

Spain (Andalusia)

Digital press discourses and representations on immigration, Islam and immigrant students in Andalusia

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Summary

The present article addresses the semantics of (anti-)racism through the analysis of the discourses and representations of the digital editions of seven national and local newspapers, over a total sample of 82 selected news items, divided thematically as follows: 1) Immigration, 32 items between December 5 and 19. This block examines the migratory process with regard to situations of illegality, crime and psycho-motor deficits; 2) Mosques and Islam in Andalusia, 28 articles focusing on two case studies. On the one hand, the social debate built around the construction of a mosque in a Sevillian neighbourhood, Los Bermejales (2004-2011), and on the other, the case of the imam of Fuengirola (Malaga) accused and condemned for encouraging sexist violence (2002-2004); 3) attention to immigrant students in Andalusian schools, 22 articles which cover a variety of specific topics, for example the temporary classrooms for linguistic adaptation, created in 1998 in El Ejido (Almeria) and now present in the whole region.

The discursive polarisation between the dominant ethno-group ('us') and the immigrant groups ('them'), traverses the proposed case studies laterally, so the representations on which the cultural distinctions rest are constructed on borders, and on static and essential differences.

Immigration appears as a problem, not as a challenge, so the interaction between the 'us' and the 'them' only has two possible outcomes: the inevitability of a police and court managed solution, without paying attention to the causes of the phenomenon or

the diversity of the groups involved, which are therefore conflated into a homogenous and undifferentiated whole, through the archetypical reductionism derived from the use of words such as immigrant, foreigner, Muslim, etc. The second possible outcome sees immigrants as flawed. They need the helping intervention of technicians and institutions belonging to the endo-group. These actions, on the other hand, also (auto-)represent the collective us in a positive way (democratic, tolerant, Christian, western), in opposition to the image of the other (illegal, irregular, murderer, disabled, fundamentalist, terrorist, eastern).

Our analysis has identified four main findings: 1) the sources more often used by the newspapers are reports from technicians, police, trade unions, third sector organisations, and nationwide news agencies; 2) the space given for the expression of the opinion of the minority groups is almost completely lacking; 3) the message of those members of the endo-group in favour of the rights of the immigrants and complaining against the abuses they suffer is blurred, fragmented and de-contextualised in almost every article; 4) xenophobic, discriminatory and racist actions, expressions or gestures committed by members of the endo-group tend to revert into the positive self-representation of the endo-group by the 'rejection' of such action, the 'satisfactory' intervention of the agents whose job is to deal with these situations and their isolation as untypical of a non-racist society.

Introduction

The present paper analyses various representative topics on the Media construction of immigration. These thematic areas were selected because they allow us to examine the convergence of discourses either on relevant topics at the State level, either on topics considered of local interest. With the same purpose we focused on national and local Spanish digital press. Three topics have been selected as case studies, they are related to immigration and will enable us to analyse the way in which Media discourses construct the migratory and the local integration process. Through these topics we can figure out the central role played by the immigration across the Mediterranean Sea and the trend to focus at the local level (this dimension has two main controversies regarding the mosques located in urban neighbourhoods and cultural diversity in schools) on the Moroccans collective as the representation of the other marked by religion. The following are the topics selected as case studies in order to conduct the discourse and semantics analysis on the process of immigration: i. immigration; ii. mosques and Islam in Andalusia; iii. attention to immigrant students in Andalusian

schools. Each of these topics has been illustrated with several news items, selected according to different criteria, as shown below.

- Immigration: the news items were published in several local and national digital Media sources from 4th to 19th December 2011. The sample includes a total of 32 published items. The sources were selected following criteria of social impact, and included '*El País*', '*El Mundo*', '*ABC*', and '*Público*' (daily national newspapers); '*ABC de Sevilla*' and '*Diario de Sevilla*' (provincial and local daily newspapers published in Seville); and '*Ideal*' and '*La Voz de Almería*' (provincial and local daily newspapers published in Almeria).
- Mosques and Islam. A total of 28 news items were selected, from the following sources: '*El Mundo*', '*ABC*', '*Ideal*', '*El Diario de Sevilla*', and '*El País*'. Their publication dates span from 2002 to 2011. These items address various issues in connection with Andalusian mosques and the representations of Islam registered in Andalusia, most particularly regarding the construction of a mosque in an area of Seville known as 'Los Bermejales'. This case will be examined fully, from the beginning of the social debate created surrounding the project since 2004 to the present day.
- Attention to Immigrant students in Andalusian schools: 22 news items referring to ATAL (Temporary Classrooms for Linguistic Adaptation) were selected in this regard. These news items were collected from the following sources: '*El País*', '*ABC*', '*El Público*', '*Diario de Sevilla*', '*Ideal*' and '*La Voz de Almería*'. Their publication dates span from 1998 to 2011, starting with the first implementation of the ATAL project in the province of Almeria. News items from Seville and Almeria predominate in the sample, as a consequence of our own field of observation.¹

Although the news items have been extracted from digital Media the territorial projection of their printed versions has also been considered, since it strongly affects the social perception of the digital versions. Another selection criterion has been a quantitative evaluation of their social impact based on daily circulation figures for the printed version, digital inputs, etc. At the local and provincial levels our own selection of subject areas for this project has also been taken into account.

Therefore, our analysis of the semantics of (anti-)racism in the selected digital Media will focus on immigration, on processes towards multiculturalism – for which

¹ For WP2 and WP3, also conducted within the framework of TOLERACE, our observations for a comparative perspective focused on Seville and El Ejido (Almeria).

specific educational policies are set forth – and on the extension of cultural diversity at the local level as reflected in the perception of places of worship. These news items have been entered into a database reflecting key words and phrases, news sources, and the treatment of the same news in different media.²

The present paper will examine Media discourse and semantics on immigration through four key analytical paths: 1) discourses on illegal immigration; 2) the perception of ethnicity with regard to informal activities, criminal activities, unemployment and psychomotor disabilities; 3) representations of the hegemonic ethno-group; 4) approach to anti-racist discourse.

Secondly, in relation to mosques our analysis will follow two basic lines: the social debate around the construction of a mosque in *Los Bermejales* will be addressed diachronically, through the period from 2004 to the present day, in order to fully grasp the discourses involved and the social agents represented. In this regard we must take into account that the issue of the mosque has been systematically followed by the newspaper *ABC* (Seville edition), with a total of almost 500 news items published on the matter. In this particular case, the weight of the social context goes beyond our concise selection of news, conceived as a way to address global discourses and the position of various agents and social groups. For this reason, other news items referring to mosques in Andalusia are more specific, and have been amply publicised by the Media for their implications on gender and religious diversity.

Addressing news items referring to the policy on management of multiculturalism at school will, on the other hand, follow a diachronic approach to ATAL (Temporary Classrooms for Linguistic Adaptation), with preferential attention to news containing statistical information and the treatment given to educational policies.

1. Methodological-theoretical foundations for Media discourse analysis on immigration

The study of the Spanish Media discourse on immigration was one of the earliest issues in which immigration-related research attention was focused in the 1990s, when immigration started to be visible in the Media. In this regard, it may be said that the issue has been widely addressed by research; doctoral theses and comprehensive studies by specialists in communication, linguistics, sociology, anthropology and social

² The standardised database used by the participating teams is available in Project TOLERACE's website.

psychology have been produced (Rodrigo,1996; Bañón, 1996; Granados y García, 1997; Escobar, 1998; Martínez, 1998; Vázquez, 1999; Rizo, 2000; El Madkouri, 2000; among many others). Additionally, and more recently, the issue has also been addressed in Andalusia in meetings organised by NGOs and journalists.³ Many of these efforts have explored the predominantly rhetorical Media discourse with regard to immigration and semiotics. In his analyses, Bañón (2002) has established a typological distinction between the semantics of *prevention* and *condescension*, drawing distinctions between *preventive discourses*, *claim discourses*, *commitment discourses* and *discrimination discourses*. According to Bañón the discourse analysis must address with equal attention what is made explicit and what is avoided. His suggestive contribution about *implication* and *inhibition* in semiotics therefore relies on Greimas's perspective, for which *saying* is a basic action in the processes of social exclusion. Saying, being able to say, being unable to say, not saying, etc. are important aspects for a critical analysis of discourse (Bañón, 2002: 21).

The relationship between discourse and ideology, from a perspective which understands the former as a means to communicate, circulate and disseminate the latter, has been explored by different authors (Van Dijk, 2009; Bañón, 2002; Zapata, 2008a, 2008b). In this vein, one of the dimensions to be considered is discourse as a method for the reproduction of hegemonic ideologies and to legitimate the status of political elites and the wealthy classes (Van Dijk, 1993; 2006). This relation between discourse and ideology was applied, and developed, to the analysis of the Medias' hegemonic representations on immigration and the Medias' dissemination of racism by Van Dijk (2002, 2006) and Bañón (1996, 2002). In this regard, Zapata (2008b) stresses the ideological dimension of the political discourses on immigration, distinguishing between *reactive* and *pro-active* discourses, which depend on the ideology – and its representation – of multiculturalism and national cohesion in political discourses. The construction of a discourse is a deliberate act that should be analysed as a political statement turned into policy. Zapata applied this perspective to the discourse on immigration policies. The importance of regulating discourses on immigration lies in the political dimension of this type of discourses in the Media, which transforms language in action, since it is purposefully projected to society acquiring a political value, affecting the discursive relations between parties with electoral motives, and thus

³ There are many NGOs working in support of immigrants and Gypsies. These organisations have promoted the publication of studies on the Media treatment of immigrants and ethnic minorities. To mention just a few of examples, we must highlight the pioneering *Annual Report on Racism in the Spanish State*, published by *SOS Racismo* in 1996, and one of the most recent monographs, *Immigration and Communication*, published in 2008 by the foundation *Sevilla Acoge*, a compilation of papers presented at a conference on the subject.

becomes a matter of Media analysis. Zapata considers that this later aspect can be examined through the Media.

These authors draw from Bajtin's intertextuality theory, from the perspective of the comprehension of the global discourse, in a dialogical sense, even if the receptor does not appear to be directly involved in the communicative process. This makes the consideration of previous communications necessary for the analysis. In a way, we can say that it is necessary to regard juxtaposed levels of discourse, in as much as all discourses speak (to us) from other discourses. For this reason, the juxtaposed levels of discursive action must always be taken into consideration, also with regard to the sphere of social action, which is of interest for the analysis and the political debate.

According to Bañón, Van Dijk and Zapata, discrimination discourses have an ideological dimension and are related to the structural position and the legitimisation of the social agents involved. Thus, Van Dijk associated racism with elite discourses, Zapata related the most reactionary discourses with conservative political ideologies and Bañón considered (self-)perception with regard to the discriminated or censored 'others' in discourses of (self-)segregation, as an influential discursive context even in cases in which immigrants reject their membership to the exo-group. From our perspective, which is to a certain extent Goffmanian, these segregation discourses should also be interpreted as a conscious avoidance of stigmatisation.

We consider that the ideological dimension of (anti)-racist discourses is essential, although the role of ideology must be approached from a holistic and complex perspective. This will enable us to understand the processes shaping shared ideological constructions, the sources' feedback and the structures legitimising such processes, which finally prevent the eradication of the ethno-fundamentalist construction, their discursive expressions and the racist and discriminatory discourse and praxis. As we have consistently maintained throughout the project, we understand that Foucault's perspective (1996) – addressing racism from a structural socio-historical dimension as a political technology of power – along with Taguieff's (1995) contributions on the rhetorical dynamics of contemporary racism, are essential ideas to tackle the shape of discourses and the semantics of racism and discrimination in the Media, and the role played by the Media as a social agent participating in the construction of discourses on immigration and in the dissemination of contemporary racist rhetoric. The Media is not merely understood as comprising the agents in charge of issuing and (re)producing the ideas circulating within the social debate on immigration, but also as consisting of agents for intermediation between political and

economic elites, public institutions and citizens. Media discourses could also be considered the finished product of the information produced by Media corporations.

On the other hand, we share with Hall (2010) the notion that ideologies can be identified in Media discourses just as they can be grasped through language, since ideologies show themselves through the articulation of *'different elements in a peculiar chain of meanings'*. The Media is a significant source of ideas about race, as well as being the arena in which these ideas are planned, translated, transformed and developed most convincingly. Hall remarks that the ideological persistence of racism, and gender, is due to the biological principle that underlies both constructions, turning them into 'natural' truths, which is why *'racism is one of the most deeply 'naturalized' existing ideologies'* (Hall, 2010: 300).

