

## SOCIAL PERCEPTION AND MEDIA DISCOURSE IN IMMIGRATION IN SPAIN

### *PERCEPCIÓN SOCIAL Y DISCURSO MEDIÁTICO SOBRE INMIGRACIÓN EN ESPAÑA*

Pedro Garrido Rodríguez

Doctor por la Universidad de Salamanca

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#### AUTOR CONVIDADO

**Abstract:** Knowledge of migration and its implications requires a thorough analysis and rationality in addressing their multiple variables and their many interrelationships. In the field of migration, the journalistic discourse has made too many simplifications that have somehow disrupted and distorted the reality of the phenomenon. Racism is generally associated with highly polarized political or ideological positions and middle-low social classes, who continue to defend the stale traditional European biological racism. However, authors such as Van Dijk have introduced another form of racism, which they call “discursive racism”, which is based on the discursive practices of the elite, be they private individuals or institutions, and is legitimized by the leadership or credibility of their promoters. This discourse is transmitted multiple avenues such as parliamentary debates, news releases, bureaucratic documents, the language used by the authorities or even textbooks in schools and universities. Some of its traits are: positive self-representation and negative presentation of the other, exhaustively denying racism or at least mitigating it, controlled discourses of minorities, which are practically in the hands of white elites and emphasizing the negative aspects and paying attention to the problems and needs of immigrants. In order to decipher the different view points shown in the media coverage of immigration, we performed an analysis of the press using the methodology of discourse analysis, referring to the classic works of Foucault, Bardin, and of contemporary scholars such as M. Stubbs, J. Lozano, Van Dijk, etc. We observed the presence of two ambivalent points of view. One is more suspicious or unwilling to accept immigration and its various implications, socioeconomic and cultural and the other shows a more proactive, tolerant and favorable attitude towards immigration. In this research, thorough analysis of *El Mundo* and *El País* (representative of Spanish opinions) was conducted. Among them, we became aware of the presence of an assertive discourse, which is generated and transmitted by “them” for the outgroup, which is generally perceived as a destabilizing and uncomfortable point of view that is often diminished or limited through the medias broadcastings. The discourse is occasionally used hyperbolically to exalt the attitudes ingroup solidarity, but ignoring or reducing the impact of the contents found within the discourse en-

dorsed by the involved parties. It is commonplace to find an attenuated or exculpatory treatment of hate speech. It is also common to hear arguments that may justify certain behaviors, as well as the identification of these positions and behaviors with a minority.

**Keywords:** immigration; media; multiculturalism; discrimination; human rights.

**Resumen:** El conocimiento del fenómeno migratorio y sus implicaciones precisa un análisis profundo y sosegado en el que se contemplen sus múltiples variables y sus numerosas interrelaciones. En el ámbito de las migraciones, el discurso periodístico realiza demasiadas simplificaciones que en cierto modo trastocan o desnaturalizan la realidad del fenómeno. Generalmente se asocia el racismo a posiciones políticas o ideológicas muy polarizadas y a estratos sociales de corte medio-bajo, que continúan defendiendo el rancio racismo biológico tradicional europeo. Sin embargo, autores como Van Dijk nos presentan otra forma de racismo, a la que él llama "racismo discursivo", que tiene su base en las prácticas discursivas de las élites, ya se trate de personas a título individual o instituciones, y se ve legitimado por el liderazgo o la credibilidad de sus emisores. Este discurso se transmite por múltiples canales como los debates parlamentarios, las noticias de prensa, los documentos burocráticos, el lenguaje de las Administraciones o incluso los libros de texto en la escuela o en la universidad. Algunas de sus características consisten en: autorrepresentación positiva y presentación negativa del otro, negar taxativamente el racismo o, al menos, mitigarlo, controlar los discursos sobre las minorías, los cuales se encuentran prácticamente en manos de las élites blancas y ponen el énfasis en los aspectos más negativos y presta atención a los problemas y necesidades del colectivo inmigrante. Con el objeto de descifrar los diferentes encuadres en el tratamiento mediático de la inmigración, hemos realizado un análisis de prensa empleando para ello la metodología del análisis del discurso, remitiéndonos a los trabajos clásicos de Foucault, Bardin, o a los de especialistas contemporáneos como M. Stubbs, J. Lozano, Van Dijk, etc. Percibimos la presencia ambivalente de dos discursos. Uno es más bien reactivo o receloso con respecto a la inmigración y sus diversas implicaciones políticas, socioeconómicas y culturales y el otro muestra un carácter más proactivo, tolerante o favorable a estos procesos. Durante esta investigación, se analizan exhaustivamente los dos medios de prensa escrita más representativos en España: El Mundo y El País. Dentro de ellos, hemos apreciado la presencia de un discurso reivindicativo, el que es generado y transmitido por "ellos", por el exogrupo, se percibe generalmente como un discurso desestabilizador e incómodo que con frecuencia se encuentra mermado o limitado mediáticamente en su proceso de transmisión. El discurso comprometido se emplea ocasionalmente hiperbólicamente con el fin de exaltar las actitudes solidarias del endogrupo pero pasando por alto o reduciendo la importancia del contenido defendido por los agentes comprometidos. Es usual encontrar un tratamiento atenuado o exculpatorio del discurso discriminatorio. Suele hablarse de causas que pueden llegar a justificar determinadas conductas. También es frecuente identificar estas posiciones y comportamientos con una minoría.

