

Discourses on Immigration
in Times of Economic Crisis:
A Critical Perspective

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Edited by

María Martínez Lirola

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P U B L I S H I N G

Discourses on Immigration in Times of Economic Crisis:
A Critical Perspective,
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FOREWORD

The press is generally regarded as a reliable source of information with the capacity to propagate ideologies, social conceptions and beliefs. In this regard, it seems evident that the social role of the press can by no means be underestimated: it can influence our knowledge, values and social codes through linguistic and other semiotic means, sometimes hidden under a euphemistic lexical disguise holding up a liberal and apparently respectful discourse.

The relationship between the press and society is a very complex one that requires careful conceptualisation so that it is possible to understand why texts in general and texts related to immigration in particular are created in the ways they are and not differently. The press offers access to all sorts of information and it also has the power to create or modify attitudes because each image and each linguistic component used to transmit a message is not predetermined or chosen at random. On the contrary, it is the result of a complex phenomena where the individual components may be selected systematically, reflecting the aims, purposes and motivations of the encoders/journalists.

The following book pays attention to the discursive and visual elements that are involved in reproducing ethnic and racial prejudices in contemporary press discourse. At present, the Western world is experiencing a period of economic crisis and there is no doubt that this affects the treatment of immigration, in which immigrants are usually represented as a “people-problem” and as a burden to society.

In this regard, the purpose of this book is to describe major aspects of discourse related to immigration in the present social context of economic crisis. More specifically, the main objectives of the book are the following:

- To approach the reality of immigration from diverse perspectives: discourse analysis, sociology, communication, anthropology, etc.
- To highlight the main aspects related to immigration in contemporary societies and in contemporary media discourse.
- To observe the ways in which the global economic crisis has affected the discourses on immigration.

- To analyse the main linguistic, visual and sociological characteristics of immigration in the press of different countries (Spain, United Kingdom, United States, Central Europe, etc.) in order to show to what extent the journalistic treatment of immigration contributes to racism and xenophobia within societies in general.
- To study the way in which female immigrants are represented in the press.
- To analyse political discourse related to immigration from a critical perspective.
- To answer the following research question: how are immigrants represented in the press? What is the purpose of the representation observed?
- To study the way in which journalists, as members of the main group, have power as well as how this power is involved in the process of drafting news on immigration.
- To make readers aware of the ways in which the texts on immigration are created and help readers to develop critical abilities in order to deconstruct the texts under analysis.

The main theoretical framework of this book is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) because it allows us to analyse texts from a critical perspective and thus to reveal forms of social inequality and discursive domination. This approach makes it possible to unmask unequal relationships, relationships of power and injustice in discourses related to immigration. Thus CDA allows the analysis of any social or political reality or problem. For this reason, it is also appropriate to analyse the discursive representation of immigration in the press within the present time of economic crisis and uncertainty.

Chapter 1, by María Martínez Lirola, analyses how the return of immigrants is portrayed in the press by paying attention to the visual and linguistic characteristics of the news items dealing with this topic in three newspapers: *El Mundo*, *Información*, and *Latino*. A comparison of how the return of immigrants is portrayed in the three newspapers will show that there are differences between the Spanish newspapers and *Latino*: immigrants' voices do not appear in the former, the photographs in the Spanish newspapers portray immigrants as idle, separated from Spanish people, etc. However, it is common to find immigrants' testimonies in *Latino*, together with photographs taken in their houses or in their countries of origin.

Chapter 2, by Jessica Retis, is part of a wider investigation that compares mainstream media representation of immigrant Latinas in the United States and Spain. This study seeks to remark the general trends based on previous investigations that took place in both countries. Incorporation of the transnational and genre perspectives helps us to understand the current status of women in the international immigration context of these two countries that are the main destinies of Latin American extra regional population flows. By analysing trends of diversity representation in the mainstream media, specifically in the portrayal of immigrants, the study seeks to examine which are the main topics in the news coverage and how these portraits are influencing public opinion. A comparison of how immigrant Latinas are portrayed in American and Spanish press will demonstrate that there are similarities in the representation of otherness: class, race and genre are, combined, constructing a triple discrimination in the public discourse.

Chapter 3, by Isabel Alonso Belmonte, Daniel Chornet Roses and Anne McCabe, has as its main purpose to identify and describe the ideological positions in user-generated online commentaries in the Spanish newspaper *El País*, and to shed light on the representations of immigrants within these ideological stances. With this purpose, the authors performed a critical discourse analysis of the 497 online comments that users posted at the end of a news article that reported a racist incident. The inductive analysis of the data yielded three ideological stances: (1) Some users acknowledged the incident published in the news article as racist; (2) some other users denied the incident as a racist one; and finally (3) some commentaries evidenced an unsettlingly ambivalent position vis-à-vis the incident. All three positions, but especially the Ambivalent ones and the Denials, operate within an ideological discursive formation of “whiteness” that articulates a particular type of racist discourse. These discursive practices, while generating ethnic (Spanish) group consensus, simultaneously discriminate black immigrants as burdens and problems to the Spanish economy in this time of crisis. Implications are discussed.

