

Television Programming and Information on the Day of Reflection

Isabel Sánchez

Introduction

The regulation of the electoral campaign contained in the LOREG (Organic Law on the General Electoral System) and, in particular, its rules in relation to the day of reflection, requires special care from the media in treating information broadcast during the day with regard to political pluralism and proportionality of candidatures, as well as to prevent broadcasts that could influence how people will vote.

However, 13 March 2004 was a very atypical day of reflection, particularly in the final hours that were rife with tension and which even led to a fear that the elections would be adjourned. As explained in the document entitled *Considerations by the CAC on the Television Treatment of the 11 March Attacks in Madrid and Subsequent Events Through to the Spanish Elections of 14 March*¹, the singularity of the day before the 2004 Spanish legislative elections was marked by the tragic attacks of 11 March. The unanimous decision by the political parties that took part in the elections to bring the campaign to a close prolonged the period of reflection to three days. Also, the imminent elections focused public interest on clearing up as speedily as possible the doubts about who was behind the attacks, which oscillated between two opposing hypotheses: a preliminary official version which held that ETA was to blame, and the version that pointed towards Islamic fundamentalist terrorism. The media consequently focused news attention during the day of reflection on dispelling these doubts, on an extremely delicate day with regard to the requirement of neutrality.

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As mentioned in the *Considerations*¹, “these circumstances placed the media in an extraordinary situation and generated intense debate about the possible relationship between the television treatment of the events in the wake of the Madrid outrage of 11 March and the electoral results of 14 March”.

This article aims to make a comparative analysis of the news treatment that the four television stations analysed (TV3, TVE-1, Tele-5 and Antena 3 TV) gave to the events that took place on this unusual day of electoral reflection. Firstly, it studies the changes the different stations made to their programming schedules, taking into account the broadcasting of special news reports, the existence of competitive programming, the dissemination of special editions of regular programmes and the amount of advertising. A second part of the analysis focuses on the treatment of events relating to the attacks on the lunchtime and evening news bulletins. On this issue, we analysed whether the stations respected regular programme lengths, the news time devoted to 11 March and the way the different stations treated the stories that comprised the news agenda that day. Finally, we analysed the news treatment of the two key events of the day: the principal public appearances of political actors and the mass protests outside the Popular Party offices.

Changes to Programming Schedules

On 13 March, all the stations analysed maintained their regular Saturday programming schedules, which were only interrupted by the broadcasting of various special news reports devoted entirely to the attacks. These were aired throughout the day and varied in length (see Tables 13, 14, 15 and 16). TV3 and TVE-1 featured the most news

bulletins (and 6 respectively) and they lasted longer than on the private stations, often exceeding 20 minutes. The special news reports on Antena 3 TV and Tele-5 (which broadcast 5 and 4, respectively) had an average length of 3 minutes.

The most significant programming change was the competitive programming of TVE-1, which broadcast the Elías Querejeta documentary *Asesinato en febrero* (*Assassination in February*) at 11.30 p.m., telling the story of

the assassination of the socialist MP, Fernando Buesa, and his bodyguard at the hands of ETA in February 2000. The station had planned to show the film *Shakespeare in Love*, which was eventually aired on Friday, replacing the regular variety show *Noche de fiesta*, which TVE considered inappropriate under the tragic circumstances.

There were also the different cases of special editions of regular programmes. Examples include the TV3 news blocks *3/24* and TVE-1's *Informe semanal*, both devoted

Table 13. TV3. Programming between 8.00 a.m. on 13 March and 1.30 a.m. on 14 March

