

# 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

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## 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

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 immigration<sup>1</sup>.

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..."<sup>2</sup>

#### 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.

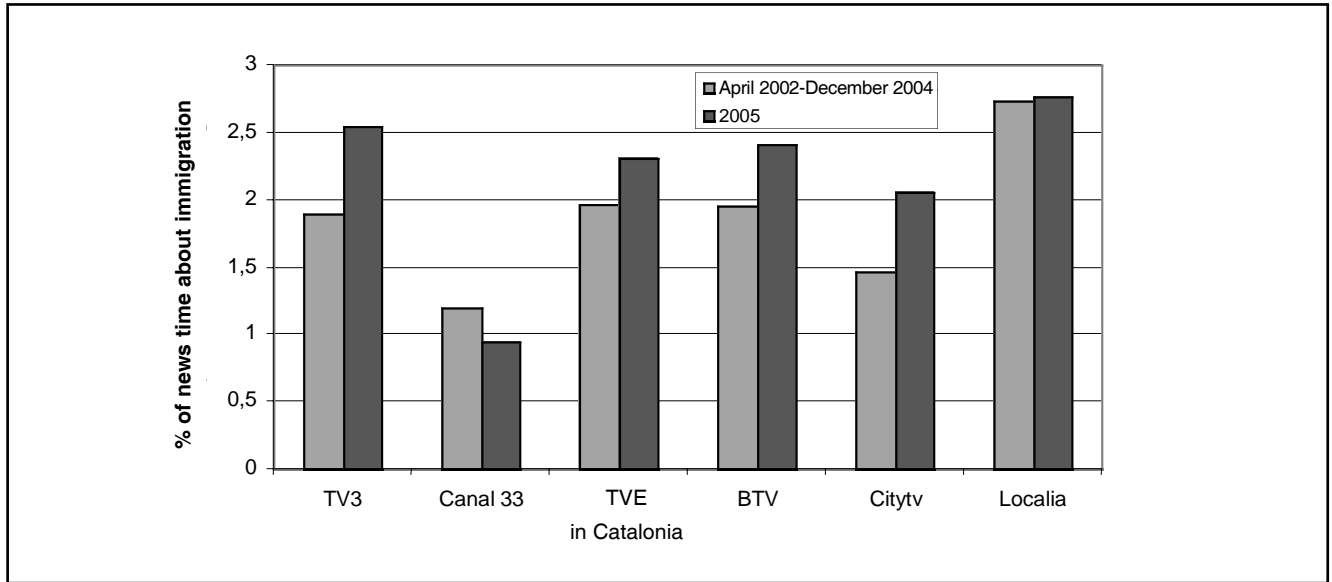
The volume of information related to migration flows began to drop off in May and reached its lowest point in July. Oddly enough, this figure contrasts with the ones obtained in the study for the period April 2002-December 2004, which reflected a rise in information related to these flows during the summer months (particularly June and July). In that re-

**Table 1. News time of immigration-related stories**

Station	Period April 2002 – December 2004 <sup>3</sup>		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
<i>Total</i>	<i>71:02:04</i>	<i>1.82</i>	<i>37:22:26</i>	<i>2.30</i>