Taking Critical Discourse Analysis and Conceptual Metaphor Theory as theoretical paradigms, the main goal of chapter 4, by Eliecer Crespo Fernández, is to analyse the lexical elements used by journalists in order to characterize immigrants in the daily production of news and commentary. To this end, the author carries out a contrastive analysis of the X-phemistic (i.e. orthophemistic, euphemistic and dysphemistic) lexical units used to represent immigration and the figure of the immigrant in the current conservative Spanish and British electronic press, as X-phemism. Data have been drawn from two daily leading online newspapers: the Spanish

El Mundo and the British *The Daily Telegraph*, which are taken as representative examples of right-wing online press dealing with current political affairs and events in both countries.

Chapter 5, by Antonio M. Bañón Hernández, Samantha Requena Romero and María Eugenia González Cortés, makes an analysis of the discourses deeply rooted in the media in relation to migration processes and to immigrants to find whether the economic crisis has intensified the biased image offered of this collective in relation to information linked to health and education. To achieve this goal, a corpus of 50 pieces of news from newspapers, radio and television is analysed.

Chapter 6, by F. Javier García Castaños, Antonia Olmos Alcaraz and María Rubio Gómez, focuses on the way diversity is shown – in relation to foreign immigrant pupils at school – in public discourses (mass media, political and scholarly discourse). This chapter points out that these discourses are supporting an image of migratory phenomena at school that contribute to the differences between social groups. Firstly, there is a section which analyses the discourses that problematize the phenomenon of migration at school. Secondly, the chapter offers a reflection on the discourses that praise cultural diversity at school. Transversally in both parts the authors show the usual trend in identifying the concepts “*culture*” and “*nationality*”, and the reductionist and essentialist consequences it has.

The objective of chapter 7, by Francisco Checa Olmos, Juan Carlos Checa Olmos and Ángeles Arjona Garrido is to understand the role played by political parties – through their party platforms – in shaping the migratory phenomenon and its related discourses. The authors analyze the messages put forward by the two main political parties of Spain (PSOE and PP) in the different general elections held in Spain between 2000 and 2011. Applying factorial analysis to the types of proposals written into each party platform, it is possible to understand the different electoral and ideological frameworks.

Chapter 8, by Jan Chovanec, analyses the discursive construction of immigrants and domestic minorities in news reports. It notes how the media represent immigrants and internal outsiders, such as the Roma, in opposition to the majority group. The dichotomy of contrasting the in-group and the out-group(s) is based on affective polarization, i.e. positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, and is interpreted as a typical feature of intolerant and discriminatory discourse. Based on a series of news reports involving individuals from minority groups, the article documents how the Czech online media rely on underlying prejudices to cover crime-related events.

Chapter 9, by Nicolás Lorite, tries to answer the following question: How do the media affect how immigrants are integrated into the social and intercultural fabric of society in a time of financial crisis? To shed light on this question, this chapter adopts a multi-perspective, interdisciplinary approach, critically analyzing diverse data and examples collected by MIGRACOM. The results are particularly relevant in light of current, ongoing transformations in the media and society, especially since some countries, like Spain, have recently seen large numbers of immigrants. Given that much similar analysis is based on subjective judgments and ideological bias against the media, this paper's objective, scientific approach to the coverage of immigration and cultural diversity provides a key contribution to understanding how the media affect intercultural relationships.

Chapter 10, by Antolín Granados Martínez, F. Javier García Castaño, Nina Kressova, Lucía Chovancova and José Fernández Echeverría aims at providing some data and elements for analysis and consideration regarding institutional, judicial or other type of actions which clearly focus on constraining the emergence of ideologies and implementation of public policies built on specific behaviours, attitudes or rules that may provide the basis for social and/or cultural discrimination, especially against foreign persons or groups. Data analysis from opinion polls in Spain and other European countries show that there is a close relation between what the citizens think about immigration and immigrants, and their image in the media.

Chapter 11, by Gema Rubio Carbonero, aims at systematically analyzing Spanish political discourse on immigration between years 2010 and 2011. Thus, all the political speeches dealing with immigration in these two years produced in the Spanish parliament (*Pleno del Congreso de los Diputados*) by any political party are carefully studied in order to find out what attitudes and ideologies can be observed and, therefore are transmitted to Spanish population about immigration. The analysis shows that, as a result of the economic crisis, speeches on immigration are much less frequent and much less relevant than they used to be before the crisis started.

PROLOGUE

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Racist ideology and attitudes are not innate but learned, and so are the social practices of discrimination based on them, together defining the social system of domination called 'racism'. Although some practices may be learned by experience, that is, by observation and participation, discriminatory practices presuppose shared social cognitions, such as prejudices, that can only be acquired, legitimated and socially reproduced by discourse. Hence the relevance of the study of text and talk as a crucial component in the study of the formation and reproduction of racism in society.