The ideological issue, served in the Media as a product for a potential audience, acquires greater intentional connotations if we consider this audience as a 'political space' which the discourse tries to affect, understanding the discourse as a dimension of political action (Apaolaza, 1996).⁴ Furthermore, the commercial and consumption value, which is usually eluded when it comes to the Media, makes it difficult to address some central aspects: as soon as the discourse/text is issued for an audience/reader, it is also transformed into a consumer product. In this regard, Van Dijk (2009:51) ironically points to the factors that could potentially contribute to the eradication of the discriminatory discourse in the Media. In the neo-liberal perspective of profit, lack of diversity in the Media could gravely affect their market reach, since a broad spectrum of readers in our multicultural societies would be dissatisfied with the dominant perspective reflected by the final product that they read. On the other hand, it would be a mistake to conflate cultural diversity in newspaper staff with discursive diversity, as professionals from minorities are often seen to assimilate the dominant perspectives, discourses and working methods before being hired. In other words, they are hired because they assimilate a specific and hegemonic work-ethic. Therefore, the Media approach and discourse can only change through the need to please increasingly heterogeneous consumers and groups which are consciously critical towards the discriminatory discourse; in short, a diversity of approaches will follow the conclusion that *'racism is not profitable'* (Van Dijk, 2009).

⁴ The notion of the 'political space' was used by Apaolaza to define the groups upon which the discourse is expected to have an effect; those which accept the ideology and the political definitions offered by the emitter of the discourse and are therefore influenced by such discourse.

Thus, the analysis of Media discourse may include considerations on ethics, on the consideration of the journalist as an author and on the journalistic text as a specific genre and at the same time as a controlled means of communication.

These issues that we have been outlining set the matter of the analysis of Media discourse as that of a whole, comprehensive and complex category of discourse. This paper focuses on the digital Media discourse analysis on the topics of news items that we have explained in the introduction. Our field research spanned over six months; we must not forget, however, that journalistic discourse, because of its own characteristics and its projections on the political, economic and ideological sphere, must be regarded as a complex cultural product. From a Bajtinian perspective on global comprehension of the discourse, the analysis of Media discourses must be made with regard to one and other, their contexts, and their inter-texts (or inter-discourses). From an anthropological point of view, however, this analysis must also be made in connection to meta-contexts, as fields of *cultural pressure*⁵ (following Spindler's notion of cultural transmission and reproduction). This will enable us to address the ways in which the discourse and semantics of racism are (re)produced and transmitted as learnt conducts and, therefore, as socialisation processes.

Media discourse analysis cannot be detached from the components causing the complexity of the journalistic genre: the influence of ideologies and the transmission of power relation and power structures in our society. In addition, from this perspective the discourse and the semantics of racism in the Spanish Media can be set against the cultural discourse and the socio-historical context to which they belong (Hall, 1980). We are analysing regulated/controlled discourses on an issue which, according to opinion polls, stands as one of the major social concerns, quite regardless of the subject of journalistic freedom and corporative pressures. Prior to the beginning of the financial crisis in 2008, immigration was still considered the main cause of public concern, above unemployment, crime and terrorism. This adds to the centrality of political discourse referred to by Zapata. The importance of *control* lies in its political significance and its ideological dimension, as we have been pointing out.

The connotation of *control* also involves the mass media. This compels us to treat semantics with regard to the influence of structural and institutional frameworks on the discourse. In this sense, we share Van Dijk's (2009) notion of *control* over discourses involving power, and in the type of discourse we are interested in, the role played by

⁵ Spindler (1987) applies them in the sense of mechanisms of transmission and cultural reproduction. In the education's holistic sense, the so called mass Media cannot ignore their responsibility as 'educational tools' as issuers, transmitters and reproducers of ideological discourses with influence in broad sectors of public opinion.

control on the *access* of dominated groups to discursive spaces. This defines the space given to discourse from minorities as a relevant variable for the analysis.

2. Representations and semantics on immigration in the digital press

The analysis of the selected news items denotes that the most efficacious representation of immigration consists of polarising the ‘us’ (hegemonic ethno-national ideal) against the ‘them’ (ethnically and legally differentiated immigrants). This construction built on opposites is not only the result of representing the immigrant subject through a shocking headline, something which happens in most of the news items selected, but also persists through the main body of text. When news is considered, including its intertextuality and implicit meanings, the combination of language, place and sense promotes the representations and the limits between hegemonic and immigrant groups, reinforcing the representations over which the irreducibility of groups stand.

We may add that this first encounter with a news item, framed by headline and sub-headline, direct the gaze towards what Bañón (2002) calls the *sectorial debates* or the partial dimensions of a more general phenomenon (immigration). In the news items, immigration is introduced through the enunciation of several themes which nearly always refer to problems – ‘they try to trespass our border’ or ‘they are usually connected to criminal activities, sexist violence and murders’⁶ – or relate the immigrant with stigmas and stereotypes involving psycho-motor disabilities – ‘*deaf immigrant*’, ‘*deranged immigrant*’ or ‘*disabled immigrant*’.⁷

Additionally, this general approach to the Media discourse enables us to distinguish between certain thematic blocks in the news items under inspection.

2.1. Discourses on illegal immigration

One recurrent theme is the connection between immigration and conditions of illegality. The definition of immigrants through the use of this adjective, ‘illegal’, widens the semantic field of action towards the need to find a ‘solution’ as a legitimate way to protect the ‘us’, with the interventions contemplated in immigration policies: intercept,

⁶ These are our expressions. They are here printed between quotation marks because they summarise the dominant ideas in each thematic block of news. The categories in no way differ from the ideas expressed in the news items: frontier, crime, murder, violence.

⁷ These associations are between quotation marks because they clearly express the ideas presented in the news items selected in our survey.

detain and control. This subtly creates a continuum, a stream of ideas directed at legitimising and creating a public consensus about migratory policies as a necessary evil for the collective good. Public opinion is not driven by the idea of invasion and is not focused on the policies in themselves, but on the actions of the security forces at the borders through which immigration filters, silently and imperceptibly, thus making the discourse all the more effective. The focus on immigration fluxes across the Straits of Gibraltar also affects the national collective representation of Andalusia as a frontier zone for Spain and Europe against Africa, feeding on the collective historical representations of the region, now adapted to the new needs brought by globalisation.

As can easily be perceived in the news items under scrutiny, focusing on borders and border control draws an inevitable link with illegality ('Aliens Act').⁸ Both ideas, borders and illegality, are combined to prompt the creation of further barriers, to promote the cooperation between police forces in Spain, Morocco and even the EU.⁹

Newspapers thus write about the legal expulsion procedures of those whose definition depends on their manner of arrival: once 'rescued' (a euphemism that often hides the assault of the small boats sailing towards the Andalusian coast) they are '*taken before a judge*', while '*expulsion procedure*' begins.¹⁰ The contradiction between 'rescuing' and the subsequent actions connected with public security measures must not be missed.

Words such as 'expulsion', 'illegal', 'irregular', 'detained', 'reject', 'prevent', 'intercept', or expressions such as 'prevent the illegal entry', 'repulse the immigrants', 'the immigrants were detained', 'undocumented immigrant', 'traffic control', 'detention of irregular immigrants', and 'a Moroccan man tried to force the border', reinforce the sense of illegitimacy of the members of exo-group, who are constantly referred to in connection with conditions of 'illegality'.

One of the most relevant factors in this discourse is the presentation of the arrival of immigrants as a threat for the national integrity, and the way of life and the economic and social rights of the dominant ethno-group. This idea is particularly efficient in

⁸ 'The Guardia Civil had to go to the border post [...] and stop a group of about 60 Sub-Saharan immigrants from crossing the border illegally'. *ABC*, December 9, 2011, under the headline, 'Morocco stops another 60 immigrants from entering Ceuta by sea'. EFE <http://www.ABC.es/20111209/espana/ABC-ceuta-nado-inmigrantes-201112091056.html>.

⁹ 'The intervention involved the patrol boat of the Guardia Civil *Río Jiloca* and an Italian aircraft working for the EU operation *Frontex*'. Europa-Press, under the headline, '20 immigrants rescued from two small boats arrive at port'. *El Mundo*, December 9, 2011 <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2011/12/09/andalucia/1323442355.html>.

¹⁰ 'The *gendarmes* have arrested 12 Sub-Saharan immigrants and their Moroccan driver, and after their return to Morocco, they were taken before a judge'. *ABC*, December 8, 2011. Under the headline 'A van tries to force its way through the border between Morocco and Melilla'. Agency <http://www.ABCdesevilla.es/20111208/andalucia/sevi-furgoneta-intenta-cruzar-fuerza-201112081824.html>.

mobilising the implicit collective subconscious of the 'invasion', that is implicit in the news' global discourse. Additionally, the news items also connect illegal immigration to '*pateras*' (small fishing boats) as the usual means of arrival, and the attempt to cross the border undetected or '*forcefully*' if necessary, increasing the risk of a silent invasion from the 'south'.

Territorial control is one of the most common discursive arguments in news items connecting immigration, *pateras*, borders and illegality, so the legitimate right of the hegemonic group to fend 'the other' off is asserted beyond doubt. These connected images promote an implicit set of ideas with enormous collective force, and taken together construct the phenomenon of the 'invasion', supporting the ideological response favourable to the need for restrictive immigration laws, seen as a relative evil implemented for the greater good against external threats. This is the nucleus of the ideological representations supporting the cohesion of nation states, in need of reinforcement due to the fractures brought by globalisation. The activation of fundamentalist discourses towards the defence of national fortresses, with strong racist roots, makes preferential use of the immigration argument.

As can be easily seen, these ideas become intertwined in the discourse with expressions suggestive of a specific action: 'the Guardia Civil had to go to the border post to intercept the immigrants',¹¹ 'some of the immigrants were intercepted before they had arrived in Spanish territory',¹² 'the expulsion procedure is already under way',¹³ 'a suspicious ship sailing towards the Spanish coast was detected',¹⁴; or through the incarnation of such actions in spaces which operate not only as territorial, but also as symbolic frontiers activating the separation between 'us' and 'them': 'have prevented their illegal entry in Ceuta',¹⁵ 'several immigrants tried to enter Melilla',¹⁶ 'they were rescued when they were tried to cross the Straits of Gibraltar',¹⁷ 'they were sailing on a patera in the Straits of Gibraltar towards their destination in Almeria'.¹⁸ This

¹¹ ABC-EFE, December 8, 2011. <http://www.ABC.es/20111209/espana/ABCi-ceuta-nado-inmigrantes-201112091056.html>

¹² ABC, December 8 2011. <http://www.ABCdesevilla.es/20111208/andalucia/sevi-furgoneta-intenta-cruzar-fuerza-201112081824.html>

¹³ *El Mundo*-Europa Press, December 9, 2011. <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2011/12/09/andalucia/1323442355.html>

¹⁴ *Ideal.es*-EFE, December 13, 2011. <http://www.Ideal.es/almeria/20111213/local/almeria/carguero-rescata-once-inmigrantes-201112131030.html>

¹⁵ ABC- EFE, December 9, 2011. <http://www.ABC.es/20111209/espana/ABCi-ceuta-nado-inmigrantes-201112091056.html>

¹⁶ ABC, December 8, 2011. <http://www.ABCdesevilla.es/20111208/andalucia/sevi-furgoneta-intenta-cruzar-fuerza-201112081824.html>

¹⁷ *El Mundo*-EFE, December 12, 2011. <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2011/12/12/andalucia/1323681930.html>

¹⁸ *Ideal.es*-EFE, December 13, 2011. <http://www.Ideal.es/almeria/20111213/local/almeria/carguero-rescata-once-inmigrantes-201112131030.html>

apparent lawlessness is located at other borders only occasionally, but as may be easily observed without the geopolitical references offered by the Straits: 'the Police have dismantled an organisation dedicated to the introduction of Ukrainian citizens in the Schengen space'¹⁹. This way of introducing the process of 'detention', the language and tone used, reinforces the idea of the 'invisible human tide' and of the 'silent invasion'. If Van Dijk (1999:323) points to this kind of discourse as a way to present immigrants as lawless people in order to promote restrictive policies, expulsions and rejection, we can also detect notions aimed at mobilising old ideals in support of the sovereignty of nation-states in a context of crisis, feeding back those ideologies that are closer to racism.

