

UNIVERSIDAD COMPLUTENSE DE MADRID
FACULTAD DE CIENCIAS DE LA INFORMACIÓN



TESIS DOCTORAL

**La representación de la inmigración en los medios españoles:
un estudio de ABC, El País y La Vanguardia**

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TESIS DOCTORAL
LA REPRESENTACIÓN DE LA INMIGRACIÓN EN
LOS MEDIOS ESPAÑOLES.
UN ESTUDIO DE ABC, EL PAÍS Y LA VANGUARDIA

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The Representation of Migration in the Spanish Media.

An analysis of ABC, El País and La Vanguardia

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*In loving memory of Obdulia, Fernando, Josefina and José María, my grandparents, and
tío Nando, my godfather.*

This work could not have been completed without the constant guidance of my supervisors, the support of my family and the encouragement of my wife. Thank you, gracias, mulțumesc.

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Abstract in English

The topic of this investigation is the study of the representation of migration in the Spanish newspapers. In particular, it analyses more than 200 articles containing the word “inmigrante” published by *ABC*, *El País* and *La Vanguardia* during two different periods: December 2017, characterized by regional elections in Catalonia, and December 2019, a period without elections in Spain. The three newspapers have been selected because of their different particularities regarding their political positioning. Before starting the original investigation, the thesis studies the main tools and findings of authors from Media and Migration Studies. The general agreement among these authors is that, even though there has been a proliferation of investigations concerning migration and media, there are still underexplored areas that require more attention. The present thesis will contribute to filling this need by taking into account a multidisciplinary approach, including elements from content analysis, frame analysis and critical discourse analysis, with an emphasis on the relevance of discourse-historical approach and textual analysis. Using these elements, it was built a codebook that can be applied to analyse the particularities of the Spanish newspapers. The instructions of the codebook are detailed in the work, in such a way that any other researcher can pick up the same instruments developed for this investigation and apply them to corroborate the findings of this work or expand the scope of the results. In our case, the codebook has been applied to a corpus of 215 articles to extract seventy different items of information. The quantitative results of this task are shown in 182 tables of data providing information about how migration is represented in the Spanish newspapers. Some of the most relevant aspects presented in this work are the main topic of the articles, the words used to refer to migrants, the type of collective emphasized, the mention about the origin of migrants, as well as the type of sources used to write the story. Other pertinent knowledge regarding the source, such as the mention of their names and the relevance of the sources, is also available. Additionally, there is data about the domain of the Cynefin framework of the information, the use of known representations, the identification of ethical frames in discussions of immigration controls, the identification of topic frames in discussions about migrants, the evaluative character of the main event and the tags used to frame the article. Finally, and most relevantly, this thesis presents a qualitative analysis of the quantitative data extracted from the corpus, relying on elements of discourse-historical approach and

textual analysis described in the methodological section. The results of the analysis set light on how migrants are portrayed by studying the use of public memories and assumptions, the use of frames to portray migration and the treatment of sources. The analysis compares each newspaper and period of publication and also provides real examples from these journals for each of the findings described in the thesis. The main findings of the analysis are (i) migrants generally do not appear as sources of information in the articles about themselves; the variety of sources is very limited, with an overrepresentation of journalists as the primary source of information and members from the ruling party as a prominent source, (ii) most migrants are not identified with their names, (iii) Islam is the only religion related to migration, (iv) people are called migrants before knowing their official status, also when they do not consider themselves migrants, (v) language related to conflict is commonly used, even in nonviolent situations, (vi) terms related to objects and natural forces are used to refer to migration, (vii) rhetorical figures not related to humans, such as metonymies, are part of the journalistic vocabulary, (viii) simplistic neologisms used as synecdoches substitute detailed characterizations about migrants; (ix) the use of assumed representations is common and it simplifies the description of migration (x) the use of passive voice concerning migration is the main tendency when reporting about migrants, (xi) the criteria for who is considered a migrant is not equal for all the people with the same characteristics; successful people are not described as migrants even though they have the same characteristics as other people who are automatically referred as migrants, (xii) migrants and refugees are considered the same legal entity; moreover, the term ‘migrant’ is often presented as a synonym of ‘refugee’; additionally, there is no mention about diaspora in relation to migration, (xiii) references to asylum seekers are not common and, in many cases, they are named as migrants, (xiv) the colour of the skin is used as an indicator of the person being a migrant and his or her origin, without legal confirmation about the status, (xv) the quality of the pictures accompanying the articles about migration and their captions are poor, lacking essential details, (xvi) it is usual to use news agency as authors of the articles about migration and the main source of the information; articles wrote by news agency tend to be short, shallow and elaborated to fit into any newspaper, (xvii) there is not a particular section to categorize articles about migration, migration stories are being inserted under eclectic categories, (xviii) most of the ethical and topic frames used to represent migration have a negative connotation and evaluation of the main event reported in the stories also is negative in most of the cases, focussing mainly on border control perspectives (xix)

even though they are not common, there are articles presenting migration with a political purpose in the context of the elections in Catalonia, and (xx) stories including more varied sources tend to be more positive towards migration and grab the attention of more readers. This finding disputes the statement made by some authors who consider that “there is a general agreement that newspaper representations of immigration tend to overemphasise the sensational and negative, simply because this angle attracts more reader attention” (Caviedes, 2015: 913). In our work, it has been found that positive stories, when they are well documented, can attract the attention of the readers in high numbers. In this way, the present work contributes to the literary body that studies media representations and, in particular, to the research that deals with the practices of media coverage of migration.

Abstract in Romanian

În această teză de doctorat mi-am propus să analizez reprezentarea mediatică a migrației și a actorilor migrației în presa spaniolă. Mai precis, lucrarea analizează peste 200 de articole în care apare cuvântul „inmigrante”, publicate în ABC, El País și La Vanguardia în două perioade diferite: decembrie 2017, o perioadă marcată de alegerile regionale din Catalonia și decembrie 2019, o perioadă non-electorală în Spania. Cele trei cotidiane au fost selectate considerând identitatea lor mediatică (cotidiane generaliste) precum și diferențele lor particularități în ceea ce privește poziționarea față de spectrul politic. În prima parte a tezei de doctorat prezint o serie de cadre teoretice și metodologice din arii de cercetare complementare: media și migrație, media studies și analiza de discurs. Autorii în domeniu sunt în general de acord că, deși studiile despre media și migrație sunt tot mai numeroase, rămân încă aspecte neexplorate sau care necesită a fi aprofundate. Din acest punct de vedere, situez cercetarea de față în aria interdisciplinară ”media, discurs, migrație” și utilizez un cadru metodologic care include analiza de conținut și elemente din analiza critică a discursului, respectiv, analiza textuală (Fairclough, 2003) și analiza critică discursiv-istorică (Wodak, 2009, 2015). Pe această bază, am elaborat un instrument de cercetare care poate fi aplicat la analiza discursului media referitor la tema migrației – în cazul nostru, pentru a evidenția particularitățile discursive ale publicațiilor spaniole considerate. Instrumentul de cercetare este prezentat sistematic, iar în acest sens, am evidențiat caracterul său replicabil – una dintre contribuțiile acestei cercetări. Astfel, cercetătorii pot aplica acest instrument pentru a

corobora propriile concluzii cu cele din prezenta lucrare, sau pentru a extinde sfera de aplicare a rezultatelor de cercetare discutate aici. Instrumentul de cercetare a fost construit atât normativ cât și empiric, rezultatele cantitative ale acestui demers fiind expuse într-o serie de tabele cuprinzând date referitoare la modul în care presa spaniolă a construit reprezentări despre migrație. Unele dintre categoriile cele mai relevante pe care le discutăm se referă la repertoriul tematic cultivat de cotidienele respective, la termenii folosiți pentru a desemna imigranții, menționarea sau nu a țării de origine a imigranților, tipul de surse folosite în structura articolului ș.a. De asemenea, sunt prezentate cadrajel predominante, precum identificarea cadrajelor etice în discuțiile despre controlul imigrației sau a cadrajelor referitoare la imigranți și la o serie de evenimente asociate cu migrația. Nu în ultimul rând, această teză prezintă o analiză calitativă a datelor cantitative extrase din corpus, realizată pe baza analizei critice de discurs. În acest scop, am elaborat un instrument de cercetare specific. Rezultatele analizei sunt relevante pentru portretizarea imigranților și în general pentru o serie de condiții de producere a discursului presei referitor la migrație. Pentru interpretarea rezultatelor, am recurs la o analiză comparativă la nivelul celor trei cotidene și la nivelul perioadelor considerate, cercetarea furnizând exemple pentru fiecare dintre concluziile dezvoltate în teză. Dintre principalele rezultate de cercetare menționez: (i) de regulă, imigranții nu apar ca sursă pentru articolele care se referă în mod explicit la aceștia; varietatea surselor este foarte limitată, fiind suprareprezentați jurnaliștii ca sursă primară de informații și guvernanții ca sursă recunoscută, (ii) majoritatea imigranților nu sunt identificați cu numele lor, (iii) Islamul este singura religie asociată migrației, (iv) actorii sociali sunt desemnați ca imigranți înainte să li se cunoască statutul oficial, chiar și atunci când ei nu se consideră imigranți, (v) se folosește în mod curent un limbaj asociat conflictelor, inclusiv în situații non-violente, (vi) limbajul metaforic asociat obiectelor și forțelor naturale este folosit pentru a descrie migrația, (vii) figurile retorice care nu au legătură cu oamenii, precum metonimia, fac parte din stilul jurnalistic, (viii) neologisme simpliste utilizate ca sinecdocă înlocuiesc descrierile detaliate ale imigranților; (ix) este frecventă utilizarea stereotipurilor și a reprezentărilor consacrate deja în sfera publică, simplificându-se astfel descrierea și problematizarea migrației; (x) utilizarea diatezei pasive cu privire la migrație este principala tendință în relatările despre imigranți, (xi) criteriile în baza cărora se stabilește cine este considerat imigrant nu sunt aceleași pentru toate persoanele, chiar dacă acestea se află în situații similare; de exemplu, oamenii de succes nu sunt descriși ca imigranți, deși în situația respectivă, ca statut, ei nu se deosebesc de alte persoane care

sunt desemnate automat ca imigranți, (xii) imigranții și refugiații sunt considerați aceeași categorie juridică; mai mult, termenul „imigrant” este adesea prezentat ca sinonim pentru refugiat; în plus, nu există nicio mențiune despre diaspora în legătură cu migrația, (xiii) referirile la solicitările de azil nu sunt frecvente și, adesea, aceștia sunt numiți imigranți, (xiv) culoarea pielii este folosită ca indicator al faptului că o persoană este imigrantă și al originii acesteia, fără confirmarea statutului legal, (xv) imaginile din articolele despre migrație și legendele imaginilor sunt de slabă calitate și omit detalii esențiale, (xvi) este o practică obișnuită ca agențiile de știri să fie autorii articolelor despre migrație și sursa principală a informațiilor; articolele redactate de agențiile de presă tind să fie scurte, și concepute pentru a fi compatibile cu orice tip de cotidian, (xvii) nu există o secțiune aparte dedicată articolelor despre migrație, relatările despre migrație sunt inserate în categorii eclectice, (xviii) majoritatea cadrajelor etice și de subiect folosite pentru a reprezenta migrația au conotație negativă și, în majoritatea cazurilor, evaluarea evenimentului principal raportat este de asemenea negativă și pune accentul pe perspectiva controlului granițelor; (xix) chiar dacă nu sunt frecvente, există articole care prezintă migrația în scopuri politice, în contextul alegerilor din Catalonia; (xx) relatările bazate pe surse variate tind să prezinte migrația în note neutrale și/sau pozitive și - cu titlu de ipoteză – ar putea capta mai puternic atenția cititorilor; în felul acesta, poate fi nuanțată și afirmația categorică a unor autori, și anume: „opinia generală este că atunci când reprezintă migrația, presa tinde să sublinieze în mod exagerat senzaționalul și negativul, din simplul motiv că această perspectivă atrage mai multă atenție din partea cititorului” (Caviedes, 2015: 913). Din acest punct de vedere, lucrarea contribuie la literatura consacrată reprezentărilor media și, în particular, la cercetările care discută practicile de mediatizare a migrației.

Abstract in Spanish

El tema de esta investigación es el estudio de la representación de la inmigración en los medios escritos españoles. En particular, se han analizado más de doscientos artículos que contienen la palabra “inmigrante” y que han sido publicados por *ABC*, *El País* y *La Vanguardia* durante dos períodos: diciembre de 2017, un mes caracterizado por las elecciones regionales en Cataluña, y diciembre de 2019, un período sin elecciones en España. Los tres periódicos han sido elegidos por sus diferentes características en relación

a su posicionamiento político. Antes de comenzar el análisis, se han estudiado las principales herramientas y resultados de autores relevantes en la investigación de los medios de comunicación y las migraciones. El acuerdo general entre estos autores es que, a pesar de que existe una gran proliferación de investigaciones relacionados con la inmigración y los medios, todavía hay áreas poco exploradas que requieren una indagación más exhaustiva. La presente tesis contribuirá a cubrir esta necesidad a través de un enfoque multidisciplinar que incluye elementos del análisis del contenido, del análisis del encuadre y del análisis crítico del discurso, con énfasis en la relevancia del enfoque histórico-discursivo y del análisis crítico del texto. Trabajando con estos elementos, se ha construido un libro de códigos que puede ser aplicado para analizar las particularidades de los periódicos españoles. Las instrucciones para interpretar este libro de códigos están detalladas también en el cuerpo de este trabajo, de tal manera que cualquier otro investigador puede continuar la recolección de datos utilizando los mismos instrumentos y aplicándoles para corroborar nuestros descubrimientos o expandir el alcance de los resultados. En nuestro caso, el libro de códigos ha sido implementado en un corpus de 215 artículos, de los cuales se han extraído setenta elementos de información por cada artículo. Los resultados cuantitativos son presentados en este trabajo a través de más de 182 tablas de información en las que puede observarse cómo se representa la inmigración en la prensa española. Algunos de los aspectos más relevantes presentados en este trabajo están relacionados con el tema principal de los artículos, las palabras usadas para referirse a los inmigrantes, el tipo de colectivo migratorio enfatizado en el texto, las menciones sobre el origen de los inmigrantes, así como la clase de fuentes utilizadas para escribir la historia. Otros resultados expanden los datos conocidos sobre estas fuentes, como la mención de sus nombres y su relevancia en el texto. Asimismo, se proporciona información sobre el tipo del encuadre Cynefin de la información, el uso de representaciones preestablecidas, la identificación de encuadres éticos en discusiones sobre controles migratorios, la identificación de encuadres temáticos relacionados con inmigrantes, el carácter evaluativo del principal evento y las etiquetas utilizadas para categorizar los artículos. Por último, y como aporte más relevante, esta tesis presenta un análisis cualitativo de los datos cuantitativos extraídos del corpus, apoyando el estudio en elementos del enfoque histórico-discursivo y del análisis crítico del texto descritos en detalle en la sección metodológica del presente trabajo. Los resultados del análisis arrojan luz sobre cómo los inmigrantes son representados en los citados medios a través del estudio del uso de concepciones admitidas de forma general por el público y suposiciones,