Start time	End time	Programme	Comments
08:00	08:30	Informatiu 3/24	Exclusively about the attacks
08:30	09:00	Informatiu 3/24 (rebroadcast)	Exclusively about the attacks
09:00	09:07	Accents	
09:07	09:48	Nydia Concert	
09:48	10:23	Nydia	
10:24	11:10	Rodasons	
11:10	11:15	Avanç informatiu	Exclusively about the attacks
11:15	12:04	Charlie's Angels	
12:04	13:11	Film <i>The White Horse</i>	
13:11	13:36	Avanç informatiu	Exclusively about the attacks
13:40	14:05	Film <i>The White Horse</i> (continuation)	
14:09	14:24	Minut Zero	Partially devoted to the attacks
14:29	15:42	TN Migdia	Exclusively about the attacks except for a brief block
15:43	15:50	El Temps	
15:50	15:55	Cuina per solters	
16:02	17:13	El cor de la ciutat	
17:20	18:24	Film <i>Can't Hardly Wait</i>	
18:24	18:35	Avanç informatiu	Exclusively about the attacks
18:35	19:06	Film <i>Can't Hardly Wait</i> (continuation)	
19:06	19:18	Avanç informatiu	Exclusively about the attacks
19:18	19:39	Film <i>Can't Hardly Wait</i> (continuation)	
19:45	19:59	Tresors del món, patrimoni de la humanitat	
19:59	20:25	Avanç informatiu	Exclusively about the attacks
20:31	21:46	TN Vespre	Exclusively about the attacks except for a brief block
21:50	21:54	El Temps	
21:56	23:33	Football	
23:34	23:54	Special news report	Exclusively about the attacks
00:01	01:20	Film <i>Saturday Night Fever</i>	
01:20	01:25	Avanç informatiu	Exclusively about the attacks
01:25	01:30	Film <i>Saturday Night Fever</i> (continuation)	

Source: Catalonia Broadcasting Council

exclusively to the attacks and lasting one hour. Tele-5 also broadcast a special edition of the programme *No es lo mismo*, which lasted more than two hours and included reports, accounts and live interviews with the main people involved in the events. Antena 3 TV was the only station that did not change the content of its regular Saturday programming at all on the day of reflection.

With regard to advertising, all the stations aired advertisements on 13 March, although to different extents². The two public stations contained little more than 90 minutes of advertising over the whole day. Tele-5 came in at nearly double this figure with 2 hours, 49 minutes. Antena 3 TV exceeded this, with 3 hours, 35 minutes.

News Bulletins

Throughout the day of electoral reflection, TV3 and TVE-1 Spain featured news bulletins considerably longer than normal (both around 75 minutes, instead of the 55 minutes of the regular bulletins). However, they were slightly shorter than on the days of 11 and 12 March, when many news bulletins on the public stations analysed lasted more than 90 minutes.

All the stations analysed devoted a large part of their news bulletins to covering different aspects of the 11 March tragedy. It is important to emphasise that the presence of news unrelated to the attacks coincided with the sphere of the news space (i.e., Spain or Catalonia). While the Spanish

Table 14. TVE-1. Programming between 8.00 a.m. on 13 March and 1.30 a.m. on 14 March

Start time	End Time	Programme	Comments
08.00	08.01	Informativo Canal 24	Exclusively about the attacks
08.06	09.03	La hora de Warner Bros.	
09.10	11.08	Zona Disney	
11.08	11.35	Avance informativo	Exclusively about the attacks
11.35	11.59	S Club 7 in Hollywood	
12.08	13.05	Especial David Bisbal	
13.11	13.41	Avance Informativo	
13.41	14.04	Especial David Bisbal (continuation)	
14.05	14.29	L'Informatiu cap de setmana	Exclusively about the attacks except for a brief block
14.30	14.58	Special news report on 11 March	Exclusively about the attacks
14.58	16.28	Telediario-1	Exclusively about the attacks except for a brief block
16.28	18.03	Afternoon film: <i>The Big Day</i>	
18.05	19.01	Cine de barrio	
19.01	19.18	Avance informativo	Exclusively about the attacks
19.19	20.11	Cine de barrio	
20.11	20.25	Avance informativo	Exclusively about the attacks
20.25	20.58	Cine de barrio	
21.00	22.11	Telediario-2	Exclusively about the attacks except for a brief block
22.11	23.14	Informe Semanal	Exclusively about the attacks
23.29	23.34	Film <i>Asesinato en febrero</i>	
23.34	23.37	Avance informativo	Exclusively about the attacks
23.37	01.02	Film <i>Asesinato en febrero</i> (continuation)	
01.13	01.18	Avance informativo	Exclusively about the attacks

Source: Catalonia Broadcasting Council

news bulletins in the sample (the two editions of the *Telediario*, *Informativos Tele-5* and *Antena 3 Noticias*) were fully devoted to the attacks, the lunchtime and evening bulletins on TV3 contained a brief block about other news stories of the day (lasting 15 and 5 minutes, respectively) and the lunchtime bulletin of TVE Catalonia devoted 7 of its 24 minutes to stories unrelated to 11 March.

Separate mention should be given to the TV3 evening news bulletin, which included live telephone interviews with the First Minister of the Generalitat, Josep Bargalló, and the Delegate of the Government in Catalonia, Susanna Bouis. As a result of extending the evening bulletin, the station had to transfer the transmission of the football match scheduled for 9.30 p.m. to station 33. The continuation of the match was broadcast by TV3 at 9.56 p.m., once the news bulletin had ended.