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

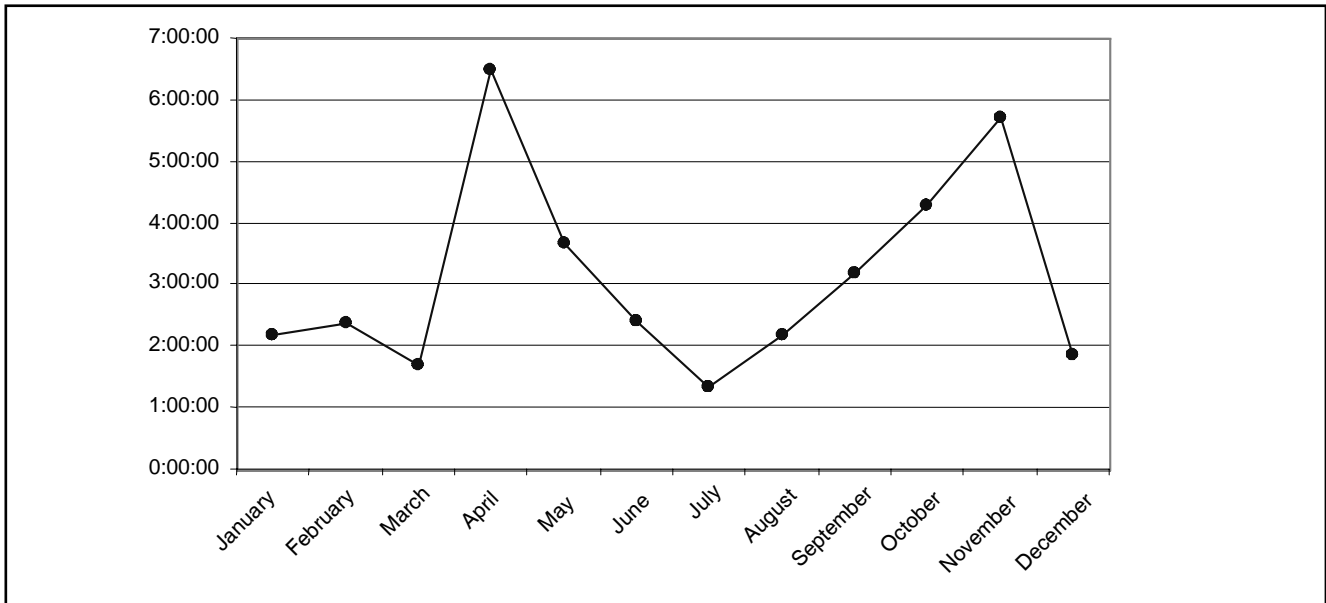
During 2005, the Immigration TER took up 12 hours and 29 minutes of the TV news shows analysed, i.e., 33.43% of the total stories broadcast in relation to immigration. The set of immigration-related TERs therefore represented the remaining 66.57%.

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.

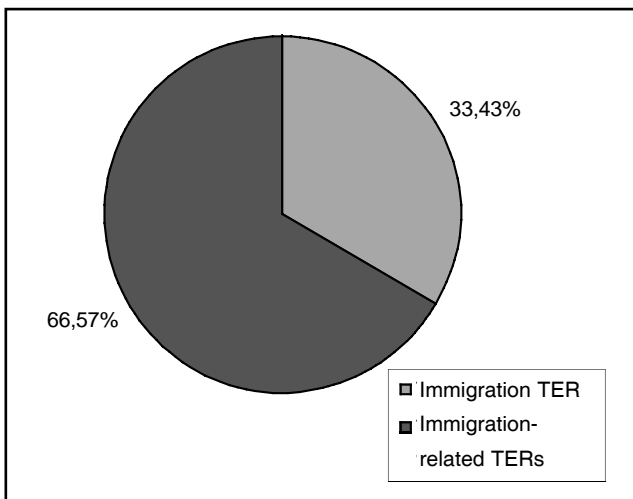
- Arrival of immigrants at the border fences of Ceuta and Melilla

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	4:03:59	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	0:37:04	1.65
Celebration of Ramadan	0:34:17	1.53
Knife assault at a high school in l'Hospitalet1	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	0:13:50	0.62
Disappearance and murder of a student from Lleida2	0:11:42	0.52
International Migrant's Day	0:10:10	0.45
Verdict against the people arrested in Operation Nova	0:08:27	0.38
Verdict on the crime at Maremàgnum	0:05:48	0.26
Assassination of Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh	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 Poblenuu 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