además del uso de encuadres para representar la inmigración y el tratamiento de las fuentes. Este análisis compara cada uno de los tres periódicos mencionados en cada uno de los dos períodos de publicación y, además, presenta ejemplos reales extraídos de estos periódicos para apoyar cada resultado expuesto en la tesis. Los principales hallazgos son (i) los inmigrantes por lo general no son utilizados como fuentes en los artículos sobre sí mismos; de hecho, la variedad de fuentes es muy limitada, con una sobrerrepresentación de periodistas como la fuente principal y políticos gubernamentales como una fuente destacada, (ii) la mayoría de los inmigrantes no están identificados con sus nombres, (iii) el Islam es la única religión relacionada con la inmigración, (iv) diferentes sujetos son denominados como inmigrantes antes de conocer su estatus oficial, incluso cuando ellos mismos no se consideran inmigrantes, (v) se utiliza repetidamente lenguaje relacionado con conflictos, incluyendo en situaciones no violentas, en relación con la inmigración (vi) la inmigración es descrita a menudo con términos conectados con objetos y desastres naturales, (vii) figuras retóricas sin relación con personas, como las metonimias, son parte del vocabulario periodístico, (viii) se utilizan neologismos simplificadores y sinécdoques para sustituir definiciones detalladas sobre la inmigración, (ix) es común que la descripción de la inmigración se sintetice a través de representaciones preestablecidas, (x) la tendencia más común a la hora de escribir sobre inmigración es utilizar la voz pasiva, (xi) el criterio para considerar a alguien como inmigrante no es igual para todo el mundo, aunque guarden características similares; por ejemplo, personas exitosas no son descritas como inmigrantes, a pesar de que tienen las mismas particularidades que otros individuos con menos recursos a los que sí se les considera inmigrantes, (xii) los inmigrantes y los refugiados son considerados como la misma entidad legal; además, el término ‘inmigrante’ se presenta a menudo como un sinónimo de ‘refugiado’, (xiii) las referencias a solicitantes de asilo no son comunes y, en muchos casos, son descritos como inmigrantes, (xiv) el color de la piel es usado como un indicador de que la persona es inmigrante, además de su origen, sin contar con confirmación legal sobre su estatus, (xv) la calidad de las fotografías que acompañan a los artículos sobre inmigración y los pies de foto son, en general, pobres, careciendo de detalles básicos sobre lo representado, (xvi) el uso de agencias de información como las autoras de los artículos sobre inmigración y también como la principal fuente es una tendencia mayoritaria; los artículos redactados por agencias de información son en general cortos, no incluyen contexto y están elaborados para ser publicados en cualquier periódico, (xvii) no existe una categoría particular para clasificar los artículos sobre inmigración, insertándolos en secciones sin

una temática común, (xviii) la mayoría de los encuadres éticos y temáticos usados para representar a la inmigración tienen una connotación negativa y la valoración del evento principal mostrado en el artículo tiene es negativo, concentrando los temas en perspectivas relacionadas con el control fronterizo, (xix) a pesar de que no son comunes, existen muestras de artículos que utilizan a la inmigración con un propósito político en el contexto de las elecciones de Cataluña, y (xx) los artículos que incluyen una mayor variedad de fuentes tienen, habitualmente, un enfoque más positivo hacia la inmigración y atraen más la atención de los lectores. Este último hallazgo disputa la consideración realizada por algunos autores de que los periódicos representan a la inmigración enfatizando lo sensacionalista y negativo, simplemente porque este ángulo atrae más al público (Caviedes, 2015: 913). En nuestra tesis, se ha mostrado que historias positivas, cuando están elaboradas de forma profesional, pueden atraer la atención del público en mayor medida que historias negativas. De esta forma, el presente trabajo contribuye al cuerpo literario que estudia las representaciones mediáticas y, en particular, a la investigación que trata las prácticas de cobertura mediática de la migración.

Introduction

There is no doubt that the media is “potentially positive” (Couldry, 2003: 151). Already in the 19th century, journalism was daubed as the Fourth Estate (Carlyle, 1840: 392), because of its ability to maintain a healthy democracy and its power to set the agenda and pick the frames of the general discussion in the public opinion. Journalists can set light on corrupted governments and uncover malpractices from key actors of the society. Because of this powerful role, the media also influences the representation of what we understand as ‘the other’. For a “vast majority of individuals”, the information we get from the media takes the place that we are not able to apprehend from direct experience (Soroka., 2003: 28). The consequence is that the public is aware of “only a fraction of all available topics, actors and arguments”, especially about international issues and, for those which are shown, they tend to “be biased by economic pressures and political preferences” (Gerhards & Schäfer, 2010: 144-145). The shortcoming of the media, then, has direct consequences in the perception of certain topics by the general public.

During my time working for the University of Amsterdam, I learnt about the consequences of some of these deficiencies from the media. Part of my job as a field researcher was to look for the death certificates of people who died trying to arrive in Spain by boat. By looking at these documents, I soon found a pattern: people who drowned trying to enter into Spain were mostly unidentified and, in many cases, registered under peculiar names such as “unidentified migrant”, “Sub-Saharan migrant”, “irregular migrant”, “migrant in a boat”, “unidentified person from Magreb” or “unidentified black person”. There were hundreds of these “unidentified” people registered in old death certificates. Some men were carrying documents that would have made it possible to identify them. However, they remained forever lost in unknown graves. I also realized that the media, in the few cases when it reported about some of the same incidents I was finding in those records, did it in a superficial way, in short articles lacking personal information about them. News about a drowned person did not seem newsworthy enough, even though it was constantly happening, or maybe because of that. The consequence was clear to me: all those people who died trying to enter Spain and whose bodies were found remained unidentified because nobody cared about them. Their

families would never receive the confirmation of the death of their relatives, making it difficult for them to achieve psychological closure and legal compensations. The investigation finished. The results appeared in some of the most important outlets of Europe and America for a couple of weeks¹ and then they started to silently disappear until they were not mentioned anymore. The collective effort of more than a dozen researchers who were part of the investigation to set the agenda over this topic seemed to be in vain and nowadays “remarkably little is known about these ‘border deaths’” (Last, Mirto, Ulusoy, Urquijo & Black 2016: 1).

As a journalist, I am part of the problem regarding the distorted image we have about migrants and how little we know about migrants. The present thesis is my attempt to contribute to clarify this situation. I am aware that this task is limited, insofar it is developed by one person covering the work created by the mass media. Nevertheless, the intention is for this work to shed light on the narrative about migrants, finding inaccuracies and pointing out flaws in the representation that newspapers are constantly creating about migration. To do so, the main objective of the present thesis is to study if and how migrants are represented in the media, and whether this representation varies according to the political context of elections. The first hypothesis related to the main objective will be ‘migrants are misrepresented in the Spanish newspapers’. The main research question that will be attended to is ‘how migrants are portrayed in the media in a receiving country, in this case, Spain?’. The second objective will uncover practices of journalists approaching migration and framing migrants as social actors. The auxiliary hypothesis is ‘journalists in charge of covering migration are selecting predominantly negative frames and not including, in most cases, migrants as sources of information’. The following research questions concerning journalistic practices of framing migrants will be answered: ‘what frames are journalists using to portray migration?’, ‘are migrants a source in the information about themselves?’ and ‘are journalists prioritising some sources over others?’. The third objective will be to examine the coverage of immigration in the media during recent historical events, in particular during an electoral context in Spain. The interest resides in analysing how the media frame migrants, refugees and

¹ See, for example:

RTVE, 2015. ‘Miles de inmigrantes mueren tratando de llegar a Europa’. Available online: <https://www.rtve.es/alacarta/videos/telediario/miles-inmigrantes-mueren-tratando-llegar-europa/3129772/>
El País, 2015. ‘La base de datos de los cadáveres encontrados en el Mediterráneo’. Available online: https://elpais.com/elpais/2015/05/11/planeta_futuro/1431360581_687405.html

asylum seekers in a political and electoral context. The research will focus on the way the media shape aspects of migration, using historical preconceptions and assumed representations. The auxiliary hypothesis will be ‘journalists reproduce arguments of politicians who try to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration, among other aspects’. The research questions in this section are ‘to what extent, in representing migrants, the media make use of public memories and historical assumptions that include sensitive aspects about migrants?’ and ‘are journalists reproducing arguments from politicians who are trying to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration?’

To achieve these objectives, the thesis has been organized into five chapters. The first chapter of the thesis is purely theoretical, studying the work of consolidated authors who worked successfully in Media and Migration Studies. The chapter also presented an overview of the main concepts related to Migration Studies and the relation between media framing and the public sphere. The first chapter ended by studying how selected authors applied instruments from content analysis and critical discourse analysis, to select the tools that will suit the objectives of this thesis. The contribution of the first chapter is the particular selection of authors presented, including references to around eighty different works, which have been analysed to clarify their main lines of study, as well as the most representative tools employed by them. The main findings of the first chapter reveal that there is an overall consensus from scholars to contemplate the media as the primary source of information about migration. These authors also discovered that, frequently, the media tend to depict migrants with a negative frame. Another agreement is to consider the media as one of the places where migrants could take part in the public sphere, but it is not clear yet how much they can access this position. This chapter also shows that transnationalism has been often overused and, in some cases, misused, encapsulating too many different meanings. However, transnationalism is still a valid concept in the representation of migrants in the media, as it can be seen in this chapter when it is well-defined. Other considerations included in the first chapters tackle relevant concepts for the field, such as diaspora, globalisation and mobility, which needed clarification to outline their precise meaning, since they have been used in the past as catch-all terms. Another relevant finding of the first chapter is the highlight of the consequences that media framing practice has not only over migrants but also over the whole society since political actors are benefitting from a negative representation of

migration by the media, which can be led to racist attitudes. The negative view of migration is not only built by telling people what to think about a topic but also by telling them what topics are there to think about, selecting the sources and dismissing others, as well as setting the general tone of the story. The final finding of this first chapter, which is the most relevant for the validity of the thesis, is the general agreement by scholars regarding the need to keep advancing in the field of Media and Migration studies. The chapter locates the areas where this need can be covered by the scope of the present investigation.

The second chapter of the thesis focuses on the methodological approach that will be undertaken in the investigation. First, it describes the main objectives, hypothesis and research questions. Second, it defines the corpus, including the keyword for selecting the articles of study, which is the word “inmigrante”. It also defines the periods that will be analysed, December 2017 and December 2019, detailing the characteristics of each of them. The first period, December 2017, was characterized by the regional elections in Catalonia, extraordinarily called by the Spanish Prime Minister after an attempt by some parties to declare the independence of Catalonia. The chapter also designates the newspapers that will be analysed, which are *ABC*, *El País* and *La Vanguardia*. The characteristics of these newspapers are also detailed in the text, as well as their suitability for the purpose of the study. The section continues by presenting and describing the codebook that will be used to categorize the information from the corpus. The codebook included information about 20 different sets of data and it was developed after the preliminary analysis of more than 100 articles, to create a methodological instrument that can be used not only for this investigation but for other researchers who wish to continue the study or to corroborate the findings presented in this thesis. The second chapter finishes by presenting the issues and strategies of discourse-historical approach and textual analysis which will be attended in the qualitative analysis of the corpus. The codebook is one of the most important contributions of the present thesis. The instructions to interpret and use the codebook are detailed in this chapter.

The third chapter presents a quantitative analysis of the corpus, which contains 215 articles. The chapter includes information about how migrants are portrayed in the articles, the sources taken into account to report migration and the frames used to present the stories. The main contribution of this chapter is an extended set of data which includes

over 70 different variables for each of the 215 articles coded. The chapter presents around 150 graphics in which the information is visualized to be easily interpreted by external readers. Each of these graphics includes a description to clarify their content. The data used to build these graphics was extracted and coded for this investigation and it is available at the following link: https://drive.google.com/file/d/1a-TDgEV_jgr1SDQwTON_tN9fZ_-sxayZ/view?usp=sharing It is possible to see a caption of the information collected in the database in the annex 2, image 1.

The main finding of the third chapter is the understanding of patterns in how migration is represented in the three particular newspapers analysed during the two periods of study. In particular, it is discovered that *ABC* paid less attention than *El País* and *La Vanguardia* to the topic of migration, publishing fewer articles than their counterparts during the same time. When it did, *ABC* focussed the agenda especially in articles about underage migrants, often portrayed them as problematic, with the inclusion in December 2019 of the acronym “mena” to refer to the whole group of unaccompanied-underaged migrants living in Spain. Regarding *El País*, this newspaper assumed in most of its articles that any person arriving by sea is a migrant, ruling out the possibility to be a refugee or an asylum seeker. Moreover, there is a common practice in *El País* to refer to “irregular” when writing about migrants. *La Vanguardia*, on its part, linked migrants with Muslims, especially in the period of 2017. *La Vanguardia* shows the highest percentage of stories written by news agencies, including a very small input from its newsroom. In those cases when journalists from *La Vanguardia* wrote the articles, there was an elevated influx of politically charged stories, in which migrants served a political purpose in favour of certain political parties.

There is also a tendency by all the newspapers analysed to tell stories about Moroccans while ignoring Romanians. They also generally avoided informing about families or recognisable groups when reporting about migrants, focussing on individuals, often relating them to irregularity and keeping their identity unknown in most of the cases. Concerning pictures, there was a lack of interest by *La Vanguardia* in both periods to publish images. *ABC* normally included pictures. The most common image published by this newspaper in December 2017 portrayed a group of migrants arriving into the receiving country and being attended by care professionals, but this tendency disappeared

two years later. *El País* preferred to introduce politicians contributing in articles about migration.

Regarding the type of sources used by the newspapers, the main finding is the prominent role of journalists, who are not only the most common source of information but also the ones playing the most important role in the description of the event. However, the identification of sources with names and surnames, including journalists, was generally low. This fact is related to the tendency to depend on news agencies as the main contributor to the information. Migrants played a residual role as sources in the articles about themselves. Concerning the general topic of the articles, *ABC* favoured the story of massive arrivals of migrants. *El País* preferred the topic of border control and *La Vanguardia* showed a different pattern in both periods. In December 2017, in the context of elections in Catalonia, *La Vanguardia* chose more often stories including political disagreements regarding migration. In December 2019, without elections, the most common topic was border control. All the newspapers generally ignored the topic of fostering regular migration. About the Cynefin framework, the most prominent finding in *ABC* is the prevalence of the frame related to chaos during December 2019. The use of assumed representations and historical preconceptions regarding migration was generally extended among the three newspapers and most of the articles. The ethical frame of migration controls was among the most common ones for the three newspapers. Concerning the topic frames about migration, *ABC* preferred to portray migration as a flow of people entering the receiving country, especially in December 2017. *El País* was keener to publish stories about migrants unfairly mistreated, a preference shared by *La Vanguardia* in 2019. In 2017, *La Vanguardia* published more often articles with the topic frame of migrants as a source of conflict. Finally, this chapter showed that all the newspapers analysed published stories with a negative perspective regarding the main event.