**Palabras-Clave:** inmigración, prensa, multiculturalidad, discriminación, derechos humanos.

The knowledge of the migratory phenomenon and its implications requires a deep analysis in which its multiple variables and its numerous interrelations are observed. However, the treatment of the reality by the media usually follows the *emblematic reductora de acontecimientos complejos* (RAMONET, 1998), as it is named by Ramonet, and it will not provide us with a complete and objective image of the reality of the immigration and all its aspects. In the migrations field, the media speech performs too many simplifications which in one way or another modifies the migration phenomenon. Two of them, very common ones, are studied by De la Fuente (2006) in his brilliant investigation about the media

speech about the immigration: the myths or, in his own words, metaphors stating that the immigration is massive and, therefore, uncontrolled, and the concept stating that the immigration is a problem which causes lots of social conflicts due to the cultural diversion and to the immigrant crime trend.

This article is based on the conclusions of one of the chapters of the following thesis: *Immigration and cultural diversity in Spain. A historical analysis from the Human Rights perspective* (GARRIDO RODRÍGUEZ, 2012). In the fourth chapter the media is studied, using the speech analysis methodology in order to dissect the media treatment of the immigration and the cultural diversity. In order to do so, the most prevalent approaches in the media field are analysed first. Afterwards, the two media subjects selected for the study, *El Mundo* and *El País*, are analysed, as reference newspapers in the Spanish media. Finally, the selection and quantitative analysis of the news about immigration and cultural diversity found in these newspapers are performed. Although several news obtained from the print media are provided, the sample has been obtained from the digital edition. This is due to higher disponibility of the digital edition as a source document and to the huge diffusion of both newspapers. This study tries to reach all the variables involved in the immigration field. In order to do so, it is divided into the following sections: immigration reception, immigration and employment, immigration and education and, the last section, immigration, cultural diversity and right access to culture. The selection and quantitative analysis of the news is based, mainly, in the years 2008 and 2009, when the economical situation, strongly affected by the crisis, becomes specially relevant and causes and important modifications in the migration regulations performed by the Government. Thereby, it is intended to focus the media analysis in a period of time which is actual as well as it is a period when a change in the Government speech and political planning in the immigration field is being made, which has already been manifested in some of its legislative and political decisions.

Racism is usually associated to political positions or ideologies very polarised and to medium-low social strata which continue defending the European traditional biologic racism. However, Van Dijk (2006) explains a different way of racism, which he calls "discursive racism", based on the discursive behaviours of the elite social classes, either they are individual people or institutions, and which is empowered by the leadership and the credibility of its issuers. This speech is transmitted throughout several channels such as parliamentary debates, media news, burocratic documentation, the Administrations language or even the text books used in the school or in the University. The image created of immigrants, minorities, refugees and, in general, the non European people in the racist speech initiated by the elite classes

would respond to certain distinctive features. In the first place, as it happens in every ideological speech, the racist speech is characterized by a general strategy of positive self-representation and negative representation of the other part (VAN DIJK, 2006).

On the other hand, the control over the discourses about the minorities belongs almost entirely to the elite classes. The minority groups and their spokesmen have little access and influence in the content of what it is said and written in these discourses. And, when they have more access or influence than they usually have, their credibility is weakened when they are presented to the general public or they are stated. The stories are not fully described and they are conditioned by comments of the “whites”. In the other hand, in the newsrooms there is hardly any presence of journalists belonging to minorities, and even less presence in management positions. Thereby, the news are preformed in an exclusionary context since the beginning.