Some genres of discourse are more influential than others in the formation of shared ideologies and attitudes in society. Thus, most citizens have direct or indirect (via everyday conversations) access to public discourse of politicians, the mass media and education. The symbolic elites who control these forms of public discourse are therefore the primary definers of ethnic or racial prejudices and ideologies and responsible for their reproduction in society.

This present collection of articles edited by María Martínez Lirola presents evidence from Spain and some other countries that sustains this fundamental thesis about the role of public discourse in the reproduction of racism, especially by the mass media. Earlier research in many countries already had found that the mass media barely employ journalists from ethnic minorities, that reporting in a multi-ethnic society is hardly taught in journalism schools, and that news gathering routines selectively focus on information and opinions of elites sources of the 'white' ingroup, often ignoring expert minority voices. Together with widespread prejudices and stereotypes of dominant majority journalists, these conditions define the context that explains the systematic bias of news and opinion articles, programs and other discourses in the dominant mass media.

As also the papers in this volume show, this racist bias can be observed at all levels of text and talk, as predicted by the general principle of all ideological discourse, namely that positive information about ingroups is

emphasized and negative information mitigated or ignored, whether the opposite is the case for information about outgroups: Negative information about *Them* tends to be emphasized and positive information ignored or mitigated.

If we apply this general ideological strategy to discourse we find at the level of topics or semantic macrostructures that negative topics about immigration and integration are dominant: *They* bring us problems, they are different and a threat to our borders, cities, neighborhoods, and labor market and do not want to adapt to *Our* language, religion or culture. Their contributions to our economy, culture and science are seldom acknowledged—beyond sport and entertainment. Stories on the many PhD candidates among the immigrants (and the problems of academic discrimination they face) do not fit the stereotype and hence are rare. On the other hand, stories on the *hijab* of some Muslim women may fill pages, because they confirm the stereotype of religious traditionalism and gender backwardness. On the other hand, *Our* prejudice, discrimination and racism are seldom explicit topics in dominant political, media or educational discourse—or attributed and limited to the Extreme Right (the outgroup within the ingroup), and never to *Our* own, mainstream institutions. On the contrary, *We* are modern, progressive and tolerant, whereas *They* are traditional, backward and intolerant. Thus, no dominant newspaper, on the left or at the right, will ever print a detailed story on racism in the press. Indeed, journalists carefully control and exclude the negative information about themselves—of course backed up or controlled by the media owners.

The same strategy may be observed in the use of metaphors (immigrants always arrive in *waves* and not simply by airplane), the lexicon (they are often called *illegal* if they don't get papers), quotations (their elite sources are little quoted), pictures (showing immigrants in stereotypical situations and occupations) and biased implications, presuppositions and person descriptions that locally detail the overall negative portrayal of immigrants and other minorities.

These and many other findings of earlier research are confirmed and further developed in the detailed studies in this important volume, bringing data—especially about Spain—that have hitherto not been known internationally and in English. María Martínez Lirola should be complimented for her efforts to invite major specialists on immigration discourse in Spain in one volume, which contributes to the critical study of public discourse as well as to our insight into immigration and racism.

The authors show how the discourse of politics and the media both express elite attitudes and ideologies on immigration as well as shape

those of the public at large—which the elites in turn use as the ‘democratic’ legitimization of their own prejudices and policies. In other words, the elites, also in Spain—as well as in the UK, the USA and the Czech Republic—remain crucial part of the problem of racism, and as yet hardly part of the solution. Indeed, as shown elsewhere in Europe today, elite discourse in politics and the media increasingly yields to racist rhetoric portraying immigrants as a threat and as scapegoats of the economic crisis.

Teun A. van Dijk
Barcelona, June 2012

CHAPTER ONE

IMMIGRANTS GOING BACK HOME: AN ANALYSIS OF THE DISCURSIVE REPRESENTATION OF THE RETURN PLAN FOR IMMIGRANTS IN THREE SPANISH NEWSPAPERS

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1. Introduction

This chapter intends to analyse the way the return of immigrants is portrayed in the press, in particular in three newspapers, two of which, *El Mundo* and *Información*, are published by Spaniards, and the third, *Latino*, by immigrants. *El Mundo* is one of the most popular newspapers in Spain and *Información* is the newspaper with the largest circulation in Alicante, the city with the third highest number of immigrants in Spain. *Latino* is the most popular newspaper among the Latin American community.

The way in which the return home of immigrants is portrayed has been studied in the social sciences (Conway and Potter, 2009; Christou, 2006; Long and Oxfeld, 2004) but specific attention has not been paid to its portrayal in the press. Therefore, this paper intends to explore this reality focusing on the linguistic and visual elements that create each item of news. In November 2008, the Spanish Government created a plan for the voluntary return of immigrants. This plan was intended to facilitate the return of immigrants who had lost their jobs as a result of the economic crisis. It allowed immigrants who wanted to return to their countries of origin to obtain 40% of the unemployment benefits they were entitled to before leaving Spain and the other 60% when they arrived home.