The fourth chapter includes a qualitative analysis of the corpus, reaching the aspects that needed to have a more in-depth interpretation to understand the nuances about how migrants are represented in the media analysed. For that, it relied heavily on analytical instruments from the discourse-historical approach and textual analysis described in the methodological chapter, which include an analysis of correlated words and their semantic relations, the use of rhetorical figures, including metonymies,

hyperboles, euphemisms and the use of deictics, direct, indirect or free indirect speech and quotation marks to show perspectivization, among other features described in the text. The main contribution of the fourth chapter is an extensive interpretation of the corpus through a qualitative approach. The chapter presents to the reader a clear understanding of how migrants are portrayed in each of the newspapers analysed, as well as the use of public memories and assumptions which are influencing how we imagine migrants. The chapter also interprets the frames used by the newspapers, connecting them to other factors, such as the type of nationality or religion. It also explains the plausible causes for the inclusion of some frames over others concerning the electoral context, as well as the understanding of why certain frames are absent. A relevant feature of this chapter is that all the findings are shown in relation to particular examples extracted from the articles of the corpus. This practice provides a comprehensive view of how migration is represented in the newspapers by matching data, analysis and the presentation of extracts from the articles.

The main finding contained in the fourth chapter shows that *ABC*, *El País* and *La Vanguardia* frequently represent a similar type of migrant: an unidentified male person, whose origin is deduced by the colour of his skin, arriving by boat after a rough trip which is often causing his death, presented as a natural consequence of the migratory process. His identity and basic personal information are generally not included in the articles, even in those cases when it would have been possible to obtain this data. This finding is influenced by the prominent role played by news agencies in the articles about migration, which in many cases are not only the author of the information but also the only source. There is a pattern relating information developed by news agencies, which is common with low-quality articles including a schematical description of the events and without input from migrants. The use of agency information and the poor quality of the photos show the few resources and the scant interest of the media to cover this issue.

It is also found that migrants generally have a diminished role in the articles about themselves. The agency of migrants is often subtracted in favour of objects or natural forces by developing a strategy of nomination, a strategy defined by Reisigl and Wodak (2009). Journalists employ different tropes to refer to migration, such as “boats”, used as a metonymy to refer to people travelling inside the boat. Other recurrent rhetorical figures are metaphors related to unstoppable water, such as “waves” or “flows”, and the use of

synecdoches to create neologisms that reduce migration into abstract concepts, such as “the irregulars”, “the illegals” or “the menas”. Many of these representations require the interpretation of the reader through the implementation of the issue of assumptions. In most cases, there is no context provided to relate, for example, boats with migration, besides the previously historical narrative that is expected to be understood by the readers. There is also a common inclusion of language related to conflict and violence concerning migrants, with verbs such as “repeal” or “invade”. The strategy of mitigation, as defined by Reisigl and Wodak (2009), is found in many articles portraying migrants in a passive role. Migrants are carried, rescued, detained or dead, always using the third passive person to introduce their action without an active human subject. The strategy of intensification, also defined by by Reisigl and Wodak (2009), is presented by frequently including stories portraying a negative event, particularly of migrants trying to arrive into Europe. Positive stories about migrants, which are scarcer, are frequently related to other countries outside the European Union, in many cases the United States.

Even though it is not common, there are instances of articles using migrants in relation to the electoral context. In particular, there are stories depicting migrants as part of the receiving society during the period of elections and articles exacerbating the issue of difference during the period without elections.

It is also found that journalists do not associate politicians, successful sportsmen, entrepreneurs, actors and CEOs as being migrants, even when they are born in the same countries as other people with fewer resources who are automatically considered migrants.

In some instances, people who do not consider themselves migrants are also reported as such because they fit the historical description of what the newspapers understand as migrants. Another relevant finding is that migrants are not part of the narration of the stories in most cases, in favour of other sources. The most represented source after journalists is politicians, especially those in power, who have a preponderant role in the construction of the image about migration. Members from the ruling party are given more space in the articles to show their interpretation of the events, which is predominantly negative. By contrast, in the few articles containing migrants as the main source of the information, it is found that articles show a more positive view about

migration. Another important finding is that articles with migrants as the main source frequently include a positive event and they are among the most popular ones, as shown by the fact that they often collected the highest number of messages in the comment section. The main finding of this thesis is the discovery of an oversimplification of the events related to migration and the schematical description of the migrants portrayed in these stories.

The thesis will conclude with an in-length description of the findings advanced in this introduction. The conclusions are presented in relation to the answer to the research questions, the fulfilment of the objectives and the verification of the hypothesis. It also includes a description of the contribution of this thesis and a suggestion about future lines of study to continue counterbalancing the influence that the media has over the representation of migrants in the public.

First part: theoretical perspectives

1. Research perspectives on Media and Migration

In this chapter, it will be applied the Latin aphorism *Nanos gigantium humeris insidentes*. The great scientist and philosopher Sir Isaac Newton popularized the sentence in the 17th century when he wrote it in a letter to his antagonist Robert Hooke the following statement: "If I have seen further, it is by standing on the shoulders of Giants" (Newton, 1675: 1). This concept was already popular among scholars well before Newton used it as an argument in his dialectical battle against Hooke. There is a reference to this aphorism from the 12th century, made by the Jewish tosaphist Isaiah di Trani and reproduced more recently in the following extract by Shnayer Z. Leiman:

"The wisest of the philosophers was asked: 'We admit that our predecessors were wiser than we. At the same time, we criticize their comments, often rejecting them and claiming that the truth rests with us. How is this possible?' The wise philosopher responded: 'Who sees further a dwarf or a giant? Surely a giant for his eyes are situated at a higher level than those of the dwarf. But if the dwarf is placed on the shoulders of the giant who sees further? So too we are dwarfs astride the shoulders of giants. We master their wisdom and move beyond it. Due to their wisdom, we grow wise and are able to say all that we say, but not because we are greater than they'" (Leiman, 1993: 92).

The purpose of this chapter is to meet these "giants", know them well, understand their work, assimilate their research struggles, discover the theoretical tools that functioned for them and, ultimately, accumulate the strategies that will make us strong enough to, wishfully, climb over their shoulders to see further in the next chapters. In the case of this thesis, the goal is to advance in the knowledge about Media and Migration Studies. Journalists, migrants and the public consuming news about migration are three elements that interact with each other; nonetheless, the interaction often leans towards one of the three angles, giving one of the actors an active role in setting the frame and tone of the story and leaving the others as passive actors with very limited power to decide on the nuances of the narrative. This research will show the relevance of discovering how three fields of study, Media, Migration and Public Sphere, are intermingling with each

other. For that, it will be shown distinctive research perspectives studying the main topic of the thesis, the representation of the migration in the media, by examining the work from relevant authors in the field.

The intention is not to randomly aggregate quotes from these authors, but to understand their work and structure their teachings in a way that can work as a starting point for this investigation. As such, the teachings of these authors are divided into four main sections in the chapter. Firstly, it will be explained the relation between Media Studies and Migration Studies. It will be set light about why these areas are still of interests for scholars of migrants and minorities. The second section of the chapter will explain the most relevant concepts of the investigation, in order to clarify their meaning and understand the studies made by scholars on this topic. Thirdly, it will be approached the role of media in framing debates and representing migration and how media are impacting the public sphere, showing relevant instances of findings from other authors. Finally, the last section will describe the main lines of study applied in the investigation, focusing in content analysis, critical discourse analysis, the theory of framing, discourse-historical approach and textual analysis, in a section that will work as a transition from the theory into the next chapter of methodology.

As the reader will realize, this chapter is entirely built from the work of these authors. The task of the researcher elaborating this chapter was, as expressed, selecting the most appropriate "giants" and organising their knowledge as a foundation in order to later answer the research questions that will be proposed in the second chapter and, ultimately, using their shoulders to advance in the knowledge of Media and Migration Studies.

1.1. Overview of the current state in the field of Media and Migration Studies

The first section of the chapter will situate the investigation in the broader context of Media and Migration Studies. The objective will be to understand the corpus of theory related to our topic of study. As such, we will start this section by examining how relevant authors view the relation between migrants and media. It will be shown that both fields are interconnected and there is an agreement among several authors -such as Allen, Blinder and McNeil (2019), Kosho (2016), Bleich, Bloemraad and De Graauw, (2015),

Balabanova and Balch (2010) and Mena (2010)- about the importance of media for scholars of migrants and minorities. We will recount the exposition of different authors who established that media is a primary source of information for the public concerning their knowledge about migrants. In relation to this point, we will show findings from these authors on how media tend to build representations of migration, often from a negative perspective. Moreover, we will see that significant authors consider media as one of the possible spaces for migration to participate in the public sphere, ideally. It will be a topic of study for our investigation whether migrants get the chance to participate on the public sphere through media or not.

The section continues by learning more about the need to advance in the field of Media and Migration Studies. Authors quoted in this segment calling to action are Shumow (2012), Kosnick (2014) and Damstra, Jacobs, Boukes and Vliegthart, (2021), among other works from authors already studied. The common agreement underlined two facts: one, there is already a vast corpus of work regarding the representation of migrants in the media; and two, there are still many points to scrutinise, including the development of new tools and the expansion of findings towards understudied themes.

The section closes by showing instances of previous research in the field of Media and Migration Studies. In addition to the authors already mentioned above, we will analyse in detail the work of other authors such as Balch and Balabanova (2011), Coleman et al. (2010), Caviendes (2015), Lawlor (2015), Muñoz, Igartua and Otero (2006)² and Tolley (2015), among others. Subsequently, the intention is to understand the work of these relevant authors before starting our investigation, by learning from their experiences, taking into account the theory they used, the methods they developed and the difficulties they encountered, in order to create an original contribution to the field afterwards.

1.1.1. The relation between Media and Migration Studies

This subsection starts by relating Media and Migration studies, showing how these two areas of research are interconnected. For that, the relation between both studies is

² The texts in Spanish are translated in English by me.

narrowed to three broad areas: media as the primary source of information, media constructing the image we have about migration, and media as the platform for migrants to participate in the public sphere.

One thing is clear by reading the theoretical corpus of Media and Migration studies: scholars agree that three areas explain how and why media are of interest to scholars of migrants and minorities. First and most relevantly, media comprehend one of the primary sources of "information about migration and migrants for many people" (Allen, Blinder & McNeil, 2019: 3). Being an essential source of information has a direct effect on the audience. For instance, the news spread by media and the tone used to disseminate data "can have a discernible impact on overall societal attitudes, which in turn can have a bearing on behaviour", which is especially relevant in discussions about migration (Kosho, 2016: 86). Second, media "construct particular representations of minorities and immigrants, including negative depictions" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015: 859). Other authors agree on this subject. There is considerable research that corroborates that "mainstream media tend to construct our image of minorities along the same lines, using similar frames" (Kosho, 2016: 88). In this regard, some scholars, such as Allen, Blinder and McNeil (2009) already proved that media play a crucial role in "causing negative views" and "negative attitudes toward migration" (Allen, Blinder & McNeil 2019: 3). Media highlight "the scale of migration in numerical terms" and therefore is "feeding into a tendency the public has to overestimate the actual sizes of minority groups and base their perceptions on this information", which make the public "more opposed to immigration" (Allen, Blinder & McNeil 2019: 3-4). Third and lastly, media "act as a space for the participation of migrants and minorities in a public sphere where they can advance their interests and identities" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015: 859). All these three aspects have a series of effects already discovered by previous research on "the ability of media to influence 'what people think about', known as 'agenda-setting' and 'priming' effects in the empirical literature" (Allen, Blinder & McNeil 2019: 4).

Nonetheless, the same authors who studied these issues also recognized that there is still a need to advance in this field. For instance, Bleich, Bloemraad and De Graauw (2015) point out that "visibility in the media, agenda-setting and framing are of obvious interest to scholars of migrants and minorities, but these topics have been insufficiently

explored to date" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015: 859). Furthermore, Balabanova and Balch (2010) similarly suggest that "future research on media framing in Europe should pay closer attention to the ways in which national media systems communicate with each other" (Balabanova & Balch, 2010: 395). Regarding the deficiencies on the information related to media and migration, we still "know little about how those who work in the media collect and convey information about migrants and minorities" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015: 860). As noted by these authors, there is indeed a "rich scholarship on public opinion about immigration and towards immigrants", yet we know less about "how media shape attitudes and views related to immigrants and immigration" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015: 860). In this line, Mena (2010) also remarked that there is a consensus among scholars that media build schemas to interpret the reality. Still, it is not yet clear "what factors" are influencing and what is the "roles of the actors" involved in framing the different topics (Mena, 2010: 2).

As we have seen in this section, there are three areas of previous research on Media and Migration studies that reveal how and why media are of interest to scholars of migration: media as the primary source of information for the public, media constructing the frequently negative image about migration which is then reproduced by the audience, and media as a possible space for migrants to participate on the public sphere. Nevertheless, the same scholars who agreed in this point also corroborate that there is a need to continue, quantitatively and qualitatively, researching on the field of Media and Migration Studies. The next subsection of this chapter will reflect some of the main calls to continue this line of study.

1.1.2. The need to advance in the field of Media and Migration Studies

As we are going to see in this section, there is a consensus among scholars of Media Studies and Migration Studies on two points. First, there is a full and comprehensive variety of studies regarding media and their relation with migration. Second, even though there is an extensive literature on the topic, there is still a demand to advance on the understanding of representations about migrants in the media. This call is especially relevant in our current times, dominated by what many journalists called 'refugee crisis', a period in which far-right parties are raising internationally with unprecedented speed. In this section, these claims will be supported through the work of

experts on the field of Media and Migration Studies. As such, it can be appreciated that there are insufficient studies that "have attempted to describe and explain more clearly the ideologies, mental models and professional norms" that "guide the work of the producers of media" (Shumow, 2012: 816). According to Shumow, this point is essential if "we are to more closely understand the processes and outcomes where media and migration intersect, particularly in light of the scholarly activity surrounding the idea of nationality as a narrated, collective identity" (Shumow, 2012: 816). Moreover, Bleich, Bloemraad and De Graauw (2015) consider that "despite this critical role", scholars of Migration Studies "have rarely used systematic media analysis in their scholarship" and "the extent to which migrants and minorities are integrated into the institutions and sites of media production remains an underexplored area" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015: 863-857). Another author who agrees on this point is Kosnick (2014), reflecting that "in light of contemporary developments" it is imperative to study "media representations of migrants and migration" in the context of "public debates" on the media (Kosnick, 2014: 11).

The need to continue with the study of migration and media is also present in more recent works, such as the one from Damstra, Jacobs, Boukes and Vliegenthart (2021). These authors called for advancing on the research of this topic, specifically on the "the tone of immigration", taking into consideration "immigration sub-issues with more positive or human connotations", which "might increase our understanding of related news effects", particularly today, "in times in which anti-immigrant parties are celebrating electoral successes throughout the Western world" (Damstra, Jacobs, Boukes & Vliegenthart, 2021: 114). Other authors corresponded to the need to continue the study in times of crisis. For instance, Kosho (2016) believes crucial to "understand the position of the media and its reporting connotation in the case of social crises", such as the arrival of migrants and refugees into Europe, by carefully "monitoring of international and local media " (Kosho, 2016: 87). The application of media analysis in this field will advance "our knowledge about migrants and minorities in the public sphere", as well as in understanding the factors that "shape media coverage of migrants and minorities" and "the effect of that coverage on public attitudes, policy outcomes or social relations" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015: 857). In order to advance in the knowledge about migration and media, a comparative approach remains essential to uncover, for instance, negativity in tone, as well as "the nuances in representation" (Bleich, Bloemraad

& De Graauw, 2015: 868). Additionally, extending the research on this field can "enable informed public debates about migration by providing a solid foundation of evidence on which both media and policy narratives can be built" (Allen, Blinder & McNeil, 2019: 11). This perspective also presents "a fascinating empirical and theoretical challenge in terms of charting how intra-EU effects might influence and shape national policy debates" (Balabanova & Balch, 2010: 395). Additionally, Mena (2010) asked to continue the investigation taking into account the theory of Framing and the instruments of Agenda-Setting (Mena, 2010: 540).

