it admitted that the audiovisual sector had changed radically since the Uruguay Round, when discussions had focused mainly on film production and distribution and the te-

restrial broadcasting of audiovisual goods and services. The communiqué concluded by saying that the US would "con-sider developing an understanding on subsidies that (would) respect each nation's need to foster its cultural identity by creating an environment to nurture local culture".

This was the position also taken up by the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) in an appearance before US Congress in May 2001: "Many countries around the world have a reasonable desire to ensure that their citizens can see films and TV programs that reflect their history, their cultures, and their languages."

In other words, the Hollywood lobby in Washington supported other countries' arguments about aid and quotas for local content. During the same appearance before Congress, MPAA representative Bonnie Richardson made an interesting turnaround. She said the concession did not represent any problem for her organisation's interests, because there was no point supporting protectionist intervention by the State in a digital environment where distribution would be over broadband networks. The MPAA was optimistic on the subject: "Fortunately, to date, we haven't seen any country adopt this form of market-closing measure for digitally delivered content. We hope this market will remain unfettered – and hope we can count on your support as we work with our international trade partners to keep digital networks free of cultural protectionism". It must be admitted that the MPAA is right: what is the point of applying a quota policy to the internet?

This was the position the US Government adopted in July 2002 in the documentation it brought to the new GATS negotiations. The North American administration did not call for further liberalisation of conventional audiovisual services, but insisted on the need to uphold barrier-free trade for audiovisual products distributed electronically⁴¹.

However, it was not until the agreements with Chile and Singapore that this approach would take a legal form for the first time and be set out in detail in legal rights and obligations. An in-depth analysis of the implications of the two bilateral agreements on the cultural sector speaks to the radical change in America's strategy on the regulation of the international trade of the audiovisual sector. Jack Valenti, the then-president of the MPAA, said in a press release following the signing of the free-trade agreement between the US and Chile: "In stark contrast to some earlier trade

agreements, this Agreement avoids the 'cultural exception' approach". In these bilateral treaties, the US has deactivated the possibility of Chile and Singapore being able to apply measures to promote their domestic audiovisual sectors.

But it does not end here. Ivan Bernier, in a new study prepared for the Quebec Ministry for Culture and Communications, warned that the US has used this strategy on the quiet in treaties with the Central American states, Australia and Morocco.⁴² The neo-liberal terrain is expanding via bilateral agreements.

So, after the joy at the approval of the Unesco Convention on Cultural Diversity, we may well be surprised to find it has arrived 20 or 30 years too late, and that our 'analogue joy' counts for nothing in a broadband world. It is important to keep the alarms connected.

Note at the close of the edition of *Quaderns del CAC*:

At the close of the present article, something happened that was important enough to mention in the body of the text and not the footnotes. In the first months of 2006, the MPAA redesigned its website, eliminating corporate information prior to 2004.⁴³ I searched for the term "Jack Valenti" (president of the MPAA for 38 years until 2004) but got no result. Neither could I find the MPAA press releases mentioned in this article, as they were all prior to 2004. These references have therefore 'been lost'. Before making a judgment on this matter, I would refer readers to the two studies by Ivan Bernier analysed here (see notes 38 and 41):

- *A Comparative Analysis of the Chile – US and Singapore - US Free Trade Agreements with Particular Reference to Their Impact in the Cultural Sector*
- *Los recientes tratados de libre comercio de Estados Unidos como muestra de su nueva estrategia en el sector audiovisual* (The Recent Free Trade Agreements of the United States as Illustrations of Their New Strategy Regarding the Audiovisual Sector)

Bernier quotes these press releases and I accept his authority to guarantee the veracity of the information taken from cyberspace. I would also add my (obviously more modest) own testimony and say that I had access to them for a number of months before the MPAA changed its site.]

Notes

Note: All the websites referred to in this article were consulted, in a final revision, at the close of *Quaderns del CAC* double issue 23-24, on 26 April 2006. See the note that closes the article, within the text, in this regard.

1 *Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*

English version available at: http://www.unesco.org/culture/culturaldiversity/convention_en.pdf

French version available at: http://www.unesco.org/culture/culturaldiversity/convention_fr.pdf

Non-official Catalan version available at: http://cultura.gen-cat.net/diversitat/docs/conveni_diversitat.pdf

See note no. 28 for further information on the Catalan translation.

2 http://www.europarl.eu.int/news/expert/infopress_page/037-7660-117-04-17-906-20060425IPR07607-27-04-2006-2006-false/default_fr.htm

3 <http://portal.unesco.org/la/convention.asp?language=E&KO=31038>

4 Systems of conflict conciliation are common in international agreements and organisations. Under the previous GATT system of 1947, controversies were basically settled using a conciliation system (with non-binding ad-hoc panel reports) that created doctrine or jurisprudence. Other examples would be the consultative opinions of the International Court of Justice, not legally binding but which also generate jurisprudence, and Human Rights Committee reports, not binding, but which everyone refers to as the promoters of a doctrine about the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. However, it is worth observing that international jurisprudence does not have, according to the majority doctrine, a binding precedent effect for subsequent issues, but essentially a persuasive value.

5 See *La Vanguardia*, 20 October 2005

6 On this matter, see: TORRENT, Ramon. "The 'Cultural Ex-

ception' in the World Trade Organisation: The Basis of the Audiovisual Policy in Catalonia" in: *Quaderns del CAC*, no. 14, Barcelona, September-December 2002.

Catalan version available at: <http://www.audiovisualcat.cat/publicacions/Q14torrent.pdf>

Spanish version available at: <http://www.audiovisualcat.cat/publicaciones/Q14torrent.pdf>

French version available at: <http://www.audiovisualcat.cat/publications/Q14torrent.pdf>

English version available at: <http://www.audiovisualcat.cat/publicacionsing/Q14torrent.pdf>

7 For further information, see: PETIT, Martí. "The International Convention on Cultural Diversity (Unesco): Context, evolution and Perspectives" in: *Quaderns del CAC*, no. 18, Barcelona, January-April 2004.

Catalan version available at: <http://www.audiovisualcat.cat/publicacions/Q18petit.pdf>

Spanish version available at: <http://www.audiovisualcat.cat/publicaciones/Q18caspetit.pdf>

English version available at: <http://www.audiovisualcat.cat/publicacionsing/q18angpetit.pdf>

8 http://www.francophonie.org/doc/dernieres/discours_sg_2005_10_11.pdf

9 <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/culture/actualites/conferen/donne-dieu/unesco.html>

10 <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/culture/actualites/communiq/donnedieu/diversite-mars2005.html>

11 [Original texts in Spanish, French and Portuguese.]

12 http://www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/pays-zones-geo_833/asie_1057/evenements_5127/990.ase-culture-7-8-06-05_13615.html

13 Spanish version of the speech at: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/letters/2005/documents/hf_ben-xvi_let_20050524_card-tauran_sp.html

French version of the speech at: http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/letters/2005/documents/hf_ben-xvi_let_20050524_card-tauran_fr.html

- 14 http://www.africultures.com/index.asp?menu=affiche_article&no=3856
- 15 <http://www.coalitionfrancaise.org/eng/cil/membres.php>
- 16 http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=3387&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html
- 17 <http://usinfo.state.gov/products/pubs/unesco/priority.htm>
- 18 <http://www.state.gov/p/io/unesco/46933.htm>
- 19 <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0012/001271/127160m.pdf>
- 20 English version: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001392/139257e.pdf>
French version: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001392/139257f.pdf>
- 21 For further information of the Convention negotiations process, see BERNIER, I. La troisième session de la réunion intergouvernementale d'experts sur l'Avant-projet de Convention sur la protection et la promotion de la diversité des expressions culturelles et l'examen du Projet de Convention par la Conférence générale de l'Unesco, disponible à <http://www.mcc.gouv.qc.ca/diversite-culturelle/pdf/chronique06-01.pdf>
- 22 <http://usinfo.state.gov/xarchives/display.html?p=washfile-english&y=2005&m=June&x=200506071629501CJsamohT0.2950403&t=xarchives/xarchitem.html>
- 23 <http://usinfo.state.gov/xarchives/display.html?p=washfile-french&y=2005&m=October&x=20051012165201AKllennoccM0.3783991&t=livefeeds/wffr-latest.html>
- 24 The article is taken from the *International Herald Tribune* website, the international edition of the *NYT*:
<http://www.iht.com/articles/2005/10/12/news/entracte.php>
- 25 <http://www.audiovisualcat.cat/publicacionsing/Q14torrent.pdf>
- 26 I leave this reflection to the interesting exchange of emails between Ramon Torrent and Laura Gómez Bustos, director and collaborator of the Globalisation Observatory at the University of Barcelona.
- 27 It is important to mention that the non-official Catalan version contained an error in the translation of the only official versions that exist to date (English and French): the English term 'counties' and the French term 'comtés', was translated for 'countries', a term that clearly does not correspond with the meaning of these terms in English and French.
- 28 Press release from the Quebec Ministry for Culture and Communications: <http://mcc.quebectel.qc.ca/sites/mcc/communiq.nsf/42e18349a0462c5185256b7200747b27/5535594aeb1332d7852570b5006f6e8a!OpenDocument>
Motion from the Government of Quebec to the National Assembly for the adoption of the Convention:
http://www.assnat.qc.ca/fra/37legislature1/Debats/journal/ch/051110.htm#_Toc119488116
Final report from the parliamentary committee on the diversity of cultural expressions:
http://www.assnat.qc.ca/fra/37legislature1/commissions/cc/expressionsculturelles/rapport_final.html
- 29 Below is the transcription of article 30b in the versions available to date: English (original version), French Spanish and Catalan:
"With regard to the provisions of the Convention, the implementation of which comes under the jurisdiction of individual constituent units such as States, counties, provinces, or cantons which are not obliged by the constitutional system of the federation to take legislative measures, the federal government shall inform, as necessary, the competent authorities of constituent units such as States, counties, provinces or cantons of the said provisions, with its recommendation for their adoption."
"En ce qui concerne les dispositions de la présente Convention dont l'application relève de la compétence de chacune des unités constituantes telles que États, comtés, provinces ou cantons, qui ne sont pas, en vertu du régime constitutionnel de la fédération, tenus de prendre des mesures législatives, le gouvernement fédéral portera, si nécessaire, lesdites dispositions à la connaissance des autorités compétentes des unités constituantes telles que États, comtés, provinces ou cantons avec son avis favorable pour adoption."

“Por lo que respecta a las disposiciones de la presente Convención cuya aplicación sea de la competencia de cada una de las unidades constituyentes, ya sean Estados, condados, provincias o cantones que, en virtud del régimen constitucional de la federación, no estén facultados para tomar medidas legislativas, el gobierno federal comunicará con su dictamen favorable esas disposiciones, si fuere necesario, a las autoridades competentes de la unidades constituyentes, ya sean Estados, condados, provincias o cantones, para que las aprueben.”

“Pel que fa a les disposicions d’aquesta Convenció l’aplicació de les quals sigui competència de cadascuna de les unitats constituents, ja siguin dels estats, països, províncies o cantons que, en virtut del règim constitucional de la federació, no estiguin facultats per prendre mesures legislatives, el govern federal ha de comunicar aquestes disposicions, si escau amb el seu dictamen favorable, a les autoritats competents de les unitats constituents, ja siguin estats, països, províncies o cantons, per tal que aquestes les aprovin.”

30 1979 Statute of Autonomy of Catalonia.

Official name: Organic Law 4/1979 of 18 December, published in the Official State Gazette on 22 December 1979 and in the Official Diary of the Generalitat on 31 December the same year.

Available at: <http://www.gencat.cat/generalitat/cat/estatut/index.htm>

31 Official version of the Spanish Constitution available at: <http://www.congreso.es/funciones/constitucion/indice.htm>

32 Official version of the Draft Statute of Autonomy: <http://www.gencat.net/nouestatut/docs/proposta.pdf>

33 Statute of Autonomy. Text approved by the Lower House of the Spanish Parliament on 21 March 2006. <http://www.gencat.net/nouestatut/docs/estatutsenat.pdf>
Note: the translations from Spanish quoted here are not official.

34 Quebec, Ministère de Relations Internationales. Website: <http://www.mri.gouv.qc.ca/>

35 <http://www.radiocanada.ca/nouvelles/Politique/2006/05/04/009-Harper-Quebec-Unesco.shtml>

36 <http://www.coalicionedc.org>

37 Spanish version of the agreement at: <http://www.direcon.cl/documentos/TLC%20EEUU/version%20completa%20TLC%20Chile%20EEUU.pdf>

English version of the agreement at: http://www.ustr.gov/Trade_Agreements/Bilateral/Chile_FTA/Final_Texts/Section_Index.html

38 http://www.ustr.gov/Trade_Agreements/Bilateral/Singapore_FTA/Final_Texts/Section_Index.html

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40 WTO, Council for Trade in Services, Communication from the United States, Audiovisual and Related Services, Paragraph 9, 18 December 2000 : Doc. S/CSS/W/21

41 <http://www.usmission.ch/press2002/0702liberalizing-trade.html>

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http://www.mcc.gouv.qc.ca/diversiteculturelle/esp/pdf/conf_seoul_esp_2004.pdf

43 MPAA. Press release archive: <http://www.mpa.org/PressReleases.asp?content=all>

Unfulfilled Expectations At The “Summit of Solutions”

Mercè Díez

- *When it comes to assessing the World Summit on the Information Society, the most remarkable point may lie in the field of procedures rather than results. In other words, in the incorporation of multisectoral debate and monitoring mechanisms – with the presence of civil society representatives as well as governmental and corporate interlocutors – when it comes to thinking about future developments of the information society. In fact, multisectorality will be one of the characteristics of the Internet Governance Forum, a new international instrument to discuss Internet governance as promoted at the Summit.*

Key words

Information society, information and communication technologies, Internet governance, development.

For UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan the second phase of the World Summit on the Information Society¹ was to be the ‘Summit of Solutions’. However, the balance of the meeting in Tunis² from 16 to 18 November 2005 failed to ensure it. The Summit’s contribution - despite modest media coverage – cannot be denied with regards the public’s awareness about certain key questions on the incorporation of information and communication technologies (ICTs). However, few concrete solutions can be taken from the two official documents adopted at the Summit, i.e., the so-called Tunis Commitment and the Action Plan for the Information Society. At least agreements were reached that signify novelties on Internet governance, one of the issues that raised the most interest in the run-up to the Summit, and on the issue of financial mechanisms to bridge the digital divide.

The Tunis Commitment is basically a declaration of intent and as such does not specify agreements or mechanisms. The document links the information society to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the UN’s Millennium Development Goals. It also expresses a generic commitment to reduce the digital divide, facilitate equal access for all countries to new technologies and to pay special attention to the particular needs of marginalised and vulnerable groups in society.