The decisions on how to portray the reality of migrations in the press show who communicates with whom and who has the power to present this reality in one way or another. In other words, the press has power over the population since it transmits facts and situations in the way it considers the most appropriate in order to achieve its objectives (to sell newspapers, to show that the main group in society -autochthonous population- is the one with the power, etc.) (Crespo and Martínez Lirola, 2012; Ferguson, 2007; Martínez Lirola, 2010; Moore, Gross and Threadgold, 2012).

Those who create multimodal texts on immigration belong to the majority group and they have the authority to present the items of news in one way instead of another in order to obtain a specific response from the reader. In Bañón's words (2002, 283): "The function of the media as transmitters of other discourses, as supporters of those discourses or as generators of discourses is crucial regarding the public treatment of immigration".¹

This chapter will explore the relationships between the different linguistic and visual characteristics of the items of news analysed together with their meaning for and influence on the reader. The multimodal texts under analysis are produced and consumed in a socio-political context marked by an economic crisis in Spain. This, together with the fact that the news items published in the newspapers *Información* and *El Mundo* are produced by people belonging to the majority group (the Spanish population), implies that the return of immigrants is presented as positive for the immigrants concerned and as a very good measure taken by the Spanish Government, as the analysis will show. This contrasts with the news items in the newspaper *Latino*, produced by Latin American people. In other words, since it belongs to one of the minority groups, it shows the pros and cons of the return plan.

The chapter is organised as follows: section two deals with a description of the corpus of examples; section three concentrates on the presentation of the theoretical framework of this paper. Section four shows the main results of the analysis of multimodal texts dealing with immigrants' return in the three newspapers under study. The fifth section offers a comparison of the texts analysed in order to demonstrate that immigrants' return is presented differently in the newspaper produced by the Latino community. Section six concentrates on the discussion, where attention will be paid to the relationship between the media and racism. Finally, some conclusions are presented.

2. The Corpus of Examples

Three newspapers were selected for analysis in order to observe the discursive representation of the return of immigrants: *El Mundo*, one of the major newspapers in Spain, *Información*, the most widely read in Alicante, and *Latino*, the most popular newspaper among the Latino community in Alicante as well as in Madrid and Barcelona. These newspapers were selected because they are the most widely read in Alicante by both Spanish and Latin American people.

Data were collected daily from September 2008 to February 2011, that is, for two and a half years. As a result, 42 items of news dealing with immigrants' return were found in *Información*, and 49 in *El Mundo*. *Latino* has articles relating to the Latin community every day. Only copies of this newspaper from the beginning of June 2009 until February 2011 were analysed because no earlier editions were available in the virtual catalogue; only nine items of news dealt with immigrants' return.

Apart from paying attention to the main characteristics of visual grammar in the articles, it will also be seen that a positive image of return is created in the newspapers published by Spaniards. The above corpus was selected because the Spanish Government initiated a return plan in November 2008 in order to help unemployed immigrants to go back to their native countries and since then no studies on the portrayal of immigrants' return in the press have been done.

3. Theoretical Framework

The way ethnic attitudes are formulated in discourse has social repercussions because they show the relationship between the main group and the minority group and exhibit the social tendencies that carry power and dominance of one group over the other. In order to deconstruct how the items of news on immigrants' return are created, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was chosen as the theoretical framework. CDA is concerned with power structures, inequality, and how discourse constructs the supremacy of white elites over minorities.

The intention of CDA as a perspective of analysis is to provide social criticism by observing structures of domination and inequality in society; it also observes how power is reproduced and maintained in any context (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1987, 1993, 2007, 2008; van Leeuwen, 2005, 2009). In order to do so, linguistics is applied in a domain of social, economic and political context, i.e., it studies the relationships between discourse and social power. In van Leeuwen's words (2009, 277):

“Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is based on the idea that text and talk play a key role in maintaining and legitimizing inequality, injustice and oppression in society. It uses discourse analytical methods to show how this is done, but without restricting itself to one particular discourse analytical approach”.

This quotation makes clear the suitability of CDA for studying immigration, a situation in which discrimination and unequal power relations can be clearly observed. CDA concentrates on text analysis in order to deconstruct the meanings included in each text and to understand the social context in which those texts are framed. In this sense, texts are understood as discourse with a social purpose and create their meaning through different linguistic and visual choices.