There is a clear consensus among scholars of Media and Migration Studies regarding the need to continue exploring the topic of this investigation, even though there is a large corpus of work on the field. The call to keep investigating the relation of media and migration is still up to date, as we have seen by the recent claims from Damstra, Jacobs, Boukes and Vliegenthart (2021), Allen, Blinder and McNeil, (2019), to quote only two of the authors already mentioned in this section. Their call to action will be attended in the present investigation. We will attempt to amend the shown need by advancing in the study of media production concerning migrants, using quantitative and qualitative media analysis. Before that, it is theoretically and methodologically relevant to study in detail previous instances of research done in this field by other authors.

1.1.3. Overview of previous research in the field of Media and Migration Studies

In order to start an investigation on the representation of migration by the media, it is especially relevant to understand the corpus of previous research elaborated by relevant authors on the field. The intention is to avoid overlapping this investigation with the one previously made by other authors. For that purpose, it is essential to distinguish the main trends of investigation on this field and to clarify the difficulties encountered by other scholars when operating in the same area, in order to learn from them, especially from the ones who used similar tools to the those which will be implemented in this work. In this section, it will be studied this problematic by showing some of the primary investigations of previous research in the field of Media and Migration Studies, in order to understand how journalists frame migrants before starting to investigate our corpus.

A relevant work to take into consideration was developed by Mena (2010), who studied the same subject as the one selected for this thesis, Spanish newspapers. In her case, she selected the period of 2000 to 2008. Mena focussed in studies of Agenda Setting and the evolution of the theory of framing. In her work, the phenomenon of immigration in Spain is analysed through media coverage and political debate, applying automated and manual content analysis tools. We will get back to the theory of framing later in this section, since it will play a crucial role in the present investigation. Another relevant work, this time developed by Bleich, Bloemraad and De Graauw (2015), focussed on "the demographic backgrounds of journalists, the ownership of media corporations, and the relative democracy (or inequality) in social media participation and creation" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015: 862). In this line, we can also find studies such as the one developed by Balch and Balabanova (2011), who demonstrated media preferences for partisans of expertise, showing how "underlying conceptualisations of immigration as a policy issue pre-condition knowledge selection and representation" (Balch & Balabanova, 2011: 887). Coleman et al. (2010) also worked in this line, finding that the most frequent contributors in media are "white male elites, with 'ordinary' citizens, women, and members of ethnic minorities, being far less frequently identified" (Coleman et al., 2010: 50). According to them, the journalistic pattern is to use "conventional, high-status sources" even when more diverse views are covered (Coleman et al., 2010: 50).

Additionally, Balch and Balabanova (2011) examined public debates about immigration. They used a noteworthy theoretical toolkit, the Cynefin framework, also deployed in other investigations, such as the one made by Hasan and Kazlauskas (2014). These authors explained how "Cynefin framework distinguishes between order (simple and complicated), unordered (complexity and chaos) and disorder, and uses these distinctions to match problems, and their contexts, with the methods, tools and techniques that lead to solutions" (Hasan & Kazlauskas, 2014: 55). Cynefin is useful because "it links understanding with praxis: the way that something is framed (through narrative) places it within a particular domain which then connects with certain actions" (Balch & Balabanova, 2011: 889). Snowden (2000), one of the references in the Cynefin approach, already said years ago that research on these topics needs more than a "purely mechanical approach" (Snowden, 2000: 17). Cynefin framework was found useful in the context of our investigation, and it will be used methodologically to code our corpus of study, as it will be explained in detail in the next chapter about methodology.

Another reference in the field of Media and Migration Studies closely linked to the present research is Caviedes (2015), who presented a quantitative examination of "how newspaper articles in the UK, France and Italy most commonly frame immigration and migrants", focussing in a "developing literature on the securitisation of policy and discourse related to migration" (Caviedes, 2015: 1). The theory of framing, one of the latest developments of Agenda Settings, is one of the main trends among the scholars of this field and, as it was mentioned, it will play a crucial role in our investigation. However, this question needs a profound research, as noted by Lawlor (2015): "Media framing of immigration is a question that requires further empirical investigation, preferably with a combination of manual and automated content analytic techniques" (Lawlor, 2015: 937). The call from Lawlor will be attended in this thesis.

In the case of Spain, the country which media we intend to study, Muñiz, Igartua and Otero (2006) expressed that there is only "few empirical researches about the factors influencing on journalists when they use different frames in their news" (Muñiz, Igartua & Otero, 2006: 159). These authors studied images of migrants published on Spanish media through content analysis. Their relevant approach is taken as a starting point to deploy our grid of categories in the present investigation. There are authors who also pointed out a similar concern as Muñiz, Igartua and Otero, such as Bleich, Bloemraad and De Graauw (2015), who tried to solve this problematic by focussing in the tone of the coverage, discovering whether a specific group is depicted in a favourable or unfavourable light. Precisely, Bleich, Bloemraad and De Graauw (2015) examined over 1,000 British newspaper headlines about Muslims, Jews and Christians, coding the portrayal of the specific group represented. Tolley (2015) also worked in this line, using "using two different types of content analysis -manual and automated-" to assess "print media coverage of white and visible minority candidates in the 2008 Canadian federal election" (Tolley, 2015: 963). Both authors were studied before building our codebook, as it will be shown in the next chapter.

As we can see, relevant authors have focussed on the impact of framing in the public sphere. The concept of framing will be studied in this chapter. It will also be studied the role of media in framing debates and representation migration. We have perceived the considerable body of work analysing the representation of the immigration

in the press, including interesting scopes such as the Cynefin framework. Importantly, in this section, we have also learnt more about relevant researchers from Media Studies who combined automated and manual content analysis to achieve their investigative goals to study the representation of migration on the media. Nevertheless, as noted before, there is still "very little work focussing on the role of the media in policy debates, and the constitutive role of knowledge creation and dissemination therein" (Balch & Balabanova, 2011: 866). Furthermore, the body of work regarding migrants living in Spain and their representation in the Spanish media is still notably underdeveloped. All these issues will be tackled during the present research. Before starting with the concept of framing, which will require an entire section to be clarified, it is relevant to discover how other significant authors defined concepts related to Migration Studies.

1.2. An introduction to the main concepts related to Migration Studies as an interdisciplinary field of research

Migration Studies is an interdisciplinary field of research and, as such, is related to different concepts that will play an essential role during the present investigation. In this section, it will be developed the main research perspectives and their concepts. For that, in the first subsection, we will discuss transnationalism in the study of migration, giving details about its empirical approach and its associated concepts. To reach this point, we will study the work of relevant authors. The general agreement among them is that transnationalism is a concept that has been used very widely and with different connotations, but it is still theoretically valid in order to study the representation of migration in the media.

In the second part of this section, we will learn more about transnationalism by studying a related concept, diaspora. Scholars of migration have used transnationalism and diaspora in many occasions interchangeably. However, they do not cover the exact area of study. For instance, transnationalism tends to focus on a dispersed population, while a transnational approach put the focus on how well migration integrates in immigration countries (see, for example, Faist, 2010).

In the third subsection of this section, we continue studying related concepts to transnationalism by learning more about globalization as a multidimensional perspective.

We will find out that, again, the term globalization has been used very broadly and with different meaning over time, depending on the author. We agreed to focus on the definition referred by Al-Rodhan and Stoudmann (2006), that relates globalization to the transfer of knowledge, culture, policy and power across borders.

Lastly, in the fourth part of this section, we will study the implications of mobility concerning migration and the transnational approach. We will denote that mobility does not only imply the movement of people between countries. Taking into consideration a transnational approach, mobility also implies navigating different aspects of the society, such as the ability of migration to occupied areas of access to the creation of their representation in the media.

1.2.1. Transnationalism in the study of migration: an approach to the empirical phenomena and the associated concepts

In this section, it will be studied the concept of transnationalism, closely related to the study of migration. It will play a key role in our investigation, from the scope of Spanish media covering movements of people, not only in the Spanish territory, but also around the world. We will understand transnationalism as an approach to study how journalists represent migration. Moreover, we will contemplate the disadvantages of misusing transnationalism as a catch-all concept, such as its vagueness, ambiguity and imprecision. We will try to overcome this problematic by defining clearly the concept and limiting its boundaries. We will also learn more about related concepts of transnational migrants, transnational communities and transnational migration territory, and how these notions are theoretically relevant for our research.

The first aspect to clarify is that transnationalism, once "an alternative approach" to the study of migration (Boccagni, 2012: 118), is nowadays one of the most significant research perspectives used in Migration Studies. Before getting into details, it is significant to remark that the "theoretical toolkit of transnationalism" is still "helpful" for studying migration and, in particular, for investigating about the "everyday life sphere of migrants" (Boccagni, 2012, 117), including the way migration is represented in the media. The theoretical toolkit of the transnational perspective can "shed further light on migrants' daily life trajectories, along with the expectations and strategies of non-migrants, and

home societies more broadly, towards them" (Boccagni, 2012: 118). Author authors such as Bauböck (2003) agree on this point, stating that in Migration Studies, the emphasis of transnationalism is "mostly on migrants' networks and activities that involve them in politics oriented towards their country of origin" (Bauböck, 2003: 1).

It is essential to define what we understand by transnationalism. Following the line rooted by Beciu, Ciocea, Mădroane, Dolea and Cărlan (2018), the premise adopted in this study is that, to a certain extent, "transnationalism becomes structural in setting the public agenda" (Beciu, Ciocea, Mădroane, Dolea & Cărlan, 2018: 16). Regarding the empirical phenomena and its manifestations, "migration proves to be an important transnational process that reflects and contributes to the current political configurations of the emerging global economy" (Glick Schiller, Basch & Blanc, 1995: 48). In this line, Faist (2000) defined transnationalism as "sustained ties of persons, networks and organisations across the borders across multiple nation-states, ranging from little to highly institutionalised forms" (Faist, 2000: 189). Connecting with this view, another important author on this topic, Vertovec (1999), defined transnationalism as "multiple ties linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states" (Vertovec, 1999: 1). One of the most relevant Spanish authors on the field of International Relations, Arenal (2009), presented a vision taken from his area of study, in which transnationalism refers to processes, actors and relationships that take place in several countries, but are not part of the states, "with global structures and dynamics, in many cases autonomous, as it is the case with transnational corporations and non-governmental organizations, and even sometimes confronted, as it is the case of international mafias, terrorism and drug trafficking cartels, with respect to the society of states, which are not capable of controlling its functioning and which are increasingly conditioned by it" (Arenal, 2009: 241). In relation to migration, as noted by Shumow (2012), research on this topic has "emphasised the 'fluid social spaces' that are formed and reformed through the activities of migrants that are simultaneously embedded 'in more than one society'" (Shumow, 2012: 826). For Mazzucato (2010), all the definitions have something in common: they connect people in more than one country. For this author, one of the most significant contributions of the literature on transnationalism has been "to recognise the individual migrant as a member of a larger whole that extends beyond geographical boundaries" (Mazzucato, 2010: 207).

Notwithstanding the above mentioned, certain critics have noticed that, in some cases, there is an excessive vagueness "in the use of the notion of transnational, which is sometimes applied to nearly all migrant social practices" (Boccagni, 2012: 118) and "qualifying any form of identification with the country of origin as transnational would make little sense, since the adjective would be deprived of any discriminating power" (Boccagni, 2012: 121), falling into the risk of "using (or abusing) 'transnationalism' as a catch-all" (Boccagni, 2012b: 186). To avoid this malpractice, the definition must be clear and it should focus, on one side, on the "cross-border actions of migrants and their descendants" (Jakubowicz, 2012: 5), and, on the other side, on "migrant self-identification", including "the motivations, value orientations and the hopes of the migrants" (Boccagni, 2012: 126). Glick (2010) specifies that a transnational perspective on migration "discards methodological nationalism" (Glick Schiller, 2010: 113) and recognises "the continuing importance of states as actors within and across state borders" (Glick Schiller, 2010: 113), and also that "states constitute only one set of institutions of power that extend transnationally" (Glick Schiller, 2010: 113), including organisations such as media. In this respect, relevant authors agreed on the following definition, related to the concept of migrant transnational ties: "The social relationships and practices developing at a distance" through which "migrants exert a significant, provable and reciprocal influence on non-migrants in the countries of origin" (Boccagni, 2009: 20). The same researcher considered that focussing on the self-identification of migrants "would help to understand the potential" disconnection "between the physical spaces" migrants live in, "the social and cultural spaces they interact with", and "the emotional spaces" where they exist (Boccagni, 2012: 127).

It is relevant to highlight that the development of the transnational approach has brought relevant concepts together in this field. In this case, we will examine the concepts of transnational migrants, transnational communities and transnational migration territory. The concept of transnational migrants come from a nation-state, "where they have lived for a relatively long time, returning periodically, and then investing part of their income in their village of origin, which they, or at least part of their family, do not plan to quit for good" (Bruneau, 2010: 43). The relation between transnational migrants and transnational communities is direct, since transnational migrants are organised in transnational communities, which are groups based "on specific mobility know-how" and have developed "migration expertise", trying to "acquire the citizenship of their host

country" while, if possible, "retaining that of their country of origin", not by choice, but by necessity (Bruneau, 2010: 43-44).

A key aspect of transnationalism resides in that migrants can "no longer be seen as a one-dimensional journey", merely moving from one country to another, since most of the migrants "maintain strong ties with their country of origin in their new living environment, whether in an economic, political or cultural sense" (Jakubowicz, 2012: 5). Transnational migrants do not leave "completely their place of origin", because they "retain family and community ties" and the "strong association with these places", where "the dominant activity is migration in a variety of forms, constitutes a transnational migration territory" (Bruneau, 2010: 44). This territory gets linked to the receiving country, by "becoming increasingly involved in the 'migrant community' of the receiving country, set priorities and pursue its own interests" (Jakubowicz, 2012: 5). Other authors agree on this point. Bauböck (2012), for instance, considers that transnationalism affects "collective identities and conceptions of citizenship among the native populations in both receiving and sending societies" (Bauböck, 2012: 1). The transnational approach deals, therefore, with the study of cross-border transactions; nonetheless, it does not mean the actors studied are "connected to a global consciousness" (Faist: 2010: 15). That is why transnational approaches emphasise "intense connections to national or local territories, especially in the case of migrants" (Faist, 2010: 14). For all these reasons, we agree on transnationalism enabling "a better understanding" of migrants' daily lives (Boccagni, 2012: 128).

Taking into account all these considerations, the potential of transnationalism as a way of understanding the representation of migration in the media is still pertinent, and it will be applied during the theoretical approach of the research. In this section, we have understood why transnationalism is still a valid concept, even though, in some cases, it has been used vaguely. We have shown a comprehensive definition of transnationalism and related concepts, in order to understand their limitations. Nevertheless, the differences and nuances between transnationalism and diaspora require further study, as we will see in the next section.