This frontier rhetoric not only ignores and silences the social and economic reality of the countries to which these immigrants arrive, but also, under the representation of the '*illegal*', the '*irregular*' and the '*undocumented*', assumes the inevitability of police and legal solutions, without paying any attention to the causes of the migratory phenomenon and the plurality of groups involved. The discursive strategy around the idea of the 'arrival' is according to Bañón (2002) a '*preventive discourse*', because it involves topics grouped around control (of frontiers and people) and security (interception, retention, expulsion).

2.2. Ethnic identification regarding informal-illegal activities, unemployment and psychomotor disabilities

We detect in the analysed news the displacement of the semantic field of immigration towards conflict, crime or disabilities, that establishes on the discourse a set of representations focusing on the actions carried out by the members of ethnically marked immigrant collectives, in order to bind them with negative evaluations and thus widen the distance between the attitudes of the members of the dominant ethno-group and of minoritised ethnic groups. These journalistic discourses on immigrants are generated in socio-economic structures (Media), which functionally breed ideological frameworks and power relations, as stated above. These discourses must be analysed as cultural results subjected to the socio-historical contexts in which they are articulated. In this sense, they become fully-fledged political issues as soon as they are generated in productive structures that are subjected to the context of construction of new referents for an imagined supra-communal identity (Anderson, 1983), i.e. the *Europeanness* in the EU's context. We share the thesis that in globalised societies

¹⁹ *El Mundo*, December 19, 2011. <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2011/12/19/espana/1324295653.html>

mediated communication acquires a central role in the construction of everyday life, as producer of meaning within shared cultural frameworks (Cocco, 2003: 51) and as transmitter of collective representations (Spitulnik, 1993). Therefore, these discourses should be contextualized as **producers of meaning for racism in Europe**.

One of the strategies followed by the Media to homogenise different ethnic groups is the use of the categories immigrant and foreigner. It is significant that the word *immigrant* is used in 21 of 32 articles under consideration, while 'foreigner' is used in 14 of them: 66% and 44% respectively. They appear jointly and repeatedly in 8 articles, in a representation which on the one hand reinforces the condition of *not-national*, and on the other (un)identifies members of ethnic minorities, which become blurred under terms such as '*immigrants*', '*foreigners*', '*another 60 immigrants*', '*the immigrant family*', '*Sub-Saharan*', '*African*' or the generic '*immigrant groups*'.

The presence of the exo-group is thus defined by the adjective pointing towards nationality or towards generic categories such as 'African', 'Sub-Saharan' or 'Maghrebian'. These are preceded by the category 'immigrant' or 'foreigner' to reinforce their presentation as 'illegal' and 'irregular', and therefore connected to robberies, sexist violence, abandonment of children, irregular employment, falsification of public documents, etc.

The relationship established between the ethnic dimension and certain activities, presented as the only ones the exo-group practices, revolves in our news items around three main lines: criminal activities, informal activities connected with unemployment, and psychomotor disabilities. The idea is that members of immigrant groups are presented in a negative way in order to delineate and widen the difference between the hegemonic ethno-group and others, presenting them as threats that make racial mixing inadvisable. The *de facto* plurality of the immigrant collective is equalised by the application of an archetypal reductionism that facilitates the use of the words *immigrant* and *foreigner*.

Regarding the relationship between immigration and crime, the discourse tends to identify the nationality of criminals, especially if they are Moroccan²⁰ or Romanian, also offering specifics of nationality, identity, and details on the commission of the crime, which is often potentially shocking from an emotional and a social point of view. We can thus observe the following headline in El Diario de Sevilla (06-12-2011) '*Student strangled in Ceuta: the woman, 24, born in La Línea de la Concepción was allegedly*

²⁰ The most commonly represented nationality in the articles under scrutiny (12 out of 32; 38%), against Romanian (4), Sub-Saharan (3), Equadorian (1), Malians (1), Algerians (1), Senegalese (1), Nigerian (1) and Ukrainian (1).

murdered by a Moroccan with whom she shared a flat, when he was trying to rape her.²¹ On the other hand, ABC published the following on December 13 2011: *'The man that murdered his wife in front of his three children kills himself in jail. Ali.D., 38, born in Morocco, has been interned in the prison at Soto del Real*²² or *'My mom is dead; my dad killed her. The husband of the woman murdered in Madrid, 39 and born in Morocco, gives himself up. A 10 day old baby taken to the hospital of La Paz with symptoms of hypothermia and slight dehydration'*. ABC (December 9, 2011).²³

The aim is to identify ethnically differentiated groups with negative attitudes, labelling them as dangerous and unpredictable. We are told that we must be wary of these groups and that we must try to avoid them. The news items which we have used as examples include expressions that can be extrapolated to all those in which immigration and crime are connected: *'he tried to attack her sexually'*, *'the murderer, born in Morocco was identified as Mohamed A.'*, *'they followed him shouting "murderer"'*, etc. These discursive resources, according to Bañón (2002), express and emphasise the negative assessment of the ethno-group by giving detailed information of 'inappropriate' conducts for the endo-group.

A second issue is the identification of immigration with irregular economic activities and job precariousness. In opposition to our previous topics, informal economic activities, job precariousness and the conditions of disadvantage often suffered by immigrants are not highlighted in the headlines, but surreptitiously mentioned in the main body of texts through agents acting in the defence of the rights of immigrants (trade unions, NGOs, political parties, public bodies, etc.).

The aim in this case is to over-represent ourselves in a positive way or to detach ourselves from any responsibility in their situation, by justifying our actions through others or blaming them on circumstances which the endo-group has no say in. It is also curious that all articles on these issues tend to repeat the same arguments: immigrants work in precarious conditions compared with the locals, and entrepreneurs are seen as *'unwilling exploiters of the disgrace of others'*.²⁴ The idea that immigrants have no rights is implicitly conveyed. Causes of immigration, employment policies, citizenship policies, precariousness, racial discrimination in the job market, etc. are never explicitly addressed.

²¹ <http://www.diariodesevilla.es/article/andalucia/1132441/muere/estrangulada/una/estudiante/ceuta.html>

²² <http://www.ABC.es/20111213/espana/ABCi-hombre-violencia-mato-201112131027.html>

²³ <http://www.ABC.es/20111209/espana/ABCi-muere-mujer-apualada-madrid-201112091525.html>

²⁴ *Ideal.es*-Europa Press, 14 December, 2011. <http://www.Ideal.es/almeria/20111214/local/almeria/unos-colectivos-critican-masiva-201112141741.html>

'At the same time, they pointed out that this policy <forces> entrepreneurs and firm owners to have irregular employees, <despite their wish to do everything by the book>. In this vein, it was said that the <best way> to fight the fraud that keeps <thousands of people> unprotected is to give work permits to all <those already working>. <Abusive practices must stop, because they impoverish the economy of Almeria, forcing many citizens to unwillingly exploit the disgrace of others>' (Ideal.es, December 14, 2011).²⁵

Another significant element contributing to this relationship between immigrants and irregular practices is the issue of 'fake' registrations.²⁶ This is an obligatory registration procedure for those whose situation is 'irregular', aimed at facilitating their administrative, legal and police tracking, while some use it in order to facilitate 'false work contracts'.²⁷

The last of our sub-topics consists of the identification of immigration and psychomotor disabilities, reinforcing the representation of the other as different, and inferior as a consequence of their belonging to stigmatised groups. The following headlines, published by the same newspaper on a single day, express this relationship. One, associates an immigrant with a hearing impairment; '*Immigrant and deaf, a double challenge for the educative system. Half the students attending the school Rosa Relaño, with 55 hearing impaired children, are of foreign origin*', Lorenzo Robles, *La Voz de Almería* (13-12-2011).²⁸ The second headline explicitly binds immigration and disabilities as though they were complementary and consubstantial phenomena, instead of circumstantial (being an immigrant) and supervened (being disabled). Additionally, the headline makes syntactic mistakes by attributing these features with human agency, ending in the absurd: '*Disability and immigration look into gardening for a future*' Antonio Crisol, *La Voz de Almería*. (13-12-2011).²⁹ Within the article we can trace elements that can be found in what Van Dijk (2002) calls local meaning or significant phrases, in as much as they reinforce attitudes, representations and stereotypes in a way that de-activates the precise identification of those outside the hegemonic group.³⁰ Additionally, we must not forget the ideological roots of racism that allow establishing a causal relationship between ethnic minority and genetic tara, flowing by the biological semantics underpinning in the rhetoric of the 'non-integrable

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ *La Voz de Almería*, 11 December, 2011.
<http://www.lavozdealmeria.es/vernoticia.asp?IdNoticia=20208&IdSeccion=3>

²⁷ *La Voz de Almería*, 18 December, 2011.
<http://www.lavozdealmeria.es/vernoticia.asp?IdNoticia=20496&IdSeccion=2>

²⁸ <http://www.lavozdealmeria.es/vernoticia.asp?IdNoticia=20303&IdSeccion=2>

²⁹ <http://www.lavozdealmeria.es/vernoticia.asp?IdNoticia=20299&IdSeccion=3>

³⁰ 'A group of eleven young people, six with a disability and another five minor immigrants from Mali and Morocco [...]'. <http://www.lavozdealmeria.es/vernoticia.asp?IdNoticia=20299&IdSeccion=3>.

culture' (Taquieff, 1995). If such a delicate topic is combined with the implicit discourse on the squandering of social resources, the loop ceases to be an accident caused by the ineptitude of the journalist becoming the materialisation of traditional rhetoric of racism. The old discussions in the context of UNESCO about the reconstruction of the Western's reference frameworks on the scientific inconsistency of the race after the Second World War, far from having become obsolete, seem to need new activation and rephrasing because of the radical ethnocentric imaginaries that *Occidentalism* and *Europeanism* are feeding.

2.3. Elites' position in the discourse: power relations in the discursive frame

When searching news items for the most represented members of the hegemonic elite it is not surprising that these should be the members of the police forces (mostly Policía Nacional and Guardia Civil), and the Subdelegaciones del Gobierno (Home office delegations), present in 27 of the 32 selected items.

Another of the most representative, and essential, factors in this legal and police structure sustaining the repressive apparatus over immigrant groups is the court system (which is explicitly mentioned in the news items). This factor also plays a coordinating role for all the power groups which are part of the dominant ethno-group.

After these groups, and much less represented, we have local teachers and students, trade unions, political parties, NGOs and public institutions attached to the regional government (*Consejería de Empleo* and Ombudsman of Andalusia).

A further interesting fact emanates from the observation of the sources from which news items are drawn. This does not only refer to the journalists signing the articles (in all cases considered to belong to the endo-group), but also all sources cited within them.

Two conclusions can be drawn from our analysis: first, the most commonly cited sources are the police, trade unions and the third sector, through their technicians and representatives. Second, and derived from the first conclusion, the voices of ethnic minority groups are hardly ever heard. This was already pointed out by Bernardo (2001) when he highlighted that despite the diversity of agents, members of exo-groups and, to a lesser degree, associations working in their support had very strong difficulties in accessing the Media and, therefore, being heard.³¹

³¹ Comparing the number of signed stories with those issued by communication agencies (EFE and Europa Press) or police, hospital or political sources, we see that over half (17) fall into the latter category, while the rest are signed by local journalists (15). The presence of other ethnic groups is altogether lacking.

2.4. Treatment of anti-racist discourses

We have already mentioned that no anti-racist discourse has been found in the set of articles under analysis. The messages denouncing the conditions in which many immigrants live are mitigated, fragmented and de-contextualised in a way that deactivates the possible analysis of the causes and narrative of the migratory process. Quite the opposite, attention is focused on 'the others' as directly responsible for their own situation, on the possible social impact of specific events and on positive self-representations through the portrayal of those agents working in favour of immigrants. Regarding this last element, the discourse focuses attention on educational or employment-related actions carried out by public or civil organisations.

It is significant that out of the 32 articles of the sample only one reproduces the voice of a member of the exo-group.³² 15 include some intervention or voice by third sector groups, trade unions, political parties and public institutions from within the endo-group: the anti-racist discourse is built around these agents.

In this regard, we must point out that although civil and political associations are often referred to by name, the immigrant groups which participate in the same events are always cited in a generic form,³³ so their visibility is reduced and their diversity is homogenised: the focus is on shocking circumstances and the suffering of victims. Therefore, addressing the migratory process from an analysis of its causes seems not to be of interest for the Media as reflected in our sample.