In terms of the Action Plan, the most significant aspect was the agreement to create the Internet Governance Forum (IGF), an international and multilateral instrument linked to the UN structure for debating issues relating to Internet governance, bearing technical, political, social and economic dimensions in mind.

An Internet Debate Forum

The IGF will be an authority with no decision-making ability

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where governments from the different regions of the world, intergovernmental organisations, civil society and private enterprises will participate. Its mission will be to facilitate dialogue between the relevant authorities in different aspects of Internet governance and to identify emerging issues that do not fall within the powers of these authorities.

The IGF will initiate its work in autumn 2006 with a meeting in Athens. Among the questions to determine will be who can participate in the organisation and how, the agenda and the relationship with other pre-existing organisations such as the ICANN (Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers) and the ITU (International Telecommunications Union)³.

Beforehand, however, it will be necessary to do previous contact work among the different actors involved in the IGF to establish the basic criteria that should govern its structure, operation and objectives. The first of these meetings took place in Geneva on 16 and 17 February 2006 and brought together around 300 representatives from different sectors to discuss the nature of the IGF and the agenda of priority discussion issues. In terms of this latter question, various topics were raised, such as cyber crime, spam and the Internet's role in promoting development – an issue which, in turn, opens up questions about issues such as connection costs, Internet access and conditions for acquiring software on the part of users from developing countries⁴.

The creation of the IGF does not involve the disappearance of the ICANN, the enterprise responsible for managing IP names and numbers of Internet domains, a task it carries out under the supervision of the US government's Department of Commerce. Despite uncertainty about the IGF's real ability to influence Internet governance, the general opinion is that it is an agreement that can satisfactorily promote a process of more openness and participation in the processes of drawing up policies about information and communication technologies.

Development Funding

With regards the second of the main issues at the Summit, i.e., funding to reduce the so-called 'digital divide', palpable results have been thin on the ground. A series of agreements were reached at the Summit on the principles to guide this funding (it should not be exclusively private,

should not be aimed only at infrastructures but also at areas like training and the creation of local content, etc.). However, no type of mechanism to nourish the Digital Solidarity Fund (DSF)⁵ was included besides the voluntary contributions of possible donors. Along with countries that have already announced their contributions to the fund, some of the most dynamic economies on the planet have been conspicuous by their absence.

The DSF is an initiative that arose from the first phase of the Summit at the proposal of the president of Senegal. The committee that organised the creation was made up of local authorities (the mayors of Geneva and Lyon) and regional authorities (the president of Turin Province). To this initial group were added representatives from states and international organisations, bringing the number up to twenty founding members. The DSF, created in March 2005, is part of the Digital Solidarity Fund Foundation headquartered in Geneva. Foundation board members are elected for a three-year period and come equally from three source groups: state governments, the private sector and civil society (including local government representatives).

Funding can come from the voluntary contributions of citizens, public institutions, the private sector or civil society. Forms of collecting contributions and funding criteria for DSF activities are set out in the Digital Solidarity Charter. Through the Fund, a new development funding mechanism has been proposed, called the Geneva Principle, which suggests that 1% of each ICT contract between a private company and a public administration should go to the Fund⁶.

Generally speaking, funds are not aimed at financing major infrastructure, but rather community projects.

On other matters, such as free software, the position agreed upon at the Summit was, rather than neutral, undetermined. Point 29 of the Tunis Commitment says the idea is to "encourage and foster collaborative development, interoperative platforms and free and open-source software" while recognising "the importance of proprietary software in the markets of the countries".

The organisation responsible for monitoring the implementation and monitoring mechanisms of agreements made at the second phase of the WSIS will not be the International Telecommunications Union, which organised the WSIS, but rather ECOSOC (the UN's Economic and Social Council), in

particular the Commission on Science and Technology for Development.

Multisectoral Participation

One significant aspect is that participation in these monitoring processes will have a multisectoral nature, i.e., governments and the private sector and civil society will take part. These three sectors were represented at the second phase of the Summit by 174 countries, 200 commercial firms and over 600 NGOs and civil society organisations, as well as 92 international organisations and more than 600 media outlets. In total, the Summit brought together over 19,000 participants.

In an assessment of the first phase of the WSIS, Martín Becerra (2005:129-133) considered that the role of the world's civil society was not very influential, and said that the decision-making process was basically intergovernmental (only state delegations had the right to vote)⁷. Following the celebration of the second phase of the Summit, the civil society representatives drew up a declaration that evaluated the process and results and expressed its belief that much more could have been achieved. In this document, civil society said people-focused issues (human rights, freedom of expression, etc.) did not receive enough attention. However, the representatives were positive about other matters, such as the Tunis Commitment and the Action Plan reflecting the importance of public policies in funding ICTs for development instead of trusting solely in market mechanisms.

Therefore, now the Tunis phase has ended and when it comes to assessing the overall work of the WSIS, the most significant contribution may not lie in the field of results but in procedures, i.e., in the incorporation of multisectoral debate and monitoring mechanisms – with the presence of civil society representatives as well as governmental and corporate interlocutors – when it comes to thinking about future developments of the information society.

Notes

- 1 See the official Summit website: <http://www.itu.int/wsisis/>.
- 2 At the closing session, the host country received numerous displays of recognition for the organisational effort made. However, the second phase of the WSIS was marked by criticism about the lack of freedom of expression of the country appointed host. The ostentatious presence of police forces and the omnipresence of the image of President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali unfailingly accompanied the retinues of international delegates wherever they went. For its part, the Tunisian press compared the profusion of headlines and photos that highlighted the multiple activities of the President, alone or with the First Lady, with the complete lack of references to the strike being held in Geneva by various members of the Tunisian opposition to call international attention to the situation in the country.
- 3 For further information on the IGF establishment process see: <http://www.intgovforum.org>.
- 4 «Le Forum sur la gouvernance d'Internet abordera un large éventail de sujets, déclare un représentant des Nations Unies», 21-02-2006, at: http://portal.unesco.org/ci/fr/ev.php-URL_ID=21382&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html
- 5 For further information on the DSF see: <http://www.dsffsn.org/>
- 6 The World Summit on the Information Society and the Role of Local Authorities, which took place in Bilbao in November 2005, shortly before the WSIS, prepared a declaration which set out its support for the DSF and the Geneva Principle.
- 7 It is important to recall that the first phase of the WSIS ended with two declarations of principles: the official one and an alternative one drawn up by the representatives of civil society.

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National Construction in Fiction series: A Look at a Decade of Production from Televisió de Catalunya

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- *Fiction is a space of cultural representations. The decade from 1994 to 2003 was a prolific stage in fiction production and programming at Televisió de Catalunya. This article takes a look at Catalan fictional shows from a production analysis. The author holds that the construction of the nation on the television series was based particularly on territorial and language elements, but also included representations of a historical, political and social type. He argues that in television fiction the nation became a stage on which the characters lived.*

Key words

Fiction series, national construction, Televisió de Catalunya, national identity

Objectives and Methodology

The aim of this article is to present some of the results from a doctoral thesis whose main goal was to establish how and what types of national representation are constructed in Catalan fiction series. Fiction series have been the object of study of a number of researchers in terms of their cultural nature, particularly in the United Kingdom, South America and the United States. Catalonia is starting to have a significant amount of domestic production, exclusively via the promotion of Televisió de Catalunya (TVC). However, to date not many researchers have analysed it from the perspective of national construction.

Some works have studied the question of national identity in relation to the role of TVC (Gifreu, 1989; Tubella, 1999) or taken a detailed look at current-affairs programming (Terribas, 1994) and news programmes (Farré *et al.*, 2003). But studies on the issue of national identity and fiction in Catalonia are few and far between (O'Donnell, 2002; Fecé, 2003). The abovementioned research (Castelló, 2005) did make a contribution to this field, which has already been tackled by authors who focused on studying the domestic production of other countries in relation to national representation and identity (Griffiths, 1993; Buonanno, 1999; Moran, 2000; Ruoho, 2001; Dhoest, 2004). What forms the basis of national construction in the fiction series of TVC? What types of territory are represented? What sorts of linguistic attitudes are fostered? What other types of social and cultural representations are given? These are some of the questions I will raise and try to answer.

I decided to analyse the inhouse production of TVC between 1994 (when the first TV serial *Poble Nou* was aired) and 2003, the end limit for making the research operative and which also marked the end of a political era in Catalonia with the change from a national government

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controlled by the Convergència and Unió coalition towards a left-wing government made up of the forces of what was called the *tripartit*¹. The breadth of this study object required a macro-approximation and gave the work a historical perspective. The study object was formed by the inhouse production of series of more than 13 episodes (miniseries

and coproductions excluded) first broadcast between 1 January 1994 and 31 December 2003, helping the study to acquire greater dimensions, as can be seen in Table 1. Most of the production was TV serials, as Table 2 shows, followed by fiction series, comedy shows and sitcoms.

The study focused on production, which means it did not

Table 1. Inhouse production series from Televisió de Catalunya (1994-2003)

No.	Title	First Shown	Last Shown	Episodes
1	<i>Quico</i> ²	21/04/1994	05/03/1995	26
2	<i>Poble nou</i>	10/01/1994	26/12/1994	197
3	<i>Oh, Europa!</i>	12/06/1994	20/09/1994	13
4	<i>Estació d'enllaç</i>	20/11/1994	20/01/1999	140
5	<i>Secrets de família</i>	16/01/1995	23/12/1995	187
6	<i>Pedralbes Centre</i>	20/04/1995	20/07/1995	13
7	<i>La Rosa</i>	25/09/1995	08/04/1996	29
8	<i>Nissaga de poder</i>	29/01/1996	03/05/1998	476
9	<i>Oh, Espanya!</i>	16/09/1996	30/12/1996	17
10	<i>Sitges</i>	24/10/1996	23/09/1997	32
11	<i>El joc de viure</i>	06/01/1997	04/07/1997	114
12	<i>Dones d'aigua</i>	24/09/1997	25/02/1998	13
13	<i>Laura</i>	12/03/1998	03/09/1999	39
14	<i>Laberint d'ombres</i>	04/05/1998	10/07/2000	469
15	<i>La memòria dels Cargol</i>	18/01/1999	12/07/1999	26
16	<i>Plats bruts</i>	19/04/1999	30/07/2002	73
17	<i>Nissaga: l'herència</i>	12/05/1999	19/01/2000	26
18	<i>Crims</i>	19/03/2000	18/06/2000	13
19	<i>El cor de la ciutat</i> ³	11/09/2000	19/12/2003	683
20	<i>Temps de silenci</i>	17/01/2001	10/04/2002	53
21	<i>Psico express</i>	07/01/2002	24/06/2002	26
22	<i>Mirall trencat</i>	17/04/2002	10/07/2002	13
23	<i>Jet lag</i>	02/10/2002	13/05/2003	39
24	<i>Majoria absoluta</i>	18/10/2002	26/12/2003	37
25	<i>Setze dobles</i>	08/01/2003	24/12/2003	24
26	<i>L'un per l'altre</i>	20/11/2003	25/12/2003	6
Total				2,784

2 *Quico* was born on 17 September 1992, but its first season does not enter the study object. To prepare the study I started from the second season, which began on 21 April 1994.

3 Obviously, *El cor de la ciutat* and other series continued to air in 2004, but I only counted the series broadcast up to 31 December 2003, as explained previously.

Source: Castelló, 2005

Table 2. Inhouse fiction production at TVC, by genre (1994-2003)

<i>Genre</i>	<i>Hours</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Episodes</i>
Serial	1,053.50	70.1%	2,126
Series	269.58	17.9%	343
Comedy	119.50	8.0%	171
Sitcom	60.00	4.0%	144
Total	1,502.58	100%	2,784

Source: Castelló, 2005

take into account the impact the series had on audiences, an aspect I intend to deal with in future works. To carry out this production study, I followed the advice of Deacon *et al.* (1999) of using the methodology as a toolbox, and tried to use diverse methodologies and confirm the results obtained. In this case, the analysis focused on documents ('bibles'⁴, internal documents, bibliographies of press articles and production criteria) content analysis (via two samples where I detected and worked on 1,230 cultural and national references)⁵; in-depth interviews (with 23 scriptwriters, programme makers and directors and where 1,214 interactions were systematized) and narrative analysis (looking at main storylines and characters). My experience in this work was positive, both in terms of the methods chosen for the analysis and the sequence in which they were used, as the application of various techniques provides useful information for designing and executing successive methods.

Theoretical Note

The work took a constructivist approach towards national identity. A nation is not a finished fact, but a process of collective construction that is constantly evolving. The way institutions present the nation plays an essential role in this process. The media in general, and television in particular, are fundamental tools in this work of forming a collective identity. This theoretical basis is rooted in Anderson's idea (1983:15) that the nation is an 'imagined community' and is

imagined as 'limited' and 'sovereign'. Fiction becomes a creation space for this collective imagination. This is one of the reasons that has led 'national' television stations to promote inhouse fiction production. Anderson and other authors have emphasised the mass media as one of the main builders of national identity.

The concept of 'imagination' in the generation and dissemination of the nation has also been discussed by Bhabha (1990). The originality of this contribution lies in considering a 'nation' as a narrative construction. It proposes a cultural construction of nationality as a form of social and textual affiliation. This approach towards the nation as a narrative form and thus a potential discourse is similar to the theory of language and gives the term all the implications involved therein, i.e., the nation as a metaphor, subjectivity, interpretation, arbitrary symbol and imagining. This concept has impacted studies on national identity in relation to cultural production, particularly ones that focus on discourse and ideology. I believe we have to look at who is narrating the nation, why it is being explained to us in a particular way and what the thematic motives of the narration are, along with the climaxes of the storylines and the plots that do not appear.

Therefore, when we talk about 'national construction in fiction series' we are referring to the narration of the nation in these audiovisual texts. This forms part of what we understand as the 'creation of the collective imagination'. Although the society that appears in a fiction series is based on reality, it is still a projection of society, and a projection of the nation, if we understand 'nation' not only as a territory and language but above all as a collective will of a public and of a cultural nature linked to a project of sovereignty and which may include other elements related with the type of society we wish to build.

National narration is intrinsic to all cultural production of this type - American and Spanish series also establish their own models of society and tell us about their territory, social structure, culture, history and holidays. In this regard, I agree with Billig (1995) when he says that 'nationalism' is a practice that takes place in all nations, not just in ones without a state or in remote territories. Western nations (the US, the UK, France, etc.) have often practised the most virulent nationalism, which now appears in a 'banal' form in people's day-to-day lives, e.g., on the flag at the school

gate, on the mailbox, in the anthem following a football match, etc. Television is one of the main stages where the 'banal nationalism' that Billig spoke of is practised. At the end of the day, it is a type of 'national normalisation' that cannot exist in societies where there is a 'passionate' national conflict in the public sphere.

Results

This article summarises some of the results obtained from the research based on inhouse TVC production between 1994 and 2003. Possibly the most visible is the evidence of national construction in Catalan fiction series being made above all on the basis of territorial and linguistic references, but there are also other social, historical and cultures references to bear in mind.