1.2.2. The concept of diaspora and its disparities with the concept of transnationalism

In this section, it will be related the connecting points between diaspora and transnationalism. Many authors have used both concepts interchangeably. Nonetheless, they have differences in their theoretical approach, and our task will be to unveil them. The concepts of diaspora and transnationalism served during the last decades as a "prominent research" perspective to "view international migration and the shifting of state borders across populations" (Faist, 2010: 9). Both concepts share many perspectives, and in some occasions, it seems challenging to distinguish both terms, because the "literature on diaspora and transnational studies overlaps and intersects" (Faist, 2010: 16). Both "spouse similarities", such as in concepts like "diasporic transnationalism", and sometimes "refer to divergent perspectives", for instance, "diaspora as simply one form of transnational social formation" (Faist, 2010: 33). Diaspora can also include transnationalism and, "in everyday language", the term diaspora is now applied to all forms of migration and dispersion of people, even where no migration is involved (Bruneau, 2010: 36).

Furthermore, diaspora and transnationalism also overlap in the treatment of "homeland ties and the incorporation of persons living abroad into the regions of destination" (Faist, 2010: 20). The concept of diaspora is proven to be especially useful in the "context of migration studies", since this term "allows for the understanding of the various logics of 'integration'" (Mera, 2011: 43). Notably, studies on diaspora focus on "the relationship between homeland and dispersed people" (Faist, 2010: 20), while transnational research "places more emphasis" on issues such as incorporation and integration on immigration countries" (Faist, 2010: 20). In the same line, diaspora literature "usually emphasises the cultural distinctiveness of diaspora groups", while transnational literature is looking "more extensively into migrant incorporation and transnational practices", researching about "the link between the cultural autonomy of minority groups and integration" (Faist, 2010: 20). Other definitions of diaspora contain "both positivist and constructivist elements" (Koinova, 2010: 150). Moreover, Koinova (2010) also highlights that diaspora "in the global age differ from nations of the modern age because they have multiple national identities and loyalties and are interlinked across the globe" (Koinova, 2010: 150).

According to Faist (2010), diaspora has been traditionally used to "denote religious or national groups living outside an (imagined) homeland" and, in contrast, transnationalism is used more narrowly, referring to "migrants' durable ties across countries" and, at the same time, more widely, "to capture not only communities but all sorts of social formations, such as transnationally active networks, groups and organisations" (Faist, 2010: 9). However, "analysing diasporas as non-state actors is a relatively new trend in political science" (Koinova, 2010: 149). Moreover, there are critics such as King and Christou (2010), who noted that scholars on transnationalism pay little attention "to the second generation: the returnees, on the one hand, and the transnationally active, on the other" who are "overwhelmingly portrayed as the first-generation migrants" (King & Christou, 2010: 170). In the case of diaspora theory, there is a "somewhat different relationship to second-generation return since, according to most definitions of diaspora, return is part and parcel of the aetiology of the concept" (King & Christou, 2010: 171).

Despite these differences, there are many things in common between both terms. For instance, diaspora and transnationalism deal "with homeland ties and the incorporation of persons living 'abroad' into the regions of destination" (Faist, 2010: 20). Regarding the field of migration, transnationalism fits better in the scope of the present research, as "indicates the links that migrants establish to their country or region of origin, which allows them simultaneously to create new lives in the receiving society and maintain strong identity relations to the sending society" (Paerregaard, 2010: 93). The study of the agency of migrants will be a relevant aspect during the present investigation, and the transnational approach will be taken into account while analysing the representation of migrants in the Spanish media for this research.

In this section, we have analysed the differences and similarities of the concepts of transnationalism and diaspora. We have understood how several authors have used these terms interchangeably and how, if used correctly, one term can cover a theoretical aspect not treated by the other. We will put into practice what it has been learnt in this section during the analysis of the corpus. Before that, it is mandatory to expand our knowledge about another concept closely related to transnationalism: globalisation and its different meanings.

1.2.3. The concept of globalization as a multidimensional perspective concerning transnationalism

Another concept related to transnationalism, and therefore to diaspora, is globalization. We will also consider this term in our research. As it happened with the concepts explained previously, the term globalization also appears vague and broad in many cases, until the point that can comprise many juxtaposed interpretations. Arenal (2009) explains that "the concept of globalization has been the object of multiple approaches, without reaching a consensus at the time among specialists neither as to what constitutes this phenomenon, nor in terms of its scope and effects, nor in relation to the policies that must be articulated in relation to it" (Arenal, 2009: 215-226). For that, it requires to be given an appropriate description before advancing in the text.

To start with, Rupert (2005) understands the study of globalization less as "a sub-field" and more as an "over determined meta-field" that is potentially interrelating "apparently disparate elements into wholes so complex, multi-dimensional, and open-ended as to defy presumptive encapsulation in terms of particular theories or perspectives" (Rupert, 2005: 457). For instance, globalization can mean "internationalisation", "liberalisation", "universalization" or "westernisation" (Scholte, 2008: 1473). It is a concept with contradictory connotations. It can refer to "progress, development, stability, integration and cooperation" while in other perspectives, it refers to "regression, colonialism, and destabilization" (Al-Rodhan & Stoudmann, 2006). Therefore, globalization is not "a single concept that can be defined and encompassed within a set time frame, nor is it a process that can be defined clearly with a beginning and an end" (Al-Rodhan & Stoudmann, 2006: 3). It involves "economic integration, the transfer of policies across borders, the transmission of knowledge; cultural stability; the reproduction, relations, and discourses of power" (Al-Rodhan & Stoudmann, 2006). Globalization is also understood "as the spread of transplanetary -and in recent times also increasingly supraterritorial- connections between people" (Scholte, 2008, 1471).

There is at least one general agreement about globalization: trying to define the concept is "anything but easy" (Al-Rodhan & Stoudmann, 2006: 2). Nevertheless, some authors decided to give a closed definition: "Globalization is a process that encompasses the causes, course, and consequences of transnational and transcultural integration of

human and non-human activities" (Al-Rodhan & Stoudmann, 2006: 2). For the purpose of this investigation, it will be applied the perspective of Arenal (2008), who considered globalization as "a set of very different processes and spheres on a planetary scale", involving "conditions beyond the spatial and temporal dimensions and in which distances are covered immediately" (Arenal, 2009: 217). As such, Arenal considers globalization as an advanced process of "mundialización"; it takes place in the second half of the 20th century, it implies an acceleration of the dynamics of space and time, which are accelerated and reduced by technological development, and it has important effects, among them the erosion of the sovereignty of the states and a certain humanization and even a certain protagonism of individuals. The migratory phenomenon, like environmental problems, for example, are processes that, although they have not occurred only in this period that we can call global, have had a great impact on the social, economic, political and cultural structures of the current global society (Arenal: 2009).

As we have seen, the definition of globalization is problematic, since it has been used as a meta-field where almost anything fits. That is why we will limit our concept of globalization, linking it to the mentioned definition from Al-Rodhan and Stoudmann, (2006) and Arenal (2009), concerning the transfer of knowledge, culture, policy and economic power across borders, covering distances in an immediately. Another clear relation is that transnationalism has a central role in regards to globalization. Nonetheless, other terms need to be studied. Notably, an additional related concept to both transnationalism and globalization is mobility, as we will appreciate in the next section.

1.2.4. The implications of mobility concerning migration and the relevance of the transnational approach

The last concept that it will be studied in this section is mobility. As we will see shortly in this text, it is closely linked to transnationalism in Migration Studies, since mobility does not only refer to the movement between countries, but in a transnational approach, it also requires navigating different areas of the society. It seems relevant to start describing mobility as "the physical movement of people in transnational space". At the same time, locality means "being rooted or anchored -socially, economically or politically- in the country of immigration and/or in the sending country" (Dahinden, 2010: 51). In this perspective, the concept of local "denotes an unfavourable position in a system

of inequalities" (Faist 2013, 1639). This perspective implies that mobility and transnationalism are relevant "preconditions for successful navigation of social life, whereas immobility connotes stasis, decline and disadvantage" (Faist, 2013: 1640).

For this research, we will attend a transnational approach that deals "with the causes and consequences of migration" and one of the conceptual bedrocks "of the transnational approach in migration studies has been a concern with social space" (Faist, 2013: 1638-1639). Space, in this case, is considered as "socially constituted and may involve asymmetries and power" (Faist, 2013: 1639). Migrants have to navigate a "complex system of civic stratifications with differential access to civil, economic and social rights depending on mode of entry, residence and employment" (Kofman, 2005, 453). This situation is patent in the lack of control and access that migrants have over their own representation in the media in the country of arrival, and this aspect will be studied during the research. According to Faist (2013), a consideration on mobility "offers the opportunity to bring in issues of transnational social inequalities" (Faist, 2013: 1643). We can achieve this progress by looking, for example, at the social mechanisms by which "movement is legitimated or de-legitimated" (Faist, 2013: 1643). As we will see in our investigation, media is one of the main scenarios where legitimation of movement is being implemented. It is highly relevant to take into account during this research the concern made by Faist (2013), who reflects that "social scientists may reinforce this discourse" by reproducing the "semantics of social inequalities across borders" (Faist, 2013: 1644). Consequently, "scientists need to engage, to a greater extent, in self-reflection on mobility and immobility" (Faist, 2013: 1644). For that, it will be considered the perspective of Boccagni (2012), who proposes that "a more promising way ahead lies in exploring specific aspects of migrants' daily lives, on which a transnational lens enables a better understanding" (Boccagni, 2012: 128). The reasons to develop this call for studying migration in the field of media studies will be explained in the next section.

In this section, we have seen how, according to relevant authors, mobility plays a crucial role in transnationalism, since this perspective allows studying social inequalities. In the case of our research, this aspect can be analysed by working on widening our understanding of how migrants manage to influence in their representation. We will work on that by discovering the role of migrants in the representation of their own image in the media, which would denote an achievement in the perspective of mobility.

1.3. Media framing of migration and the construction of the public sphere

In this section, it will be studied the importance of media in regards to the image that the public have about migration. For that, we will start by analysing what is understood about public memory, its relation with public sphere and how relevant authors measured the impact of media on the public sphere. As part of our theoretical documentation, we will show how these researchers discovered the tone set by media when describing migration, as well as the sources used by journalists for telling their story. We will describe how media is essential for enabling social and political debate, as one of the main facilitators for democracy, and also some of the imprecisions presented by the media and how the arrival of the Internet affected this role.

The section will continue by focussing on migration and studying the role of media in framing debates, especially about migrants. For that, we will first understand the characteristics of media framing and its consequences, which have effects not only on migrants themselves, but in the whole society, since some political actors could benefit from negative media discourse. The influence of media, as shown by the literature on framing, is set by selecting topics and sources. In many occasions, it is not necessary to tell people what to think about a topic, but just what topics to think about, dismissing others. One of the outcomes of receiving incomplete information could be the manifestation of racism. To study how media act in this respect, we will analyse the work of relevant authors from this field.

Finally, in the last subsection of this section, we will show relevant illustrations of findings in the field of Media Studies and Migration studies presented. We will find a typical pattern in the findings of the studied authors: media representing migration with a negative tone. We will also get into the details of the consequences of these actions, as explored by relevant authors. We will end this section by discovering the areas of media framing that are understudied, following the call to action of previous authors that will be attended in the following chapters.

1.3.1. The concept of public memory and its relation with public sphere

As it will be seen in following chapters, the concept of public memory will play a crucial role in the investigation in relation to the representation of migration in the media. That is why it is relevant to understand what we understand by public memory before describing the rest of the concepts. This work will surpass the traditional definition linking memory to “the way in which a speaker memorized a speech for presentation” (Jasinski, 2001: 365) to include more wholistic definitions, linking memory to public memory. Jasinski (2001) defines public memory as “the product of political institutions and institutionalized practices”, with an emphasis on “something that exists among a group of people” (Jasinski, 2001: 365). Relevantly, Assmann (2011) defines memory as a “social construction” that conveys a “diachronic identity to societies, groups, and individuals, both socially and temporally”, allowing us to build “an image or narrative of the past and, by the same process, to develop an image and narrative of ourselves” (Assmann, 2011: 15). It is very significant for this investigation to highlight that “the durability of memories depends on the durability of social bonds and “frames”” (Assmann, 2011: 16), since frames will also play a crucial role in the present work. For this author, public memory “is produced from a political discussion that involves not so much specific economic or moral problems but rather fundamental issues about the entire existence of a society: its organization, structure of power, and the very meaning of its past and present” (Bodnar, 1992: 14). As shown recently by Houdek and Phillips (2017), the recollections built by public memory are “far from being perfect records of the past; rather, they entail what we remember, the ways we frame it, and what aspects we forget” (Houdek & Phillips, 2017: 1). Another relevant aspect for this investigation pointed out by Bodnar is that public memory is displayed in the public sphere, a “place where various parts of the social structure exchange views” (Bodnar, 1992: 15).

Once the concept of public sphere came up in relation to public memory, it also deserves a clarification before advancing in this work. It is almost impossible to tackle public sphere without mentioning the work of Habermas, who already in 1991 expressed that the public sphere “betrays a multiplicity of concurrent meanings” (Habermas, 1991: 1). In this influential book, Habermas studies the notion of public sphere, explaining how it evolved during the Renaissance, linked to the growth of democracy and individual freedom, engaging authorities in “a debate over the general rules governing relations” (Habermas, 1991: 27). These debates took place in public places such as squares, coffee places, books, art and, remarkably for our investigation, media. Ultimately, according to

Habermas, the press emerged as the “public sphere’s preeminent institution” (Habermas, 1991, 1991: 181). Habermas developed this concept by writing about “political public sphere”, a concept “denoting all those conditions of communication under which there can come into being a discursive formation of opinion and will on the part of a public composed of the citizen of a state” (Habermas, 1992: 446). Other authors continued this line of study, such as Chouliaraki (2013), who studied the work of Habermas and challenged his rationalist orientation “with an account of the moral-aesthetic pressures that human vulnerability places upon the public sphere” (Chouliaraki, 2013: 112). The next subsection will expand in this relation between media and public sphere, emphasising another relevant aspect for this investigation: framing.

1.3.2. Impact of the media on the public sphere

In order to explain media framing debates about migration, which is a key aspect of the whole investigation, we have to understand first the function of media. We want to understand not only its traditional purpose from a functionalist approach, but also the critical function, which sees media as an institution, a site of symbolic power with an essential role in fostering democracy through, among other aspects, the enhance of the public sphere. In this section, we will overview the work of authors who have studied this topic, both from a general perspective and also from the perspective of our topic, in the context of Spanish media. We will learn how specific actors, principally political, tend to over-influence the media, monopolising most of the sources and setting the tone of the story. We will discover whether the arrival of the Internet managed to fix the flaws of the "old" media or whether it is reproducing the same misconceptions.