The speeches about minorities that we find in the press are almost never aimed to the minorities that they describe. They usually ignore them as potential targets. The negative aspects are emphasized and the problems suffered by the immigrants, as well as those affecting to their lives, jobs, spare time and their substantial contribution to the economy are little taken into account. In other words, the European press does not describe the ethnic situation in terms of the ethnic main characters (VAN DIJK, 2006).

The protest speech, the one which is generated and transmitted by “them”, the out-group, is usually received as a subversive and uncomfortable speech which is usually found medially limited in its transmission process. Bañón (2002) performs a very illustrative analysis of three different types of speeches about immigration which happen to be essential in order to be able to understand their treatments in the media. Although explaining his whole theory would make this article much longer, I would not like to ignore his main ideas. The first kind of speech is created by “them”, the out-group: the protest speech; and the other two, which are very different, are created by “us”, the in-group: the implicated and the discriminator speech. In the analysis performed by the media about the protest speech and the protestants, Bañón quotes several actions usually taken by the media to distort the speech, limiting its significance, validity, credibility, legitimacy, depth, intensity and, summarizing, mobilizing power.

Along the sixties and the seventies the academic research about communication and journalist practice was based on the objectivist current, which main feature was a clear distinction between the information and the opinion. It suggested a media based on incorruptible facts in one hand, and individual and free

opinions in the other hand, that is to say, a treatment of the information regulated by the distancing, searching the representation of the reality in an objective way (CANEL CRESPO, 1999).

In the late seventies several perspectives other than the objectivist one were strongly emerging. Tuchman (1978) questioned this perspective and he assured that the perception of the reality is a process in which there are many factors involved that mediate and condition it. In the eighties and nineties the objectivist current was strongly nagged as the real objectivism in the journalist practice was questioned. Several authors began to think that all news involve, directly or indirectly, a perspective of the new, an interpretation, despite of making an effort to develop the new as a representation of the reality. Glasser (1984) understood the objectivity as an artifice, a persuasive tool useful for the journalist to feign impartial. This is what Entman (1989) called a camouflage technique which can be used to transmit skewed and partisan messages. In the nineties, an agreement to investigate the journalist practice was reached in the academic field. Since then, it began to be assumed that journalists exert and interpretation when representing the reality. By doing so, this interpretation, also called "frame", is incorporated to the new on a more or less directed way, even against the journalist wishes. In 1991 Tankard (1991) defined the focus as the main idea who organizes the news and gives the context. Entman (1993) proposed another definition, based on the idea that the frames provide perspectives about the treated topic which make us interpret the information, namely, to frame means to choose some aspects from the received reality enhancing them in the communicative text so that they can promote a definition of the problem, a casual interpretation, a moral evaluation and a treatment advice for the described issue. This way, in Entman's opinion the frames are a tool used by those who transmit information to influence in the thinking of the audience and to orientate it in one way or another.

Since the first researches the location and the systematization of the frames have been two of the main targets for the media and journalist practice researchers. When Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) analyzed the frames in press and television in the Heads of State meetings in Amsterdam in the year 1997, they distinguished five different frames of news: 1) attribution of responsibilities. This means, that the hypothetic solution to the problem is attributed to the Government, institution or individual person. 2) Conflict, which can be either between institutions, groups or individual people. 3) Human interest, which is used to provide drama or emotion to the information. 4) Economic consequences. When the topic is shown emphasizing the economic consequences and, the last one, 5) Morality. Constituted by religious or moral principles.

In relation with the context of the frames performed by Semetko and Valkenburg, in 2004 Muñiz and Igartua (2004) performed an analysis of the content studying the frames found in the news about immigration in the press and TV. The authors observed a preponderance of the attribution of responsibility frame in both the press and the TV. In second place, they observed the value of the human interest frame and, in third place, the conflict frame. The research about the frames found in the media has also studied the causes responsible of them. Goffman (1974) understood the framing as requirement that the media professional must fulfil in order to connect with the audience and make them understand what he is saying. This way, the framing would be understood as a contextualization which guides the receptor about the information that he is being given. The frames, most of them hidden and only perceptible after a deep analysis, are usually unconscious and unintentional. The journalist shows the way he receives the news in a way more or less unconscious and unavoidable when trying to explain a new (HACKETT, 1984).