The territory was the national element most often present in Catalan fiction series. The quantitative results I analysed suggested that in 72% of the occasions when a territory appeared in a series, it was Catalonia (more than half the times it referred to a town in the Barcelona provinces). 87.21% of time allotted to fiction series at TVC was devoted to productions set in the provinces of Barcelona⁶, 0.27% in Tarragona and 6.2% in Girona. The other fictional shows had no particular or defined location. There was no fictional show set in Lleida during these ten years⁷. Although most of the Catalan population lives in Barcelona, its provinces were approximately 11% over-represented with respect to other areas of Catalonia, if we take into account the demographic weight of the zones⁸. Thus the Catalonia represented in series is eminently urban, while the rural world was sidelined.

These figures could lead us to think that territorial representation in the shows was slightly centralist. However, the in-depth interviews with directors led me to believe that TVC makes an effort to decentralize the location of its series. So what explains this representational bias if the production-policy criterion is one of decentralisation? The reason I discerned from the responses of the directors and script-writers is related to production aspects. The decision to set a series in a particular city is determined by a number of factors, which in order of importance could be defined as follows:

- Proximity to the production centre and cost reductions: a series tends to be located close to the production centre to reduce costs (travelling expenses, meals, hotel costs, etc.).
- Coproductions on the part of local organisations: TVC sought local support in the form of coproductions or facilities that enable cost reductions. This contribution has taken the form of aid, supports or contributions of materials or organisation.
- Territorial balance: TVC tried to seek a territorial balance in the location of its fiction series. This criterion was more for representational and identification reasons than economic and production ones. However, from what I gathered from the interviews with directors and script-writers, as well as what the figures suggested, the first two reasons above ended up prevailing.

There are also other reasons. Sitcom writers said their references were eminently urban and they would find it hard to write a series set in the countryside.⁹ Sitcoms are also a very urban genre. Furthermore, some writers argued that series all over the world are centralist, i.e., the Americans set theirs in big cities like New York and the Spaniards set theirs in Madrid. Piti Espanyol, for example, said there were more opportunities for things to happen in cities.¹⁰ However, the main reason was usually related to the production aspect.

In terms of language, I summarised the results into two basic functions the series accomplished from my point of view: normalisation and regularisation. If we look at what the different heads of programming during the study period said, TVC applied a fairly consistent language policy to its series. The criterion was that all fiction had to be in Catalan. It is clear that the series in Catalan played an extra-textual function of normalisation, as previously there were no fiction series produced in Catalan. They therefore tried to plug a gap in the sphere of popular culture where Catalan was still weak. Possibly the most controversial point was that the series portrayed a basically monolingual society where everyone spoke Catalan. We are here talking about intra-textual normalisation. In other words, the series projected a country where the people speak in Catalan as a matter of course and where the characters are attended to and speak in Catalan whether they have a problem with the police

(normally the Mossos d'Esquadra, an aspect I will look at later on) or visit the doctor or courthouse. The books and media products they consume are also in the Catalan language.

The reason some scriptwriters and directors gave to explain this is that fiction does not reproduce reality as it is but rather plays with a convention that the viewing public can easily interpret. However, other people interviewed had no reticence in arguing that this was a cultural policy criterion. Not all the scriptwriters agreed with TVC's language policy and in fact, at particular times, there were conflicts in this regard. In other words, some scriptwriters advocated a greater presence of Spanish in the series to make the storylines more realistic, while others played with expressions in Spanish for humorous purposes. However, although the criterion most commonly understood among programme makers was that fiction series had to be a tool of linguistic normalisation and be completely in Catalan, in reality the series did not eliminate Spanish from the societies they represented. During ten hours of quantitative content research I detected 70 interventions in Spanish. This means the Catalan series broadcast seven interventions in Spanish per hour.

The study analysed situations where Spanish was present. There were certain times when its presence could be considered innocuous, but when the characters used Spanish in conversations it was usually to promote a model of linguistic behaviour. In any case, the presence of Spanish in dialogues was usually justified within the text - normally it involved an immigrant. This justification was not always given: there were exceptions such as the odd sitcom like *Jet lag*, where the characters mixed Spanish and Catalan. Finally, the presence of linguistic 'otherness' was used to promote two different attitudes:

- Integration: the characters made an effort to learn the Catalan language. This was the case of characters who speak Spanish at the beginning (immigrants who have just arrived), but who slowly learn Catalan.
- Resistance: there were characters who could speak Spanish more easily, without there being just a clear justification in the text, but the other characters spoke in Catalan, thus strengthening an attitude of linguistic resistance.

In any case, language was a fundamental element in national construction in the series. Immigrants adopted it and there was what I call an 'exchange relation'. Multicultural coexistence in Catalan fiction series took place in a transactional fashion. Culturally different characters were accepted in the community, but at the same time they had to adopt Catalan, at least in public – there were some characters who at home or among members of the same culture held conversations in Spanish and even in Arabic¹¹. Although no intervention in Arabic or any other extra-Community language was detected in the sample, there were conversations in five languages of the European Union.

The majority of scriptwriters mentioned this effort at linguistic normalisation. Josep Maria Benet i Jornet said that when establishing a situation of coexistence between Spanish and Catalan, he approaches it with this idea: "You are Catalan and can speak how you want. But look at the examples of people who are not Catalan and how they integrate. Please try to do that".¹² This spirit of setting examples was very common when it came to designing the linguistic treatment of the presence of Spanish. The scriptwriters said that TVC has applied a rigorous control over the presence of Spanish to date. Initially the control was more exhaustive, as Oleguer Sarsanedas said in reference to the early days: "One of the key points that guided us were the foundational objectives of the Catalan Radio and Television Corporation, which were basically the normalisation of the Catalan linguistic space in the audiovisual sphere. It was a basis of definition, a foundational purpose".¹³ Later on, according to various scriptwriters and programme makers, the rules were relaxed and more expressions in Spanish were included, to the point there were even characters who used it on a regular basis. However, this presence was criticised by some scriptwriters, who considered it 'disastrous' for linguistic normalisation. One such critic was Maria Mercè Roca: "In other words, if one character speaks Spanish and all the other characters deal with him in his language, that's ok. It could even be a good idea, because people learn that they don't have to renounce their own language if the other person understands them perfectly well (...). But it turns out that very often they go overboard [introducing Spanish into series], and that goes against Catalan and reduces its use".¹⁴

In terms of linguistic normalisation, it is important to differentiate between two aspects: linguistic variations and formal regularisation. TVC applied the criterion that an oral standard had to be used in the fiction series. This meant that Catalan had to be a living language, as spoken in the street. The question is, which street? The study found that the Catalan used in the fiction series corresponded to an eastern variant, focussed particularly on the provinces of Barcelona and, especially in urban-based sitcoms, the Catalan spoken in Barcelona. In the more than 10 hours analysed, I found only 24 examples of West Catalonia Catalan, 16 of which were classified as Valencian and 8 as from the west of Catalonia and the Ebre region. There were also three examples of the Catalan spoken in the Balearic Islands. In this regard, it can be said that the linguistic model of the series tended to adopt a centralist bias. It is obvious that if most of the series were set in the Barcelona provinces, the type of oral standard would be the Barcelona one. Characters that fell outside this group were few and few between. In fact, in series based outside the Barcelona provinces, there were problems reproducing the oral variant of the place where the action was developed. The most representative case was *Secrets de família*, set in Girona. The production team recognised that the actors found it very hard to reproduce Gironese speech and ended up having to make do the best they could. The scarce presence of linguistic variants other than the Barcelona one is justified among other reasons by the complexity, according to the scriptwriters and directors, of having a wide range of actors with other linguistic variants.

In terms of formal questions, TVC has a language-correction department that reviews all scripts and adjusts them to the right oral standard. The experts eliminate barbarisms, change expressions and seek the most genuinely Catalan way of saying something, or cut out words that don't sound right. During filming, there is a linguist on hand to check that the characters faithfully reproduce the corrected script. This obviously involves a dissemination of correct Catalan and popularises expressions which the situation that Catalan has suffered in the past might have eliminated from daily use. Inside Televisió de Catalunya, according to the director of the Language Service, Francesc Vallverdú, it is felt that the level of Catalan on TV is not representative of the level of the country, but that the oral

language has improved thanks to this normalisation (Sáez, 2002). However, this mechanism created some conflict in the fiction series. Scriptwriters highlighted two basic consequences of this policy related with the fiction genre.

Firstly, regularisation makes drama series less realistic. The fact that nearly all the characters speak correctly is an element that reduces the differences between them. Some scriptwriters complained that once the script had gone through the linguistic sieve, a mechanic ended up speaking as well as a doctor. But there were exceptions, as in the case of characters that represented immigrants, who introduced Spanish expressions and incorrect pronunciation. The second consequence was in relation to the humour genre, in particular sitcoms. Linguistic correctness can make some situations less funny if they are based on language. This was particularly significant in the series *Plats bruts*. The production team reached an agreement with the directors, given the show's good ratings, and the corrective process was toned down, which meant more Spanish expressions, politically incorrect words and event insults appeared. This led to a conflict which eventually eliminated the position of the on-set corrector¹⁵. As can be seen, language correction has interesting effects from the regularisation viewpoint, but at the same time can involve a number of handicaps for the dramatic or comic working of the story.

There were other interesting elements in the fiction series from the viewpoint of cultural identity unrelated to language or territory. In the classification of references, I found I had to include one for commercial trademarks. The detection of brands known by the Catalan audience led me to consider the relationship between trademarks and construction of identity. Trademarks usually have a symbolic load that should be taken into account, e.g., Guinness in the case of the Irish, Ferrari for the Italians, or the Osborne bull for Spaniards are paradigms of the representation of the national character. I recorded the trademarks to determine their type and origin. In just over 10 hours I counted 90 trademarks, i.e., close on nine per hour. One-third of the trademarks that appeared in the series were Catalan, i.e., their main offices were located in Catalonia. The most commonly detected trademarks belonged to beverages (particularly alcoholic beverages), food, department stores and shops and cigarettes. These appearances were

fortuitous for station management, as Televisió de Catalunya, like other television stations, cannot allow product placements in series, a practice banned under the law if there is no clear explanation that it is advertising. However, from the viewpoint of the research work, I would emphasise the majority presence of brands easily recognisable by the audience, particularly *Caprabo*, *Estrella Damm* and *Cacaolat*.

In terms of other Catalan cultural references, there were various types, including artistic, gastronomic and folkloric. The former included artists like Lluís Llach, Mercè Rodoreda, Maria Aurèlia Capmany and Joan Manuel Serrat, to name just a few. In all the cases, there were more Catalan references than ones of other nationalities. Spanish references came second and included ones to *Don Quixote*, *La verbena de la Paloma* and even the singer El Fary. In terms of gastronomy and folklore, the characters celebrated festivals with Catalan traditions. When it was Christmas they cooked traditional Catalan dishes, for example. In this area, I would also point out traditional dress (barretines, espadrilles, etc.), as well as music and dance (Sardana music and dances). Another thing considered part of Catalan popular culture were references to heirs and first-borns and popular festivals and traditions, as well as sayings (e.g., “seny i rauxa”). I should say these elements appeared particularly in the election of the storyline, in episodes where cultural elements appeared; in particular in series like *La memòria dels Cargols* and *Plats bruts*. We can say they appeared in a comic sense and in situations that often bordered on the ridiculous. Catalan folklore was sometimes presented as a ‘course’, old-fashioned tradition. Folklore was thus a reflection of the old Catalonia, of the essences that have been lost, and in comical series could be a source of mirth.

There were also elements of an administrative nature or which referred to institutions. In terms of the security forces, there were six references to the police (without specifying which police force); the Francoist Spanish army (4); the Civil Guard (3), the Mossos d'Esquadra (2), and the Francoist police (1). The Spanish security forces (police, army and Civil Guard) appeared in episodes of series that recalled the Francoist period, in particular in *Temps de silenci* and *Oh, Espanya!* (the latter involved an episode recalling the theft of the Virgin of Núria during the Franco regime). However,

the Mossos d'Esquadra appeared in a standardised form as a daily police force well integrated socially. Institutional references (police, Generalitat, city councils, mayors, etc.) were common in the series, which means they were not just a cultural representation but that, in the series, there were also political systems, laws, etc. Characters appeared before judges, were arrested and related with the institutions on a regular basis. However, I did find an absence of political parties. Fiction presented a society that was fairly non-political and which had other, economic-type references (such as the economic activities the characters were involved in), and even sports references (the most commonly mentioned team was FC Barcelona, although there was the appearance of other teams, such as Real Madrid and RCE Espanyol).

The historical element was also important, particularly in specific series like *Temps de silenci* and *La memòria dels Cargols*. These productions, as the scriptwriters and directors recognised, served to recover the historical memory and to go over, in the area of fiction, some of the most important moments in Catalonia as a national community. Historical references were commonplace in these productions and also appeared in series such as *Setze dobles* and even sitcoms like *Plats bruts*. However, it was possible to detect a social and historical background in all the series. In this regard, the model proposed by O'Donnell (1999) was particularly useful. In a series like *Poble nou*, I found a social background that talked of “the death of an industrial artisan society in decline and the appearance of a modern and cosmopolitan society, as well as the destruction of the old family model”. *Estació d'enllaç* showed “the needs of the middle class and the difficulties of small business owners, as well as a depersonalised and individualistic urban society, where one can still discern a Communist spirit”. I described these macro-stories and defined all the main characters in the series: social class, origin, links, etc. In general, it could be said that fiction series revolved around the middle and upper-middle class, and that there were a number of commonplace storylines, such as “the daily lives of the characters”, “family or partner relations”; “the weight of the past”, “the battle between tradition and modernity”, “the family saga”, “gender roles and the emancipation of women” and “class relations and conflicts about property”. These were the usual big dramatic themes

and also the focus of a large part of the plots in Catalan fiction.

Conclusions: The Nation as a Stage

The cultural and national representation of Catalonia in the fiction series was based particularly on territorial and linguistic references. However, there were others of a social and cultural nature. There were factors of construction of a historical, economic, artistic, gastronomic, folkloric and sporting nature, for example. On the one hand, we could say that national construction in Catalan fiction series was carried out through the projection of a model of society based on a national culture and in Catalan. On the other hand, that does not mean that the series did not represent an 'otherness'. In the inhouse production studied, 'otherness' was represented particularly by Spanish culture, but also by the presence of immigrants. In that regard, the series established a model of society of coexistence and community-mindedness (I coincide in this point with O'Donnell (2002)), i.e., a society that welcomes foreigners and with room for diverse cultures, but where the Catalan language is overwhelmingly predominant.