The anti-racist discourse is surrounded in the analysed news by three thematic contents: The three main themes under which anti-racist discourse is presented are as follows: 1) Disagreement with police or court actions regarding the application of the Aliens Act; reports and denunciations of the conditions in which immigrants live in internment centres; denegation of residence permits by the authorities; police raids and indiscriminate police demands for the identification of immigrants. 2) Support towards public policies regarding education, job market integration and unemployment. 3) References to Van Dijk's (1999) distinction in order to recognise how the text combines contents, categories and discursive strategies to suppress or attenuate negative information (racist vs. anti-racist) within the endo-group. Thus when a member of the dominant group commits a racist act the text tends to minimise and distort

³² Marta S. Esparza, 'I am free after spending 600 Euros to clarify that I wasn't me'. *El Mundo*, December 15, 2011. http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2011/12/15/andalucia_malaga/1323977811.html

³³ 'The groups present included associations of immigrants from the cities of the *Poniente* and the Comarca de *Níjar*, certain religious groups, *Almería Acoge*, *Cáritas Diocesana*, *Asociación Innova Almería*, *Centro Indalo Loyola*, *SOC*, *Almería Intercultural*, *15-M*, *Equo*, *Foro Social*, *PCE*, *IULV-CA*, *Ustea*, *Asociación Pro Derechos Humanos de Andalucía* (APDHA) and the lawyers' association *Comité Rene Cassini*'. *Ideal.es*, December 14, 2011.

<http://www.Ideal.es/almeria/20111214/local/almeria/unos-colectivos-critican-masiva-201112141741.html>

responsibilities by presenting this action as caused by isolated individual or groups, in contrast with the majority of society, which sees itself as a 'non-racist democracy'. (3) the individuation of racism as a demeaning action for the hegemonic positive values. This is achieved by combining content, categories and discursive strategies in the text, in order to eliminate or mitigate the negative information (racist vs. anti-racist) about the endo-group. Thus, when a member of the dominant group commits a racist action or manifestation, this is usually minimised in the discourse by eluding the structural perspective and the collective responsibility, by presenting these actions as caused by identifiable individual or groups and as actions that are in contradiction to those promoted by a majority that sees itself as a 'non-racial democratic society'.

Following this typology, we find that international and national reports denouncing institutional abuse, such as those issued by Amnesty International or the Andalusian Ombudsman, are fragmented, de-contextualised and shown in isolation from the problems they denounce, so no attention is paid to the structural dimension of migratory phenomena. This blurring technique aims at showing that there is an anti-racist discourse but without letting the reader see it in its real context, giving false evidence of the supposed good will of the hegemonic group (Bañón, 2002).

In the example about police raids aimed at the indiscriminate identification of immigrants the piece does not denounce the police action or the public policies behind it, blurring responsibility by jointly representing immigrants and conditions of 'illegality', attenuating discriminatory actions and abounding in negative assumptions about the exo-group:

'some police stations could have assigned weekly or monthly quotas for arresting irregular immigrants. This would encourage the officers to perform **these street checks based on racial profiles, and the larger probability of finding an undocumented immigrant that way**'.³⁴ Diario Público (December 14, 2011).³⁵

It may also moderate or attenuate our racism by projecting it beyond our borders:

'Tigani confirmed similar, although less intense, discriminatory policies in Italy, France, Greece, Germany and Austria, **though <not as extended as in Spain>**. Although the French and the Italian authorities have also launched raids against Maghrebians and Romanians, Tigani showed his surprise for the response of Spanish social groups which have repudiated these discriminatory policies' D. Ayllón, Diario Público (December 15, 2011)³⁶.

Regarding the cases when such denunciations originate in third sector groups, trade unions, political parties or even public institutions, such as the office of the

³⁴ Our emphasis.

³⁵ 'Amnesty International reports discriminatory police checks'. *Público*, December 14, 2011. <http://www.publico.es/espana/412192/amnistia-internacional-denuncia-controles-policiales-discriminatorios>

³⁶ <http://www.publico.es/espana/412192/amnistia-internacional-denuncia-controles-policiales-discriminatorios..>

Ombudsman, a disconnection between the main body of text, and the headlines and initial sentences can be detected. Several pieces published by various newspapers on different days are characterised by a headline which attenuates the main message being conveyed, not only by diverting responsibility to the members of the exo-group, but also by diluting the denouncement with general arguments about the 'current economic crisis'.

'<**They accept** work in precarious conditions, with temporary contracts, low salaries and endless working days>³⁷.

'Abusive practices must stop, because they impoverish the economy of Almeria, **forcing many citizens to unwillingly exploit the disgrace of others**'.³⁸~

'They highlight that with this policy <**forces**> **entrepreneurs and firm owners to take < irregular employees**>, despite their wish to do everything by the book'.³⁹

The second axis on which the (anti-)racist discourse rests relies on the positive self-representation of the endo-group, fundamentally through the description of educational policies. We have already seen how the categories 'immigrant' and 'disability' have often been paired together: these news items also praise the work of technicians dealing with the implementation of public policies, mostly in the field of education. This, once again, neatly separates 'us', 'the good', and 'them', 'those who need our help, who don't understand our language, who cannot integrate, who are different':

The classrooms house students from nine different nationalities. The **challenge** for the teachers is therefore greater, because students must overcome the **problems** attached to their hearing **impairment** and those related with being in a **foreign** country, such as having a mother tongue other than Spanish. Eighteen **professionals** compose the staff of the centre, including speech therapists, teachers and specialists in hearing and language.⁴⁰ it is a project through which **disabled workers, alongside foreign minors**, are seeking a better life [...] Integration, inclusion as full citizens, the power of will, the wish to be visible, the support required in each circumstance are some of the keys for the success of this job insertion project, funded by **Consejería de Empleo, Junta de Andalucía** with 160.149€.⁴¹

The third and last axis regards with the attenuation of racist behaviours committed by members of the hegemonic ethno-group. Herein, the relationship between *what is said* and *what is not said* (Bañón, 2002: 30) it is part of the discursive strategies used to divert the negative impressions caused by a specific action so it remains attached to an

³⁷ F. Gavilán, *Ideal.es* (December 11 2011), 'Almeria is the second province in number of foreigners in situation of unemployment'. <http://www.Ideal.es/almeria/v/20111211/almeria/almeria-segunda-provincia-andalucia-20111211.html>

³⁸ *Ideal.es-Europa Press* (December 14 2011), 'About 30 groups denounce the great denial of permits and see abuse in the Almeria Aliens Office'. <http://www.Ideal.es/almeria/20111214/local/almeria/unos-colectivos-critican-masiva-201112141741.html>

³⁹ *Ideal.es-Europa Press* (December 15 2011). 'Chamizo criticizes denial of permits in Almeria'. <http://www.Ideal.es/almeria/20111215/local/almeria/chamizo-critica-denegacion-permisos-201112151403.html>

⁴⁰ Lorenzo Robles, *La Voz de Almería* (December 13 2011). Deaf and an immigrant, a double challenge for the public education system'. <http://www.lavozdealmeria.es/vernoticia.asp?IdNoticia=20303&IdSeccion=2>

⁴¹ Antonio Crisol, *La Voz de Almería* (December 13 2011). 'A future in gardening is sought for disability and immigration'. <http://www.lavozdealmeria.es/vernoticia.asp?IdNoticia=20299&IdSeccion=3>

isolated culprit, erasing the collective responsibility of the endo-group to which the culprit belongs. On the other hand, this diversion of responsibility is done on behalf of the reader/audience, and does not search for the systemic social and cultural causes behind the phenomenon:

'A far-right militant kills two Senegalese immigrants in Florence [...] he has been identified by the Italian police as a far-right militant. He was a lonely, introverted man [...]'⁴²

Thus the diverse relationships that could be established between 'saying' and 'not saying', 'doing' and 'not doing', are determined by the headline and the text in the following manner: 1) using generic terms ('kills', 'attack', 'assault') to refer to the murder committed by a member of the endo-group. The lack of detail prevents the crime from being qualified as racist; 2) the event is located outside the borders of the state (Florence and Turin), attenuating such behaviours within our frontiers: '*Italy has been suffering episodes of xenophobia for years*';⁴³ 3) the article establishes short-term or ambiguous temporal sequences ('two days ago', 'for years'), making any approach to the causes of xenophobia impossible; 4) our responsibility is alleviated by causes supposedly outside our control: '*Xenophobia is a time bomb triggered by hatred and fear. On top of everything, the crisis only makes combustion more likely*'⁴⁴; 5) finally, our legitimate law-enforcing agents act as a dam between us and those other members of the endo-group, racist and anti-democratic, maintaining the values of the endo-group safe from such contaminations: '*only swift action by the police prevented a blood bath in Turin*'.⁴⁵

We can therefore conclude that the (anti-)racist discourse in the Andalusian digital Media suppresses or diverts the responsibility of certain actions by hybridising the text and filling it with sophisms such as: i. the association between immigration, crime and threat; ii. the negative characterisation of members of minorities; iii. The prevention of their voices being heard, making it more difficult for them to vindicate their opinions and the prevention of addressing the causes and diachrony of the processes.

3. Islam in the Media: the discourse on religion (de-)marcation

This section focuses, on the one hand, on the discourses of the analysed Media regarding the controversy aroused out at the local level on the construction of

⁴² Pablo Ordaz, El País (14 December 2011).

http://elpais.com/diario/2011/12/14/internacional/1323817202_850215.html

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

mosques, and on the other, on the discourses addressing the representations of Islam and Muslims that emerged from those discourses dealing with the mosques controversy. The choice of the issue of the mosques as a thematic axis for our study rests on its social significance, since the mosque appears as a religious symbol which makes visible the presence of the 'other'. Like nothing else can, Islam agglutinates and mobilises the confrontation of identities, profoundly implanted in a Christian west traditionally prone to the polarisation and the over-emphasis of religious matters. The semantics of such *mediatised* discourses on these places of worship distinguishes them from others used for similar purposes because they are used by 'the others'; are representative of the 'other'. They mark collective spaces for minority groups, transforming the environment with new and ancestral meanings for all groups involved. They represent one of the mobiliser symbols of the Islamophobic rhetoric because of their relevance and meaning when it comes to the connotation of urban spaces.

From our theoretical perspective, the intertextuality and contextualisation of discourse enable us to approach mosques as the Media expression of an ideological *corpus* which simultaneously reflects global meta-contexts and local processes. It is the reflection of the local experience of immigration and, specifically, the arrival of Muslim groups.

It is now necessary to make a brief digression to set forth some facts regarding their meta-contextual value for the analysis: after the end of the Cold War the coordinates of contemporary geo-politics suffered a major shift pushing the Near East to the centre of international politics. With the fall of the Berlin Wall and the *Perestroika* in the USSR as key milestones for this process, the last two decades have been characterised by the growing relevance of young Islamic states born out of the obsolescence of colonial policies during the 20th century. The social sciences have identified the attacks on the Twin Towers as one of the milestones of this process, alongside the aggressive policy of the west under the umbrella of the 'fight against international terrorism' and being 'in favour of global democracy'.

Several ideological approaches emanate from this global context: they are reflected in the political discourse behind the 'alliance of civilisations' on the one hand, and the 'clash of civilisations' on the other. Both approaches have been supported by an abundant bibliographic and graphic production published by a multiplicity of sources (political, journalistic, academic discourses, artistic manifestations, etc.). In this regard, Media discourses are dominated by polarised representations of the Islamic other, and the ideologies built upon antithetic premises are rarely challenged. Islam is presented as a homogeneous whole dominated by the past and by atavistic principles thwarting

evolution (Said, 1990) or integration in our own society. In support of this, we have only to look at Media treatment of the 'Arab spring', dominated by the semantics of insecurity and western fears over the consolidation of Islamic governments in the Near East and in the Mediterranean region.

The combination of global and local (meta-)contextual factors gives us the guidelines to be followed in analysing the Media treatment of the 'mosque controversy' at local and regional levels. These guidelines are a series of related elements with which to track the ideological content and the predominant semantics resulting from the accumulated impact, the juxtaposition, of several discursive variables on a local-regional issue: global, European and national policies towards the control of migratory flows (which the Media reduces to the Mediterranean frontier with Africa), regional integration policies, and the socialisation of historical narratives by educational policies. All these factors contribute to direct mentality, constructing a hegemonic collective ideology which can hardly be counterbalanced by the real-life and recent experience of multiculturalism in the local level.