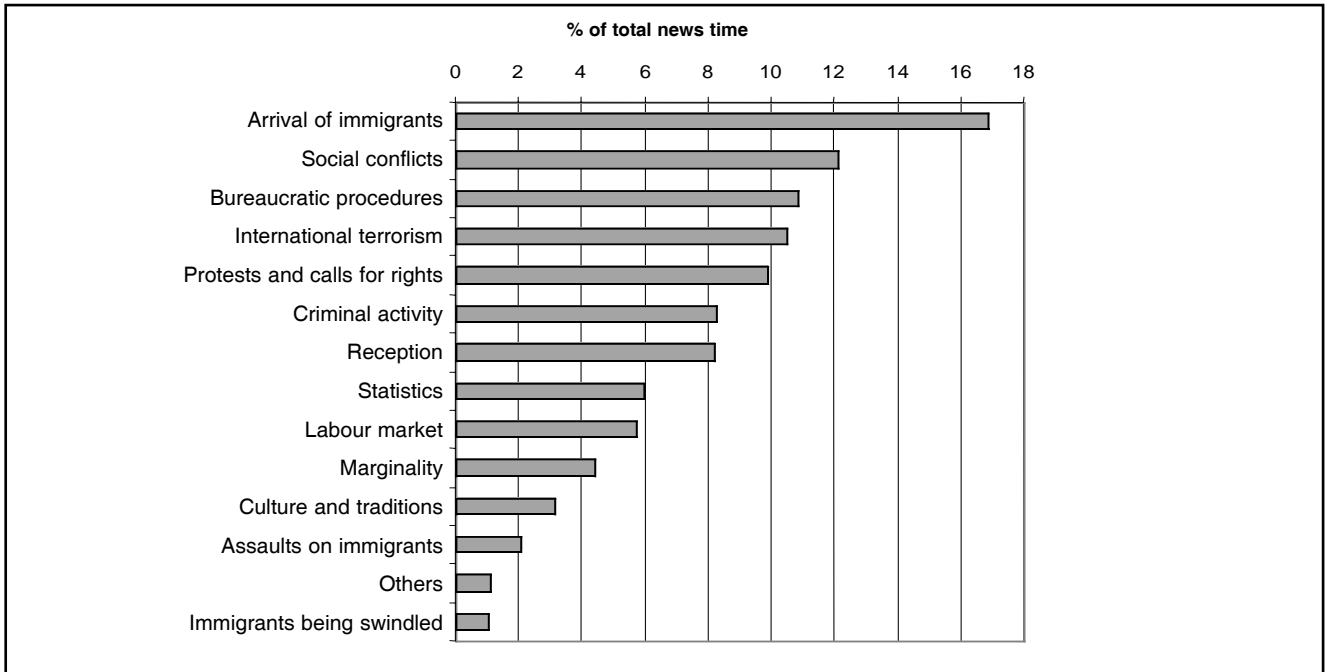
the 11 March bombings in Madrid.

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**



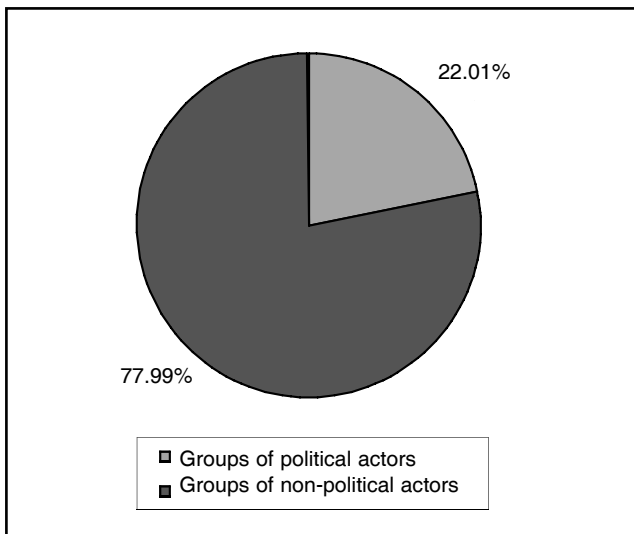
Source: Author's own work

### 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

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)