The nation had a contextual role in the fiction series: it was the stage of action. The characters played out their lives in a national space that had its territory, language, administrations, festivals, cultural system (books, media, etc.), specific social problems, autochthonous industry or economic activity, sports teams, etc. In this sense, they represented a nation with a high level of linguistic and cultural regularisation rather than a nation as a space of political and cultural conflict. These representations, however, were 'a product of, a consequence of', rather than the 'goal of' the series. In other words, the work of the creative and production mechanism did not establish the type of message the programme makers wanted to give beforehand, but rather defined the story, integrating references and shaping the discourse. Many factors were involved in this process, as is obvious in television productions.

However, there are some criteria that determine the type of national representation made in fiction series. They include the following:

- *Promotion of Catalan*: Like the rest of the programming

on TVC, Catalan fiction was an instrument to promote the Catalan language, which meant that all fiction had to be in Catalan and, if possible, series had to reflect language uses that would promote linguistic normalisation and regularisation. This cultural-policy criterion is common to all television production and also applies to fiction. This is a political criterion laid down in the Law creating CCRTV and which the station assumes and openly applies with greater or lesser success.

- *Promotion of Catalan culture*: It is clear that, with the type of fiction content broadcast during this period, there was a shoring up of the country's culture via the appearance on TV of holidays, symbols of cultural identity and elements relating to the history and collective imagination of Catalonia. This type of promotion was less obvious than the promotion of the language. It was carried out with the reinforced appearance of Catalan culture in the society described in the fiction series. These criteria were recommended both by the Advisory Board of CCRTV (1996), and the Catalonia Broadcasting Council (2004), and also form part of the general function of the programming of Televisió de Catalunya as set out in the Law creating CCRTV.
- *Promotion of the territory*: The fiction series were an element of territorial promotion. This was not a written policy (although the Advisory Board of CCRTV did call for it), but rather the criteria tried to ensure the series were set in real locations and served to demonstrate aspects of the territory which could have some benefit. This territorial promotion was more centralist than the Catalan television station originally wanted. While the political guidelines recommended decentralisation, economic imperatives (basically production costs) stopped it from being better achieved during the 10 years studied.
- *Social awareness*: Catalan fiction was a tool of awareness about social matters or problems like illness, immigration, care for the elderly, the emancipation of women, understanding between the generations, equality among citizens and other, more specific topics. In this aspect, the managers admitted they were sensitive to suggestions from the administration. From this viewpoint, fiction presented a model of politically correct behaviour which tried to avoid clichés and to explain the complex Catalan society.

- *National normalisation*: Catalan public television presented in the series a nationally normalised fictional society. This means there was a national representation as a framework where plots were developed. This normalisation might impact the audience or not (an aspect I look at in the continuation to this research work), but it seems clear that it was a function of the setting, understood from the viewpoint of fictional convention rather than an option of realism. Language was a fundamental element of this normalisation, but other aspects also played a role, such as the presence of markedly Catalan institutional, cultural, historical and social references (e.g., the recovery of historical memory). This normalisation also included cultural pluralism. There was the presence of the cultural 'other' which was linguistically integrated (immigrants who learnt Catalan), socially assimilated (their cultural and religious condition, traditions, etc. were respected) and accepted as a full member of the national group. In this aspect, it may be that the 'banal' nationalism that Michel Billig (1995) defined was practised in the society of the series, while the nation appeared as something natural in the day-to-day lives of the characters.

Although the basic goal of the fiction series was to entertain and at the same time obtain maximum ratings, their potential as a representation space cannot be underestimated. Catalonia did not have the capacity to construct a collective imagination through film fiction but it did have a chance, in television fiction, to build a universe where it was presented as a culture and a nation, at least behind closed doors within its own society.

Notes

- 1 The party of the Socialistes de Catalunya, Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya and Iniciativa per Catalunya Verds.
- 2 *Quico* was born on 17 September 1992, but its first season does not enter the study object. To prepare the study I started from the second season, which began on 21 April 1994.
- 3 Obviously, *El cor de la ciutat* and other series continued to air in 2004, but I only counted the series broadcast up to 31 December 2003, as explained previously.
- 4 A 'bible' is a work document for a long-running series, particularly a serial, which specifies the main storylines, characters and plot evolutions.
- 5 For further information on the application of the content analysis, see Castelló, 2005.
- 6 Nearly all the series were set in Barcelona (12), although there were some set in Girona (1), Manresa (1), Sabadell (1), Penedès (2) and Sitges (1).
- 7 The series set in Western Catalonia, *Lo Cartanyà*, fell outside the study object.
- 8 Figures confirmed with the Idescat 2001 census.
- 9 The study was prepared before the start-up of the series set in Western Catalonia, *Lo Cartanyà*.
- 10 Interview held in Barcelona on 21 January 2005.
- 11 In the case of *El cor de la ciutat*, two characters speak together in Arabic, a conversation which was subtitled in Catalan. However, the type of product does not make these types of situations very common. TVC's criterion was that immigrants would adopt Catalan as a matter of course.
- 12 Interviewed in Barcelona on 5 November 2004.

13 Interviewed in Barcelona on 9 February 2005.

14 Interviewed in Barcelona on 22 December 2004.

15 This came up in the Parliament of Catalonia via a parliamentary question from the Opposition about the language model of *Plats bruts*.

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The Lancelot Report and the Debate on Media Pluralism and Concentration in France

Carles Llorens i Maluquer

- *The French Government has started a reform process to change current broadcasting and press laws. As a first step, it has entrusted an experts' group to write a report on French media concentration and its regulation. This article reviews the final document, also known as the Lancelot Report, and analyses the specific French media market conditions, its concentration levels and the current regulation on media concentration and pluralism. Finally, the article assesses the Report's main proposals such as the use of audience share to measure the concentration of certain media markets.*

Key words

Concentration, pluralism, media, media economy, communication policies, France.

1. Introduction: a commission is born

France, like any country with a strong identity, has a great deal of affection for her great men and the French record the most ingenious things they say throughout their lives. However, I doubt the Breton Patrick Le Lay, director-general of TF1, the country's leading private station, enters the realm of these 'great men', despite having pronounced a phrase in 2004 which, although not ingenuous, has become popular because of how crudely it describes the commercial television business. The phrase is: "*Ce que nous vendons à Coca-Cola, c'est du temps de cerveau humain disponible*" (EIM 2004). In a country where the concept of *culture* (always associated with *française*) is sacred, the *boutade* naturally sparked uproar in the press, forcing Le Lay to qualify his initial statement. But the phrase "What we're selling to Coca-Cola is available human brain time" has been fixed as a cynical manifestation of the growing commercialisation of television and, indirectly, of the media.

Within this already classic ambivalence between economy and culture, between market and public space, in mid-February 2005, the French government of Jean-Pierre Raffarin commissioned a report to a group of ten personalities from the academic world and the State, under the presidency of the emeritus professor of political science, Alain Lancelot¹.

The Raffarin Government set the Commission a number of targets: to describe the current context surrounding the media sector, study the laws on media concentration, assess their relevance and efficiency and present future actions that could be taken in this field, bearing in mind business viability and the political objectives of pluralism and the promotion of cultural diversity.

Throughout 2005, the Commission worked with a system of audiences and interviews with around 50 sector experts

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and professionals. After it was written up and published, the Lancelot Commission released the Report to a new Prime Minister, Dominique de Villepin, in mid-January 2006 and it became known as the *Lancelot Report*². The 100-odd pages stood out for being a professional and valuable analysis of the French media sector and its regulation and for offering a number of particular proposals to reorganise and simplify the rules on media concentration.

After the Report was published, the Villepin Government, through the Ministry for Culture and Communication, opened a period of public consultation until April 2006. The next step is up to the French executive, which must pronounce on the Report and the regulation of media concentration. In short, the Report attempts to evaluate the issue, start a debate and make proposals with a view to a new audiovisual law that would reform and simplify the different regulations that exist presently and which was announced by the President of the Republic, Jacques Chirac, in the 2006 New Year's Message³.

2. Context: media in mutation

To better understand the Report, it is important to describe the main features of the French media system, its leading agents and the main laws that affect it, particularly those that refer to anti-concentration regulations. To this end, I will use the valuable and important basis of the economic and legal information contained in the Report itself (Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, 2006: 31-65).

The French media sector presents a number of general features similar to other European countries, in association with a number of its own peculiarities and logics. Firstly, as in the rest of Europe, there is a strong public-sector presence, with big firms like France Télévisions and Radio France also enjoying high audience levels. It is important to add that the public sector also takes the lion's share of the state aid and subsidies granted to all media, particularly broadcasters. Another thing the French system has in common with the rest of Europe is the important presence of a strong and independent broadcasting regulatory authority, in this case the Conseil Supérieur de l'Audiovisuel (CSA). Another aspect common to Europe is the oligopolistic nature of the media markets. The free-to-air television

market is dominated by the private operator TVF1, which enjoys 31.8% of the audience share and 54% of advertising turnover, plus a second private station, M6, controlled by the German group RTL, an affiliate of Bertelsmann, with 12.5% of the share and 22% of French advertising revenue. The pay-TV market also has oligopolistic tendencies: it is currently at the maturing point of the product's life cycle and is beginning to be a disadvantaged model in comparison to the triple-play (landline phone+television+broadband internet) and four-play offers (landline phone+mobile phone+television+broadband internet) of telecommunications operators. Plus, converts from the merger of the CanalSatellite and TPS platforms and the success in France of services like FreeTV, which offers ADSL TV and high-speed telephone and internet services, are also showing the exhaustion of the pay-TV model.

The daily general-press market is structured, as is common in Europe, on the basis of regional press titles and is dominated by four groups with a tendency towards oligopoly. There is a powerful specialist and regional press group, i.e., Socpresse, controlled by the Dassault Group, followed by other, also important, groups like Lagardère, the leader in the specialist press, and, somewhat down the table, Ouest France and the Le Monde Group. The Amaury Group, which publishes *L'Équipe* and *Le Parisien*, is quarter-owned by Lagardère.

As well as the public stations of Radio France, the radio market features private stations like NRJ, RTL (owned by Bertelsmann) and Europe 1 and Europe 2 from the Lagardère Group. There is also a group of independent local

Table 1. Monday to Friday Average Annual Audience Share of Private Analogue Stations in 2004

Station	% of Share
France Télévisions	39
TF1	31.8
M6	12,5
Canal+	3.8
ARTE	1.8

Source: Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, 2006: 43

broadcasters only associated in questions of advertising supply.

In terms of the peculiarities of the structure of the French media sector, the first thing to mention is that France does not have a large multimedia group comparable to ones in countries like Germany (Bertelsmann) or Spain (PRISA). Vivendi's expansion from 1999 to 2001 could have created one, but the failure of its American adventure and subsequent withdrawal, with shares being sold simply to reduce the accumulated debt, put an end to that. The Report mentions this point, saying the only group with a significant presence on the three classic markets of radio, television and press is, paradoxically, the German group RTL, which owns the RTL radio station, the M6 television station and the specialist press group Prisma.

Table 2. General non-free daily press circulation figures of the leading press groups (2004-2005)

Group	Circulation %
Socpresse	20.2
Amaury	10.3
Ouest-France	9.3
Le Monde	7.2
L'Est Républicain	5.2
Lagardère	4.8

Source: Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, 2006: 44

Table 3. Monday to Friday Average Annual Audience Share of the Main Radio Groups (April to June 2005)

Radio Group	% of Share
Radio France	19.8
NRJ	18.4
RTL	17.6
EuropeFM (Lagardère)	14.5
GIE "Les indépendants"	10
Skyrock	5.1

Source: Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, 2006: 44

The Lancelot Report also highlights the scarcity of French groups in international activities (except for Hachette, the owner of the Lagardère Group, the world leader in the specialist magazine sector). The Reports puts the reasons for this weakness among French media groups down to under-development of the French advertising market with respect to other countries. Advertising investment in France accounts for 0.64% of GDP, while in the US it is 1.34%, in the UK 0.98%, and in Spain 0.79%. Furthermore, investment in non-conventional media is very high in France and represents close to two-thirds of total investment, according to the Report (Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, 2006: 46-48). By comparison, 51% of advertising investment in Spain goes to non-conventional media and 49% to conventional media (InfoAdex, 2006).

Another specific point about the French media system is the presence of large industrial groups or conglomerates: the construction group Boygues controls TF1, as well as the TPS distribution platform and eight thematic channels and has a 35% stake in the French subsidiary of the Swedish free-press group behind *Metro*. The Canal+ group and its thematic-station affiliates are controlled by urban-services firm Vivendi. The industrial group Dassault, with a strong orientation towards electronics and military products, controls, via Socpresse, *Le Figaro* and a good handful of regional papers in the west and north of the country. The Lagardère Group, with a stake in the European aeronautics firm EADS, manages more than 10 regional press titles, is the world leader in specialist magazines along with Hachette, has various thematic stations, controls 34% of CanalSatellite and is the owner of the Europe FM1 and Europe FM2 radio network. Consequently, there is a potential conflict between communication companies and their interests in other sectors. It is also important to mention the threat represented by the close relationship between these conglomerates and State organizations, given their regular presence in tenders for public services and facilities.

3. Context: Complex anti-concentration laws

The need to rethink the formulation of concentration regulations is explained on the one hand by the growing presence of the aforementioned industrial conglomerates in

the influential French regional press, as well as problems arising from the multiple stakeholding relations between these big groups when it comes to accessing bids for new digital terrestrial TV stations and the multiplication of content distributors. The logic behind the reform is also shored up by the discrimination facing ADSL TV-service operators who cannot include the analogue terrestrial stations in their packages to customers, a practice that is allowed to cable operators. The big private television operators, mainly TF1 and M6, are also interested in lowering concentration limits and the detention of capital imposed by the State (which stops them from consolidating earnings and shares) because they find them obsolete in an environment where an important percentage of TV company capital is in the stock exchange and where content distribution is multi-platform. What are these regulations?

Leaving aside rules on competition protection which apply to all sectors, including media companies, the specific system that limits press, radio and television concentration presently has a bipolar structure. There are regulations applicable to one particular type of media, i.e., single-media regulations, and those that apply to diverse media at the same time, i.e., multimedia regulations.

The single-media regulations in force in relation to the press are set out under Act 86-897 and make it illegal to control another newspaper or publishing company if total circulation exceeds 30% of the total circulation of political and general newspapers across the national territory⁴. Furthermore, non-EC foreigners cannot buy more than 20% of any newspaper or magazine publishing company, regardless of the regularity of publication or topics covered – a regulation that applies to TV and radio, too.

Single-media laws referring to television are more complex. Act 86-1067⁵, which regulates TV, has been modified 41 times since it was approved in 1986 (Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, 2006: 38). What does it say? Firstly, that public TV companies are excluded from the field of application of anti-concentration regulations because they already have a duty to promote pluralism and programme diversity. For the other companies, the law sets out measures to guarantee internal and external pluralism. The former attempts to ensure pluralism by limiting to a maximum of 49% the amount of national licence's capital that can be in the hands of a single individual or legal entity.