The fact that texts have more than one mode of communication - the linguistic (language) and the visual (photographs, diagrams, etc.) - makes it necessary to talk about multimodal communication. This is characterized by a combination of different semiotic resources to express meaning (Baldry and Thibault, 2006; Jewitt, 2009; Kress, 2003; Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001; Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006; O’Toole, 1994). Visual grammar (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2006) is a crucial theoretical framework for the analysis of multimodal texts. Their authors pay attention to ‘information value’, i.e., to the value the different elements of the composition have depending on where they are located; ‘salience’ concentrates on the most outstanding element of the composition, and finally ‘framing’ pays attention to the presence or absence of frames in the multimodal text indicating whether elements are connected or not.

For a multimodal text to be well created, first, the different elements that compose the text (verbal and non-verbal) should be complementary, i.e., images should be connected with the context that frames the text. Secondly, everything that is part of the multimodal text (vocabulary and structures used, type of letters, place in which the image appears, etc.) should contribute to the creation of the meaning of the text and, consequently, the combination of all the different visual and linguistic choices should influence the reader.

The way in which the meaning of these texts is decoded depends not only on what readers bring to the texts but also on what the authors put in them. In this sense, images are essential to persuade the reader to accept a particular image of immigrants. As Borchers (2002, 165) makes clear: “Like words, images are symbols that are building blocks of persuasive messages. Images communicate in ways that words cannot”.

Analysing the way in which language and images are organized in the multimodal texts studied in this paper shows that these meanings are

influenced by the socio-cultural context in which they are exchanged because their objective is to transmit a specific image of immigrants, which is normally based on presenting them as inferior to the rest of the population (Baldry and Thibault, 2006; Martínez Lirola, 2006, 2008; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). These meanings are created when choosing between the different possibilities that language offers, which implies taking into consideration that language is always a semiotic process and that each choice has an influence in the creation of meaning (Halliday, 1978).

4. Results

4.1 General Description of Immigrants' Return in the Press

This section will concentrate on the main characteristics found in the multimodal texts dealing with the return of immigrants found in the corpus of examples in the three newspapers analysed.

Almost half of the news items in *El Mundo* (40.81%) and *Información* (45.23%) include a photograph. Photographs of immigrants appear in 18.75% of the articles in *El Mundo* and in 31.57% of those in *Información*. They appear as a group, not looking at the camera, idle and wearing dirty or casual clothes. Moreover, immigrants are portrayed and described as vulnerable and dependent. On the other hand, 26.31% of the articles analysed in *Información* and 68.75% of those in *El Mundo* include photographs of politicians, who are always well-dressed. In addition, members of NGOs appear in photographs in 6.25% of the articles in *El Mundo* and 15.78% of those in *Información*; they are clean and are wearing casual clothes. Moreover, in 26.31% of the articles in *Información* there are photographs of people at the airport or outside the INEM (National Institute of Employment) offices but it is not clear whether or not they are immigrants. The same occurs in 6.25% of the news items analysed in *El Mundo*.

Immigrants' names are never mentioned, i.e., their vision and experience of returning home is not taken into consideration. On the other hand, these newspapers pay attention to the number and nationality of people who have taken advantage of the return plan and highlight that Colombia, Ecuador and Argentina are the countries to which the greatest number of people are returning. These newspapers also highlight the amount of money that the Government is investing in the plan. The majority of the items of news on immigrants' return in these newspapers present the plan

as something positive and only 7.1% criticise some of the aspects of this plan.

Latino's news items are concerned with the reality of Latin American immigrants in Spain: how they celebrate their feast days, information on the importance of education to improve their situation, what they do in their free time, sports, information on the laws affecting immigrants, etc. Although there are not many news items on the return plan, all of them cover the top part of the page or the whole page and all include photographs.

It is common to find the names and surnames of immigrants in the news items on return in *Latino*, i.e., they are based on the real stories of people who have been living and working in Spain and have decided to take advantage of the return plan. For this reason, these people know the plan well and their testimony is based on their personal experience.

The news items on return published in *Latino* concentrate on the experience of immigrants leaving Spain and when arriving in their countries of origin. *Latino* highlights that only 0.39% of immigrants have taken advantage of the return plan because to go back is expensive and because the situation in their countries of origin means finding a job is not easy. Moreover, *Latino* criticises the Government and the fact that there is no money to pay for the plane tickets. This implies that there is no money to help immigrants integrate in their countries of origin or to implement the process of returning home.

4.2 Text Analysis

The photograph in this news item (see figure 1-1) is small and appears on the right, the place where the most important information is found. The frame is not striking and new information appears on the right of the image, where the Minister is pictured. Corbacho appears in the foreground and appears to be concentrated on his speech as he is looking at the other politicians in Parliament but not at the camera. Only his head and shoulders appear in the photograph. The middle ground and the background situate the Minister in his context of situation: there is another politician sitting down in the middle ground but the figure is blurred and consequently cannot be properly distinguished; in the background there is the Parliament building, where there seems to be a door but it is also blurred.