The lunchtime bulletin of TVE Catalonia and the Tele-5 and Antena 3 TV bulletins were the normal length, in line with the stations' decision to promote normality in their news programmes.

With regard to the content of the news bulletins broadcast throughout the day of electoral reflection, there were substantial differences between the stations in terms of the treatment afforded the different stories on the news agenda for the day of 13 March.

One of the points in which station behaviour differed the most was the news time that the lunchtime bulletins devoted to the mass protest demonstrations that had taken place the previous day. While the lunchtime bulletin of TVE Catalonia and *Antena 3 Noticias 1* devoted nearly 30% of their news time to the demonstrations, the figure was much lower on the other bulletins, i.e., *Telediario-1* (12.7%), *Informativos Tele-5* (11.5%) and *TN migdia* (9.2%). In absolute terms, however, the programmes that awarded most importance to the demonstrations were *Antena 3 Noticias 1*, with nearly 13 minutes and *Telediario 1*, with more than 10 minutes. TVE-1 was the only station that on 13 March did not mention the people who had booed PP representatives during the demonstrations in Barcelona, although it had mentioned it the previous day.

Table 15. Tele-5. Programming between 8.00 a.m. on 13 March and 1.30 a.m. on 14 March

Start time	End time	Programme	Comments
08.00	08.04	The Archie Mysteries	
08.06	10.53	Max Clan	
10.54	11.18	Kombai & Co	
11.23	12.03	Relic Hunter	
12.03	12.06	Avance informativo	Exclusively about the attacks
12.12	12.17	Relic Hunter (continuation)	
12.18	12.59	Visto y no visto	
12.59	13.00	Avance informativo	Exclusively about the attacks
13.07	13.28	Visto y no visto (continuation)	
13.29	14.02	Walker, Texas Ranger	
14.02	14.04	Avance informativo	Exclusively about the attacks
14.13	14.28	Walker, Texas Ranger(continuation)	
14.28	15.24	Informativos Tele-5	Exclusively about the attacks except for a brief block
15.28	17.45	Film <i>Iron Will</i>	
17.48	20.10	No es lo mismo	Exclusively about the attacks
20.11	20.22	Avance informativo	Exclusively about the attacks
20.30	21.27	Informativos Tele-5	Exclusively about the attacks except for a brief block
21.32	23.51	Film <i>Sabrina</i>	
23.51	1.30	Film <i>Sliver</i>	

Source: Catalonia Broadcasting Council

Another point to highlight is the inclusion of inserts by politicians other than those of the PP and PPC on the news bulletins, given that the representatives of the Spanish government were given speaking time on all the programmes analysed. All the evening news bulletins of the different stations broadcast the 9.15 p.m. appearance of the PP candidate to the presidency of the government, Mariano Rajoy. However, as the sample shows (see Table 14), TVE-1 was the only station to broadcast it live. TV3 began the broadcast but technical problems meant it ended up going to air later. While TVE-1 and Antena 3 TV only gave speaking time to a politician not from the government in their evening bulletins (the socialist Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba), TV3 and Tele-5 awarded speaking time in both their bulletins to members of the PSOE and Basque political

representatives (the spokesperson for the Basque Government, Miren Azkarate, on TV3 and the President of the PNB, Josu Jon Imaz, on Tele-5). TV3 also awarded speaking time to all the Catalan political forces represented in the Parliament of Catalonia except for ICV-EA. Finally, I should comment on the unique case of the lunchtime bulletin of TVE Catalonia, which only included an insert from the government spokesperson, Eduardo Zaplana.

One of the most noteworthy aspects when it came to doing the comparative analysis of the news treatment of the bulletins on the day of electoral reflection related to the story of responsibility for the attacks, with important differences between the stations which are set out in more detail below.