**Graph 5. Distribution of speaking time**

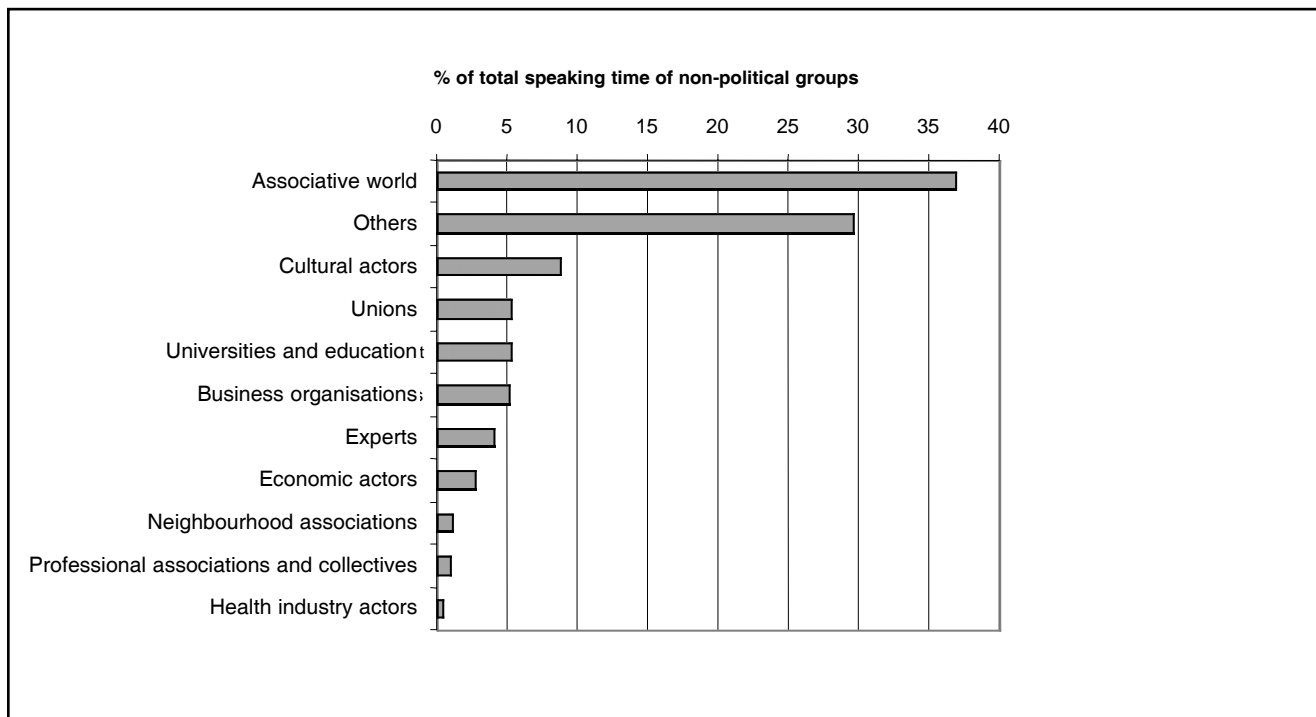


Source: Author's own work

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
<b><i>Assemblea per la regularització sense condicions</i></b>	49	18.4
SOS Racismo	36	13.5
<b><i>Papers per a Tothom</i></b>	22	8.2
Doctors without Borders	13	4.9
Red Cross	10	3.7
Casal d'Infants del Raval	10	3.7
<b><i>Association of Pakistani Workers</i></b>	8	3.0
<b><i>Fedelatina</i></b>	7	2.6
Càritas	7	2.6
<b><i>ASOPIX Chilean Association</i></b>	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”<sup>11</sup> 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)