This block of news reproduces yet again a discourse which insists on the collective representation of the Andalusian territory. Andalusia is characterised, on the basis of its geographical position and its historical past, as the physical and symbolic frontier of Christian Europe before Islam in northern Africa. This evocation, by leaping back and forth in time, creates links between the conquest and the Al-Andalus from the past and the migrations of today (El Madkouri, 2006).). The discursive focus on the visibility, surveillance and control of collectives and people who are subjected to the religious marker of Islam by State security bodies and forces, as well as by the judicial and political apparatus at the constant suspicion of being fundamentalist or terrorist, is bred also by the global political context in relation to the referred imagination. In this discourse the categories 'Arabic', 'Moroccan immigrant' and even covertly the 'convert' autochthonous collective are falsely lumped together in the homogenizing category of 'Muslims', which is the incarnation of antithetical cultural symbols. The discourse on immigration in Andalusia is therefore focused on Muslim diversity, on the *immigrated Islam*, on the externalisation and strangeness of the 'other'. In this sense, we consider that there is an islamised imagination of immigration in Andalusia: the 'immigrant' par excellence is the 'moor', as historical *survival* that is re-sematised in the global processes of immigration. From the role that we recognize to the Media, as *producers of meaning* within established referential frameworks, the meaning of these discourses in their cultural dimension lies in their role of 'anchoring mechanism' in the sense coined by Jodelet to explain the way in which novelty fits in the already established

thinking (Jodelet, 1991). North African immigration as a social process activates the historical and cultural category of the 'moor' and acts as an anchoring mechanism of the historically and culturally inherited frameworks on Islam (Said, 1990). Its discursive reflection in the analysed news lies in the visibility of Muslim immigrants by stressing their identifiable symbols, such as 'mosque', 'Imam', 'Quran', and by exploiting their associative, evocative, mnemonic and emotional charge.⁴⁶ On the other hand, the relationship drawn between these symbolic words and criminal actions such as 'sexist violence', reinforce some of the factors which we shall presently analyse, and which can be summarised as follows: 1) *Islam is an strategic enemy which threatens* the way of life of the endo-group; 2) *Islam is a fundamentalist and a terrorist religion* and, as a consequence, all Muslims may be so too; 3) *Islam is antidemocratic*; 4) *Islam is against equality between men and women*; and 5) *Islam does not respect Human Rights*. These contents are the maxims that underpin the rhetoric framed by the consistent ideology of Islamophobia inspiring much of the news; especially those that promote both, the imagination of invasion of Al-Andalus and the sexist violence that we have registered in our analysis. We shall shortly see that the explicit or implicit reduction of Islamic religious elements to stereotypes without context is constant in order to build the other's image. The *other who is* historically constructed as antagonistic, essentialised and non-integrable.

3.1. *The case of the Imam of Fuengirola's mosque: representation of Islam in three digital articles*

Between 2002 and 2004, the newspaper *El Mundo* followed the court case opened against the imam of Fuengirola (Malaga), Mohamed Kamal Mostafa, author of the book '*El Islam y las mujeres*' ('Islam and women') in which, according to the newspaper and the sentence read by the penal court 3 of Barcelona (one year and three months imprisonment), the imam promoted sexist violence. The headlines focused on the legal and ethical angle from the perspective of the hegemonic values of the endo-group, set against some quotes extracted from the book: the headlines opened with words such as '*charged*', '*judged*' and '*condemned*'.

A judge charges the imam from Fuengirola for the book where he recommends beating women (elmundo.es, March 1, 2002)⁴⁷

⁴⁶ These symbolic words operate at the psychological level via the iteration of emotional baits aimed at encouraging the reader to develop immediate reactions. They therefore play the same role as emoticons in digital communication, adding psycho-emotional information to brief messages, and thus substituting the face-to-face component of personal interaction. This is made possible by the attribution of traditional, socio-cultural meanings to some key concept-words.

⁴⁷ <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2002/02/28/sociedad/1014918699.html>

A judge processes the imam from Fuengirola for promoting sexist violence (elmundo.es, April 24, 2003)⁴⁸
The imam that encouraged sexist violence in a book sentenced to 15 months' (elmundo.es, January 15, 2004)⁴⁹.

The main body of text establishes a direct relationship between *'this religious leader, considered one of Islam's sages in Spain'*⁵⁰ and criminal practices such as the *'promotion and incitation to sexist violence'*,⁵¹ stressing that this is *'typified in the Criminal Code as deserving of one to three years of imprisonment'*⁵² and that it *'clearly violates the equality principle set by the constitution'*⁵³. The result of this is the extreme polarisation between the democratic, legal, constitutional, western and tolerant *'us'*, legitimised by the action of judges, women's associations and by collectively approved normative texts – made by and for the dominant group (the Constitution and the Criminal Code) – and the *'them'*, de-legitimised because of the intolerable specific actions of some, which are extended and extrapolated to the entire Muslim community in the region and in the rest of the country. This extrapolation is made explicit by saying *'this religious leader, [is] considered one of Islam's sages in Spain'*, which attributes him with a strong presence both within Malaga's, and in a wider sense, Andalusia's Muslim communities.

Shocking expressions are written and shocking relationships drawn, sometimes using identical words in the different articles. In some instances, the source is the Imam's book itself:

'beatings must be limited to some parts, like feet and hands, using a stick; not too thick, but slender and light so no scars or bruises are left. Beatings must not be too hard, because their aim is to inflict psychological pain, not to humiliate or physically harm'⁵⁴

Others are journalistic opinions, such as *'giving advice on how to beat women without leaving traces'*,⁵⁵ and they equally strengthen stereotypes and the distance between artificially homogenised cultures: these differences are shown to be insurmountable because of religion, following Huntington's (1993) 'scientific' discourse on the 'clash of civilisations'.

⁴⁸ <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2003/04/24/sociedad/1051201103.html>

⁴⁹ <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2004/01/14/sociedad/1074075915.html>

⁵⁰ EFE: 'The imam that encouraged sexist violence in a book sentenced to 15 months', Elmundo.es, January 15 2004. <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2004/01/14/sociedad/1074075915.html>

⁵¹ EFE: 'A judge processes the imam from Fuengirola for promoting sexist violence'. Elmundo.es, April 24 2003. <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2003/04/24/sociedad/1051201103.html>

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2004/01/14/sociedad/1074075915.html>

⁵⁴ <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2003/04/24/sociedad/1051201103.html>

⁵⁵ EFE: 'A judge charges the imam from Fuengirola for the book where he recommends beating women'. ElMundo.es, March 1 2002. <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2002/02/28/sociedad/1014918699.html>

Therefore, the essentialist and reductionist relationship so drawn is in fact quite simple but for that all the more effective; 'they are sexist because they are Muslim', where the latter feature is consubstantially presented through its links with categories belonging to the same semantic field ('Islam', 'Quran', 'mosques', 'Imam', etc.). These categories are further connected with others such as 'fundamentalism', 'sexism', 'terrorism' and 'violence'. At the same time, these connections are reinforced with evocations of the past. All of this sharpens the cultural distance between 'us' and 'them', fixing an old fashioned idea of Islam, which is 'far from modernity' and 'incompatible with our way of life'.

'According to the judge this involves negating the evidence of sexist violence in society, a different society from the one which dominated in the Arabian desert 14 centuries ago, a violence which is presenting us with an unacceptable stream of victims" (elmundo.es, January 15 2004)⁵⁶

3.2. The mosque at 'Los Bermejales'

The project to build a mosque in the Sevillian neighbourhood of 'Los Bermejales' has generated an intense social debate which remains open today. The conflict, built over antithetic principles stressing the distance between 'us' (western, Catholic and democratic) and 'them' (eastern, Muslim, terrorists), is the background against which the Media presents the positions of each side and represents the agents involved. We need to contextualised the conflict at the local level before moving on to the discourse analysis.

Historicity and local context

The chronologic sequence of this conflict begins with the agreement reached in 2004 between the *Comunidad Islámica en España-Fundación Mezquita de Sevilla* and the *Gerencia de Urbanismo, Ayuntamiento de Sevilla*, ruled by *PSOE* and *IU*, towards the cession of some public land for the construction of a mosque. Reactions to these agreements have been channelled almost exclusively, and throughout the whole process, through the citizens' association *Asociación de Vecinos Bermejales 2000*,⁵⁷ the actions and demands of which are often presented as representative of public opinion at large; this association is openly against the construction of the mosque

⁵⁶ <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2004/01/14/sociedad/1074075915.html>

⁵⁷ Hereon A.V.B. The associations' website can be visited at: <http://www.bermejales2000.com/>

'which would make no sense in Los Bermejales or elsewhere in Seville'.⁵⁸ In May 2005, ABC writes that 'an agreement for the cession of the land has been reached'⁵⁹ and 'works are expected to begin in mid 2007 or early in 2008',⁶⁰ with the opposition of the A.V.B., who managed through an administrative report to temporarily stop the works. The court ruling (2007) was favourable to the Islamic community and the Council. The A.V.B., however, appealed again this decision and managed to stop works one more time.

Confronted with this situation, the council has thought of several alternatives, such as finding other possible locations: *Cartuja*, *Villanueva del Pítamo*, *Santa Bárbara* or *El Higuero*, because 'almost nobody lives there'.⁶¹ At the same time 'the Islamic community does not know about these alternatives and insists that they are waiting for the *Gerencia de Urbanismo* to organise the meeting to resume the project'.⁶² This was never to happen, as a consequence of the courts finally ruling in favour of the A.V.B., which the newspapers reported as follows:

'this final decision – no appeal is possible – nullifies the agreement reached in March 2005, by which the Junta de Gobierno, Ayuntamiento, ceded 6000 square meters in Los Bermejales to Comunidad Islámica en España for the construction of a mosque'.⁶³

This court decision drove the Council to 'invite the Islamic community to buy land for their mosque', because the court had ruled out the cession of public land,⁶⁴ as a consequence, the Comunidad Islámica claimed back the money they had spent in acquiring the permits and other expenses incurred during the delay.

Almost nine years (2004-2012) after the decision to locate the mosque in Los Bermejales was taken, the alternative locations have been written off one by one, because of the public character of the land available (for example in *La Cartuja*) or for similar reasons to those which caused the final rejection of *Los Bermejales* (in *San Jerónimo*).

⁵⁸ Citizens from Bellavista join forces with *Los Bermejales* against the mosque'. ABC, September 1 2004, pp. 31.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ 'The works for the mosque will start in January, and they could be finished in one and a half years'. ABC, August 18 2005, pp. 12.

⁶¹ M.D.A.: 'The council looks for non-residential area for the future mosque'. ABC, December 15 2007, pp. 12.

⁶² M.J.C.: 'The Islamic community does not know about the alternatives to the Mosque in Los Bermejales'. ABC, January 27 2008, pp. 20.

⁶³ Gloria Gamito-J.J. Borrero: 'The TSJA declares the cession of land for the mosque as fraud'. ABC, October 10 2008, pp. 16.

⁶⁴ Juan J. Borrero: 'The council invites the Islamic community to buy land for their mosque'. ABC, October 19 2008, pp. 16.

The change in local government, occupied since the 2011 elections by Juan Ignacio Zoido (Popular Party), has not helped the aspirations of the Islamic community to build a mosque in Seville.

3.2.1. "The mosque will never be built"

In order to analyse the construction of discourses around the 'mosque controversy', five thematic axes, which appear recurrently in our sample, have been defined: 1) the newspapers side with those against the mosque, since they represent basic values of the dominant ethno-group; 2) the mosque is believed to be a 'school of jihadists'; 3) historical events are used as arguments in the current debate; 4) the opinions of the endo-group are seen as legitimate and representative of society at large; 5) the space given to the opinions of the Islamic community is negligible when compared with that given to the A.V.B. The 'other' Muslim always appears as the object of the news, never as a subject, through repetitive, de-contextualised messages.

Regarding the first of these angles, the following quote, published by ABC on May 15th 2007, under the headline 'SOS in *Los Bermejales*', is rather explicit in showing not only the newspaper's opinion but also the aforementioned, recurrent themes:

it is not licit to confound the **public opinion**, appealing to a **pacific coexistence** between **religions** and **cultures**, because that is not the **ogre** we fear, but the malformation of **Islam** which has caused the **attacks** lately suffered by the **west**. Someone must say what needs to be said, or **the mosque will never be built**.⁶⁵

Secondly, the term '*mosque*' takes a central position in the discourse, playing an essential role in creating links between Islam and its symbolic referents (Quran, imam, terrorism). The word '*mosque*' is not merely identified by the locals as the place where Muslims pray, but as Islam itself; this means that it is a physical (and spiritual) space symbolically constructed as univocal reference for the religious 'otherness' (cultural and ethnic) represented by Muslims. The mosque is a temple, where the community gathers, where the Quran is read; in short, the place to embody all those elements, the comprehension of which would be otherwise so complex for the endo-group. Mosques are recurrently used to prompt reactions against the stigmatised group, being presented as 'nests of terrorists', making the reader believe that proximity to one is the equivalent of having the jihad brought to our door.