With the launch of DTT and to shore up its capital stock and development, this measure is only applied to stations that exceed an average annual audience share of 2.5%.

State analogue stations may hold stakes in other similar stations up to a maximum of two supplementary shares. If a company has a stake of more than 15% in one station's capital, it cannot exceed 15% in another company; if it has two stakes of more than 5% in two national broadcasters, it cannot own more than 5% of a third station. These regulations do not apply to DTT licences, where there are no limits on capital stakes in different companies.

In the local and regional sphere, groups or companies that already have a national television service and exceed 2.5% of the annual average audience share cannot own a regional licence or exceed 33% of the capital stock of a regional station. Furthermore, local and regional stations cannot exceed a potential audience of 12 million viewers, and their owners cannot have two licences that partially or completely broadcast in the same area.

Secondly, the system tries to favour television diversity through a system of external pluralism to prevent an individual or legal entity from simultaneously controlling diverse TV stations. It is illegal to own more than one national analogue TV service authorisation – the exception is the case of state-wide DTT licences, where a person or company can own up to seven authorisations of a national scope.

With regard to radio, single-media concentration is regulated differently depending on whether an analogue or digital station is involved. The former cannot buy or obtain a new licence if the accumulated potential audience reaches 150 million listeners, while the latter has a limit of 20% of accumulated potential audiences of all radio types.

The second big group of regulations, as we have already seen, are the multimedia anti-concentration regulations, i.e., the limit on the concentration of different types of media. In this case, the so-called "two out of three" rule applies. In the national sphere, this consists of the fact that an operator cannot exceed two of the following three hypothetical situations:

1. Control one or various television licences with a total potential audience of 4 million viewers.
2. Control one or various radio broadcasters with a potential audience of 30 million listeners.

3. Control a general newspaper with more than 20% of the total national circulation.

The “two out of three” rule also applies at the local sphere, but with more restrictions. No additional authorisation can be awarded to an operator that meets two of the following situations and which as a result of the new licence would meet three of them:

1. Control one or various local or national terrestrial television services.
2. Control one or various radio broadcasters which have, in a particular area, more than 10% of the accumulated potential audience.
3. Control or publish a general newspaper circulated in a particular area, regardless of whether or not it is national.

The main criticism about this regulation is that it allows the local monopoly of a newspaper and a local television station. The Report, as will be shown further on, proposes replacing this regulation with a ban on a double local monopoly of press and local television, as occurs in the US.

As already shown, the Lancelot Report assesses the efficacy of these regulations and proposes reforming them and adding new ones. However, it is important to first do a theoretical analysis of the relationship between concentration and pluralism, before tackling current levels of concentration on the French media market. We shall now follow this plan.

4. Lancelot report analyses

The Lancelot Report was entitled “Les problèmes de concentration dans le domaine des medias” – an approach that posits media concentration as a ‘problem’. It is therefore unsurprising that the first part of the Report should start with an evaluation and theoretical discussion about whether or not there is an inversely proportional relationship between media concentration and pluralism. After analysing the academic literature that exists and some of the most recent reports (OECD 2003; Ward 2004; Council of Europe, 2004), the Commission came to the conclusion there was no direct relationship because, as the television market shows,

an oligopolistic market structure does not necessarily guarantee pluralism: competition among operators has standardized the offer. A plurality of agents does not therefore necessarily guarantee pluralism and in fact concentration can sometimes contribute to it. This argument is not new and has already been put by authors such as De Moragas and Prado (2000, 206), Doyle (2002, 23) McQuail (1992), Llorens (2003, 52) and Sánchez-Tabernero *et al.* (1993).

From this conclusion, the Report deduces a need to use other instruments to protect pluralism beyond limiting ownership, and gives content regulation as an example, such as screen time for parties during electoral periods, the quota on works from Europe or in the French tongue, and the list of general-interest events which, with regards pluralism of reception, are protected. Another way to guarantee pluralism is to protect editorial independence with respect to owners by promoting editorial staff statutes, monitoring committees and boosting the worker’s committee in journalism companies - but these are ideas the Report does not want to implement. Finally, there are also economic policy instruments, such as limiting TV advertising to favour the press, or providing aid for the press sector which, according to the Report, represented 1.15 billion euros in 2004, i.e., 11% of sector turnover. In short, controlling concentration should be just another instrument in the preservation of pluralism.

The Lancelot Report takes a new look at whether it is necessary to have regulations that limit concentration. The Report recognises the relevance of regulation in promoting pluralism, even if there is no direct relation, adducing a “democratic requirement” which is commonplace in the majority of advanced democracies. In France, recent jurisprudence from the highest legal authority, the Conseil Constitutionnel, considered the preservation of the pluralism of different currents of thought and opinions an objective of constitutional worth above freedom of expression or business freedom and found that it should apply to the press and particularly to radio and TV because of the scarcity of frequencies. The public’s right to receive plural information and entertainment should come before business freedom and that of expression of the publisher.

The Report then goes on to examine the current regulations controlling media concentration as set out under *Loi n.*

86-897 *Portant Réforme du régime juridique de la presse* and *Loi n. 86-1067 relative à la liberté de communication*, detailed in section 3. The Report stresses that the logic and internal consistency of these regulations have not been reviewed since they were established in the mid-1980s. The regulations are a product of the sedimentation of texts resulting from numerous modifications.

Then the Report makes the statement that hit the headlines in most of the French press: “In its current state, the French media sector has not reached an alarming level of concentration” (Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication 2006, 40). To support this statement, the Lancelot Report used figures from the aforementioned Ward study (2004), which analysed the levels of market concentration of the three main media in each sector, private and public, from six European countries and which was commissioned by the Dutch media regulatory body.

Table 4 shows the level of horizontal concentration in France is no greater than in other European countries of a similar size. The Lancelot Commission defends that pluralism does not seem to have been reduced over the past decade, mainly because the public’s freedom of choice has grown. There are 26 analogue and digital terrestrial TV stations of a national scope in France, a further 104 stations distributed over cable, satellite or ADSL and 89 international stations received via satellite. In radio, there are 1,070 different operators, according to the CSA. In the press area, supply has been stable these past ten years.

However, the Report recognises that the plurality of su-

pply, i.e., the public’s ability to exercise choice, is not enough: to guarantee pluralism it is necessary for a single agent to not control an excessive number of media. From the analysis of audience leaders in the press, radio and television (see tables 1,2 and 3), the Report deduces that the relative weight of the leading groups in each sector is always under 40% and in general is quite well balanced. In other words, the weight of the big French groups is relative, and it is in this context that it made the remark about the level of media concentration on the French market not being alarming.

However, the Report believes concentration is more dangerous for pluralism in the local sphere and in certain vertical concentrations. An example of the latter is the main press distributor NMPP (controlled by the Hachette Group and therefore by Lagardère) and the Lagardère Group itself.

5. The report’s proposals

The final section of the Lancelot Report tackles particular proposals to change the laws on media concentration. The Report says that although the general regulatory framework can be maintained, substantial changes in some areas are needed to make the regulations simpler and to adapt them to the new environment. In the area of lack of adaptation, the Report mentions the growing process of funding media companies and their presence on the stock exchange, which involves control with a reduced percentage of shares

Table 4. Accumulated Market Percentage of the Three Main Groups (2002)

Country	National Daily Press: General Newspapers	Regional Daily Press: General Newspapers	Television	Radio
France	70	46.7	80.7	59
Germany	87.4	27.9	90.9	56.8
Spain	NA	47.3	71.4	76.6
Italy	44.8	NA	88.7	58.7
Holland	98.2	88.1	84.6	69
United Kingdom	70.6	51.6	69.9	72.3

Source: David Ward, 2004

and renders useless the 49% limit on analogue television shares. Also, the Report says there are many inconsistencies. One example is the heterogeneity of the laws applicable to the different media (why distinguish between digital and analogue TV when no distinction is made between digital and analogue radio?). Others are the lack of adaptation to technological evolutions, like television over the internet, and the CSA's lack of executive ability to control concentration – a power the organisation that protects competitors rights does have, for example.

The modifications the Commission proposes are an attempt to simplify the regulations and make them more efficient. In particular, it proposes replacing the limits on horizontal concentration, currently based on a maximum detention of one analogue TV licence and seven digital ones to limit ownership of the former to 49% of shares, with a new criterion, i.e., real audience. Each TV operator could exceed 37.5% of the audience share. This is a system to 'measure' pluralism that has been used in the past decade and which is present to different degrees in the anti-concentration laws of Germany (with a limit of 30%) and the US (with 39%). This regulation would not apply to public operators or internal growth processes – only to television takeovers or mergers and external growth. The Report rules out using other criteria, such as percentage of the advertising market or proportion of total sector turnover, because they are economic criteria that bear little relation to pluralism, the main goal of the law. The Commission proposes creating a new system of measures to make it possible to calculate the average audience share for the past 12 months. The figures would be published each month on the CSA website. Also, this criterion permits technological neutrality between analogue and digital TV. However, in the event of exceeding 37.5%, what rules would apply and to whom? Here the Report runs into its first problem: in France, for legal reasons involving the protection of freedom of expression, it would not be possible to impose the sale of assets or award a programming licence to third parties to a station that exceeded this threshold through internal growth, as is anticipated for example under the German law. It could only work in the case of external growth, such as a takeover or new-licence request, in which case the CSA would deny the authorisation.

In the case of the press, the current regulation on news-

papers being unable to exceed 30% of national circulation would remain, because the Commission considers it to be a measure that is very like the 'real-audience' criterion. However, it proposes including in the total recount the free daily papers and general weekly papers like *Le Nouvel Observateur* and *L'Express*, which have an import weight in France, and applying a corrector coefficient for their higher circulation than general daily newspapers.

With regards the radio, the Commission contradicts itself and its goal of simplifying and unifying regulations: it prefers to uphold the current limit that forbids an operator from exceeding 150 million accumulated potential listeners rather than apply the model based on the real-audience percentage. The explanation is utilitarian: this measure has demonstrated its usefulness because it enables the existence of diverse radio groups with a similar market weight.

In terms of multimedia regulations, the Report distinguishes between situations in the national and local spheres. For the former, it proposes eliminating the "two out of three" rules in favour of a new "three-thirds, two-thirds, one-third" formula. This would mean that a communications group present in a single sector could reach the maximum, i.e., three-thirds, of the concentration limit established in the sector. If it were present in two sectors, the limit would fall to two-thirds, and if it were present in the three sectors the limit would fall to one-third. For example, a group that only has radio broadcasters may reach the 150 million accumulated potential audience share. If the group exceeded this figure and also wanted to control a press group, its maximum circulation limit in the press would not be 30% of national circulation but two-thirds of this amount - so it could not buy a newspaper if it meant it exceeded 20% of total circulation. If, furthermore, the group wanted to buy a television station, it could not exceed one-third of the 37.5% established for TV, i.e., 12.5% of the audience share. The Report suggests the CSA be responsible for applying these rules.

With respect to the regulations on local multimedia concentration, the Report also proposes eliminating the "two out of three" rule and applying a direct ban on simultaneously controlling in the same area a daily or weekly general newspaper and a local television station that exceeds 50% of the audience share. The regulations banning the accumulation of local television licences in

a single area and up to a maximum of 12 million potential viewers would be maintained. It also proposes reestablishing the ban on national stations buying local broadcasters.

In terms of vertical concentration between publishers and distributors, whether press or television, the Report proposes applying the right of competition as a general rule, but with a particular measure for the case of broadcasters. Firstly, it proposes giving more power to the CSA to assess relations between the publishers and distributors of broadcast services and fining them if they are discriminatory. It also recommends establishing a minimum proportion of independent stations within distributors' offers, as well as expanding the must-carry concept to a must-offer one. In other words, all the analogue stations should be available on all the TV-service distribution platforms and there must be an end to television's discrimination against ADSL, which does not offer either TF1 or M6 because it is not authorised to because of the need to promote their own satellite TV distribution platform, TPS.

Finally, on matters of procedure, the Report emphasises the need to share powers in a clear manner and to establish communication channels between the CSA and the *Conseil de la Concurrence*, and between the CSA and the *Autorité de Régulation des Communications Électroniques et Postales* (ARCEP). As a final proposal, it calls for the establishment a pluralism observatory for the press, which would publish an annual report on the sector and in particular on concentration trends, and complement the tasks that the CSA carries out with its annual reports on the French radio and television sectors.

6. Conclusions

The first thing to say is that the Lancelot Report is nothing new. It is framed within the reform process of the anti-concentration laws that countries like Germany, the US, the UK and Italy have been concentrating on in recent years. Its content is not new either: the idea of taking part of the prominence in the defence of pluralism from owner concentration to give more importance to the criterion of audience concentration is also a process that has already been carried out, to different degrees, in the aforementioned

countries. The same occurs when the relationship (which some people believe is necessary) between concentration and lack of pluralism is denied, or the indirect and always secondary function of the policy of protecting competition in defence of pluralism.

The highlight of the Report may be the explicit recognition that the problem of media concentration in France is not alarming when compared to other neighbouring countries. This statement provoked media uproar and led to the Report being branded 'neo-liberal'. Although the figures it includes show this to be untrue and support the Lancelot Commission, it is undeniable that the analysis of the media markets presented in the Report is add-hoc and synchronic, and that trends over the past decade should be analysed. In terms of concentration, movement in time is just as important as the fixed snapshot. Another criticism about the Report is that it does not consider worthy of analysis the close shareholding relations between the big conglomerates of French industry and the media sector.

However, the text has an orientation that strongly defends public intervention in the media with one exception: public operators. France Télévisions and Radio France, audience leaders in radio and TV in France, are expressly excluded from the application of the new proposals. Also, it recognises the legitimacy of imposing regulations on ownership limits for a reason of democratic demand and in fact imposes new ones on the local sphere, where it suggests raising the level of protection by impeding the simultaneous control of a local television station and a daily or weekly newspaper in the same area, and banning national television companies from buying local broadcasters. It is on this point where one of the main contributions of the Report turns: attention to the local sphere, as pluralism today faces greater threats in the local and regional spheres than in the big communication spaces.

The idea to create a pluralism observatory for the press will not guarantee pluralism, but it is another step towards achieving information and transparency in a sector that constantly makes claims on the economic and political sectors but is very hesitant about revealing its own figures.

With regards the idea of simplifying regulation and eliminating the inconsistencies of 20 years' worth of modifications, the Report's proposals are ambivalent. On the one hand, it improves technological neutrality by

applying the real-audience criterion to all television stations, both analogue and digital. On the other hand, it does not apply the same mechanism to radio, where it prefers 'potential audience', or the press, where it values circulation. There are still inconsistencies in the proposal. The problem could possibly be resolved if it recognised from the start that each medium is different in content and impact and that heterogeneous measures are required.

