

The Public Image of Immigration in Television Series

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- *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

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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.

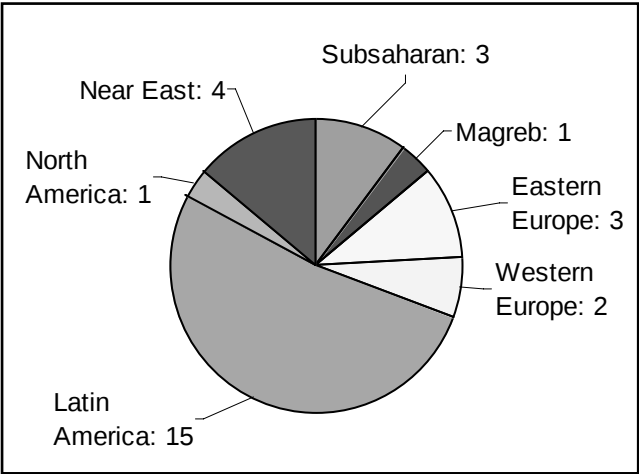
Of particular interest is the fact that of the four African characters, three were sub-Saharan and only one was from the Maghreb, which is paradoxical with respect to the immigration phenomenon in the Spanish social reality. Also conspicuous by their absence were characters representing Asian immigrants,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



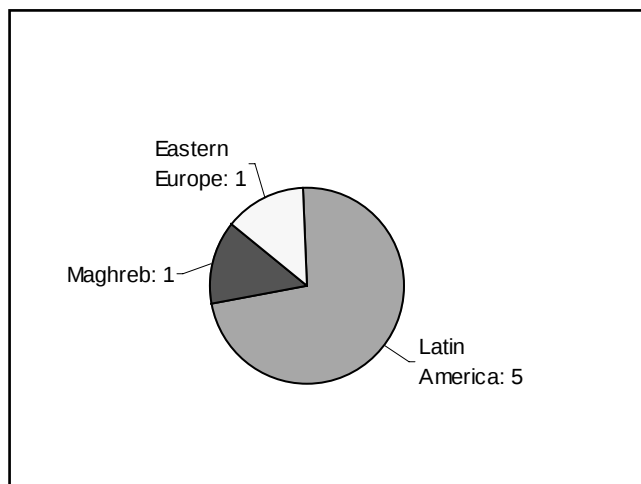
political/institutional actors. With respect to professions, the most common jobs for immigrants were in the services sector, illegal or semi-legal activities (crime, prostitution, etc.) and entertainment (circus, football, etc.).

- **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.

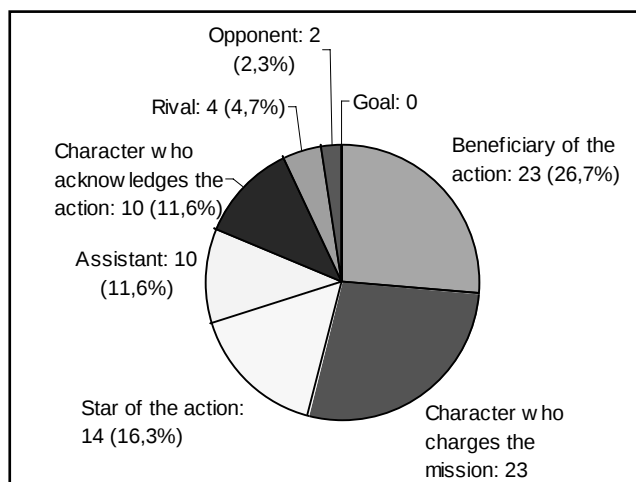
2. 2. 2. The spanish stations

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.

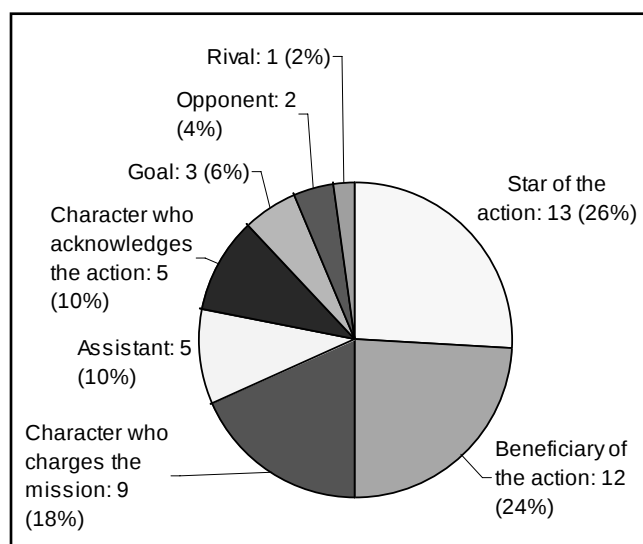
2. 2. 4. Comparative analysis

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