Most of the researches about the framing, especially those performed up to the nineties, assumed that the framing was caused by the individual factors related with the own beliefs. In other words, the framing of a journalist would be influenced by his education, age, sex and, especially, by his ideological position (HACKETT, 1984). From the nineties and, especially, in the last years, the researchers have added a new kind of causes to the individual causes, which are due to the difficulty of the information developing process. These researchers understand that the individual causes are only a portion of the factors which affect to the informative mediation. An example of this trend is the Shoemaker and Reese (1991) research, which explains the process by using an example. For them, media influence in the information through different levels which would be equivalent to an onion layers. This way, the frames would be conditioned by several factors such as the journalist individual circumstances, it mean, his educational level, age, sex, religious beliefs, politic ideas, etc.; the own sources features, whether they are human, documental, independent, governmental; the performance of the media or, in other words, the newsworthiness criteria, the staff, the section organization, agency linkages, working procedures; and other external factors such as the fact powers, the competence and the public. The most current researchers take into account those factors and try to link the individual causes with this more corporative kind of causes (CANEL; PIQUÉ, 1997). The succession of frames creates what is called political opinion or editorial line. The media usually dislike to be identified with any editorial line. However, as Schlesinger (1978) stated, that is exactly what the newspapers are currently doing when establishing the amount of columnists, the size and the location of the opinion pages or the editorial subjects.

Here we come to a more detailed analysis of the media chosen for this study, El Mundo (The World) and El País (The Country), the two most representative newspapers of general information in Spain.

El País is a liberal, europeanist and modern newspaper. It was self-called *Diario independiente de la mañana* since it was founded until the 21st of October 2007, when it changed its name to *El periódico global en español*. It was founded by José Ortega Spottorno, son of the known philosopher José Ortega y Gasset and its first publication took place on the 4<sup>th</sup> of May 1976. Since the beginning El País was opposed to the ultra-right, as well as leery of Alianza Popular, who El País used to associate to new Franco ideology and authoritarian speech. El País showed a crescent affinity with the PSOE, which ideas of change were supported by the newspaper. This affinity has been kept up to now, either the PSOE was in the Government or in the opposition, which has provoked lots of naggings from the centre-right sector of the society.

Knowing the divisions within the spanish socialist party, El País is favourable to this party, though occasionally critical, up to a point that even annoyed Mr. Rodríguez Zapatero who impelled the creation of the daily paper Público (Public) (highly favourable to the former president's action until recent date). El País is a paper with an innovator profile, well-structured, and great internal arrangement, a clear established practice in informing treatment, and with a strict and serious journalism (BERROCAL; RODRÍGUEZ-MARIBONA, 1998).

As a whole, El País uses an argumentative method of analysis that brings to it an image of moderation, progressiveness, modernity, tolerance, democratic mood and intellectuality. However, with a great deal of subtleness, it also lets a space for some settings of the news, that become apparent in the inclusion and exclusion of different informative nuances, subjects or personages, better than in the paper's pages dedicated to opinion.

El Mundo appears for the first time on October the twenty-third 1989 (nineteen-eighty-nine) with a first capital of five-hundred million pesetas, that a little further became a thousand and five-hundred, a sponsor group of journalists and entrepreneurs, headed by Mr. Pedro J. Ramírez, achieve to start the project to establish a nonconformist daily paper, critical towards the power, with a vigorous style and prevalence on investigation journalism.

El Mundo is a critical daily, aggressive and nonconformist that uses and promotes the investigation/research journalism (BERROCAL; RODRÍGUEZ-MARIBONA, 1998). It gives a great space and importance to the opinion/thinking, having several editorials, columns and press boxes. It agglutinates a great number

of very different ideological position columnists apart from that, the thinking/opinion is as well profusely manifested into the informing, where we can find frequent value headlines that determine the information. Formally, it's an attractive paper to the view and offers a very simple reading. It uses headings and subheadings with short beginnings that sum up the contents of the news. It also uses a lot of good graphic resources all of which has contributed in great measure to get various prizes in different international contests, due to its creative and qualified design.

Everybody knows its preferential attachment to PP. Besides a wide thinking section, El Mundo transmits and offers a particular approach to its news, like El País but to a greater extent and with more intensity, by the inclusion or exclusion of information and also, very often, by choosing evaluative headlines, that determine the information. It has a strong opinion and interpretation preponderance, with a more direct and explicit style than El País and thus adopts a position expressed more or less subtlety. By this means, El Mundo connotes firmness, aggressiveness and accusation (CANEL, 1999).