TV3's lunchtime bulletin included a story saying that the National Intelligence Centre (CNI) was following a line of

Table 16. Antena 3 TV. Programming between 8.00 a.m. on 13 March and 1.30 a.m. on 14 March

Start time	End time	Programme	Comments
08.00	11.15	Megatrix	
11.24	12.28	La Batidora	
12.28	12.59	The A Team	
12.59	13.02	Avance informativo	Exclusively about the attacks
13.08	13.26	The A Team (continuation)	
13.26	13.56	Sabrina, The Teenage Witch	
13.56	14.06	The Simpsons	
14.06	14.09	Avance informativo	Exclusively about the attacks
14.17	14.59	The Simpsons (continuation)	
14.59	15.43	Noticias 1	Exclusively about the attacks except for a brief block
15.49	15.51	El Tiempo	
15.58	18.26	Film <i>The Challenge</i>	
18.27	20.11	Film <i>Three Wishes</i>	
20.11	20.24	Avance informativo	Exclusively about the attacks
20.35	20.58	Film <i>Three Wishes</i> (continuation)	
20.58	21.41	Noticias 2	Exclusively about the attacks except for a brief block
21.41	21.43	Telecupón	
21.54	22.15	The Simpsons	
22.16	23.47	Film <i>Shangai Kid II</i>	
23.47	23.50	Avance informativo	Exclusively about the attacks
23.56	00.29	Film <i>Shangai Kid II</i> (continuation)	
00.39	01.24	Noche de impacto	
01.24	01.28	Avance informativo	Exclusively about the attacks
01.24	01.30	Noche de impacto (continuation)	

Source: Catalonia Broadcasting Council

inquiry into the attack having been carried out by Al-Qaeda, and a statement by Pérez Rubalcaba at 1.31 p.m., in which he emphasised the public's call for information. It also referred to the desire of some political parties in the Basque Country to reveal the truth about who was behind the attacks as quickly as possible. A story on the evening bulletin added that the CNI had stopped investigating ETA to concentrate on Al-Qaeda. A second story said that Spain had joined the list of countries that had been victims of international terrorism. As I said before, the TV3 evening bulletin aired live telephone interviews on the day of reflection with the First Minister of the Generalitat, Josep Bargalló, and the delegate of the government in Catalonia, Susanna Bouis, relating to the controversy about the supposed manipulation of information on the Madrid bombings. At 8.35 p.m., just after the bulletin had begun, Josep Bargalló telephoned the station and made an on-air accusation that the Spanish Government was withholding information on the investigations into who was behind the attacks. The First Minister demanded *transparency* from the Spanish Government and *ethics* on the part of the media and said that some members of the CNI had personally expressed to him their discontent and dissatisfaction with the Government's actions. Susanna Bouis immediately (at 8.52 p.m.) contacted TVC to respond to the story and the on-air accusations by the First Minister. She said the Spanish Government had not "used or withheld information" and complained about Bargalló's comments, saying they could induce acts of violence.

With regard to Tele-5's news bulletins, the lunchtime bulletin mentioned doubts about who was behind the attacks under the headline "Two Statements from ETA Denying Responsibility Cause More Political Controversy", in the framework of which it aired the statement by Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba, as well as inserts by the socialist José Bono and Josu Jon Imaz, President of the PNB. In its evening bulletin, Tele-5 featured a story that again referred to the growing political argument and included the same inserts.

TVE-1's *Telediario-1* devoted 3.5 minutes of the one hour and 24 minutes of the bulletin to dealing with the question of the responsibility for the attacks. This time was given exclusively to the official hypothesis because, as I mentioned before, it did not broadcast the first public appearance of the socialist Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba, in

Table 17. T. News Time Devoted to Witness Information in the News Bulletins of 13 March

Station	News time	% of total news bulletin
TV3	0:03:43	2.5
TVE Catalonia	--	--
TVE-1	0:46:27	30.0
Tele-5	0:31:07	28.0
Antena 3 TV	0:12:12	14.4

Source: Catalonia Broadcasting Council

which he called on the government to respond to the public's demand for information. The bulletin only included statements from the ministers Zaplana and Acebes in which they assured the transparency of the Government and where the latter again pointed the finger at ETA as the most likely group responsible. In contrast, one of the stories on *Telediario-1* said that, following the attacks in Madrid, the US had tightened security measures on its undergrounds and trains. In the evening, *Telediario-2* mentioned the possibility of radical Islamic fundamentalist groups being behind the attacks, in a cross with a correspondent in Morocco, and reported on the lack of reaction by Moroccan authorities to the announcement of the arrest of a number of its citizens by the Spanish authorities.