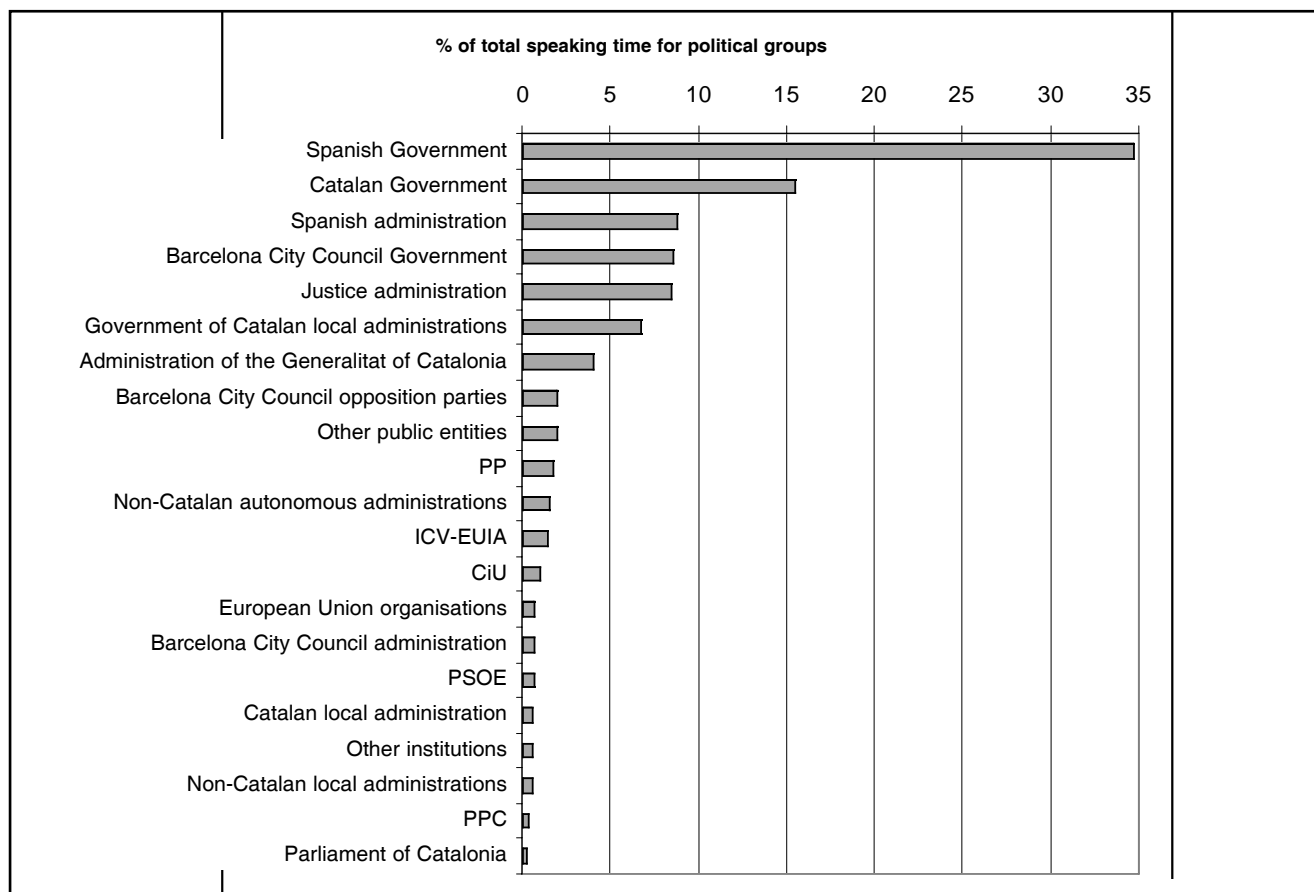
## 7. Conclusions

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 inserts<sup>12</sup>**

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>			<b>380</b>	<b>100</b>

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.