Moving on to an analysis of journalistic discourse in Spain, taking as example the dailies El Mundo and El País, it's tangible, that the first one attaches great importance to issues such as illegal immigration, the submerged economy and crime, but pays less attention to the claim for restrictions on immigrants rights and, in particular, on workers. We can appreciate a contrast between national press receptivity, showing the negative aspects related to immigration, and other points that give a more positive view on this or on critical and committed actors.

We can see how broadly the media reproduces political elites discourses as it has been shown by authors like Van Dijk. There is an extensive media coverage of their agreements, their debates, laws, etc. But it doesn't give a proportional importance to the main claims conducted by immigrant associations and NGOs, which are actually also protagonists of the actions issued from immigration, as well as direct recipients of the decisions taken in the political sphere, but that are only occasionally given a voice.

Throughout the press analysis performed, we perceive the presence of two ambivalent speeches. Similar to the terminology used by Zapata-Barrero (2008) in his analysis of political discourse on immigration, we will classify the former as reactive or wary about immigration and its different socioeconomical and cultural implications and the second as proactive, tolerant or favourable to these actions. The reactive discourse is characterized with respect to receiving immigrants by giving greater weight to the most negative aspects such as illegal entry,



connections with gangs, crime and insecurity, often seen from ingroup eyes as well as the use of exaggerated terms, unnecessarily derogatory or negative connotations to refer to immigrants<sup>1</sup>.

With regard to the work range, it puts special emphasis on irregular employment, economy, fraud, the denouncing of these matters as a positive self-representation operation, presenting immigrants as consumers of social resources and minimizing the importance of the immigrant workers contribution to the Social Security<sup>2</sup>.

So as to Education, it's common to find news accusing immigrant students to reduce the academic level of the educational community<sup>3</sup> or to be a too heavy burden for educational system, or to limit the education quality in Spain, as well as assessments that question the presence of foreign students in the classroom as problem<sup>4</sup>, maximizing the difficulties and minimizing the virtues of a multicultural educational system and the possible contributions to this society<sup>5</sup>.

Within the area related to cultural diversity, it emphasises more on questions that separate us rather than on questions that join us, underlying the most problematic aspects of the heterogeneity of cultures and multicultural

<sup>1</sup> About this question: Redacción (Madrid). *Una 'hoja de ruta' detalla a los ilegales cómo evitar controles en Barajas*. 2008. El mundo.es: <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2008/01/15/espana/1200397026.html>

Barrio, Ana del (Madrid). *Las mafias de la inmigración abren nuevas rutas a Baleares para traer argelinos*. 2008. El mundo.es: <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2008/01/16/baleares/1200485738.html>

Agencia EFE (Ceuta). *Las mafias enseñan a los inmigrantes a nadar para que logren el sueño europeo*. 2008. El mundo.es: <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2008/06/28/espana/1214648776.html>

Europa Press (Valencia). *Las mafias de inmigrantes irregulares han ganado 2.000 millones de euros*. 2009. El mundo.es: <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2009/05/05/espana/1241515769>.

<sup>2</sup> Examples of this: Redacción (Madrid). *La inmigración desborda las cárceles*. 2008. El Mundo: <http://www.elmundo.es/papel/2008/03/03/opinion/2338141.html>

Mucientes, Esther (Madrid). *Rubalcaba: «Si somos laxos con la inmigración ilegal no hay quien la pare»*. 2008. El mundo.es: <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2008/05/08/espana/1210231402.html>

<sup>3</sup> About this: Aguilera, Manuel (Palma). *Los alumnos inmigrantes repercuten en los índices de fracaso escolar*. 2008. El mundo.es: <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2008/04/03/baleares/1207223100.html>

<sup>4</sup> For example: Sanmartín, Olga R. (Madrid). *Los alumnos detectan pandillas y peleas interraciales en los colegios*. 2009. El mundo.es: <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2009/03/02/espana/1235999460.html>

<sup>5</sup> Regard this question: Redacción (Valencia). *El alumnado inmigrante en las escuelas de la CVA crece un 37% desde septiembre*. 2008. El mundo.es: <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2008/02/16/valencia/1203165096.html>