In terms of vertical integration, the proposed solutions are along the usual lines: it suggests giving more power to the CSA to ensure that relations between general- and thematic-station directors with content distributors who are at the same time audiovisual content directors are non-discriminatory. Also, it suggests setting a minimum number of independent channels in the television services proposed by distributors. Finally, it proposes eliminating the power of terrestrial stations to stop content being broadcast to other distribution platform operators, such as ADSL television providers.

In short, the Report, although making a diagnosis that could be taken as liberal, in fact proposes a series of changes that shows that public intervention continues to be necessary in the media sector. Although commercial TV may continue selling advertisers the 'available human brain time', it must also be understood that popular will, through its representatives, has the right to intervene in this special business in benefit of society at large.

Notes

- 1 The Commission was formed of renowned academics and top-level civil servants: Francis Balle, professor of the University of Paris II and former member of the Conseil de l'Audiovisuel (CSA); Jean-Pierre Boisivon, emeritus professor and president of the Centre National d'Enseignement à Distance; Yves Cannac, honorary member of the Council of State and member of the Economic and Social Council; Marc-André Feffer, former member of the Council of State, former board member of Canal+ and now one of the directors-general of the French public mail company La Poste; Jérôme Huet, professor at the University of Paris II and director of the Centre for Multimedia Legal and Economic Studies; Philippe Labarde, journalist and former member of the CSA; Elisabeth Lulin, Tax Office inspector and Pierre Sirinelli, professor at the University of Paris I. The speaker was Michel Balluteau, inspector-general at the Ministry of Culture. Décret n. 2005-217 du 8 mars 2005 portant création d'une commission chargée d'examiner les problèmes de concentration dans le domaine des médias. *Journal Officiel*, n. 57 du 9 mars 2005, p. 3943. Available at: <http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/WAspad/UnTexteDeJorf?numjo=MCCT0500120D>.
- 2 MINISTÈRE DE LA CULTURE ET DE LA COMMUNICATION. *Les problèmes de concentration dans le domaine des médias* [Online]. Paris, Direction du Développement des Médias, Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, 2006. <http://www.ddm.gouv.fr/IMG/pdf/rapport_lancelot.pdf> [Consulted: 11 April 2006]
- 3 PRÉSIDENCE DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE. *Allocution de M. Jacques CHIRAC, Président de la République, à l'occasion des vœux aux forces vives*. [Online] Présidence de la République. <<http://www.elysee.fr/elysee/root/bank/print/37533.htm>>. [Consulted: 11 April 2006]
- 4 Loi n. 86-897 du 1 août 1986 Portant Réforme du régime juridique de la presse. *Journal Officiel*, n. 54 du 2 août 1986, p. 9529-9530.
- 5 Loi n. 86-1067 du 30 septembre 1986 relative à la liberté de communication. *Journal Officiel* n. 32 du 1 d'octobre de 1986, p. 11756-11759, 11763-11766.

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A Look at Film Training in Catalonia

Josep Maixenchs

- *From the observation of the history of film teaching in Catalonia, we can get an idea of the cultural and industrial importance that the cinema has had for us. From the pioneering Committee of Cinema of the Republican Government of Catalonia, to the current university studies (a university school of cinema and prestigious faculties of audiovisual communication), through the initiatives of the Monterols cinema-club, the Aixelà school or the CIPLA; all of them have been attempts, some very precarious, in a Catalan intellectuality that always has considered the cinema as a first-rate cultural expression.*

Key words

Cinema, Film teaching, Catalonia, Filmmaking

Education is a social barometer. Observing the level of development of education in a particular speciality within a society can give us an idea of the role the society wants to award it. However, we cannot trust first impressions based on observation, given that the implementation and growth of a particular type of education are influenced by economic and social conditioning factors. It is therefore necessary to be precise if we want an analysis of education to illuminate a specific part of our society. This would translate into looking back over time and trying to establish how things came to be the way they are in a specific field of education and why this occurred.

We can apply this reasoning to our field. Can we know the role film has played (and later, the audiovisual world in general) based on a historical reconstruction of film teaching initiatives? I think we can. What follows here is a proposal for interpreting our film teaching panorama on the basis of reconstructing how it was established.

I understand 'film teaching' to mean a type of further education that attempts to ascertain the bases of the art of filmmaking with complete rigour, whether from a purely theoretical perspective or aimed at training in future techniques. Academies have been around since the first decades of the 20th century but, when they were not fraudulent enterprises, they were weak companies without continuity and with a poor subsequent industrial projection. Here I want to talk about more ambitious initiatives.

The first thing that should be said is that Catalonia played a leading role in the film world from the start. It was not just that the film industry found it easy to take root and flourish here, but rather film quickly became a symbol of modernity and as such was defended from the start by the intellectual elite who considered it a phenomenon of great cultural value. In this, the most forward-thinking Catalan intellectuals were on a par with the new European schools of thought.

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These were obviously intellectuals opposed to the *Noucentista* trends who used the call of cultural phenomena like film and jazz to distinguish themselves from 19th-century staidness. But beyond this row at the time, film would maintain this importance in Catalonia in later years: not in vain did it become one of the most important, if not *the* most important, production centres in Spain.

It was the circles of film-buff intellectuals who first tried to link film and university. In honest correspondence with a view of film as a leading cultural asset, the magazine *Mirador*, one of the most important nuclei of rigorous thought and publishers of art and entertainment in the 1930s, through the figure of Guillem Díaz-Plaja, started up the first tertiary film course at the University of Barcelona, held from February to April 1932 and consisting of a series of conferences (such as "Film's Position in Art Theory") accompanied by film projections. As Díaz-Plaja explained to José María García Escudero, "the event had an explosive nature and there were people who believed the venerable rocks would crack."

The university film course was the first to put on the table the need to unite tertiary education and film. Because of its capital importance within the industrial world, its social relevance and its proven influence on the cultural world, it was impossible to not make film a study element within the university world, both because of the links that could be established with other facets of the arts and philosophy and because of its own idiosyncrasies.

Díaz-Plaja and his colleagues at *Mirador* were the first to realise this, but they would not be the last: they were the precedent and reference point in subsequent decades of people who defended that film, because of the complexity of its multifaceted nature, needed a specific, systematic and rigorous form of study.

The story did not end here. The Generalitat of Catalonia began a brave proposal to organise film tools. Influenced by the intellectuals and their consideration of film, shared by relevant figures in the Department of Culture such as Josep Carner-Ribalta, on 15 April 1933 the Generalitat created the Film Committee, an organisation aimed at giving filmmaking a consideration of importance by the highest Catalan administration. The initiative included a film school, the first of its type on the Iberian Peninsula. This support by the Catalan autonomous government to film and its future deve-

lopment would never be repeated again, and aid from Catalan administrations, whether state, autonomous or municipal, would continue to be tangential and insufficient through to today.

I should here like to mention that the film school project was the framework of a now-classic pedagogical conflict. One of the endemic discussions present at any film teaching centre was developed, i.e., the pre-eminence of the theoretical study of film, defended by intellectuals who want to go deeper into its discursive and aesthetic values, versus people who want to make a film school a training ground in techniques to renew and improve the industrial fabric. The balance between the two facets is very hard to achieve, and it means that any film school must define its pedagogical priority from the start, something which will mark its study plan and infrastructural and economic requirements.

In any case, whatever the pedagogical approach to take was to be, it was clear to the heads of the film school that education had to necessarily have a profile and ambition of a university nature, and that film teaching was not something that could be left up to short courses.

Unfortunately, the outbreak of the Civil War paralysed the school project just months before it was due to begin in the 1936/37 school year. The resolution of the conflict would see the exile of the Catalan organs of self-government. With the start of the Francoist dictatorship and the instauration of a centralist type of thinking, which abolished the Generalitat, the possibility of organising initiatives like the Film Committee disappeared from the public sphere.

A new era began in which the specifically Catalan cultural dynamic was left up to the people, and included initiatives related with the study and practice of filmmaking. The road to follow throughout the whole of the dictatorship would be 'possibilism'. The need to create a teaching centre for film theory and practice was still present in intellectual circles, but to make it a reality it would be necessary to use sometimes implausible frameworks and which often did not work well enough for the needs demanded by this type of education.

We should not forget that Catalans were far removed from the orbit of the official film teaching centre under the Francoist regime. This centre, first named Investigaciones y Experiencias Cinematográficas and later the Escuela Oficial de Cinematografía was not characterised by a high

presence of Catalan students. In fact, in the nearly 30 years it existed, only 14 Catalan students graduated from a total of 480. In Catalonia, the most important Spanish production centre in the 1950s, one could study at 'the school of apprenticeship', but that was not enough for the groups of film-buffs who felt that Catalonia needed its own centre of education, as they saw this as the only satisfactory way of renewing the industrial and cultural film fabric.

So Catalan education initiatives created during Francoism began with a link to centres, businesses and organisations of all types, far removed from the specific sphere of film. Where they could not depend on public support, private inventiveness arose, determined to make the longing for film teaching a reality.

Any ground could be used for fertilisation. It could be a centre of education linked to the Opus Dei, or the Col·legi Major Monterols, which started a film club that would become a centre where courses were offered by people such as Javier Coma, José Luis Guarner, José María Otero and Paco Pérez-Dolz. It could also involve a photography store which housed the leading film school of the whole of the Francoist period: the Aixelà School, whose teachers included Miquel Porter i Moix, Pere Portabella, Romà Gubern and Joan Francesc de Lasa. A further two initiatives were the CIPLA and EMAY, framed within the cracks of the education system of the time in two such surprising spheres as the Institut del Teatre and professional training courses in image and sound, one with the support of Hermann Bonnin and the other under Josep Serra Estruch.

It did not matter. The important thing was to carry out rigorous film teaching with a spirit of further education and combine theory and practice in so far as the basic infrastructure would allow. In fact, making use of pre-existing frameworks would be the Achilles heel of many of these centres. The same bases that facilitated the existence of the different teaching initiatives were at the same time the bind that hindered their growth. And, in the long term, as in the case of Aixelà, the educational needs (and ambitions) well exceeded the economic and infrastructural abilities of the centres.

The general situation, although very often bearing noteworthy fruit, was never anything less than precarious, even initiatives protected under institutional umbrellas. Protection was no guarantee of obtaining the desired budget and the

schools had to face up to changes in the political wind, something which nearly finished off the EMAY and which did put an end to the CIPLA, as well as, now that the democratic transition had begun, the Escola d'Estudis Artístics de l'Hospitalet, supervised by Ricard Salvat and which had been established with the aim of becoming the Catalan answer to Bauhaus.

With the arrival of democracy, the industrial, intellectual and teaching circles again put on the table the need to establish film teaching in further education. The new Generalitat, however, decided to prioritise the recovery of the Catalan language, which had been slighted by the Francoist regime, over the needs of a Catalan industry that would not necessarily produce works in Catalan. The failure of Madrid's EOC, which closed in 1976 with an extremely expensive structure of film teaching, was a warning and no doubt paralysed any type of tertiary-education project (which was only tangentially represented in certain branches of information science and the position of the head of film history), leaving the only theoretical and practical teaching in the hands of primary and secondary-educated professionals and up to incipient and underdeveloped film academies like the Centre d'Estudis Cinematogràfics de Catalunya (CECC), which has now happily completed its second decade of existence.

But some way out had to be found to what was becoming a pressing need. A mixed solution was then imposed: to join the efforts of public institutions and private interests. Internal studies carried out by the heads of the Film area at the Generalitat advised against creating a film school from scratch, as had been attempted in the time of the Republic.

The solution was to make use of a pre-existing pedagogical structure. The Calassanç Centre assumed this role for a decade, always with the idea of taking advantage of promoting itself to eventually become the longed-for Escola Superior de Cinematografia de Catalunya, linked to the University of Barcelona, something which was finally achieved, not without having to resolve multiple complications of an economic, academic, legislative and political nature.

The establishment of a board of trustees to run the Escac Foundation, made up of the University of Barcelona, the Escola Pia de Catalunya, the Institut Català de les Indústries Culturals, the SGAE, EGEDA, Terrassa City Council,

the Academia de las Artes y la Ciencias Cinematográficas de España, as well as sector companies (Filmax, Luk Internacional, Image Film) made the definitive establishment of this training project possible.

Coinciding with the appearance of the Escac Foundation, the Pompeu Fabra University offered an officially approved degree in audiovisual communication, as did the Autonomous University of Barcelona.

The design of this university course came directly from the former degree in information sciences. With the new design, the aim was to move more towards the professional fields of all audiovisual sectors.

It is true that the new design augured noticeable prestige for audiovisual communication given that it also coincided with the liberalisation of the television supply and new regulations on telecommunications.

However, supply did not end with the Escac Foundation, which would go on to consolidate its position as a reference centre in training in film fields in Catalonia and with links to other officially approved centres around the world, or with the appearance of the new faculties which touched upon the film theme more tangentially (the Pompeu Fabra would shortly stand out in the training of new producers and in the documentary field of creation, with prestige beyond the borders), a road it seems the Ramon Llull University has also started to go down.

Other centres unrelated to a university or official degree mean the film training panorama can currently be considered to be normalised: there is a lot of supply and demand for training, and mostly quality training.

The Escac and the three abovementioned faculties are all contributing new talent and a new concept of techniques to the profession (some have already won national and international awards) which makes it possible to be optimistic about an incipient and renewed film industry and the consolidation of a broad audiovisual sector.

Books Review

Digital Terrestrial Television in Europe

BROWN, A.; PICARD, R., eds. 1st edition New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associated Publishers 2005.

ISBN 0-8058-5387-1

by Roberto Suárez Candel, associate professor in the Department of Journalism and Audiovisual Communication at Pompeu Fabra University

The rollout of digital terrestrial television (DTTV) has acquired a noticeable relevance in the policies of public communication and the information society of European countries. Diverse elements intervene in this process: technology, market, economy, public service and social aspects. Digitalising TV is another variable for the broadcast sector to consider in its already long trajectory in the search for an identity, its *raison d'être* and a relational structure and model that meet its dual nature, somewhere between culture and industry.

We could say that the digitalisation of broadcasting, in this case terrestrial broadcasting, should be considered as just another phase in the evolutionary processes of the media, like the opening up of monopoly markets, the development of the multichannel and pay offer and the appearance of other technical distribution platforms like cable and satellite.

In the face of this process of change, what will become necessary is the availability of analysis tools that enable us to: identify the main elements and implementation phases of digital TV; set boundaries to the functions and possibilities of the DTTV platform within the overall number of transmission options; and establish the role of the different public and private, national and international agents that intervene in this natural, although complex, evolution of television as we know it.