Firstly, it is relevant to remind that the main characteristic of media is its preponderant role enabling social and political debates, which are crucial elements in the public sphere. Media is in charge of informing "the public", providing a "communication bridge between political and social actors", influencing "perceptions of pressing issues", depicting "topics and people in particular ways" and plausibly shaping "individuals' political views and participation" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015: 857). Studies about media pluralism, such as the one made by Coman (2009), reported how "media support democracy by offering access to the public sphere and to the different 'voices' of the society", meaning that "the variety of media outlets ensures the variety of sources of

information and opinions" (Coman, 2009: 186). This is especially relevant, since it is considered, from an anthropological approach, that mass media is "at the center of the process of social construction of reality, as an institution that generates specific discourses and logics" (Coman, 2005: 46). Moreover, Coman (2009) also highlighted the importance of having a plural media, because "concentration is a threat to freedom of expression and democracy by the reduction of the number of voices and by the bias of voices" (2009: 186). Salaverría et al. (2009) developed a comparable work by analysing the pluralism of the media in Spain, studying how online media "have already achieved an equivalent -or almost identical- status to other classic media such as the press, radio and television" (Salaverría et al. 2009: 11). This aspect is especially relevant for our research, since the online Spanish media will be the corpus of our study, as it will be shown in the next chapter.

Taking into account these premises, we have to approach the issue of media on the public sphere as a facilitator for democracy. There is a general agreement among the authors studied in that media help setting "policy debates by shaping the way members of the public and even policymakers think about migrants and migration" (Allen, Blinder & McNeil, 2019: 2). It is, indeed, "a source of information, a site of representations, and an arena of participation" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015: 866). In this line, Soroka (2003) show that mass media are "the primary conduit between the public and policymakers" until the point that policymakers "follow media reports on public opinion" and, at the same time, media are the primary source of information on "what policymakers are doing" (Soroka, 2003: 28). Mass media are, in consequence, an arena in which political actors can judge "the resonance of messages and see the counter-claims of others", reflecting not just cultural trends and political consciousness among the public, but also "shaping the public's views" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015: 863). Thereby, and regarding our topic, media can be viewed as "a site within which migrants and minorities can have voice and make claims" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015: 863). Nonetheless, theorists of the public sphere, such as Habermas (1996), have been very critical of mass media at some point. For this author, mass media is subverting with its power the "communication structures of a public sphere" (Habermas, 1996: 265). However, twenty years after sharing this view, Habermas recognized a more nuanced approach regarding media, getting to the conclusion that "mediated political communication in the public sphere can facilitate deliberative legitimization processes in

complex societies", but this would happen "only if a self-regulating media system gains independence from its social environments and if anonymous audiences grant a feedback between an informed elite discourse and a responsive civil society" (Habermas, 2006: 411).

Other critical point of consideration for our research is to ascertain the role digital media. The appearance of the Internet gave hopes of reverting the flaws of the "old" mass media, improving the visibility of "marginalised" and "repressed actors" for a broader public (Gerhards & Schäfer, 2010: 143). To discover if this indeed happened, Gerhards and Schäfer (2010) studied three levels of fora within the public sphere, which can be classified hierarchically according to three aspects: first, their "organisational structure", second, the "degree they allow citizens to participate", and third, "their social impact" (Gerhards & Schäfer, 2010: 144). In this regard, Soroka (2003) underlined that media are the principal source of information for the "vast majority of individuals" on many topics in which experience is "unlikely to provide much useful information", such as foreign affairs (Soroka, 2003: 28). However, as it was explained, media present "only a fraction of all available topics, actors and arguments" and it is considered to "be biased by economic pressures and political preferences" (Gerhards & Schäfer, 2010: 144-145). This exposition is the reason why media are considered "a strongly regulated forum of communication which systematically privileges powerful and institutionalised actors, excludes smaller institutions and civil society and essentially circumvents public debate" (Gerhards & Schäfer, 2010: 145). This opinion was advanced by Habermas (1996), who considers that the "abstract public sphere of isolated readers, listeners, and viewers scattered across large geographic areas, or even around the globe" are "brought together only through the mass media" (Habermas, 1996: 374). Mass media also influence "the political climate and the democratic process in modern democracies" and, in turn, media are also influenced by economic and other factors (Fog, 2004: 1). In particular, in Spain, Mena (2010) found out similar findings. As such, Spanish media also "act as mediators between reality and the perception of it that citizens and politicians have", particularly regarding migration (Mena, 2010: 540). As it happened in other places, the Spanish media are also influenced by political factors, since in some cases there is a "close relationship" between media and political actors (Mena, 2010: 541).

As it was explained, there was hope that the Internet could make a better public sphere than the one created by the "old" mass media. One expectation was that digital communication "might include multiple actors, especially those from civil society who, with comparatively few resources, may not have had (as much) access to the old media" (Gerhards & Schäfer, 2010: 145). Additionally, the Internet also could allow the online presentation of "alternative evaluations and interpretations" because "actors with fewer resources, such as small NGOs or individual citizens, may be able to present information online in a way that is significantly more cost-effective than getting into television, radio or print media" (Gerhards & Schäfer, 2010: 145). Moreover, digital media have also the possibility of disrupting "elite dominance of knowledge production" and disseminating and increasing "public access to a broad range of public information and knowledge" (Coleman et al., 2010: 94). However, studies made to test these claims have found "only minimal evidence to support the idea that the Internet is a better communication space as compared to print media" (Gerhards & Schäfer 2010: 155), because of the structure of the Internet, which "mirrors that of the public sphere" (Gerhards & Schäfer, 2010: 146). Furthermore, each country has its own "differing historical developments" (Hanusch, 2009: 624), which are essential in creating the "environment of the present" and it influences in the fact that "journalism is practised differently around the world" (Hanusch, 2009: 614). Nevertheless, overall, online media are not seen as "a more extensive popular inclusion of societal actors, especially civil societal actors, on the webpages" (Gerhards & Schäfer, 2010: 146). The reason is the role of search engines, which direct the traffic of most of the websites, making it very difficult for "the average user" to find content that is not mainstream and then "replicating pre-existing power structures online" (Gerhards & Schäfer, 2010: 156). This could also affect the selection of the sources. As pointed out by Coleman et al. (2010), the person selected to speak on the news "matters because access to the media is access to persuasive influence" (Coleman et al., 2010: 50). Moreover, the spread of "fake news" and misinformation has found in "socio-professional and technological context" a favourable place where "massive and rapid diffusion of false contents" are spreading (Mayoral, J., Parratt, S., & Morata, 2019: 395).

In terms of framing, our main interest in this field, "Internet sites and newspapers show a similar degree of heterogeneous framing" (Gerhards & Schäfer, 2010: 153). As presented by Coleman et al. (2010), if "we accept the existence of even the most benign form of agenda-setting on the part of the press", then the person who is "allowed to speak

in the news is just as important as which stories are selected for inclusion" (Coleman et al., 2010: 50). These authors pointed out that even in the most "innocuous stories", the selected people commenting in the story "help to shape how issues are considered" and "contribute to a hegemonic understanding of whose views are important" (Coleman et al., 2010: 50). Coleman et al. (2010) advanced in this line, observing that "by obscuring selection and perspective", media promote a "particular line by choice of speakers and quotes" (Coleman et al., 2010: 50). This point will be further elaborated in the next subsection of the section.

Even with all the flaws of media documented above, this research still considers media as potentially beneficial for the democratic health of societies. Media "speak convincingly from institutional settings to countless millions in the contexts of their everyday lives" (Couldry, 2003: 17). Media debates can also educate, since "they sustain a public space in which the terms of private and public discourse are open to negotiation beyond formal political control" (Couldry, 2003: 18). Media and media rituals can "establish somehow social unity by fostering social integration via mass communication", but they can also confirm "categories and divisions" (Couldry, 2003: 141). According to Coman (2005) the concept of myth in relation to media, studied from an anthropological perspective, claims that mass media distribute to the public "edifying images about the world", in agreement with the "expectations, norms, hopes, and fears" of the public, and that these images are "accepted and assumed precisely because they have the status of symbolic constructs", functioning and signifying "in the same way as the mythical systems and rituals of nonmodern societies" (Coman, 2005: 46). Couldry (2003) understands that the categories established by the media can be "socially divisive", because "they entrench a naturalised division of the world into two, which in turn helps legitimate society's unequal distribution of its symbolic resources" (Couldry, 2003: 141). In the present research we will test until what point the benefits and the flaws of the media are present in the corpus of study, following the perspective to view mass media as potentially positive.

In this section, we have seen so far that media, even with all their flaws, is one of the essential tools to enable social and political debate. There is a general agreement about the importance of media as a facilitator for democracy. Nevertheless, there are risks of malfunctioning in cases when there is a lack of plurality and only a fraction of the topics

and actors are giving space. We found out that political actors, both in general and in particular in Spain, are often over-influencing the media. The arrival of the Internet brought hope for fixing these deficiencies of the "old" media. However, findings exposed in this section expressed that online media are behaving in a similar way as its predecessor. We will learn more about how these misconceptions are affecting migration, our topic of study, in the next subsection.

1.3.3. The role of media in framing debates and representing migration

In this subsection, it will be studied the work of relevant authors concerning the effect that media framing has over migration. Media framing is widely proven to be responsible for creating a negative portrayal of migrants, which is affecting not only their daily lives, but also the lives of other citizens, by allowing extreme parties to flourish, benefitting by the frame of migration as a threat. As it will be shown, scholars consider that media might be framing migrants from a negative perspective to transform monotonous news into scopes, more likely to call for the attention of media consumers.

It is relevant to point out that media are not understood as a singular entity, but a "complex set of institutions" with "tremendous internal variation" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015: 858). In this research, we will share the definition that sees media as a "range of communication sources that transfer information from producers to consumers" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015: 858). In this sense, media empower "communal dialogue by shaping out perception of events" (Dzilenski, 2017: 15). Media serve as "gatekeepers that determine what is 'public'" and also "hold agenda-setting power through their selection of which information to report" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015: 858). Media can preponderate concerns as having more relevance than others, "either directly through the work of journalists and media owners, or indirectly, by allowing some issues to be covered while ignoring or not seeing others" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015: 858).

The practices of journalists are understood in this research as "a set of behaviours limited by their understanding of what it is to be a journalist" (Dent, 2008: 200) and their "internalised discursive practices" that formed their behaviour (Dent, 2008: 202). With their work, journalists play a critical role in "creating power and ideology" (Schneeweis,

2012: 675). This author also shows that "at the intersection of the disciplines of mass communication with critical, cultural, and postcolonial scholarship, press representation means here more than text; it incorporates historical, cultural, and international hierarchies that motivate and propel communication" (Schneeweis, 2012: 675). The historical perspective is relevant because "once a negative discourse on migrants or ethnic minorities was established it tended to remain prevalent", triggering a "repetitive chain of statements, actions and conclusions" (Kosho, 2016: 89). Regarding our topic of study, migration, it is also clear that media "reproduce and create discourses, contributing to a fabric of knowledge" that shape concepts such as "migrant" (Schneeweis, 2012: 675). Furthermore, approaching representations as discourses "can help contextualise what is commonly seen as stereotypes and expose such stereotypes as they are embedded in larger hierarchical social structures" (Schneeweis, 2012: 675). In this way, media do more than "confirming stereotypes", but also create "uncertainties, contradictions, and changes" (Schneeweis, 2012: 673). Concerning the contradictions in reporting about migration, media "influence public attitudes on immigrants and affect the policies on immigration", which is affecting "policymaking in the countries of destination" (Kosho, 2016: 90).

Representation is highly connected to the concept of framing, because framing operates informing or legitimising "the ways in which 'the other'" is represented and portrayed (Balabanova & Balch, 2010: 383). As noted by Bleich, Bloemraad and De Graauw (2015), "the relevance of framing and representation" from the perspective of migration scholars "is clear", as much as "it is vital to understand how different groups are portrayed and the extent to which media representations affect public opinion, political mobilisation and policy outcomes" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015: 862). The concept of framing has been "one of the most fertile areas in recent research in journalism and mass communication" (Aalberg, Strömbäck & De Vreese, 2011: 163). It seems relevant to establish the definition of framing before starting the analysis on this topic. For this research, the definition of Entman (2004) will be attended: framing is "selecting and highlighting some facets of events or issues, and making connections among them so as to promote a particular interpretation, evaluation, and/or solution" (Entman, 2004: 5). By framing a topic in a certain way, "media organise and structure their presentation, in the process including and excluding ideas and arguments to produce a coherent construction and understanding of the issue" (Balabanova & Balch, 2010: 386). Frames can "perform four functions: define problems, specify causes, convey moral

assessments, and endorse remedies" (Entman, 2010: 391), since it is proven that the topics that are covered the most in the media "end up being the most approachable by the receivers" (Mena, 2010: 7).

Unfortunately, media "may take advantage of an existing uncertainty and unease around immigration policies" creating "a crisis mentality in which these groups are portrayed" as "enemies at the gate attempting to invade western nations" (Kosho, 2016: 89). Media transform "ordinary events on scoops sold to the public" and regrettably, this can also play in favour of "relatively extreme political platforms" (Kosho, 2016: 89-90), consequently "increasing citizens' likelihood to cast their vote" for those anti-immigrant parties (Damstra, Jacobs, Boukes and Vliegenthart, 2021: 97). As we see, framing can "shape and alter the interpretation of audience members" introducing or enhancing "the availability and apparent importance of certain ideas for evaluating a political object" (Entman, 2010: 391). Ultimately, frames can "influence whether an issue is defined as a problem issue, and, if so, which solutions are applicable" (Gerhards & Schäfer, 2010: 151). Frames, then, "diagnose, evaluate and prescribe", selecting "aspects of a perceived reality" and making them "more salient", promoting "a particular problem", offering "treatment recommendation" (Entman, 1993: 52) and even legitimise "the policies and politics of control" regarding the solution (Cottle, 2009: 98). In this line, Entman (2010) explained that it is possible to distinguish framing from other communication by "its diachronic cultural resonance" and, in order to succeed, frames "must call to mind congruent elements of schemas that were stored in the past" (Entman, 2010: 391). Schemas fit "new perceptions to an existing organisation of knowledge" (Entman: 2010: 391). The knowledge people already have, "stored as schemas", help them to "make sense of new information by deciding", consciously or not, "how the new material fits into their understandings and feelings about the world" (Entman: 2010: 391). In relation to migration, Vliegenthart and Roggeband (2007) found out that "framing of political issues in the press and in parliament influence each other" (Vliegenthart & Roggeband, 2007: 295).

The literature of framing suggests that the influence over "what people think" derives from "telling them what to think about" (Entman, 2010: 392) by "making some issues more salient at the expense of other issues" (Damstra, Jacobs, Boukes & Vliegenthart, 2021: 99). The outcomes are especially worrying since the role of the media

as "a disseminator of information makes it a key political actor with a vital role in the framework of national and international affairs" (Kaye, 1998: 164). According to Entman (2010), elites "monitor public attitudes because they want people to behave in ways that favor or passively acquiesce in elite choices" (Entman, 2010: 392). To manage this, elites "need to tell the audience about some things and not to tell them about other things, embedding cues on how this little narrative coheres with their prior attitudes and values" and "'telling people what to think'" to influence "the attitudes that shape their behavior" (Entman, 2010: 392). The consequences of a negative frame are relevant and dangerous, as noted by Muñiz, Igartua and Otero (2006), since "a constant representation of the minorities during the time in a negative role" can generate and perpetuate "discriminatory attitudes and, moreover, the manifestation of racism" (Muñiz, Igartua & Otero 2006: 111). In this respect, Blinder and Allen (2016) also consider that "negative media coverage of migrants and asylum seekers has helped create similarly negative public attitudes toward immigration" (Blinder & Allen, 2016: 4). Recently, Damstra, Jacobs, Boukes and Vliegenthart (2021) also agreed on this point, showing that migration "has been portrayed as a phenomenon that puts the welfare system of the host society under pressure" and is framed as "as a threat to the native population's safety since immigrants are associated with rising crime levels or even the propensity to commit terrorist attacks" (Damstra, Jacobs, Boukes & Vliegenthart, 2021: 100).