Agencia EFE (Madrid). *El número de alumnos extranjeros es 10 veces superior al de hace una década*. 2008. El mundo.es: <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2008/07/27/espana/1217156278.html>

society, instead of its potentialities, and presents certain cultural identities as little compatible with a democratic society like ours. This is especially true with the Islamic community<sup>6</sup>. We find numerous news, reports, articles and opinion columns that highlight the required precepts, statements and more retrograde actions that are carried out, arguing that they are imposed by the Islamic religion. In some occasions, we see that when cases are reported in the name of the culture, cultural rights are violated and even people's human rights, as they are denied the freedom to choose, rather than to be made in defense of these people, they use the case as an argument to represent negatively the cultural identity, in whose name this abuse is committed but putting little emphasis on warning that such actions often converge to other interests rather political, economic and power, which actually have nothing to do with the culture itself, but it's used as the reason to justify such actions. It's also clear how many times they fall into a non-objective reductionism when making judgments about the cultures of the outgroup.

The most notorious example is perhaps the identification between Islam and fundamentalism, when, if we see the reality, we find that fundamentalism is more related to political and economic interests than to religion and culture. We also notice that it's not a phenomenon that involves the entire Islamic population, but it rather happens in a quite polarized way, in certain countries where fundamentalism, far from growing naturally among the population, is encouraged from spheres of power that are motivated by a religious or cultural belief, but is driven by political and economic interests. In turn, it offers much less space and attention to the requests of associations and initiatives favourable to integration into Spanish society, which originate at the pro-immigrant communities themselves and show their commitment to be an active part of a multicultural society, based on exchange and mutual enrichment or on the basis of respect for democratic values and Human Rights. Sporadically, they report on the existence of such associations increasingly representative within their communities. However, we miss a greater media interest regarding the interaction between cultures that could perfectly be felt as a motor of integration and cultural enrichment for all communities that are more and more present into Spanish society.

The media discourse also presents, as the political discourse representation, a more proactive character, tolerant and favourable with respect to immigration and its implications. Within the scope of the reception of immigrants, we

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<sup>6</sup> For example: Gili Banda, Jaime (Palma). *'Amenaza' islámica en Felanitx*. 2008. El mundo.es: <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2008/02/08/ciudadanobaleares/1202466978.html>

can see, in front of the alarmism in the beginning of the decade of 2000, we are going towards a more balanced assessment of immigration in Spain and what it represents, and we also see from mid-2008, they report the decline of immigration in this country in a very real way<sup>7</sup>. In turn, we also perceive the recognition of certain media space to demanding actions performed by associations of immigrants. This is especially evident with the protests caused by the reform of the Aliens Act, accused of restricting immigrants rights. Some of these measures have been widely criticized and protested for they are contrary to Human Rights<sup>8</sup>. Occasionally we also see news with criticisms about the situation of immigrants and about the response of the system to the drama of irregular immigration. An evidence of that, are the critics about Detention Centres Immigrants (CIE), both in their conception and in their own operations, lacking of habitability basic guarantees, and their inmates treatment, an issue that has been denounced, as we can see both El Mundo and in El País<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> About this: Agencia EFE (Roquetas de Mar). *Desciende un 22% la llegada de inmigrantes en patera*. 2008. Elpais.com: [http://www.elpais.com/articulo/espana/Desciende/22/llegada/inmigrantes/patera/elpepiesp/20081212elpepinac\\_17/Tes/Sanmartín, Olga R. y Lázaro, Fernando \(Madrid\). Los inmigrantes que llegaron en patera bajaron un 25% en 2008](http://www.elpais.com/articulo/espana/Desciende/22/llegada/inmigrantes/patera/elpepiesp/20081212elpepinac_17/Tes/Sanmartín, Olga R. y Lázaro, Fernando (Madrid). Los inmigrantes que llegaron en patera bajaron un 25% en 2008). 2009. El mundo.es: <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2009/01/12/espana/1231765708.html>

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Agencia EFE (Madrid). *La llegada de inmigrantes en patera desciende el 9%*. 2008. Elpais.com: [http://www.elpais.com/articulo/espana/llegada/inmigrantes/patera/desciende/elpepiesp/20080808elpepunac\\_11/Tes](http://www.elpais.com/articulo/espana/llegada/inmigrantes/patera/desciende/elpepiesp/20080808elpepunac_11/Tes)