That is exactly what the authors aim for and achieve in this

book edited by Allan Brown and Robert Picard. Here is a text that goes beyond the purely technological and trade-based arguments that have until now characterised the many articles, speeches and press releases trying to sell us DTTV as a fantastic technological device that we won't be able to resist. The quality of the text lies in the work done by the editors, who have managed to combine the efforts of probably the best European researchers in this field. There are also North Americans and Australians, guaranteeing that the book is not just a justification on the part of the Europeans of what is happening in Europe. The contributions by the different authors may already be known by people who have followed the work done in this field in detail. However, we can still find new and updated ideas and the combination of opinions and viewpoints provides the volume with an exceptional level of reflection.

The book is structured in two parts. The first identifies and analyses the main issues that define the process of digitalising television. It includes six chapters that give a clear and precise vision on DTTV. The second part of the book offers case studies on the rollout of the technology in different European countries. It is important to mention, as a further sign of the quality of the text, that it deals not only with the 'big' European markets (the UK, Spain, France, Germany and Italy) but also provides experiences from the Nordic countries, which can be true reference points in the question of digitalisation (Denmark, Sweden and Finland). Both parts can be read independently, although it is probably best to follow the chapters chronologically. This approach will increase our knowledge about the reality of DTTV and associated conflicts and allow us to obtain a richer perspective of the national cases analysed.

Digitalisation can be considered a process of convergence in which different sources of information acquire a same nature (binary code). This enables them to combine and

provides them with independence from the physical storage, distribution and transmission supports. One consequence of this is that the broadcast sector has overcome its work logic based on the media as the physical support/transmission channel of information and allowed it to evolve towards the network logic of resources with multiple points of access to information. As a result of this change, the value chains, market structures and operating cycles of audiovisual products are evolving and often criss-crossing each other. Digitalisation also encourages media globalisation.

Although these advantages are clear and have been very well identified and appropriately praised, Marsden and Ariño, the authors of the first chapter, think that digitalisation carries a price for the public which is not just economic, but also cultural. It also involves risks, with the possibly a different pace of digitalisation for different social groups, i.e., the 'digital divide'. They believe public intervention in the process is needed to ensure the information society is not just an attractive concept but a reality for everyone.

Once they have raised these arguments, Marsden and Ariño introduce the main obstacles and conflicts involving digitalisation, and situate television as a central element: firstly, they refer to the real perception the public has of it, closer to the desire to access a wider range of channels than choosing digital technology for its qualities. They also mention the asynchrony and asymmetry that characterise the implementation of digital TV on the three most common distribution platforms (cable, satellite and terrestrial), to which we should now add the internet (IPTV). Each of these networks presents physical characteristics, business determinants and their own objectives. The authors also suggest paying attention to how the dualities that characterise the broadcast sector impact the rollout of DTTV. One duality is the public or private nature of the agents involved, which determines their objectives and manners of proceeding. Another is the geographic duality, with national and supranational implementation processes at the same time, something which limits constant and coordinated progress. They then go on to analyse in detail the different possibilities and trends in public intervention. They support the renewal of concepts that are valid in the analogue field but insufficient in the digital context, which demands measures that combine technical, political, economic and social parameters in a more dynamic and flexible way.

Once the first chapter has introduced us into the debate around the digitalisation process and how it affects television, the book addresses one of the main points of conflict or difficulty: the actions of community public institutions. Pertti Näränen goes over the history of the milestones in European broadcasting policy that impact the rollout of digital TV. Of particular interest is his analysis and criticism of Directive 95/47 on technical regulations for the dissemination of TV. He says the fact that the directive does not precisely determine the need to use open public standards in the middleware sphere and conditional access has been one of the main causes behind the technological fragmentation of the European market and the subsequent delays in the rollout process of DTTV.

With a broader perspective, Näränen questions the attitude of non-intervention adopted by European institutions as a result of the failure of the process to implement a standard for high-definition television (HDTV) at the start of the 1990s. He also identifies the DVB (Digital Video Broadcasting) consortium as responsible for this shortage of interoperability in the sphere of interactive content and access to pay offers, because it developed its MHP (Multimedia Home Platform) standard with a certain delay with respect to market evolution.

Näränen considers that European policies have changed their justification, which throughout the 1980s was "to guarantee the enrichment of public wellbeing" to "increasing consumers' free choice". This completely limits the development of public intervention in the rollout of DTTV, which is initially produced just as a technological and commercial breakthrough, forgetting the social side.

Following this public perspective we find the contribution of Professor Hujanen. His chapter analyses the role of public service television in the digital context. It is interesting to see how he introduces the question from a very different perspective to the voices that say we are facing a complete process of change that will lead to the end of the public service. For Hujanen, the fact that people question the validity and functions of the public service is something within its nature. At least it should be borne in mind that this has happened whenever the broadcast sector has faced a technological leap or important transformation of its relational structure or model. He suggests a careful analysis of the situation, considering the premise that we could be fa-

cing a natural evolution of the public service as we know it.

First of all, Hujanen recalls the need for public institutions to act with technological neutrality. This not only avoids people questioning the role of terrestrial radio broadcasting on a multiplatform, free-competition digital market, but can also open the doors to other distribution systems at the public service. That is why the most important thing is to focus on the true essence of the public system of TV, i.e., the remit concept. This means we have to reformulate the objectives and functions of the public service to bring it into line with what we want from it. Public intervention has to be aimed at guaranteeing universal access to infrastructures, content and services in both senses of the value chain of the media. For Hujanen, DTTV has to be at least a public investment that ensures continuity for the people. From here we can begin to think about other, more ambitious objectives.

In terms of private operators, Allan Brown introduces us to their particular problems, detailing the difficulties and requirements that DTTV means to them. One feature of his argument concerns the growth of channels that enable digitalisation: although there is a market access opportunity for new operators, it could also become an element that noticeably reduces each channel's effectiveness in terms of audience levels and advertising income. This makes it necessary to re-establish the economic fundamentals of the sector. We can thus deduce the scarce interest and lack of action by analogue operators to migrate to the digital format. Brown carries out an interesting review of the situation of each of the dissemination platforms and also reflects on the proper intervention of public institutions and governments in each case. He emphasises their role as migration planners and as conditioners of private activity. The editor believes the management and awarding of broadcasting licences is a key point in the rollout of DTTV. Growth in numbers has not been questioned in Europe, unlike Australia, where Brown hails from, where digitalisation has been approached as a purely technological migration and does not involve a rise in the number of operators.

For Brown, public institutions and private operators have to be convinced that the digitalisation of TV is something other than what affects them directly, whether it be in organisation and control tasks or economic activity. In becoming digitalised, television, as Hujanen already said, loses its

technological peculiarity and becomes just another element in the 'binary stream'. That is why it might be the time not just to question the public service but the very social and cultural entity of the medium. However, rather than a revolution or catastrophic result, Brown considers that the parameters the rule sector activity should not change drastically.

In terms of content and interactivity, Jensen reviews the arguments that have been associated in these areas with digitalisation. He questions an automatic rise in viewer activity before the screen, whether motivated by the content or lure of the services or by a material incentive. He also analyses the migration process of an offer based on programming in flux towards a stage of self-programming on the part of the user.

Correctly, and in case it was necessary, Jensen scotches a close and exclusive link between digitalisation and interactivity. Even though digitalisation increases the interaction possibilities of the television medium, these possibilities already existed in the analogue version of the service and in other media. He also emphasises the following argument: interactivity will be subordinated to the personal abilities of the user more than to the medium itself. Whoever is able to use interactive services will use them unconsciously. People who don't use them because they do not have the right abilities could stop being interested. He indicates that the internet interaction model could be a reference point to take as an example, being aware of the noticeable differences between the uses of the net and of TV.

Jensen questions the real interest of interactivity: is it the creative possibilities? The social ones? Maybe the economic possibilities? He says it is easy to rationalise the arguments and so we have to ask questions about this issue in both senses if we want to be able to tell where the rollout process is heading.

Going deeper into this social side we also find the article by Robert Picard, which closes the first part of the book. The renowned researcher inspects the main social issues to consider when we talk about DTTV, without leaving aside the perspective of the media economy in which he specialises. His aim is to establish links between these research areas, which are often presented with considerable distance both in terms of study objects and

methodologies. For Picard, digitalisation makes it necessary to include social aspects and economic and business strategies, as it is the public, in the role of viewers, users or clients, according to the occasion, who validate the effort made over the length of the broadcast sector value chain.

He introduces and develops the concept of the costs that digitalisation demands from people; not just economic but also, as mentioned before, time and educational. He also emphasises the importance of knowing the aspirations and needs that viewers try to satisfy via TV. It is necessary to estimate the extent to which they are now met by the analogue offer; how more enriching options can be offered with the digital offer; and how to create new needs too. Picard believes it is essential to be very clear about what elements condition the demand for DTTV, i.e., terrestrial dissemination in this case: the quality/quantity/price relation of the offer, the investment in household infrastructure and equipment, the simplicity of the electronic gadgets and their interfaces, etc. In short, he proposes an analysis that makes it possible to situate DTTV in a differential manner from the other technology platforms and with its own arguments to become a useful option for users.

Picard considers that to date it has been governments and sector agents (manufacturers, operators, etc.) who have promoted the rollout of digital TV in Europe. It might be that now is the time for these agents to become aware that the social and economic success of the process lies in inverting this trend and getting the people to demand digital TV. For that reason, he believes it is important to continue with or even start up new lines of research that identify the true motives behind the digital migration from the different perspectives of the process (social, economic, political and technological).

These six chapters constitute the first part of the book, which, as I said before, aims to offer a systematic snapshot of the main questions and problems characterising and conforming the rollout process of DTTV. The second part of the book involves case studies from eight European markets.

For each state the authors offer a broad historical description which enables us to see how it has arrived at the current situation and to understand the features of its digital TV market, with special attention going to terrestrial transmission. They also set out both the public actions and

business movements and strategies. This is what makes this part of the book a very valuable tool for anyone desiring a general perspective on what is happening in Europe or for people interested in understanding the particular situation of the member states analysed. These chapters identify the main obstacles, errors and successes of national migration processes. They also mention the most important problems and future challenges for each case. The book ends with a number of general conclusions compiled by the editors.

The book is an indispensable reference tool for researchers interested in the field of television. It is also a useful document for sector professionals, clarifying concepts and including reflections on their work area and the digitalisation phenomenon. Finally, I should say it is hard to come across, even in specialised libraries, and so I would recommend resorting to the internet, where you might also be able to find it at a better price.

Guidelines for broadcasting regulation

SALOMON, EVE, 1st ed., Paris: Commonwealth Broadcasting Association (CBA) / Unesco. 76 p. 2006. Unesco Reference: CI/COM/2006/PI/3.

by Marta Civil i Serra, researcher with the Institute of Communications at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (InCom-UAB)

The aspects that should ideally be taken into account in the regulation of broadcasting in general is the main objective of author Eve Salomon in *Guidelines for Broadcasting Regulation*, written on commission from the Commonwealth Broadcasting Association (CBA) and Unesco.

The work, publicly presented in February 2006 at the 26th General Conference of the Commonwealth Broadcasting Association in New Delhi (India), was a response to the need for a document to respond to requests that both Unesco and the CBA regularly receive from governments and independent regulators, both ones that exist and others in the creation phase, about broadcasting regulation, as the CBA Secretary-General, Elisabeth Smith, explains in the foreword.

The result is a text written in a precise English in the form of an essay that satisfies expectations and offers a panoramic view at the international scale that is up to date and which contains key elements about broadcasting regulation, as well as particular examples from the five continents, which shore up the argument and contextualisation offered by this expert in broadcasting and press regulation. Eve Salomon is a member of the UK's Press Complaints Commission, a former director of the Legal Services at the UK Radio Authority and the secretary of the UK regulatory organisation Ofcom.

Guidelines for Broadcasting Regulation is structured in nine chapters and two appendices and is designed not just to be read, but also to be used as a consultation manual.

The publication is available in full at the CBA website (<http://www.cba.org.uk/documents/guidelines.pdf>) and the Unesco website (<http://www.unesco.org>, in the section 'publications', reference CI/COM/2006/PI/3). I am pleased to report it can be openly and freely accessed. Unesco also offers the possibility of buying the officially published paper version via its website.

The Commonwealth Broadcasting Association was established in 1945 as the Commonwealth Broadcasting Conference and was open to public broadcasters from Commonwealth countries. It became the Commonwealth Broadcasting Association in 1974 and in 1995 was expanded to include private broadcasters.

Today the Commonwealth Broadcasting Association is made up of more than 100 broadcasting organisations from 50 countries in Europe, Africa, the Caribbean, Oceania, the Pacific and America (North and South) (www.cba.org.uk/links/index.html, consulted on 28 April 2006). It is funded by subscriptions, with the purpose being to promote the public broadcasting service, freedom of expression and the right to communicate and promote quality broadcasting. The CBA Publications Service regularly presents specialised new products, such as this work by Eve Salomon, and a quarterly magazine.

In the first chapter of *Guidelines for Broadcasting Regulation*, Salomon reflects on the role of broadcasting, implicitly understood as radio and television, and how it has become the most pervasive and powerful means of communication in the world. It should be said that in some areas with significant poverty and illiteracy, the only source of information and news is word-of-mouth among members of a community and, progressively, programmes broadcast on the radio.

In states governed by totalitarian regimes, the state establishes strict control on the sources and content of the news broadcast, based on official versions without any confirmation, pluralism or guarantee of independence. However, the appearance of the internet and the transmission of broadcasters via satellite from other states has enabled access to new media and sources and is forcing totalitarian governments to relax the controls they apply to their own radio and television broadcasters.

The author holds that broadcasting regulation has to rest on two basic principles: first, it must be as minimalist as possible while preserving freedom of expression and the nature of democracy, based on regulation of content on the basis of clear rules to be applied by regulators after content is broadcast, never beforehand (otherwise we would be talking about censorship). The second is the fact that there is no single right way to establish an effective and appropriate system of regulation.

Throughout the text, the author argues the importance of bearing in mind the cultural tradition within a population when it comes to defining the guidelines of broadcasting regulation and that these can be applied with success. "In some cases, there is a generally accepted international standard that can be applied through tried and tested means. However, in many other cases, the best solution will be very culturally specific" (p. 8).

In some countries, programmes with sexual content or where people appear nude are specifically banned during children's viewing times but are allowed at adult viewing times. On the other hand, they are not accepted in Muslim countries at any time.

In the second chapter, Salomon reflects on the reason why it is important to regulate the broadcast media and justifies her beliefs on the grounds that the media directly impacts the way people think and behave, in aspects considered 'good' and 'bad' alike.

In some states, broadcasting is used particularly to shore up the transmission and preservation of indigenous and minority languages and the national culture, and thus to protect cultural independence, which may at the same time be linked to economic interests of the states and the companies that intervene in the private broadcasting sector.

But why do radio and television have to have a specific form of regulation different from other media like the press, magazines or the internet? Because they use the broadcasting spectrum which is a public good pertaining to a state and which at the same time is conditioned by complex international agreements. Consequently, the majority of governments establish a number of conditions on broadcasters via licences, which are often assigned by the state for a limited period, although in some cases at no economic cost.