Portada > **España**

EL MINISTRO DE TRABAJO INCIDE EN SU CARÁCTER VOLUNTARIO

El Congreso avala el plan del Gobierno para favorecer el retorno de inmigrantes en paro

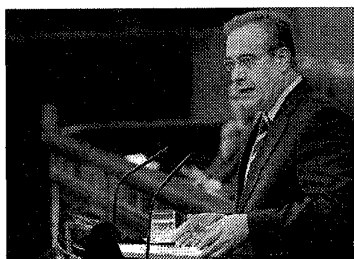
- El decreto ha sido respaldado mayoritariamente por los grupos, excepto por el PP e IU
- Para el PP no resuelve 'los problemas, como la entrada masiva de los inmigrantes'
- Para IU es 'un mal mensaje' para los españoles e 'ingrato' para los inmigrantes
- Es aplicable en los 19 países con los que España tiene convenios en Seguridad Social

Actualizado jueves 02/10/2008 12:14 (CET)

EFE

MADRID.- El Congreso ha convalidado el Real Decreto del Gobierno sobre el **abono acumulado y de forma anticipada** de la prestación por desempleo a trabajadores no comunitarios que retornen voluntariamente a sus países de origen.

Durante la presentación de esta iniciativa en el Parlamento, el ministro de Trabajo e Inmigración, Celestino Corbacho, ha asegurado que se trata de una medida coherente con el ordenamiento jurídico, que no es improvisada y que pretende dotar al mercado laboral de **un instrumento para la gestión de los flujos migratorios**.



El ministro de Trabajo, Celestino Corbacho, interviene desde la tribuna del Congreso. (Foto: EFE)

Corbacho ha recordado su **carácter voluntario** y ha insistido en que su objetivo "no es rechazar la presencia de desempleados extranjeros" en España. "Pueden quedarse en España con derecho a desempleo y buscar un nuevo trabajo o regresar a su país con el incentivo del cobro acumulado de esa prestación", ha explicado el ministro.

Corbacho ha defendido la extraordinaria y urgente necesidad de esta medida "por las dificultades de nuestra economía en un contexto de crisis de la economía mundial" y por el **elevado nivel de desempleo de este colectivo, con tasas del 16%**.

El decreto ha sido respaldado mayoritariamente por los grupos, **excepto por el PP e IU-ICV**, que no le han dado su voto afirmativo. Para el diputado del PP, Rafael Hernando, las medidas anunciadas por Gobierno se han quedado en un "mini decretín", que **no resuelve "los problemas, como la entrada masiva de los inmigrantes"**. Según Hernando, Corbacho habla mucho y hace poco y "se le va la fuerza por la boca" y "mientras sigue con los brazos cruzados, el desempleo sigue creciendo".

También ha mostrado su desacuerdo, Gaspar Llamazares de IU porque duda de su eficacia y conveniencia y ha calificado el decreto como una "legislación simbólica" y una "medida populista". "No es urgente, no es útil y **es un mal mensaje**" para los españoles e

"**ingrato**" para los ciudadanos de los países de origen de los trabajadores desempleados.

La diputada del PSOE Concepción Gutiérrez del Castillo ha destacado el carácter voluntario y ha opinado que es una oportunidad al inmigrante que se queda sin empleo. Desde CIU, Carles Campuzano ha prestado su apoyo a cualquier medida "**que tienda a aliviar a cualquier persona desempleada**" y ha opinado que el decreto del Gobierno "se topa con la realidad y actúa en consecuencia".

Emilio Olabarria, del PNV, ha dicho que "no sabe si es la mejor solución, pero **las razones que invoca son razonables**" y Olaia Fernández, del BNG, ha incidido en que debe ser una opción para los trabajadores desempleados, a los que debe ofrecerse "una buena información". Por su parte, Ana Oramas, de Coalición Canaria, ha opinado que la iniciativa del Gobierno es necesaria y le ha animado a que adopte otras medidas, como la de **favorecer la movilidad de los trabajadores entre comunidades**.

El Plan del Gobierno permitirá a los inmigrantes desempleados percibir la prestación en dos plazos: **el 40% en España, una vez reconocido el derecho, y el 60% en el país de origen**, transcurridos 30 días naturales desde el primer pago.

La medida está destinada a trabajadores desempleados de los 19 países con los que España tiene firmados **convenios bilaterales en materia de Seguridad Social**, pero deja abierta la opción de negociar con otros países interesados si garantizan cierta cobertura sanitaria y social.

Portada > **España**

 **elmundo.es**

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Figure 1-1. Text 1. Date: 2 October 2008. Newspaper: *El Mundo*.

Corbacho is wearing smart clothes: a navy blue jacket, a blue shirt and red and white tie. His hands rest on the papers where he has his written speech. There is a vector between his hands, the pieces of papers on the platform and the microphones, and another one from the microphones to his mouth as a way of emphasizing the importance of his speech on the return plan and that he as the Minister of Labour is the person who has promoted it.