<sup>8</sup> Examples of this: Agencia EFE (Madrid). *La caminata de 500 kilómetros culmina con una marcha contra la Ley de Extranjería*. 2009. El mundo.es: <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2009/10/25/espana/1256473374.html>

Redacción (Madrid). *Marchas en 10 ciudades contra la reforma de la Ley de Extranjería*. 2009. Elpais.com: [http://www.elpais.com/articulo/espana/Marchas/ciudades/reforma/Ley/Extranjeria/elpepiesp/20091018elpepinac\\_7/Tes](http://www.elpais.com/articulo/espana/Marchas/ciudades/reforma/Ley/Extranjeria/elpepiesp/20091018elpepinac_7/Tes)

Junquera, Natalia (Madrid). *Asociaciones de inmigrantes tildan la ley de «policial»*. 2009. Elpais.com: [http://www.elpais.com/articulo/espana/Asociaciones/inmigrantes/tildan/ley/policial/elpepiesp/20090918elpepinac\\_6/Tes](http://www.elpais.com/articulo/espana/Asociaciones/inmigrantes/tildan/ley/policial/elpepiesp/20090918elpepinac_6/Tes)

Agencia EFE (Madrid). *Los inmigrantes piden «puentes y no muros»*. 2009. El mundo.es: <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2009/05/17/madrid/1242570833.html>

<sup>9</sup> About this question: Missé, Andreu (Bruselas). *20.000 'sin papeles' en centros de la UE*. 2008. Elpais.com: [http://www.elpais.com/articulo/internacional/20000/papeles/centros/UE/elpepiint/20080518elpepiint\\_2/Tes](http://www.elpais.com/articulo/internacional/20000/papeles/centros/UE/elpepiint/20080518elpepiint_2/Tes)

Agencia EFE (Madrid). *El 40% de los extranjeros en los centros de internamiento españoles denuncia un trato «negativo o muy negativo»*. 2009. Elpais.com: [http://www.elpais.com/articulo/espana/extranjeros/centros/internamiento/espanoles/denuncia/trato/negativo/negativo/elpepiesp/20091209elpepunac\\_28/Tes](http://www.elpais.com/articulo/espana/extranjeros/centros/internamiento/espanoles/denuncia/trato/negativo/negativo/elpepiesp/20091209elpepunac_28/Tes)

With regard to labor migration, we find in the same way, informations that highlight the negative aspects, there are also, though to a lesser extent, articles that recognize the contribution of migrant workers to the well-being state, from multiple aspects, especially the contribution with Social Security<sup>10</sup> and the increase of the birth rate<sup>11</sup>. In turn, they also have been denounced abuses by certain entrepreneurs who, taking advantage of the vulnerability of migrant workers, engage them under abusive conditions that leave immigrants in a very unfavourable position regarding national workers, both in the payments, as in the working conditions.

As for education, the proactive discourse on immigration is limited to denounce injustices, but there isn't much news to speak about the enriching value of immigrant students diversity, for the education system and the society. The main point to note in this regard are the criticisms of the Education Administration of Catalonia about his initiative to leave immigrants in separated areas, called Welcome Educational Spaces (EBE) for the newcomers, with the purpose that foreigners students remain there for a time until they attain a sufficient knowledge of language and skills to keep up in classes with the reference group. Separating immigrant students in different spaces than those of the other students, and the vagueness of certain aspects, such as the criteria to determine how long it should last and what specific knowledge and skills should be obtained by these students in such spaces, before they can develop standardized educational activity, has caused so much irritation in many sectors of the educational community, considering that it is an avoidable segregation, that may adversely affect to

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Rei, Joana (Madrid). *Cerremos los Guantánamos europeos*. 2008. El mundo.es: <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2008/04/09/madrid/1207746602.html>

Rei, Joana (Madrid). *Las cárceles de los «sin papeles»*. 2008. El mundo.es: <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2008/04/10/solidaridad/1207842708.html>

Europa Press (Madrid). *Las ONG presentan más de 1.800 firmas para exigir una investigación sobre los CIE*. 2008. El mundo.es: <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2008/05/12/solidaridad/1210615734.html>

<sup>10</sup> About this: Ximénez de Sandoval, Pablo (Madrid). *Los inmigrantes salvan el Estado del Bienestar*. 2008. Elpais.com: [http://www.elpais.com/articulo/sociedad/inmigrantes/salvan/Estado/bienestar/elpepisoc/20080616elpepisoc\\_1/Tes](http://www.elpais.com/articulo/sociedad/inmigrantes/salvan/Estado/bienestar/elpepisoc/20080616elpepisoc_1/Tes)