Asociación Bermejales 2000 has repeatedly shown their opposition to a such a centre because of the extension, 6000 square meters, and the chance of it becoming a focus of attraction to Islamic radicals⁶⁶

⁶⁵ 'SOS in *Los Bermejales*'. ABC, May 15 2007, pp. 4. Our emphasis.

⁶⁶ Jon Pagola-F. Carrasco: 'The representative of the emirate funding the mosque at *Los Bermejales* does not know anything about the project'. ABC, November 13 2004.
<http://www.ABCdesevilla.es/hemeroteca/historico-13-11-2004/sevilla/Sevilla/el-representante>

the locals were indignant over the construction of the mosque, while unreservedly manifesting their fear of Islamic terrorism⁶⁷

Speculative links between the alleged promoters of the mosque and international Islamic terrorism are also drawn. This deviates the debate away from the issue at hand, for example with the headline '*the emirate funding the mosque at Los Bermejales is at the forefront of the boycott of Denmark*',⁶⁸ clearly referring to the support given by the Emir of Sharjah, '*who some connect to religious extremism*',⁶⁹ to the boycott caused by the Mohammed cartoons. A priori connections are thus drawn, without mentioning sources and, most importantly from the Media point of view, without making a significant attempt to substantiate or contextualise these accusations. On the contrary, they are constructed over mere plausibility, using ambiguous expressions to the effect of 'it may be, it may not be'; '*his possible connections to Al-Qaeda*';⁷⁰ or saying that Sharjah '*is known by some as the arms supermarket for the Taliban and by some as the cultural capital of the Arab Emirates*';⁷¹ in short, associations that may be syntactically weak but which are semantically very powerful and which are also very efficient at helping represent the collective 'us'.

Thirdly, the presence and visibility of Islamic religious centres in public spaces is brought to the spotlight not only by establishing consensual semantic bridges between categories which highlight the otherness, but also by opposing the word '*mosque*' to the democratic-Christian paradigm allegedly represented by the west (in the literal and political sense of the expression, in as much as it embodies the assumption of a 'shared cultural origin'). The discussion is thus framed between continuous references to the Muslim 'invasion' (*them*) and the Catholic 'conquest' (*us*), to dress the construction of the mosque as a threat, as the prelude to a mass arrival of 'infidels'. This hybridisation of ideas promotes the latent Islamophobia rooted in socially shared referents. For this reason the event, the action, the historical fact are falsify and brought to the present day through an ideological discourse presented as 'common sense', the aim of which is to set forth ideas in favour of the control and vigilance of the

del-emirato-que-financiaría-la-mezquita-de-bermejales-desconoce-la-existencia-del-proyecto_963401542564.html

⁶⁷ 'Citizens from *Bellavista* join forces with *Los Bermejales* against the mosque'. *ABC*, September 1 2004, pp. 31.

⁶⁸ J. J. B.: 'The emirate funding the mosque at *Los Bermejales* is at the forefront of the boycott of Denmark'. *ABC*, December 20 2006, pp. 10.

⁶⁹ 'The mosque of *Los Bermejales*' *ABC*, May 18 2007, pp. 4.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ J. J. B.: 'The emirate funding the mosque at *Los Bermejales* is at the forefront of the boycott of Denmark'. *ABC*, December 20 2006, pp. 10.

exo-group and of certain members of the endo-group. This is achieved through the filter provided by the mass media in relation with its interests and ideologies:

calls for the reconquest of al-Andalus have been going on for years on several websites, but the authorities have not sufficiently reassured the population. What could be built in Los Bermejales may become the headquarters for this Muslim crusade.⁷²

Once again, who is making these calls, who is behind these websites, under what conditions the mosque could become the 'headquarters of a Muslim, jihadist crusade', all remain unspecified. Events are set out of context, are framed by imprecise temporal references such as '*over the past few years*', and are subject to evanescent potentialities: '*what could be built in Los Bermejales*' or by adverbs such as '*now*'.

Finally, the fourth and fifth angles refer to the presence in the discourse of members of the endo-group and the exo-group involved either in the construction of the mosque in *Los Bermejales* of Seville or in its prevention.

The former are almost exclusively represented in the actions, protests and demands by the *A.V.B.*: the positive representation of the endo-group is therefore embodied in the representation of this *A.V.B.*, whose opinions are given some space in virtually every news item on the matter. It is, moreover, legitimised by its association with public agents (Ombudsman of Andalusia), civil associations (*Asociación de Vecinos San Jerónimo-Alamillo*), the court system, (*Tribunal Superior de Justicia de Andalucía*), laws and norms (*Plan General de Ordenación Urbanística* and *Ley Reguladora de Bases de Régimen Local* (1985)), and some political parties (*Partido Popular*).

The other member of the endo-group is the *Gerencia de Urbanismo del Ayuntamiento de Sevilla*, which appears either represented institutionally or through the technicians working for it. In contrast to the case with the *A.V.B.*, the newspapers tend to represent them negatively for two reasons: first, they are favourable to the construction of the mosque in *Los Bermejales* or elsewhere in Seville. At the least, they will not prevent it from happening. Second, the political representatives in the Council and the newspapers, especially *ABC*, have nearly opposite ideological positions. This newspaper is frontally opposed to the construction of any such temple in the city. Nevertheless, because they belong to the elite of the endo-group, they still have plentiful access to the Media, and their voices are duly heard.

⁷² 'SOS in *Los Bermejales*'. *ABC*, May 15 2007, pp. 4.

3.2.2. *Late (anti-)racism within the racism without race.*

Finally, we must examine, on the one hand, how representative discourses are presented and by whom, and on the other hand, the game surrounding the apparent anti-racist discourse taking place in this set of news.

The space dedicated to the *Comunidad Islámica en España-Fundación Mezquita de Sevilla* (and by extension, Muslims) exceeds that dedicated to the endo-group (A.V.B. 2000), although in concordance with the lines of polarisation which we have been highlighting, always with negative undertones. A specific religious belief, Islam, is associated with terrorism, illegal practices and threats to the cultural values of the hegemonic ethno-group. Despite the apparent access of voices representing the Muslim minority, the projection carried out of their discourse, within a stigmatizing framework, represents a sample of an elaborated instrumentalisation: on the one hand, it intends to achieve an effect of impartiality in the Media's treatment, and on the other, it pretends an 'anti-racist' treatment of the problem, when the reality is that neither the impartiality nor the anti-racist discourse are actually in the treatment of the information in the produced or reproduced discourses.

Following this first conclusion and taking some elements by El-Madkouri and Taibi (2006) about the study of the different strategies for the representation of the other as a reference, we may visualise which factors prevent the emergence of the antiracist discourse in the case of *Los Bermejales*:

1) *Generalisation* of behaviour with expressions such as '*the fundamentalists*', '*the Muslims*', '*the terrorists*', '*the Taliban*' and '*the faithful*', so as to make plurality and internal diversity among the Muslim group invisible. This is so much the case that although most members of the *Fundación Mezquita de Sevilla* are converted members of the hegemonic ethno-group, autochthony now becomes irrelevant; they are foreigners in their own country. The load of 'otherness' carried by words such as 'Islam', 'Quran', and 'mosque', facilitate this mental association.

2) *Only the opinions of the endo-group are appropriately recorded.* The arguments and opinions of the exo-group are restricted to phrases reproduced out of context and presented without a clear relationship to the issue being discussed, are simply the interpretations of journalists, or are mere reproductions of information sourced from national or international news agencies. The articles very rarely express a cogent set of demands, arguments or opinions from the members of the exo-group involved in the construction of the mosque.

3) Negation of facts connected to racist, xenophobic and Islamophobic behaviours, attitudes and actions by members of the endo-group. Quite a few articles in our sample contain paragraphs arguing that the 'normal' behaviour of the endo-group is one of tolerance and objectivity when it comes to judging the actions of a member of the exo-group. Racism (which is visible in practices and attitudes in several news) and its discursive negation is recurrent in our sample, materialising in the Media as a politically correct 'racism without race' in which intercultural relationships are by consensus marked by the unevenness between the endo-group and the marginalised minority (Hall, 1980; Taguieff, 1995; Wieviorka, 1992).

'Additionally, the association's spokesman, who explained that their opposition to the project <had nothing to do with racism>, said that in their opinion the building was too big for an area with barely 4 or 5 thousand inhabitants, claiming that 7 thousand people could <not even be accommodated in Seville's cathedral>'.⁷³

Looking at some significant headlines and to their development in the main body of text, we shall find that some stand out for the significant symbolic meaning they convey:

'Inhabitants from Los Bermejales slaughter a pig on the land reserved for the mosque. The flesh from the animal, impure for Muslims, was spread throughout the field'.⁷⁴

'The neighbours insist that their opposition has nothing to do with religion or race – they have been repeatedly accused of this by the politicians – but with the fact that the area is lacking in basic services, and they are opposed to the use of public land for private purposes, quite regardless of these being in connection with Islam'.⁷⁵

In a more succinct way, and after the *Gerencia de Urbanismo* declared its intention to recuperate the land ceded to *Fundación Mezquita de Sevilla* in 2005, after the court ruling which nullified this concession, *ABC* published the following under an aseptic '*The mosque of Los Bermejales*'.⁷⁶

'At the end, it is clear that, as we have been saying all along, it is not about racism, but about urban planning and public security'.⁷⁷

4) Finally, we do not wish to overlook an aspect that we believe to be important for the analysis, which is the *discursive use of images*. The relationship drawn between the visual element and the text is not random or arbitrary; in fact, the weight of images (whenever the text is accompanied by illustrations) reinforces and to a large degree determines the comprehension of the text. Additionally, they often sport captions to

⁷³ 'Citizens from *Bellavista* join forces with *Los Bermejales* against the mosque'. *ABC*, September 1 2004, pp. 31.

⁷⁴ G.G.: 'Inhabitants from *Los Bermejales* slaughter a pig on the land reserved for the mosque'. *ABC*, May 12 2005, pp. 14.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ 'The mosque of *Los Bermejales*'. *ABC*, May 18 2007, pp. 4.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

direct the meaning of the image. In this regard, the same image is commonly used to illustrate different articles over the years (labelled as 'archive'). This is the case, for example, with the images showing an aerial photograph of the very plot of land where the mosque was going to be built, and a photograph of the Sultan Al Qassimi above the caption '*Shaykh Sultán Al Qassimi, Arab Chief of State of the Mosque*'.⁷⁸



Another significant case is a collection of photographs showing pieces of pork meat spread on the ground, next to a banner saying '*no to the mosque*', a feeling which is here extrapolated to the entire the endo-group with the caption: '*opposition to the mosque is made clear by these banners in the area of its future location*'.⁷⁹ Furthermore, the combination of text and image as a clear example of the positive auto-representation of '*us*', made explicit by mentions of the positive community-building nature of the local association, is transparently conveyed by the article published by *ABC* on October 10 2008.⁸⁰ The article reports '*members of the Bermejales community protesting against the construction of the mosque*',⁸¹ and the banners read '*security, not a mosque*'.⁸² Other images show categories often

⁷⁸ 'Citizens from *Bellavista* join forces with *Los Bermejales* against the mosque'. *ABC*, September 1 2004, pp. 31. Gloria Gamito: 'The council tells the inhabitants of *Los Bermejales* that the mosque building will be rearranged', October 28 2004, pp.12. J.J.B.: 'The emirate funding the mosque in *Los Bermejales* is at the forefront of the boycott of Denmark'. *ABC*, December 20 2006, pp. 10.

⁷⁹ G.G.: 'Inhabitants from *Los Bermejales* slaughter a pig on the land reserved for the mosque'. *ABC*, May 12 2005, pp. 14.