The caption is: *El ministro de Trabajo, Celestino Corbacho, interviene desde la tribuna del Congreso* (The Minister of Labour, Celestino Corbacho, speaks in Parliament). This caption, together with the image already analysed gives importance to Corbacho's speech on the return plan. In this way it is highlighted that he is the person responsible for the return plan. Needless to say, he belongs to the white elite and as a politician is in a position of power.

The headline is: *El Congreso avala el plan del Gobierno para favorecer el retorno de inmigrantes en paro* (Parliament backs the Government's plan to foment the return of unemployed immigrants). Apart from using the word immigrants, which is normally associated with poverty, discrimination and other negative ideas, the headline highlights

the fact that they do not have a job. This can be considered an example of dysphemism because it highlights some of their negative characteristics: being unemployed implies that they are idle, that they are not productive, that they do not have any money, that they could steal, etc.

The subheadlines are: - *El decreto ha sido respaldado mayoritariamente por los grupos, excepto por el PP e IU* (The decree has been backed by the majority of the groups except PP and IU).

- *Para el PP no resuelve 'los problemas, como la entrada masiva de los inmigrantes'* (For the PP (this measure) does not solve problems such as the massive arrival of immigrants).

- *Para IU es 'un mal mensaje' para los españoles e 'ingrato' para los Spaniards* (For IU (this measure) sends out 'a bad message' for Spaniards and 'an unpleasant one' for immigrants).

- *Es aplicable en los 19 países con los que España tiene convenios en Seguridad Social* ((This measure) is applicable in the 19 countries with which Spain has social security agreements).

These subheadlines make explicit some of the reasons why two political parties have not lent their support to the return plan. The second subheadline has a very negative effect on readers because the arrival of immigrants is considered a problem instead of the right of any human being. Moreover, referring to this arrival as massive has the purpose of frightening readers since it seems that immigrants will take over all our territory. In this case, the subheadline aggravates the negative situation of immigrants.

Apart from the word immigrants, full of negative connotations, in the headline, subheadline and body of the article, there are other terms used in the article such as: *trabajadores no comunitarios* (workers who do not belong to the European Community), *desempleados extranjeros* (unemployed foreigners) and *trabajadores desempleados* (unemployed workers). They can be considered, at least in theory, more positive than the noun immigrants; these words are euphemistic because calling them workers implies that they are capable of earning money and doing a productive activity, even if they are unemployed at the moment. The use of the word foreigners is more neutral and means that immigrants could be assigned the same lexical label as other foreigners, say English residents in Spain, for instance, because the latter are not so closely associated with poverty and discrimination as are the majority of immigrants. These terms minimize the association of the word immigrants with poverty and illegality.

In addition, the noun phrase *inmigrantes desempleados* (unemployed immigrants) is also present in this news item and may be considered

dysphemistic because apart from the negative connotations of the word immigrants, it is premodified by the adjective *desempleados* (unemployed), which implies that they are not active in society and therefore this adjective does not favour their social integration. Despite the use of euphemistic vocabulary to refer to immigrants who are out of work, the journalist tries to attract the reader's attention to the dramatic situation of unemployment among immigrants.

The image in the following news item (see figure 1-2) is medium sized and appears on the right side of the page, which is the place where the most important information is found. New information appears in the whole image, which can be considered the most important element of the multimodal text. The frame is not strong and there are just three people in the image. They are walking along the street and there is nothing of particular interest in the image so the attention is focused on these people. There is a person (it is not clear if it is a woman or a man) and a child in the foreground and a woman in the background. The child appears in the most prominent position since he is on the right. He faces the woman in the background, who is also on the right. The child is wearing white trousers and a black and yellow jacket. The person holding his hand is wearing blue jeans and also a blue shirt. The woman in the background is wearing a blue jacket and her trousers seem to be brown. The colours of their clothes are not very striking and their clothes are clean.

However, showing two people with their backs to the reader does not favour immigrants' integration in society; they seem to be ashamed of facing difficulties and having to take advantage of the return plan. They are portrayed as clearly separated from the readers because with their backs turned there is no possibility of interaction with the reader. In this case, readers assume an active role and it is obvious that they do not face the same situation as the immigrants in the photograph. Moreover, although the woman in the background is facing the reader, her face is blurred and cannot be properly distinguished. Therefore, we are not sure if she is looking nowhere or at the adult in the foreground, which does not favour interaction either.



Portada > **Baleares**

A CAUSA DE LA CRISIS

Se duplican las peticiones de inmigrantes de retorno voluntario en un año

- El programa ofrece ayudas económicas y burocráticas
- En lo que va de año han viajado de regreso 65 extranjeros residentes en Baleares

Actualizado sábado 20/12/2008 12:50 (CET)

EFE

PALMA.- El programa de retorno voluntario de inmigrantes extracomunitarios que ofrece el departamento de Inclusión Social de Cruz Roja en Baleares ha recibido 319 solicitudes en lo que va de año, cifra que supone **un incremento del 111,25%**, más del doble, que las registradas en todo 2007.