The *Antena 3 Noticias* lunchtime bulletin included only one story on the responsibility for the attacks, which lasted less than 90 seconds and which said, "the Government is not ruling out any line of investigation, but the most likely suspicions point to ETA". As on TVE-1, the first public appearance of Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba was not broadcast. It is also worth mentioning that Antena 3 TV devoted part of its bulletin to recalling the tragic attacks carried out by the Basque terrorist group at the Civil Guard barracks in Vic in 1991, and the station sent a reporter to Vic to air the comments of some of the locals there, who had found themselves reliving the event in the light of the Madrid bombings. Likewise, in a story that explained the importance of counselling programmes for victims to overcome the tragedy, it featured as witnesses two relatives of victims of ETA attacks. A story of a similar nature ("People Injured by Attacks and Their Relatives May Suffer

Post Traumatic Stress in the Days After the Tragedy”) included in the evening bulletin saw the appearance, once again, of two relatives of victims of attacks by the Basque terrorist group.

Finally, *L informatiu migdia* of TVE Catalonia did not tackle the question of who was behind the massacre at any stage and focused on the protest demonstrations.

As well as the news treatment of the mass protests outside the different PP offices, which I will look at in more detail later, the news bulletins of 13 March featured two news strategies that differed according to the news time awarded to witness information³.

According to these figures (see Table 17), we could draw the conclusion that while the two stations in Catalonia (TV3 and TVE Catalonia) did not give significant importance to stories featuring witness information, TVE-1 and Tele-5 gave them a third of the total time of their bulletins. Antena 3 TV, with 14.4% of its news time devoted to witness information, was somewhere in the middle.

Public Appearances by Political Actors

Table 18 shows the first appearance of the main public appearances by political actors during the day of reflection and the times they were broadcast on the different stations. Shaded cells correspond to broadcasts within news bulletins.

A look at the above table suggests that the stations adopted two main news strategies according to whether they were publicly or privately owned. While TV3 and TVE-1 chose to interrupt their programming to broadcast most of the public appearances live, Tele-5 and Antena 3 TV opted to maintain normal scheduling and included the appearances on their news bulletins. The only exception was the live broadcast by all the stations of the appearance at 8.11 p.m. by the minister Ángel Acebes in which he reported that three Moroccans and two Indians had been arrested allegedly in relation to the events.

However, the public stations presented a number of

Table 18. First Broadcasts of the Main Public Appearances. 13 March

Person	Activity	Time of appearance	TV3	TVE-1	Tele-5	Antena 3 TV
Eduardo Zaplana	Minister and spokesperson for the Spanish Government	1.11 p.m.	Live	Live	14.02	3.30 p.m.
Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba	Spokesperson for the PSOE in the Lower House	1.31 p.m.	Live	--	15.11	--
Ángel Acebes	Interior Minister	2.44 p.m.	Live	Live	15.12	3.29 p.m.
Ángel Acebes	Interior Minister	8.11 p.m.	Live	Live	Live	Live
Mariano Rajoy	PP candidate for the presidency of the Spanish Government	9.15 p.m.	9.40 p.m.	Live	21.21	9.23 p.m.
Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba	Spokesperson for the PSOE in the Lower House	9.31 p.m.	Live	Live	--	9.36 p.m.
Eduardo Zaplana	Minister and spokesperson for the Spanish Government	Data not available*	11.51 p.m.	11.37 p.m.	--	11.47 p.m.
Ángel Acebes	Interior Minister	12.45 a.m.	1.21 a.m.	1.14 a.m.	--	1.24 a.m.

Source: Catalonia Broadcasting Council

*: Because this appearance by Eduardo Zaplana was not broadcast live by any station, we do not know the exact time it took place. However, we calculate it was between 10 and 11 p.m.

noteworthy exceptions in the decision to air live broadcasts of the main public appearances by politicians.

Firstly, TVE-1 did not broadcast the first appearance by Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba (1.31 p.m.). In his statement (which was not broadcast on any of the *Telediario* bulletins) the spokesperson for the PSOE in the Lower House called on the government to respond to the demand for information that the public had expressed at the demonstrations. At that time, TVE-1 was broadcasting a special news report, which it did not interrupt or modify.

Secondly, it is important to mention the reasons that led to Mariano Rajoy's appearance at 9.15 p.m. not being broadcast live on the TV3 evening bulletin. After crossing live to the PP candidate for a number of seconds, technical problems meant his statement could not be aired until 9.40 p.m., when the bulletin was drawing to a close.

Finally, it is important to mention that the public stations' strategy seemed to end at the close of the evening bulletins, because both Eduardo Zaplana's statement made somewhere between 10 and 11 p.m., and Ángel Acebes' of 12.45 a.m. were broadcast later.