Moreover, as observed by Coleman et al. (2010), "it is not just the reporting of a story which matters", but also "the choice of source influences both its shape and its orientation, casually but irrevocably promoting a particular perspective which goes unchallenged" (Coleman et al., 2010: 50). Nevertheless, many, "if not most individuals, resist communications incongruent with their prior thinking" (Entman, 2010: 392), which does not mean that framing is "a minor feature of politics", because the framing effects on two key audiences could already have "critical implications for political power" (Entman, 2010: 392). These two key audiences are "citizens without strong ideological predispositions who, for example, can decide a close election", and "political elites, who actually make policy" (Entman, 2010: 393). As observed by Coleman et al. (2010), bias in source selection usually "plays out to the considerable detriment of groups that are in conflict with elites" (Coleman et al., 2010: 50). For instance, these authors expressed that "there is a reluctance on the part of most sections of the news media to cover protest politics in anything other than negative terms, with some journalists even conflating

'protest' with 'terrorism'" (Coleman et al., 2010: 50). To discover the existence of content bias, it is necessary "to find patterns of slant that regularly" and maybe "without audience's conscious awareness" promote "support for specific interests" seeking power and the "disapproval of the opponents" (Entman, 2010: 393). By discovering bias, we uncover "the influence of journalist's beliefs on the texts they produce" (Entman, 2010: 393). The notion tells that reporters and editors allow "their personal ideologies to their news decision", even if they "deny such bias" (Entman, 2010: 393) until the point that citizens "are simply not represented in the media on equal terms with government spokespeople" (Coleman et al., 2010: 51).

According to Balch and Balabanova (2011), "simplifying a complex issue is attractive for certain actors as it can provide a (false) illusion of explanation and control" (Balch & Balabanova: 2011, 901). However, this can have adverse effects as "it leads to the construction of a system that is poorly designed, rigid or vulnerable to collapse" (Balch & Balabanova: 2011, 901). Fog (2004) also worked in this line and spotted that "fierce economic competition forces the media to produce entertaining stories that appeal to people's emotions" (Fog, 2004: 1). According to findings from this author, preferred topics include "danger, crime, and disaster", which media "select in ways that make the audience perceive the world as more dangerous than it is" and, therefore, it "influences the democratic process significantly in the direction of authoritarianism and intolerance" (Fog, 2004: 1). Moreover, the frames of the stories "hamper the ability of the democratic system to solve internal social problems as well as international conflicts in an optimal way" (Fog, 2004: 1). According to Balabanova and Balch (2010), the "simplicity and attractiveness could be viral qualities", which would explain "why certain frames on migration spread from country to country despite their lack of fit with actual circumstances" (Balabanova & Balch: 2010, 395). This 'marketplace' position also "make certain kinds of information, such as opinion, a convenient quote or nice round figures" more used in the press (Balch & Balabanova: 2011, 898). The press function like "'rent-a-quote' or 'rent-a-number', offering a simple figure or a sweeping generalisation when needed" (Balch & Balabanova, 2011: 898). The information is simplified to be 'media-friendly', but "this does not avoid the problem that numbers mean little without further explanation" (Balch & Balabanova, 2011: 901). Reflecting the elite discourse in this way "enables journalists to feel they are fulfilling their watchdog roles while maintaining ideological and partisan neutrality" (Entman, 2010: 394). That is, news are "more likely

to slant in favour of a single interpretation of the facts that have the apparent approval", and this does not mean that "the truth is directly ignored", but that "it tends to be examined in page 4 news analyses or op-ed columns rather than the most prominent reports" (Entman, 2010: 394). When there is not "any party pushing for a policy proposal, a framing vacuum appears, and journalists' personal views may take on more importance" (Entman, 2010: 394). Statham (2007) worked on this line, studying whether journalists commenting about Europe are different from the comments they do about national affairs. The main finding of his research was that journalists adopted "an educational mode of raising public awareness, more than a political 'partisan' or 'ideological campaign' mode" (Statham, 2007: 461). This could influence the fact that "frames imported from countries that are considered more powerful are normally directly introduced in another countries", even when there are apparent differences in terms of "media system/political system type" and "journalistic culture", among other aspects (Balabanova & Balch, 2010: 395).

As a result of this practice, media are often perceived as "a strongly regulated forum of communication" (Habermas, 1996), even though the heart of citizenship is "made up of rights of political participation", and this is "exercised in new public forms of civil society -a network of voluntary associations protected by basic rights- as well as in the forms of communication within a political public sphere produced through the mass media" (Habermas, 1996: 75), which has a "powerful position in the competition for public influence" (Habermas, 1996: 378). Mass media, according to Gerhards and Schäfer (2010) "systematically privileges powerful and institutionalised actors, excludes smaller institutions and civil society and essentially circumvents public debate" (Gerhards & Schäfer, 2010: 145).

Additionally, we are witnessing a blurring on the distinctions between refugees and immigrants, to the point that the concept of 'migrant' is used as a broad portrayal to any person travelling from an underdeveloped area to another developed region, even when this person could be a refugee, an asylum seeker or any minority group. This confusion is happening because, since long ago, "the public perception of refugees has been altered and devalued" (Kaye, 1998: 163). Media framing bears a great responsibility on this process of blurring and this action "have significant effects on real-world outcomes with respect to minority issues, such as individual attitudes, voting intentions, and political party agendas" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw 2015: 946). The

importance of framing is undoubtedly relevant for migrants since the way they are represented in the news enable not only the way public opinion sees them, but also the way policy is developed, which consequently can influence in the daily lives of the heterogeneous group of migrants. In the next subsections, we are going to see how the methodological theory explained above is applied effectively.

To sum up, this subsection presented an overview of the work from relevant authors who have studied the effects of framing on migration. They have shown that media are responsible for portraying migrants with a negative tone. A consequence is the disruption of the whole society, since extreme parties are benefitting from framing migrants as a threat to grow and influence the public sphere with their agenda. They do it by not only selecting the topics, but also the sources, the relevance and the tone of the information. Media are also benefitting from this representation, since it is transforming a monotonous topic into a scope, which is more likely to receive the attention of the public. We will learn more about findings of authors who studied the effects of framing in migration in the next subsection.

1.3.4. Illustrations of findings of research in the field of Media Studies and Migration studies

Media play a central and yet controversial role in the creation of the public sphere through framing. Several authors have already delivered findings in this field of research. In this section, we will present some of their most representative results. The general outcome from the authors studied will show that, generally, media tend to represent migration from a negative perspective. This practice has damaging consequences, such as exacerbating the difficulties for the integration of migrants. In this line, analysis such as the one made by Crespo (2008) supports this judgement, showing that concepts used to define migrants in certain Spanish newspapers "do not contribute, despite significant exceptions, to the integration of the immigrant and the formation of a multicultural society" (Crespo, 2008: 45). Outside of Spain, other authors such as Balabanova and Balch (2010) also came out with similar findings when dealing with the intra-EU migration. They found out that a "dehumanised debate" in the media of the United Kingdom and Bulgaria reflect a "particular policy frame of manage migration", in which the majority of the articles justified migration controls "on the basis of costs/benefits to

the nation-state" (Balabanova & Balch, 2010: 394). Their results also show that media generally frame intra-EU migration with "nationalist communitarian arguments", independently from being a sending or receiving country (Balabanova & Balch, 2010: 394). Other authors also unveiled a similar trend. Casero (2004), for example, expressed that journalistic discourses contribute to "the problematization of immigration as a 'prejudice'", by using strategies such as the "negation of an individual and differentiated identity of the migrants", introduced to the public as a collective actor, and the "cultural shock", based on a frame "friend-enemy", presenting the receiving country in a positive light, in contrast to the migrant, presented with a negative image as "the other" (Casero, 2004: 235). According to this author, this representation "leads to the configuration, by the media, of a marginal identity of immigrants, where exclusion rises as the main identity value" (Casero, 2004: 235). Mena (2010) also found out that, in regards to migration, journalists reinforce political settings that are the closest to their ideological line and politicians also use the media in favour of their political strategy (Mena, 2010:1). The "transference of debates opens the possibility that new ideas can be smuggled into public discourse", even when these ideas might not even apply to the new context, "possibly leading to the skewing of national debates" (Balabanova & Balch, 2010: 395).

Regarding other countries, Caviades (2015) studied how "newspaper articles in the UK, France and Italy most commonly frame immigration and migrants" (Caviades, 2015: 897). This author showed that "issues with economic implications, such as the labour market, asylum and fiscal costs, exhibit at least equal salience", even though "the degree to which the press grants attention to specific economic or security issues varies substantially between countries" (Caviades, 2015: 897). Lawlor (2015) tried to "identify whether differences exist in local and national news framing of immigration" (Lawlor, 2015: 918). Her findings suggest that "contrary to expectations, there is little by way of systematic evidence that national and local newspapers frame immigration according to different concerns" (Lawlor, 2015: 918). Going back to Spain, Alonso Belmonte, McCabe and Chornet-Roses (2010) examined "the discourse representation of migrant voices in two Spanish broadsheets and two freesheets through the analysis of quoted utterances" (Alonso Belmonte, McCabe & Chornet-Roses 2010: 227). Their analysis consequently revealed "different ways of representing immigrants' voices across broadsheets and freesheets. In broadsheets, direct quotations almost exclusively recount alleged abuse or crimes perpetrated by authorities, while in freesheets immigrants express their opinions

on issues that concern them as well" (Alonso Belmonte, McCabe & Chornet-Roses 2010: 239). Bleich, Bloemraad and De Graauw (2015) also studied more than 1,000 British newspaper headlines in order to discover the tone of coverage and identify whether there are differences when depicting distinctive Christians, Jews and Muslims. Their analysis nuances "the widely accepted sense that the media consistently and overwhelmingly depict Muslims as problematic" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015: 866). Schneeweis (2012) pointed out that "the press does more than confirm stereotypes; instead, uncertainties, contradictions, and changes mark press writing" (Schneeweis, 2012: 673). They applied discourse analyses on the British and Romanian press between 1990 and 2006. Boswell (2012) compared UK political attention to asylum and illegal immigration. This author analysed the information offered on policy problems and how it was influenced by political attention. It shows that "different policy areas are associated with distinct practices in monitoring policy problems" and the variations in the information supplied "are likely to influence political attention, with information-rich areas associated with a more proportionate distribution of attention, and information-poor areas yielding punctuated attention" (Boswell, 2012: 1).

In the last subsection of the section, it has been shown different findings from authors who have studied the representation of migrants in the media, both in Spain and in other countries with similar characteristics. The outcome is, in general, despairing. Mostly, findings show that media tend to frame migration with a negative tone. The consequences are damaging for migrants, raising their levels of exclusion and making it more difficult for them to integrate into the receiving country. However, we still do not have findings of the representations of migration in the Spanish media in the recent years and with regards to specific contexts of political stress, such as political elections, neither about the practices of the Spanish journalists regarding the framing of migration. The present research will tackle these concerns in the following chapters.

1.4. Main lines of study applied in the investigation

This section will set the framework that will be later applied methodologically in the next chapter of the thesis. It works as a link between the first chapter, which was purely theoretical, and the second chapter, in which the method to collect, code and analyse the corpus will be explained in detail. For that, we will study the work of authors

from Media and Migration Studies that have investigated a similar topic than the one from this thesis, extracting the tools that can be implemented in this research. The purpose is to continue the line of work of these relevant authors, understanding what it worked for them, what it did not and, ultimately, expanding, continuing and proposing new and original perspectives. For that, in the first subsection of this section, we will set the preliminary framework to develop the research by studying authors who used manual and content analysis in relation to media representation of migration.

The subsection will continue by understanding more about content analysis, which is a research method that will play a critical role in our investigation and which also needs further clarification, since it has been widely used previously in the field of Media and Migration Studies. We will also narrow down the application of critical discourse analysis, which is first a critical theory of language and it has practical ramifications in data analysis. For both tasks, we will continue the study of relevant authors from the theory of framing, discerning how it could be applied their learnings into our investigation. After that, it will be studied how selected authors applied methodologically instruments from content analysis and frame analysis, in order to clarify the tools that can be used for our investigation and the tools that will require further development for our objectives. The final subsection of this chapter will focus on the work of relevant authors such as Fairclough (2003) and Wodak (2017), among others, in order to study tools from discourse analysis, especially those strategies from the discourse-historical approach, and issues from textual analysis.

1.4.1. A preliminary framework to develop the research

As we have learned in the previous sections of this chapter, there are plenty of investigations concerning the representation of migration in the media in the field of Media and Migration Studies. The problem, then, is not the quantity of references, but finding the appropriate theoretical tools that can be applied for the specifications of the corpus of this thesis. It is a crucial element for starting this investigation to select and narrow those authors that are pertinent. In this section, we will learn why these authors are directly relevant to this work.

Firstly, the present investigation shares the premise pointed out by Balabanova and Balch (2010), regarding the existence of a "considerable body of work focusing on media framing of immigrants and minorities" that has identified how media "problematize immigration, linking immigrants and minorities with insecurity and disease, crime, rioting, drug use, sexual promiscuity, welfare sponging -and recently, religious fanaticism and terrorism-" (Balabanova & Balch, 2010: 383). However, we also agreed with them when they highlight that "there is little on how the European media communicate ideas about immigration controls, or free movement of workers in the EU" (Balabanova & Balch, 2010: 383). Therefore, we consider that the way media frames migration is a vital aspect of the study. Notably, we will follow the work of previous authors such as Bleich, Bloemraad and De Graauw (2015), who suggested to implement empirical research that "includes articles using computer-based coding and human coding, as well as both quantitative content analysis and more interpretative examination of tone and group portrayals" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015: 866). This need to continue the investigation is shared by other relevant authors such as Lawlor (2015) who considered that "looking at geographic variation in media framing of immigration is a question that requires further empirical investigation, preferably with a combination of manual and automated content analytic techniques" (Lawlor, 2015: 937).

Concerning the current research established in the field, the present investigation will study the way migrants are represented, assuming that this representation is affecting the way people think about politics and their views towards migration. For that, it will be taken into account the relevance of media in setting the political discussion about migration and refugees by the way these actors are framed on newspapers. We find that frames are predominantly negative and dramatic, according to a general agreement among academic researchers, as expressed by Caviedes (2015), who stated that "though researchers largely arrive at this conclusion qualitatively, there is general agreement that newspaper representations of immigration tend to overemphasise the sensational and negative, simply because this angle attracts more reader attention" (Caviedes, 2015: 913). This practice consequently falls into a deficiency in matching media framing and real indicators, such as the actual number of foreigners in the total population, as shown by Lawlor (2015). This author also expressed that there is a lack of connection between media framing and local contextual indicators, such as the unemployment rate and the percentage of foreign-born in the population" (Lawlor (2015: 936). Public opinion

receives most of the information related to minorities from the media, which has real and specific consequences in the daily life of migrants; for instance, a recurring misrepresentation during a period can disseminate racism, as expressed previously by Muñiz, Igartua and Otero (2006: 111). A negative portrayal of migrants through the selection of specific negative news frames can make even more complicated the integration of people who arrive in a new country, falling into a self-fulfilling paradox.