With regards freedom of expression as a universal human right, Eve Salomon emphasises article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 10 December 1948, which is also taken into account in other laws such as article 9 of the African Charter of Human and People's Rights; article 10 of the European Convention on the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, and article 13 of the American Convention on Human Rights, although there are governments that do not monitor this right, as happens, for

example, and according to Salomon, in various states in Eastern Europe and Central Asia.

The key factors to be considered before a democratic proposal of radio and television legislation are, according to Salomon: the right to appeal, the right of reply and rules on impartiality; obligations to ensure information is accurate and impartial; general obligations of impartiality; rules to prevent discrimination; special rules for broadcasting religious matters; the establishment of an independent regulator; appointment mechanisms (in the face of possible interference or pressure from political or economic powers); attributions of the regulatory authority; terms for appointments; subsidies and conflicts of interest.

At the same time, there are reasons of cultural and consumer protection and economic purposes: the application of international trade agreements; as a means of balancing domestic investment; to protect the promotion of national industries and support the domestic production sector; to promote new technologies and the application of competition laws.

In the third chapter, the author takes an in-depth look at the creation of an independent regulator. Former Soviet states and some states in Western Europe have struggled to separate the media and government, while other states with a longer democratic tradition have found the process easier. In the process of regulatory control it is important to have the support and permission of the government, but ideally from a politically independent institution.

Armenia, for example, experienced a protest movement and violence a few years ago because the regulatory body sponsored by the government decided to revoke the license of a television broadcaster that had supported the opposition party. Since then, Armenia has changed its law to create an independent regulator which marks more distance between the state and the regulator and which really involves a depoliticised regulation, Salomon explains.

Jurisdictional aspects are dealt with in the fourth chapter, in the part that speaks about the difficulties of determining legislative limits. "One of the trickiest issues facing broadcasting regulators is the question of where their jurisdiction begins and ends" (p. 25). With regards the specific terrestrial spectrum, she specifies that cable operators generally provide broadcasting on the one hand, and telecommunications (telephone and more recently the internet)

on the other. In the section dedicated to satellite, she argues it is not possible to stop a service initiated by satellite from another jurisdiction, although it can be restricted, especially if a decoder is needed. But the author says today's jurisdictional problems could be relieved by making more international agreements that are binding (like the European Union's Television Without Frontiers directive) and promoting new agreements in the future.

The fifth chapter is dedicated to the awarding of licences, a complex field which anticipates making awards to community media, as radio or television services whose purpose is to help a sector of the minority population (because of their language or religion). With the introduction of digitalisation, each state will have to find the best way for the analogue switch-off. Salomon says that some regulation initiatives charm operators into cooperating by guaranteeing automatic licence renewals or exemption from paying the licence fee for years.

Salomon analyses ownership and plurality in the sixth chapter and stresses that plurality is often measured from the national and local points of view. In small states where there is no broad spectrum, guaranteeing a plurality of broadcasters is more difficult because there is sometimes only one medium created by the state.

In the seventh chapter, dedicated to content regulation, Salomon goes into detail about the protection of democratic principles, the protection of minors, the work against offending human dignity, the protection of the individual in the face of crime and disorder, ethnic and racial discrimination, religious programmes and generally accepted standards, the legality of content, honesty, decency and truth, separation and identification of advertising, sponsorship and advertising plays. In the sphere of sanctions she emphasises procedures, suspensions and withdrawals.

On this point, Salomon stresses the importance of a regulator providing the public with a code or guidelines listing the main details of the interpretation of the country's basic legislation, which includes, among other things, whether the 'watershed' (protected viewing time for children) ends at 10 p.m. One of the problems of the European Union, for example, is that the watershed is the same time for all, although public, cultural and time habits are different. But in states where there is no legal code or directive, the limits are left up to the interpretation of

a court, which decides on the basis of each conflict.

In some jurisdictions, e.g., Switzerland and Canada, there is a complaints organisation different to the regulatory body. "This serves to act as a separation between the legislature (the regulator who sets the rules) and the judiciary (the body which adjudicates on whether the rules have been broken)" (p. 62).

Other public policy objectives are dealt with in chapter eight, which especially includes access to television programmes by people with a degree of disability, media ownership, inhouse production quotas, independent productions and languages.

The ninth and final chapter is devoted to technological convergence. Salomon emphasises the speedy evolution of the sector, particularly over the past seven years, and how it is affecting regulation and leading to guidelines being questioned which had been agreed upon traditionally. She also reflects on the particular case of community media (not always anticipated in documents that specialise in broadcasting regulation).

Finally, the author makes a very valuable contribution with the first appendix on essential elements in the establishment of a hypothetical law that bears broadcasting regulation in mind, with 12 sections: the definition of concepts, the objects of the law, the Broadcasting Commission, jurisdiction, licensing, ownership rules, content standards, emergency broadcasts (if the government has to broadcast news during an emergency), copyright, retention of recordings, production quotas and sanctions.

In the second appendix, Eve Salomon includes an analysis of three particular cases of broadcasting regulation: Canada, with the CRTC (Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission/Conseil de la Radio-diffusion et des Télécommunications Commission); South Africa, with the ICASA (Independent Communications Authority of South Africa) and Ofcom (Office of Communications) in the United Kingdom.

The Canadian case features a flexible form of regulation based on the protection of broadcasting in English and French, the preservation of language rights, the promotion of domestic production and the defence of the development and application of information technologies in public services.

In the case of the Independent Communications Authority

of South Africa she particularly emphasises its contribution to the defence of democracy, the development of society, the protection of national construction, gender equality and the protection of historically disadvantaged groups. South Africa promotes a system based on three broadcasting sectors: public, commercial and community. The broadcasting services are controlled by the South Africans.

The third case studied, i.e., Ofcom in the UK, is the only one of the cases analysed that establishes the effective promotion of self-regulation, a debate generated in some forums of an international scope about diverse peculiarities of regulation (e.g., self-regulation and co-regulation), aspects that are of more concern in societies with an advanced democracy.

However, on this point, I thought there was a lack of justification, even if brief, about the reason for choosing these three cases and not others. I also would have liked a final reflection, by way of conclusions, although the first appendix does set out some of the elements essential for regulation in the author's opinion, in the format of an outline.

In short, *Guidelines for Broadcasting Regulation* is a basic and rigorous work. Although one may initially think the models Salomon provides are aimed particularly at states in democratic transition, I also feel that legislators and the people responsible for public policies in Spain should take them into account when it comes to approving and applying the future broadcasting law and the law creating the independent regulatory authority at the State level. They may appear to be basic concepts, but we should not forget that, at May 2006, the central government has still to create a broadcasting regulatory authority, an element considered essential for the development of a full democracy and for the preservation of the rights of its citizens.

The Screen: Neither Friend Nor Enemy - Quite the Opposite

FERNÁNDEZ CAVIA, JOSEP.

La pantalla amiga? Nens i adolescents davant el nou entorn audiovisual (The Friendly Screen? Children and Adolescents and the New Audiovisual Environment). Tarragona: Arola, 2005.

by Anna Estrada i Alsina, CAC Technical Services Officer

'Neither Apocalyptic Nor Integrated, But Quite the Opposite' is the title of the final point in this book and the periphrasis that defines the author's posture throughout the whole of the work. This attitude by Fernández Cavia makes the monograph an excellent and up-to-date examination of the question of the relationship between children, teenagers and the electronic communication and leisure media. From the very first pages, we can see the good sense of his viewpoint when he says "the media – television, Internet, videogames, mobile phones – are not intrinsically benign or wicked. [...] The difference lies in the content transmitted and the use made of them" (p. 23).

This work is structured around three major sections. In the introduction, the author establishes the idea that the electronic communication and leisure media have collaborated significantly in creating a new social context in which being a child or teenager today is not the same as it was a few years ago and therefore we cannot judge what today's young people do from our adult perspectives and memories of earlier experiences. Fernández Cavia holds that today's children and teenagers are characterised by daily contact with technologies that form part of their daily routines and which enable them to see and understand the world differently from previous generations.

At this point, the author introduces the concept of 'new audiovisual environment' to refer to all the media and devices within the reach of young consumers and which form a practically undifferentiated continuum. As a result of media convergence, it is not unusual to find common characters, stories and forms of entertainment on different screens (film, television, mobile phone, PC, console, etc.). To contextualise the information he will later present, Fernández Cavia then includes a brief but interesting review of the main trends in the electronic communication and

leisure media to which children and teenagers have access (film, radio, television, internet, mobile phone, videogames and advertising). From this review, he extracts important ideas like the fact that Spanish adults are not a good reference model when it comes to television consumption, with average adult consumption considerably exceeding that of the young. He also explains, among other things, that young people use the Internet to relate with their friends and have fun, something which runs counter to the stereotype that the new leisure media promote loneliness among adolescents, and that the overwhelming success of mobile phones is due to the use made of them as a symbolic tool of exchange and representative device of identity. All these figures are backed up by the use of the studies and the bibliography consulted.

Also in the introduction, the author explains one of the key concepts in the theory of current communication, i.e., the active audience. This concept, which in fact justifies the coherence of the position the author takes throughout the whole of the text, holds that receiver publics are capable of preparing the message received and giving it a unique, individual meaning by mixing it or negotiating with knowledge, attitudes and personal contexts. This theory is, for the author, perfectly applicable to children and adolescents, who are also able to understand audiovisual discourses and draw their own conclusions, abilities that depend on their education in the social, family and school environments and audiovisual literacy.

At the end of this dense introduction, Fernández Cavia analyses the electronic communication media as companies. The author is optimistic when focusing on the economic and industrial nature of the sector, which has led to a noticeable deterioration in the television product, and believes the trend of using the communication and leisure media as content platforms that appeal to the most basic and poorest part of the human condition, due to market pressure and the dynamics of the consumer society, can change if people demand media that are intelligent and are put to the service of the most progressive and social human values. For that reason, he reviews the main regulatory and self-regulatory measures of the audiovisual sector and the most important audiovisual consumer rights' associations in Catalonia and Spain.

The second major section of the book, 'Education and

Media', refers to the nature and operation of the media in the role of educating in this new audiovisual environment. Here, Fernández Cavia examines the approach the education system has taken towards technological innovation and its application with educational purposes. After summarising the impact of information and communication technologies (ICTs) on the education system and setting out what is meant by 'educational technology', the author calls, as a number of education and communication professionals did a few years ago, for a place for audiovisual education in our schools and in our country, too.

To date, audiovisual communication entered schools as a study object with the aim of educating about the peculiarities of audiovisual languages as a specific form of expression and teaching people to critique the media. According to the author, this work should also include education in responsible consumption, as excessive and indiscriminate consumption of the electronic communication media stops people from engaging in other activities, who then lose initiative with regards their free time. Audiovisual communication should also be introduced into schools as a pedagogic resource. Educational psychologists have mainly assumed that this type of resource contributes to a rounder development of the personality and to students' cognitive abilities. These two perspectives were set out by the Audiovisual Education Cross Discipline Board at the Generalitat of Catalonia's former Department of Education. However, Fernández Cavia proposes adding a new dimension for audiovisual education in the compulsory schooling years: audiovisual communication as a socialising agent. The author believes it is essential for audiovisual education to address in depth the socialising role of the media. He thinks it is important to study the effects of audiovisual communication on individuals and how they behave, and what the children and adolescents born, raised and educated in an environment densely populated with audiovisual images think and believe.

Aware that audiovisual communication has still not found a stable and defined place in school curricula in our country, after so many years of its presence in people's daily lives, the author insists throughout the whole of the work, and particularly in this second part, on the importance of the family in the relationship between children and adolescents and the electronic communication and leisure media. For

Fernández Cavia, the people mainly responsible for this relationship today are parents. Only they know what their children watch and play, and how they spend their time and manage these habits and intervene in them with an educational purpose.

To support his line of argument, in this part of the book the author includes ideas of all postures, from the most critical (which are the most abundant in the educational sphere) through to more favourable ones about the electronic communication and leisure media and the content they propagate in society. For Fernández Cavia, the electronic communication media can and must play an important cultural function with regards children and adolescents, and he cites the human need for nourishment from fiction - whether through oral, written or audiovisual narratives. He says that approaches which criticise the cinema or television for impoverishing culture are unjust, because both involve a popular, mass culture that cannot be compared with the highbrow one books represented at the start of the 20th century, reserved as they were for a small part of the population. A highbrow culture still exists today (and it is good that it does), which only under exceptional circumstances is conveyed through the media, and a popular culture which in principle seeks pure entertainment.

The author closes this chapter with a description of the presentation of audiovisual education (or media or audiovisual literacy) within the compulsory schooling cycle in our country today. This presence, despite advances made by the documents drawn up by the Broadcast Media Programme of the Generalitat of Catalonia's Department of Education, has yet to take into account the integration of the content of audiovisual education in the common curriculum of the compulsory schooling cycle with its own space, but continues to be limited to a number of aspects in the visual and plastic arts areas and the across-the-board curriculum.

The third major section of the work develops in more detail the new dimension that Fernández Cavia proposes for audiovisual education: the influence of audiovisual communication on children and adolescents. Aware of the radical transformation in the forms of children's and teenagers' leisure activities in recent years, and supported by contributions from a constructivist or cognitive perspective, the author challenges some of the most recurrent myths in the representation on the part of adults of children and teens

as consumers, viewers and users of the new audiovisual environment. He introduces interesting ideas such as the fact that qualitative research by experts has found that children from a very young age develop a number of abilities, criteria and understandings of the media that are much more evolved and independent than adults realise and that minors watch less television in Spain than older age groups do.

Fernández Cavia then goes over some of the supposed effects of this type of leisure and communication with regards the understanding, attitudes and behaviour of children and adolescents, and summarises the current state of studies on the issue. In particular, he focuses on the relationship between television and family, advertising as a stimulus for consumption, possible connections between the electronic media and the generalised feeling that violence is on the rise, problems arising from the representation of sexual content on-screen, the dangers of addiction and broadcasting on the part of the communication and leisure media, stereotypes and ideologically marked representations of reality.

This book does not disappoint the reader who, as well as information, has turned to it for solutions. To finish, Fernández Cavia devotes the conclusions to forming a number of general reflections which, even if one accepts are based on a particular ideological and ethical perspective, may be of use in guiding adults when it comes to facing the issues raised throughout the text. In line with the rest of the work, the author ends with the following warning: "As parents and educators, we have to learn to defend ourselves and to defend our children and students from any harmful effects the media may have, but we also have to learn to make the most from the good things about them, of which there are many" (page 184). The exhaustiveness of this volume, despite the author's proven ability for summarisation, ends with an extensive bibliography that invites the reader to reflection.

All up, this is a very complete book that addresses the relationship between children and/or adolescents, the electronic media and education without prejudices and with good sense. In short, it should be compulsory reading for education and communication professionals and the general public alike.

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