⁸⁰ Gloria Gamito-J.J. Borrero: 'The TSJA declares the cession of land for the mosque as fraud'. *ABC*, October 10 2008, pp. 16.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*

associated with Islam (Arab clothes, Arab writing, Muslims praying), which are captioned as 'a Muslim'⁸³ or 'Muslim believers'.⁸⁴

Therefore, and following these 'illustrative' examples, we may say that: 1) when articles are illustrated by an image and a caption, a semantic and a semiotic link is drawn between the text and the photograph so that, according to El-Madkouri and Taibi (2006), the former is read on the basis of the latter; 2) the images stress stereotypes aimed at immediately identifying members of the exo-group.

4. Diversity reaches the classroom with a visa

In this block of news, we have taken a diachronic approach to examine how the Media treat the presence of immigrant children at Andalusian schools. We have found that Media attention predominantly focuses on the policies set forth for the management of multiculturalism in school, most significantly with regard to the programme ATAL (*Aulas Temporales de Adaptación Lingüística*) implemented by the regional government in 1998 in Almería and which was thereafter extended to the rest of the region. Thus, 19 out of 22 articles treat educational policies as their main or their secondary topic. 11 praise the work of teachers and their contribution to the difficult task involved in multicultural schooling. We must highlight that 13 articles make a negative assessment of diversity, stressing adaptation difficulties with specific mention of Muslim groups, communication difficulties, overexposure to multiculturalism with the constant arrival of new groups, and complaints from autochthonous parents. 6 out of 22 stress the growing proportion of immigrant children; some of them specify which groups are most relevant in this regard. Some indicate relative growth between two academic years. In fact, since almost every item refers to the percentage of immigrant children, this may be labelled as a major concern in news on diversity and education policies.

The overwhelming political focus shades other angles, and as a consequence politically correct euphemisms are clearly predominant in the language used, with few exceptions. In general, the regional government's educational policy is positively assessed, although frequently it is implied that good results are fundamentally due to the effort and commitment of teachers. The observation of schoolroom diversity from a political focus has several consequences: i.- the language and rhetoric used are fundamentally paternalistic in the definition of the students, presented as subjects in

⁸³ M.D.A.: 'City Council seeks a site for the future mosque away from residential areas'. *ABC*, 15 December 2007, p. 12.

⁸⁴ Juan J. Borrero: 'The council invites the Islamic community to buy land for their mosque'. *ABC*, October 19 2008, pp. 16.

need of protection and attention (*'the little ones', 'the children', 'the young girl', 'Maghrebian children'*); ii.- the reactionary discourse against the presence of immigrants in the schoolroom is hidden behind a paternalistic and preventive discourse pointing towards the need to take measures; iii.- the discourse on diversity in schools is presented as a problem, with the aim of highlighting institutional efforts to quell its negative effects; iv- as a result of the above, when adaptation difficulties are mentioned, often the specific difficulties shown by Muslim groups are stressed, diverting the deficiency onto the child and their family.

The fact that these articles tackle a politically sensitive issue is made clear in the discourse and rhetoric conveyed by the texts. The topic is not only *controlled*, that is, teachers and institutional representatives of the educational policies have *privileged access* (Van Dijk, 2009:125) to the Media, but it is also *regulated* in different planes, as follows. *Chronologically*: 10 out of the 22 items were published at the beginning of the school year between late August and mid October, which can be interpreted as a result of the Media interest in the state of public education, but also as an institutional attempt to convey the idea of normality at schools. *Thematically*: 12 headlines abound in words aimed at sending positive messages about social progress and education (words such as *'integration', 'tolerance', 'special attention', 'learning Spanish', 'school of the future'*, etc. Discursively: after deploying the quantitative data, the news often give details on the policies set forth to manage this, the efforts made by the educative authorities and teachers, and the achievements of 'specialised' schools, where intercultural programmes are being implemented, even if these very schools are seen by the same news in a negative way for the high percentage of immigrant students in their classrooms.

Only three of the news items analysed are outside this predominant pattern. One of them covers the cultural shock for Moroccan students; the second reports a research study carried out by the University of Granada on commission from the regional government, in which educational policies are criticised; and the third questions the ability of educational policies to solve traditional schooling and integration issues.⁸⁵ All three were published by a national newspaper, and they stand

⁸⁵ Cándido Romaguera: 'A Muslim family report a teacher after an argument caused by his mention of ham', *El País*, 20 December 2010. http://www.elpais.com/articulo/sociedad/familia/musulmana/denuncia/profesor/discusion/hablar/jamon/elpepusoc/20101220elpepusoc_7/Tes
 Daniel Cela: 'A study by the regional ministry of governance questions the work being done with immigrant students', *El País*, 24 January 2006. http://www.elpais.com/articulo/andalucia/estudio/Gobernacion/cuestiona/trabajo/Educacion/alumnos/inmigrantes/elpepiautand/20060124elpand_28/Tes
 Carmen López et al: 'New year, old problems' *El País*, 14 September 2004.

out for their *reactive discourse* (Zapata, 2008) against diversity in schools and educational policies. The article signed by Romaguera gives less space to the ‘family-minority’ than to the reports issued by the teacher and other institutional representatives. The article signed by Cela extracts and interprets some data from the study, which are therefore detached from the authors of the study. The journalist, however, shares the study’s negative conclusions. Finally, in the article signed by López and others, the heading highlights the shortage of means of schools for dealing with a ‘*lack of adequate infrastructures to adapt to the new reality*’, surveying afterwards the situation in each Andalusian province and giving details on the status of works and projects for the construction of new infrastructures. It takes a diversion to go into more depth on the situation in Almería, including the de-contextualised complaints of some parents from La Mojonera and El Ejido for the problems which the ‘*large proportion of foreigners*’⁸⁶ are causing their children, ‘*whose education is being slowed down*’.⁸⁷

The first conclusion that may be drawn from the way the Media treat the presence of foreign children in Andalusian schoolrooms is that diversity is considered a direct consequence of the arrival of these children. In fact, the presence of the local Roma minority is barely referred to in 2 articles, and any specific analysis is displaced by the examination of the foreign factor. The message conveyed by the Media’s *reactive discourse* (Zapata, 2008) is that cultural diversity is a handicap for education and poses a problem for integration, which is in agreement with the paradigm of educational compensation on which the regional government’s policy is based. From the outset, the political orientation of the discourse channels the issue towards the notions of ‘tolerance’ and ‘integration’, as defined by the political framework. Given that the treatment of educational issues is approached from a political angle, we shall follow Zapata’s (2008a, 2008b)⁸⁸ theoretical proposals about political discourses on immigration, to unveil the keys to this ‘politicised’ approach. We have identified a discursive morphology, the semantics of which differ from the news grouped into the two other blocks; the typology of this discourse can be divided into several categories:

http://www.elpais.com/articulo/andalucia/Curso/nuevo/problemas/viejos/elpepiespand/20040914elpand_16/Tes

⁸⁶ Carmen López et al: ‘New year, old problems’ *El País*, 14 September 2004.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ For Zapata, political discourses on immigration can be *reactive* and *proactive*. The former react against multiculturalism, looking for ways to manage the conflict and showing concern over possible negative consequences. The latter follow the process towards multiculturalism, aiming at offering resources and tools for the management of conflicts, which are interpreted as an irreversible historical process. The reactive discourse interprets the conflict negatively, whereas the proactive one sees it as a historical opportunity, integrated into the multicultural socialisation process (Zapata, 2008: 667).

'preventive discourse', 'paternalistic discourse', 'reactive discourse' and 'political proactive discourse'.

The preventive discourse

This discourse addresses the basis of the educational policies. Headlines such as⁸⁹ 'towards integration', 'the bid for integration', 'teachers of tolerance', are subsequently developed in the main body of text, which justifies such policies and declares them the appropriate solution. Occasionally, the de-contextualised inclusion of teachers' discourse is used to support this idea, for example when Juan Carlos Ruíz, director of the school 'Las Lomas', in *Roquetas de Mar* is reported to say with regard to schooling: 'the children must receive early education to prevent situations of discrimination'.⁹⁰ Similarly, the teacher García Argüello, with regard to ATAL says, 'it is designed to prevent the formation of ghettos'.⁹¹ The work of these teachers in these multicultural schools is praised 'because they are the real factor that makes them successful, although they are shy to admit it'.⁹² They are presented as committed professionals, ready to go beyond the call of duty, because 'beyond teaching the language, the itinerant teachers work in each centre in favour of a multicultural education, trying to prevent xenophobic attitudes and to promote mutual respect'.⁹³ This prominence of teachers responds not only to a journalistic approach; in some articles they are used as part of the proactive political discourse presented by representatives of the government in order to increase the preventive nature of the message: 'Maldonado praises the important role played by the teachers in these classrooms, in their progress from mere tools towards adaptation to a more comprehensive concept'.⁹⁴ The ATAL classrooms

⁸⁹ Ana Torregrosa: 'Almeria facilitates the integration of immigrant students with a system of special classes' *El País*, 23 September 1998.

http://elpais.com/diario/1998/09/23/andalucia/906502960_850215.html

⁹⁰ Tereixa Constella: 'Most of the 17,000 immigrant students in Andalusia are concentrated in Malaga and Almeria', *el País*, 11 September 2001.

http://elpais.com/diario/2001/09/11/andalucia/1000160552_850215.html

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² Ana Torregrosa: 'Teachers for tolerance', *El País*, 25 September 2001.

http://elpais.com/diario/2001/09/25/andalucia/1001370158_850215.html

A.T./ M.N.: 'A decided bid for integration', *El País*, 29 September 2001.

http://elpais.com/diario/2001/09/29/sociedad/1001714406_850215.html

M.J.L.D.: 'The path towards integration', *El País*, 23 September 2003.

http://elpais.com/diario/2003/09/23/andalucia/1064269345_850215.html

⁹³ Tereixa Constella: 'Most of the 17,000 immigrant students in Andalusia are concentrated in Malaga and Almeria', *el País*, 11 September 2001.

http://elpais.com/diario/2001/09/11/andalucia/1000160552_850215.html

⁹⁴ M. Amat: 'Thirteen years working for linguistic integration in school' *Ideal*, 5 September 2011.

<http://www.Ideal.es/almeria/v/20110905/almeria/trece-anos-trabajo-favor-20110905.html>

are 'an example of integration',⁹⁵ developed in order 'to facilitate the integration of immigrant students who, often, arrive without speaking Spanish'.⁹⁶

The paternalistic discourse

This kind of discourse is mostly developed in the main body of the texts, and is commonly used to refer to immigrant students. When compared with the discriminatory and deprecatory terms used to refer to adult immigrants in the first block of news, the difference is rather significant. Mentions of these children are always cushioned by protective terms, turning the emphasis of the message from an implicit reaction to a proactive tone. Generalising and reductionist categories (Maghrebians, Romanians, etc.) used to embrace the immigrant 'otherness' are also softened with an implicit 'although immigrants, they are still children'. The following extracts transparently reveal:

'They have never had any problems, but some years ago **they had to** think about how to **break the language barrier** for the **Moroccan, Senegalese, Guinean or Romanian kids** that arrived in Almeria without Speaking Spanish'.⁹⁷

'**The children** must be educated from an early stage, in order to prevent situations of discrimination or such'. Juan Carlos Ruiz Orta, Schoolmaster. [...] However, the **particular children's culture** adds another degree to the difficulty of learning Spanish: There are **kids** who haven't seen a schoolbag in their lives, or who find the word "toilet" difficult to learn because they haven't had one at home and don't recognise the concept'.⁹⁸

'They are used to getting **students of all kinds**, and it's been years since anyone showed surprise at **children** from more than 40 nationalities **playing together in the playground** or speaking in one of 32 different languages'.⁹⁹

The reactive discourse

This kind of discourse is also normally developed in the main body of the text, with the exception of the three articles already mentioned, where the orientation of the story is already laid down in the headline (Romaguera, Cela, and López et al. in *El País*). It would seem that the emergence of this sort of discourse, in a news topic in which politically correct language is clearly predominant, is but an accident of distraction. These messages appear in isolation among the paternalistic and preventive discourse, which propitiates them to pass almost unnoticed, thus acquiring a hue of 'normality'.