En concreto, este programa de ayuda a los inmigrantes que desean regresar voluntariamente a sus respectivos países de origen y carecen de recursos económicos para costearse el pago del pasaje, gestionó 151 solicitudes en 2007 en las islas, y hasta el 12 de noviembre de este año ha cursado 319 peticiones de once nacionalidades distintas.

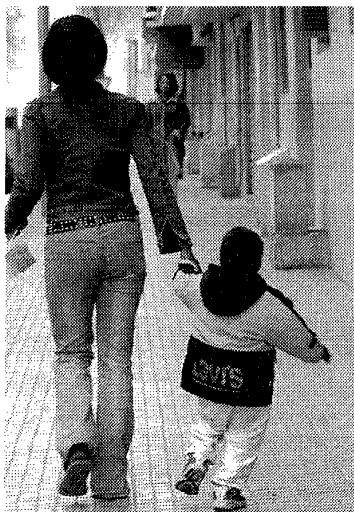
En 2007 regresaron a sus países de origen gracias a este programa 19 personas que residían en Baleares, y en lo que va de 2008 ya han viajado de regreso 65, incremento que se sitúa en el 242%.

El aumento de solicitudes registrado en Baleares es superior al experimentado por este programa de Cruz Roja en el ámbito nacional.

En toda España Cruz Roja recibió 387 solicitudes de retorno voluntario en los tres primeros trimestres de 2007, y este año ha registrado 566 en el mismo período, cifras que implican un aumento del 46,25 por ciento. Hasta el 12 de noviembre, las peticiones en toda España han sumado 790, con un aumento del 104,1 por ciento.

El director autonómico de Inclusión Social de la organización, Marcelo Unamuno, ha destacado que **la población inmigrante "es tremendamente vulnerable en una situación de crisis económica"**.

"Son los primeros que la padecen por la elevación de las tasas de desempleo, porque el estallido de la llamada 'burbuja inmobiliaria' y la consiguiente caída del sector de la construcción les ha afectado en mayor medida que al resto de la población", ha detallado.



Los inmigrantes son los más afectados por la crisis (Foto: Cati Cladera).

Los datos del Ministerio de Trabajo corroboran las palabras de Unamuno, ya que si **la tasa de paro a nivel nacional ha aumentado en 2,4 puntos**, al pasar del 8 por ciento en el primer trimestre de 2007 al 10,4% en el mismo período de 2008; en el caso de los inmigrantes ha pasado del 12,3% al 17%, con un aumento de 4,7 puntos.

Según Unamuno, Cruz Roja estima que la demanda sea creciente en los próximos meses: "Prevedemos que el próximo año este proyecto tendrá un incremento notable".

Por nacionalidades, **la mayoría de las solicitudes han sido de bolivianos, seguido de argentinos, brasileños y hondureños**.

Unamuno ha destacado sin embargo que en todo el ámbito nacional solo cuatro solicitudes, de las 790 totales, procedían de inmigrantes de alguna nacionalidad africana.

En su opinión, la razón es que "los inmigrantes del África subsahariana con el elemento visible de un proyecto migratorio familiar y **la presión que reciben para no regresar es muy superior** a la de aquellos para quienes la migración ha sido un proyecto personal".

El proyecto de retorno voluntario de Cruz Roja lo financia la Dirección General de Integración de los Inmigrantes del Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración y pueden acogerse a él los **extranjeros no comunitarios que acrediten haber residido en España durante al menos 6 meses**.

También se concede a inmigrantes rumanos y búlgaros "siempre que concurren circunstancias especies de vulnerabilidad como pueda ser la trata de blancas o el tráfico de personas", ha explicado Unamuno.

Cruz Roja se hace cargo de los gastos de documentación, viaje y alojamiento y manutención en el traslado si fuera necesaria, así como de otros gastos imprevistos y concede **una ayuda de viaje de 50 euros por persona**, así como otra para la **reinstalación en el país de origen de 400, hasta un máximo de 1.600 euros por familia**.

Portada > **Baleares**

 **el mundo.es**

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Figure 1-2. Text 2. Date: 20 December 2008. Newspaper: *El Mundo*.

There are different vectors that connect the three people in the photograph. For example, there is one between the child's right hand, his left hand and the adult holding his hand. In this way, it is clear that there is a close relationship between the two. In addition, there are vectors between these two and the woman in the background because there is a vector between the heads of the two adults pictured; moreover, the shoulder of the person in the foreground is touching the shoulder of the woman in the background. These vectors have the purpose of joining the different participants as a way of pointing out that they are experiencing the same social situation and belong to the same group. The caption is: *Los inmigrantes son los más afectados por la crisis* (Immigrants are the most affected by the crisis). In this way, it is clear that immigrants are presented as a vulnerable group of people, especially in a situation of socio-economic