In his final appearance of the day, Eduardo Zaplana criticised Pérez Rubalcaba for having accused the Government of lying to the public and defended the transparency of its actions. He also recalled that demonstrations, protests and public acts were illegal on the day of electoral reflection. At the time of his appearance, TV3 was transmitting a football match and TVE-1 was showing the programme *Informe seminal*, while the private stations were airing films.

While Ángel Acebes was reporting at 12.45 a.m. on the fact that a video had been found showing an Al-Qaeda militant claiming responsibility for the attacks, TV3 was broadcasting the film *Saturday Night Fever* and TVE-1 was showing the documentary *Asesinato en febrero*. The pre-recorded broadcast of the Interior Minister's appearance was aired 30 minutes later on both public stations as part of subsequent special news reports.

With regard to the private stations, it is worth mentioning that Antena 3 TV did not broadcast the first statement from Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba at 1.31 p.m., as had also been the case with TVE-1. At that time, Antena 3 TV was airing the series *Sabrina, The Teenage Witch*.

Tele-5 did not broadcast the last three public appearances

by politicians. The first it dropped was the statement by Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba at 9.31 p.m., when the PSOE spokesperson responded to comments by Mariano Rajoy accusing the party of having convoked the mass protests outside the PP offices. The station was just about to begin to show the film *Sabrina* once its *Informativos Telecinco* evening bulletin had ended. Tele-5 did not broadcast the last appearance of Eduardo Zaplana, which took place between 10 and 11 p.m., or the appearance by the minister Ángel Acebes at 12.45 a.m. At the time, the station was showing the films *Sabrina* and *Sliver*, respectively.

The Mass Protests Outside the PP Offices

The mass protests outside a number of different PP offices across Spain, where protestors accused the Government of manipulating information, were one of the events that marked this unique day of reflection. From the news point of view, giving more or less airtime to this public reaction appeared to award a different level of importance to the fact that a group of citizens was calling into question the informational transparency of the Government. It is important to add that the news treatment of the protests was substantially different among the various stations.

TVE-1 and Antena 3 TV coincided in not mentioning the existence of the protests at any time during their special news reports on the attacks. However, the second edition of TVE-1's *Telediario* devoted 2 minutes and 12 seconds to the issue, while Antena 3 TV included a story of 1 minute and 7 seconds. However, the private station, in a special news report aired at 11.47 p.m., reported on a meeting of the electoral commission to study a complaint by the PP in relation to the protests outside its offices.

TV3 and Tele-5 gave more importance to this public reaction. Beginning at 7.06 p.m., the story about the mass protests was mentioned three times on TV3 in its different special news reports that interrupted programming over the course of the day. On the evening news bulletin (at 8.31 p.m.), TV3 was especially noticeable in the amount of time it devoted to this story (13 minutes and 15 seconds)⁴. *TN vespre* included various live crosses throughout the bulletin to report on the protests. It connected twice to the PP office in Madrid, once to the office in Barcelona and once to the

protests outside the office of the delegate of the government. It also covered demonstrations by people in Valencia and the Balearic Islands outside their respective PP offices. Another point worth mentioning is that, unlike TVE-1 and Antena 3 TV, TV3 included statements from some of the people taking part in the protests.

Tele-5, like TV3, mentioned the protests, although slightly later, at 7.24 p.m., as part of a short special news report that interrupted the programming. Shortly afterwards it crossed live to the Madrid protests as part of the programme *No es lo mismo*, which was dealing exclusively with the 11 March attacks. Within the *Informativos Tele-5* evening bulletin, the private station devoted a total of 4 minutes and 36 seconds to the protests and, like TV3, included inserts of various protestors.

Notes

- 1 *Considerations by the CAC on the Television Treatment of the Attacks in Madrid of 11 March 2004 and Subsequent Events Through to the Elections of 14 March.*
- 2 On 11 and 12 March, all the stations reduced the amount of advertising. In the case of TVE-1, it stopped airing advertisements for two days beginning from the time when the scale of the tragedy became clear. (See the article *Television Programming on 11 and 12 March*).
- 3 As was established in the report's methodology, witness information was understood to mean stories structured around statements by victims, their relatives and direct or indirect witnesses to the events, as well as all anonymous people who do not contribute additional information but simply express their state of mind or support for the victims (attendees at funerals, people from the suburbs affected, etc.).
- 4 It should be mentioned that the recount of the time devoted to the protests did not include Rajoy's statements in which he accused the PSOE of organising the protests and demanding they be dissolved, or those of Pérez Rubalcaba denying that the party was involved.