⁹⁵ A.T./M.N.: 'A decided bid for integration', *El País*, 29 September 2001.
http://elpais.com/diario/2001/09/29/sociedad/1001714406_850215.html

⁹⁶ Almudena Fernández: 'About 500 foreign students learn Spanish in 14 schools', *Ideal*, 20 June 2007.
http://www.ideal.es/almeria/prensa/20070620/local_almeria/unos-alumnos-inmigrantes-aprenden_20070620.html

⁹⁷ A.T./C. Del A.: 'Priority: Learning Spanish', *El País*, 23 February 2000.
http://elpais.com/diario/2000/02/23/andalucia/951261744_850215.html

⁹⁸ Ana Torregrosa: 'Almeria facilitates the integration of immigrant students with a system of special classes' *El País*, 23 September 1998.

http://elpais.com/diario/1998/09/23/andalucia/906502960_850215.html

⁹⁹ Ana Torregrosa: 'Eastern European students outnumber students from the Maghreb in western Almeria for the first time', *El País*, 15 October 2002. Underlining added.

http://elpais.com/diario/2002/10/15/andalucia/1034634143_850215.html

For example, the following piece presents a reactive message which is shortly after followed by a paternalistic one:

'The school Las Lomas had suffered for years, and is still suffering, as is not uncommon in other schools in the Poniente, where the proportion of immigrants is higher. In particular these are Maghrebians, who arrived in the area in the hope of finding a job in the greenhouses. We had to offer these kids a real opportunity for education, and the schoolmaster and teachers from Las Lomas started thinking hard about how to do it'.¹⁰⁰

In the following example, the pervasive reactive discourse is supported by the preventive discourse introduced by the schoolmaster, who demands more resources. With this ruse, the journalist strengthens her own reactive discourse:

'Although he does not establish a direct relationship between the Romanian students in the school and the buses full of Romanians arriving at Roquetas de Mar on a weekly basis, neither does he discard such a relationship. "The only thing we know is that we have more and more Romanian students, especially this year. And the number of immigrant students from elsewhere is also growing, and we need resources to attend to them".¹⁰¹

We shall pause to consider the article signed by Romaguera, because this is the article in which the reactive discourse and the domination of the hegemonic perspective are most pronounced. It must also be highlighted because of the way it treats diversity in schools and the contemptuous way the Muslim student and his family are portrayed. The headline promptly captures the reader's attention for using two antithetic terms – 'Muslim family' and 'ham' – alongside a statement of absurdity. The story is biased from the start and, perhaps, 'on principle'. The plot unravels in the main body of the text, and is finally solved by the statutory power relationships and the intervention of the institutional and corporate agent:

'A Muslim family report a teacher after an argument caused by his mention of ham'

'The educational authorities side with the teacher, who claims that he was merely teaching geography. - The parents of the student accuse the teacher of insulting the student and disrespecting his beliefs. - The teacher says that he is being slandered'.¹⁰²

The main body of the text shades the reporting family under the generic term 'Muslim family', whereas the corporate and institutional agents are fully named: the teacher José Reyes Fernández from Instituto Menéndez Tolosa, in *La Línea de la Concepción*

¹⁰⁰ Ana Torregrosa: 'Almería facilitates the integration of immigrant students with a system of special classes'. *El País*, 23 September 1998.

http://elpais.com/diario/1998/09/23/andalucia/906502960_850215.html

¹⁰¹ Ana Torregrosa: 'Eastern European students outnumber students from the Maghreb in western Almería for the first time', *El País*, 15 October 2002.

http://elpais.com/diario/2002/10/15/andalucia/1034634143_850215.html

¹⁰² Cándido Romaguera: 'A Muslim family report a teacher after an argument caused by his mention of ham', *El País*, 20 December 2010.

http://www.elpais.com/articulo/sociedad/familia/musulmana/denuncia/profesor/discusion/hablar/jamon/elpepusoc/20101220elpepusoc_7/Tes

(Cadiz) and Francisco Álvarez de la Chica, regional councillor for education of Andalusia.

The tale is based on a document issued by the teacher, from which numerous quotations are taken. Quite apart from the clear power relationships, visible at different levels (the way the story is approached, the manifest institutional discourse, the Media access, the use of the teacher's version as guideline for the story, the identification of hegemonic agents and the facelessness of the other party) the interesting factor is that such quotations are reproduced verbatim, without any comment or qualification:

“this denunciation is so ridiculous, unsustainable and grotesque that, in order to keep it up, the mother of the student has had to recur to lies and slander’. ‘This is a threat to my honour and my professional ethic’.

‘...the teacher answered the student: ‘I am not bothered by what you eat, or what anybody else eats. About your religion or anybody else’s I care even less. There are 30 students here and you must adapt to the other 29, not the other way around’.

‘José Reyes also told the student that if he did not agree with what he was being taught we was free to choose to go to some other school.’

The addition of extracts from the teacher's report makes the markedly reactive discourse yet more aggressive. Since these messages are conveyed within an institutional framework they should have seriously worried the councillor. In contrast, the councillor's response, as recorded in the article from *El País*, does nothing but further marginalise the student, insisting that ‘*there is no room for complaints*’ and showing ‘*full support*’ towards the teacher. The access of the student's parents to the Media is intercepted; their version is not given directly but through the journalist's interpretation of their denunciation. In opposition to the teacher's version, no literal quotes are given.

In other news belonging to this block the reactive discourse is implicit and surreptitious, and articles about educational policies are filled with details of the official protocols. The intention is to communicate that ‘everything is under control’. News items 16 and 21,¹⁰³ for example, transmit this message of authority and efficiency to describe policies regarding the education of culturally different students, normally in the main body of text and following an aseptic style and a rhetoric of domination and correction:

‘The procedure followed to incorporate these students into the group starts from the moment they are registered. The deputy schoolmaster analyses each case, and if there is any suspicion that the student does not have enough knowledge of the Spanish language they fill out a questionnaire to confirm this. If their linguistic shortcomings are confirmed, the students will spend a few hours a week in the ATAL in order to help them to incorporate to the group as fast as possible’.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ M. Amat: ‘Thirteen years working for linguistic integration in school’ *Ideal*, 5 September 2011. <http://www.Ideal.es/almeria/v/20110905/almeria/trece-anos-trabajo-favor-20110905.html>

¹⁰⁴ Almudena Fernández: ‘About 500 foreign students learn Spanish in 14 schools’, *Ideal*, 20 June 2007. http://www.Ideal.es/almeria/prensa/20070620/local_almeria/unos-alumnos-inmigrantes

The proactive political discourse

This denomination responds to the fact that this news is crafted to reproduce the official institutional message on education. If, as previously pointed out, the Media treatment of integration in school is dominated by a fundamentally political undertone, in this case we can comfortably refer to a proactive political discourse as defined by Zapata (2008b). This discourse is particularly prominent in news items 14, 17, 18, 19 and 22, available in the WP4 Tolerance database:¹⁰⁵

News items 14, 18 and 19 are particularly open to institutional and organisational discourse. Item 14 examines demand for the teaching of Islam in Almeria, thus highlighting the need to create new educational services. The proactive discourse of Mansur Abdussalam, from the *Federación Española de Entidades Religiosas Islámicas* (FEERI), *Comisión Islámica en España*, positively values the 'creation of the subject', but also deprecates the 'insufficient and discriminatory' resources. He offers, with expressions such as 'appropriate', 'adequate', 'specific' and 'prudent', a proactive but restrained discourse. The proactive tone gains weight with the mention of the law of religious freedom and the agreement reached by the ministry for education and the *Comisión Islámica* in 1992, which remains unfulfilled and was in fact frozen by the Popular Party during its two terms in office, in contrast with the dialogue opened by the new government.

News item number 18 covers the second meeting of ATAL teachers, celebrated in El Ejido, in which the stress lies on the programme's achievements: '*the improvement of school performance and the lengthening of the schooling period beyond the compulsory stages*'. The main body of the text highlights the pioneering role played by the municipality of El Ejido. Proactive discourse emanates from institutional representatives: the regional government's official in charge of participation and equality, Manuel Gutiérrez Encina; the provincial delegate in charge of education,

aprenden_20070620.html

¹⁰⁵ (according to the order of quotation) Ana López: 'Nearly 2,000 requested Islamic teaching this school year', *Ideal.es*, 27 February 2006.....
http://www.Ideal.es/almeria/pg060227/prensa/noticias/Local_Almeria/200602/27/ALM-LOC-001.html
EFE: 'How to integrate 85,000 new immigrant students every year', *Público*, 23 August 2008.
<http://www.publico.es/espana/145101/como-integrar-a-85-000-nuevos-alumnos-inmigrantes-cada-ano>
Miriam Alcaraz: 'Construction of the future school, in the Teacher's Meeting', *Ideal.es*, 31 March 2009.
<http://www.Ideal.es/almeria/20090331/ejido/construyen-escuela-futuro-jornadas-20090331.html> Agencies:
'Andalusia will have Arabic as a second foreign language in secondary school', *Diario de Sevilla*, 30 December 2009.
<http://www.diariodesevilla.es/article/andalucia/596032/andalucia/impulsara/arabe/como/segunda/lengua/extranjera/eso.html>
Lorenzo Robles: 'Linguistic integration reaches 2,000 immigrant students this school year', *La Voz de Almería*, 23 November, 2011. <http://www.lavozdealmeria.es/vernoticia.asp?IdNoticia=19556&IdSeccion=2>
<http://www.lavozdealmeria.es/vernoticia.asp?IdNoticia=19556&IdSeccion=2>

Francisco Maldonado; and the Mayor of El Ejido, Juan Enciso. According to these representatives the programme is *'being replicated in other regions'*. The semantics of the discourse are constructed around *'coexistence'*, *'tolerance'*, *'solidarity and mutual respect between cultures'*, *'integration'*, *'inclusive and intercultural education'*, *'the future school'*, *'challenge'*, *'participation'*, *'hard work'*, etc. Juan Enciso's discourse summarises the tone of the article: *'the regional government's work must be praised'*.

News item 19 highlights the comprehensive plan for immigration set forth by the regional government, with the council of education leading the proactive discourse, the semantics of which are built along two main guidelines: the targets pursued by these policies (*'promote'*, *'facilitate integration'*, *'attention to cultural diversity'*, *'immigrant students'*) and the technical jargon surrounding the programmes implemented (*'joint educational programmes'*, *'specific courses in foreign languages'*, *'shelter and integration'*, *'Spanish teaching'*, *'maintenance of cultures of origin'*, *'intercultural mediation'*, etc.).

In general, proactive political discourse stands out for the positive image it conveys of the regional government's educational policy, highlighting the financial and resource expenditure, and transmitting the discourse of the hegemonic agents regarding education: teachers, managing officials and representatives of the government.

Conclusions

From a theoretical perspective, we have pointed to the importance of examining the Media discourse as a factor in the generation of public opinion, political discourses and the power relationships they declare, and the underlying ideologies of the Media. We have shown how the Media perspective on immigration and cultural diversity in Andalusian villages and schools is biased by discriminatory discourses, the stated impossibility of integrating Muslim groups, and notions of invasion, threat and social instability.

In articles on immigration, the tendency to homogenisation and reduction, and the priority given to news referring to means of control of fluxes, border surveillance, and clandestine arrivals in *pateras*, work together to build up the stereotype of the 'illegal immigrant'. The migratory phenomenon is shown to be potentially dangerous and destabilising; it is represented as an imperceptible 'invasion' from northern Africa. This representation affects the idea of Andalusia as the 'border zone with Africa' within the Spanish state and as the 'southern border of Europe'. Muslim groups are defined as

essentially different from a cultural perspective, with an 'otherness' that cannot be integrated, and which is violent and threatening to western Christian identity.

The block of news on the presence of mosques in Andalusian towns shows a discourse dominated by Islamophobia and the fear of criminality, fundamentalism and Islamic terrorism. A clear relationship is drawn between Islam, sexist violence, and the fanaticism of 'jihadist' groups. Through a racist discourse which recurrently mentions religious symbols (Imam, mosque, Quran) while describing in detail antisocial acts committed by members of the group as if they were collective attributes, these representations provoke emotional reactions against those individuals carrying Islamic symbols or showing Islamic traits. Mosques are thus rejected as spatial markers which potentially stigmatise their urban environment.

The last block, focused on the presence of immigrant students in Andalusian schools, is dominated by proactive political discourse on the educational policies carried out by the regional government. We have already shown that this discourse is *regulated*, due to its political relevance and social implications, and *controlled, regarding access*. This does not prevent the articles from filtering the students' diversity through reductionist and homogenising categories and, occasionally, even through exclusive reactive discourses. Additionally, most articles combine reactive and preventive discourses on a diversity perceived as a potential threat – which must be, therefore, corrected – to the balance and quality of the educative system. Regarding the management of educational policies, the focus is set on the hard work of institutions and teachers.

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