Abellán, Lucía (Madrid). *El Banco de España cree que la "flexibilidad" laboral de la inmigración ayudará al empleo*. 2008. Elpais.com: [http://www.elpais.com/articulo/economia/Banco/Espana/crea/flexibilidad/laboral/inmigracion/ayudara/empleo/elpepieco/20080622elpepieco\\_4/Tes](http://www.elpais.com/articulo/economia/Banco/Espana/crea/flexibilidad/laboral/inmigracion/ayudara/empleo/elpepieco/20080622elpepieco_4/Tes)

Garea, Fernando (Madrid). *Los inmigrantes enriquecemos España*. 2008. Elpais.com: [http://www.elpais.com/articulo/espana/inmigrantes/enriquecemos/Espana/elpepinac/20080707elpepinac\\_6/Tes](http://www.elpais.com/articulo/espana/inmigrantes/enriquecemos/Espana/elpepinac/20080707elpepinac_6/Tes)

<sup>11</sup> Example of this: Rei, Joana (Madrid). *La inmigración eleva la natalidad en España al nivel más alto desde 1990*. 2008. El mundo.es: <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2008/07/03/espana/1215079428.html>

educational development of these young immigrants. This issue has been widely reflected in national press, as we can see in many articles published both in *El Mundo* and in *El País*<sup>12</sup>.

In the media coverage on diversity in Spain, we also perceive the progressive presence of a proactive or tolerant discourse. This is manifested in articles that give space to the representatives of immigrant communities, to explain their claims, their difficulties, their interests and explain their culture from an internal point of view, from the perspective of their own cultural reference<sup>13</sup>. Occasionally, there is also a space devoted to show the associative movement progress in diverse cultural and religious communities. The clearest example is the Islamic community<sup>14</sup>.

To conclude, we have seen how over the past few years, the political actors, and more specifically, the government, have developed a change in the migration issue speech, which has been turning from the determined impulse of social policies for the reception and integration of immigrants between 2004 and 2008, to a more pragmatic and less sensitive immigration policy towards immigrant collective, since the second half of 2008, strongly influenced by the economic crisis and internal differences within the Socialist Party (PSOE). The media, summoned by the political sphere, have tended to integrate or reproduce the changing political discourse, either to support the government or to favor the opposition, as appropriate, showing the change of the socialist position. Thus the media discourse has become a source of information to play a more active role in the political landscape. In the opposition, and in the government since November 2011, the Popular Party (PP) has also supported restrictive positions. All this has contributed to the deterioration of the foreign workers image, and to the increase of distrustful attitudes towards immigration by Spanish society.

The immigrant collectivity has felt annoyed by this situation and has tried to claim his rights through vindicative actions, demonstrations, and protest activities, such as occurred in 2009 in connection with the reform of the Aliens Act and the extension permanence period, into the Detention Centres Immigrants (CIE).

<sup>12</sup> About this: Redacción (Barcelona). *La segregación no tiene aliados*. 2008. Elpais.com: [http://www.elpais.com/articulo/sociedad/segregacion/tiene/aliados/elpepisoc/20080721elpepisoc\\_2/Tes](http://www.elpais.com/articulo/sociedad/segregacion/tiene/aliados/elpepisoc/20080721elpepisoc_2/Tes)

<sup>13</sup> With regard to this question: Meneses, Rosa (Madrid). *¿Cuál es el significado y el origen del 'hiyab'?* 2010. El mundo.es: <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2010/04/21/madrid/1271853528.html>

<sup>14</sup> Above this: Carbajosa, Ana (Bruselas). *Los musulmanes europeos, contra los atentados suicidas y a favor del velo*. 2008. Elpais.com: [http://www.elpais.com/articulo/internacional/musulmanes/europeos/atentados/suicidas/favor/velo/elpepiint/20080111elpepiint\\_11/Tes](http://www.elpais.com/articulo/internacional/musulmanes/europeos/atentados/suicidas/favor/velo/elpepiint/20080111elpepiint_11/Tes)

The maximum period of stay in these centres have been extended since 40 at 60 days. In these, immigrant associations usually have counted with the support of social agents involved, members of NGOs and institutions with solidarity ideas principally. However, they have not always had the media coverage nor the political and social responsiveness that they expected.

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