Another relevant aspect of the investigation, taken into account in a preliminary phase of the study, is the way journalists, "whether consciously or not, are acting out prescribed cultural roles that are defined and determined by the industry" (Shumow, 2012: 817). By studying how media produce their articles about migration, it is possible to learn more about how journalists work. As it will be shown in the first hypothesis of this investigation and tested during the research, how journalist work has a significant impact in the reader, since media are usually portraying the same type of migration: a nameless collective group of economic migrants from an unknown origin. The fact that most of the articles are describing an indeterminate collective of migrants without a recognisable face could affect directly the reader, creating a public perception without correspondence from reality. Journalists are, therefore, misrepresenting the size and characteristics of the population of migrants. This practice has direct consequences in the way public opinion sees migrants, even when the intervention of media is considered to be very restrained, as revealed by authors such as Blinder and Jeannet (2018). These authors published results that showed "that even subtle media interventions can shift public perceptions of immigration", in their case, affecting a "more realistic understandings of the overall size and make-up of the immigrant population in Britain", which "diverge widely from reality on the size and make-up of immigrant populations" (Blinder & Jeannet, 2018: 1444).

There are several other investigations explaining that coverage about migrants in the news can influence the attitude of the public opinion by misrepresenting them. For instance, Blinder and Allen (2015) came to this finding by expressing that journalists are "emphasising asylum seekers while largely ignoring other groups like international students" and "migrants were increasingly being portrayed as threats" to social stability (Blinder & Allen, 2015: 2-4). Other misrepresentation is related to the inclusion or exclusion of certain voices. The selection of sources to inform about migration influences in the particular perspective that the public opinion gets from this topic, as shown by

Coleman et al. (2010). These authors stated that journalists select as source to those "actors who meet journalistic criteria of credibility and who fit within a normative framework", giving importance to voices who know "how to play the game" (Coleman et al., 2010: 50). This could ultimately lead to emphasising specific actors over others, ignoring other voices that might be more present in society than in the press. For instance, there are tendencies to think about refugees, asylum seekers and workers "when asked who they normally think under the label of 'immigrants'", instead of international students, who "are largely invisible, yet students far outnumber asylum seekers in recent arrivals, and as a contributor to the 'net migration' statistics that have been central to political debate and policy-making in recent years" (Blinder & Jeannet, 2014: 3-6). One of the reasons for this misrepresentation is that migrants are not situated into a position to produce information, because they are not even taken into account as a source for their own stories. Another relevant finding related to sources is the influence of news agencies in the type of information described in the article. Mayoral and Edo-Bolós (2015) discovered that "material outsourced from agencies", in their case in the format of short videos included in the digital version of five newspapers, "conformed to the narrative structures of traditional journalism", while those produced by the newsroom of the newspaper "offered an innovative model that borrowed freely from other genres" (Mayoral & Edo-Bolós, 2015: 145). The characteristics of the articles developed by news agencies and published in the newspapers of our corpus will be attended in the present research.

To finalise this subsection, it is relevant to emphasise that the methodological line of work developed in the present research will take into account, as a starting point, the analytical elements developed by the authors quoted above, applying an automated and manual content analysis with a heavy accent on frame analysis. For that, in this fragment of the chapter we have tried to understand in detail why the authors selected, narrowed down from the myriad of researchers in the field of media and migration, are pertinent for our research, explaining the research perspectives that could be applied and expanded in our investigation. How we apply the methodology is further explained in the next chapter. However, first we have to continue rounding down the specific theoretical aspects that will be applied in the investigation, continuing by the critical role that content analysis and critical discourse analysis will have in our research.

1.4.2. An approach to the relevance of the research method of content analysis and the implications of the theory of critical discourse analysis

A multi-method research design is proposed to undertake our investigation. First of all, quantitative analysis, through content analysis, will be used to describe the presence of the issue of immigration in the press. With this information, the primary research will focus on identifying how migrants are portrayed in the media, for what a set of tools will be exclusively developed for this investigation. Before that, in this subsection, we need to understand more about content analysis, a vast theoretical concept that have practical ramifications in the methodological field. We will also detail the characteristics of critical discourse analysis, selecting authors that will be a reference for our methodological perspective.

To begin with, it seems relevant to point out that content analysis is "the longest established method of text analysis among the set of empirical methods of social investigation" (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak & Vetter et al., 2000: 55). It suits well for our task and it will be applied. However, it is not enough to cover the whole objective of our investigation, because its tools do not register all the nuances and types of characteristics about migration published in the media, as shown by authors such as Caviedes (2015). This author stated that "quantitative analyses are better suited to describing how ubiquitous the issue of immigration is in the press, but even here the goal is seldom to describe which types of characterisations of immigration are the most common" (Caviedes, 2015: 901). This perspective is the reason that will take this investigation to apply also qualitative analyses. Therefore, the methodology will employ combined content analysis with analytical instruments from critical discourse analysis in order to highlight media discursive practices of representing migrants. Consequently, the process will start by applying an automatic content analysis of the term "migration" in the selected corpus described below. Once the units of study are selected, critical reading will be applied in order to deploy Content and frame analysis using the tools developed for this investigation, as it will be explained in the next section.

The articles from the corpus will be studied firstly through content analysis in order to answer the questions related to quantitative data. Briefly, content analysis is considered as the "systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics"

(Neuendorf, 2002: 1). It is crucial, though, to tackle critics about researchers finding negative portrayals about migration in the media because they are expressly looking for that, which could raise "questions about whether negative media portrayals" are related to a specific group or instead they are "simply a reflection of the news media's well-established propensity to focus on conflicts and problems" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015b: 943). That is why the approach of Tolley (2015) will be followed, in which both "manual and automated" content analysis will be used (Tolley, 2015: 1). Manual content analysis will have a prevalent role in the analysis. In contrast, automatic content analysis will be used to discover the articles in which the concepts related to migration appear, as well as the most common words associated with migration. Nevertheless, as corpus linguistics acknowledge, "quantitative measures usually require supplementation with a qualitative analysis that can disambiguate meanings and provide further insight on how particular words are most often used in context" (Blinder & Allen, 2015: 17). In order to answer the research questions, it will be required the implementation of qualitative analysis of the texts, using tools developed by critical discourse analysis, such as critical qualitative reading, discourse-historical approach and textual analysis, as it will be explained more in detail in the following sections.

The prevalence of rational analysis done by humans over machine analysis in the present investigation follows the perspective of authors such as Blinder and Allen (2015), Allen (2012) and Bleich, Bloemraad and De Graauw (2012). The importance of qualitative analysis in terms of critical discourse analysis is related to the fact that human research is more capable of finding the nuances in the meaning of texts, including metaphors that machines are not able to understand. That is why an intensive reading of a limited number of articles is required, following the line of Blinder and Allen (2015), who stated that quantitative tools could be "supplemented with qualitative readings that can clear up ambiguous meanings and provide further insight on how particular words are most often used" (Blinder & Allen, 2015: 4). It will be necessary, as well, to take into account the limitations of our method, as expressed by Allen (2012), who stated that "tracking coverage by hand" is "practically difficult and vulnerable to biases introduced by human error or latent assumptions about a given media" (Allen, 2012: 5). His recommendations to "reliably extract valid insights from large corpora of textual data over time" and "communicate these results in transparent and accessible ways that facilitate informed debate" (Allen, 2012: 5) will be attended.

Concerning critical discourse analysis (CDA), we agree with Breeze (2011), who considers that CDA "established itself as a field within the humanities and social sciences", it is used to "denote a recognisable approach to language study manifested across a range of different groups" and, for our research, we will refer to CDA as a "recognisable approach to language study" (Breeze, 2011: 494). Moreover, CDA is "far from implying a homogeneous method within discourse analysis" (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak & Vetter, 2000: 144). We follow the line set by Van Dijk (2015) when defining CDA as "discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (Van Dijk, 2015: 466). It is pertinent to express at this point that "it is quite difficult to make consistent statements about the theoretical foundation of CDA", since "there is no such thing as a uniform, common theory formation determining CDA" and "in fact, there are several approaches" (Weiss & Wodak, 2003: 6). However, it is indeed this idiosyncrasy that represents one of the main positive contributions for our investigation, since it is by its plurality that CDA is still relevant nowadays.

In the case of this thesis, it is shared the perspective of Van Dijk (2003), who sees one of the main objectives of CDA as studying "the discursive reproduction of dominance (power abuse) and its consequences on social inequality" (Van Dijk, 2003, 87). Furthermore, our research considers CDA as much "as a theory as a method", as seen, among others, by Fairclough (2001) who views CDA as "a theoretical perspective on language" which "gives rise to ways of analysing language" (Fairclough, 2001: 121). For that, the approach of Chouliaraki and Fairclough (2010) will be taken into account, using a "purposefully porous and integrationist orientation to research methodology that privileges trans-disciplinarity" (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 2010: 1218). Therefore, the methods developed in this research will focus on examining the information about migrants and the participation of this actor in the media.

In this subsection of the section, we have learned more in detail about content analysis from a theoretically and methodologically point of view. Besides, we have studied what relevant authors understood by critical discourse analysis. Both realities have been used profusely in the field of Media Studies, so they needed to be well defined before applying them for our research. We will continue the chapter by learning more

about another relevant aspect of the research, the theory of framing, which is linked to authors from Media and Communication studies and it needs further clarification before continuing with the investigation.

1.4.3. The relevance of the theory of framing

This subsection will narrow down the basic elements of the theory of framing, selecting the authors that will be later taken into account for the construction of our methodology. The objective is to clarify how they understand this essential aspect of the investigation.

In this sense, in the last decades, as divulged by, among others, Igartua, Muñiz and Cheng (2005), there has been a development in the specific theory of framing, one of the latest advances of Agenda-Setting, situated under the umbrella of Media and Communication Studies (Igartua, Muñiz & Cheng 2005: 148). The theory of framing is offering a noteworthy framework of analysis for the depiction of news on the media, and as such it will be taken into account in the present investigation. The concept of framing is related to framing effects and "the notion that how an issue is described or labelled shapes public opinion" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015: 860). Frames are defined as "patterns of interpretation through which people classify information in order to handle it efficiently", emphasizing some "specific aspects of reality" over others and assigning "attributions, evaluations or decisions" to recipients (Scheufele, 2004: 402)

In relation to migration, "perceptions of immigrants shape policy preferences that in turn influence political campaigns and policy-making" (Blinder & Allen 2015: 3). There is a consensus that media "have a long-term effect on audiences, small at first, but compounding over time as a result of the repetition of images and concepts" (Baker, Gabrielatos & McEnery, 2013: 3). In this respect, it has been studied "the importance of the press in shaping European political discourse surrounding immigration" (Caviedes, 2015: 897). This relevance happens because journalists act as gatekeepers who can decide what is worthy of being published by selecting the topics and the frames of the information. They can do that both directly or indirectly, by choosing some issues over others, as studied by authors such as Bleich, Bloemraad and De Graauw (2015b), who

found "common disjunctions between the 'real world' and media coverage of events" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015b: 957). These actions have specific and significant consequences. For instance, newspapers can "influence the outcome of national elections" (Baker, Gabrielatos & McEnery, 2013: 5). To sum up, it is possible to find two relevant claims among central scholars about framing. First, that "a common frame for immigration is emerging, centred on security issues" and second, that "media is a protagonist in directing the tone of public discourse over immigration" (Caviedes, 2015: 899). Additionally, as it was shown earlier, there is another agreement regarding the need to advance in the empirical investigation of media framing by combining "manual and automated content analytic techniques" (Lawlor, 2015: 937).

In this subsection, we have studied how relevant authors for our investigation understood the theory of framing, intending to define their characteristics before applying our methodology. We will continue studying the practical applications of these pertinent aspects in the next subsection of this section, by understanding more about content analysis and frame analysis.

1.4.4. An approach to the implementation of content analysis and frame analysis in the investigation

In this section, it will be explained how Content and frame analysis will be developed in the investigation in correlation with the work previously applied by relevant authors on the field. It will be also considered what existing tools do not reach the scope of our corpus and, therefore, in what aspects it would be necessary to expand and develop an original set of methodological tools.

The process to develop these tools will start by, first of all, carrying out a keyword search. Secondly, all articles containing the selected keyword will be introduced in a database. Then, content analysis and frame analysis will be applied to proceed to the coding of the text. In the case of this investigation, coding will be done by the intensive, interpretative analysis of a medium-size number of texts, combined with quantitative content and frame analysis which would require, in some cases shown below, the assistance of a computer. In the case of the broader quantitative content, coding by the topic will be undertaken using computer assistance, for example by looking whether the

word "migrant" appears together with words related to misconduct or by contrast related to development. Such correlations can then be "compared across time and space" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015: 865), as well as across types of media and minority groups, an approach taken by Caviedes (2015) and Lawlor (2015).

In this research, both manual and automatic content analysis will be applied. By coding manually, a human can take decisions "too complicated for a computer program", as stated by Bloemraad, de Graauw and Hamlin (2015: 10). The results will be analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. Counting the sources used in the text can tell us if migrants are participating in the report of the story or if they are included as passive subjects, as shown in the work of Balch and Balabanova (2011). For doing that, the researcher must develop a typology of knowledge sources using a sample and manually coding "each source used in the articles to generate a list of categories" (Balch & Balabanova, 2011: 891), as it will be done in the present investigation. Afterwards, these categories will be applied to a more significant sample. That is why a critical qualitative reading of the sample is carried out to identify other parameters, using tools from Discourse Analysis. For instance, the tone of the coverage is also relevant, registering whether there is a sympathetic or negative focus. The topic could be the same, but "the message left in the minds of readers or an audience can vary wildly depending on the tone or focus of coverage" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015b: 865). The issue can only be studied applying an interpretative analysis of the content.

As it can be seen, a multi-method analysis will be applied continuously. In the case when categories developed by other authors have been used in order to code, that information is clearly stated in the codebook that will be presented in the next chapter. Nonetheless, in many cases, the categories developed by other authors will not fit the purpose of the research. Therefore, it will be necessary to develop an original set of tools in order to code the specific information of this research. As it will be discussed, research tools will be required to be built and this point will represent an original contribution of the present investigation.

In this subsection, we have taken the first step towards the establishment of the methods that will be applied to code and analyse the corpus of our research, in relation to

content analysis and frame analysis. In the next section, it will be explained the theoretical approach that will support the qualitative analysis of the corpus.

1.4.5. An approach to the implementation of discourse-historical approach and textual analysis

The methodical approach selected for the qualitative analysis will take elements from critical discourse analysis. For that, it will be followed predominantly the work applied previously by authors such as Norman Fairclough, Isabela Fairclough, Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak, as referenced below. In order to categorize the results of the analysis, the research questions of the investigation will be answered separately in four blocks regarding the following aspects: (i) the representation of the migrants, with a focus on the type of words used to name them, (ii) the use of public memories and assumptions when writing about migration, (iii) the frames used to illustrate the article, and (iv) the type of sources used in the elaboration of the information, relating them to the discourses. So as to unveil these subtle nuances that could not be fully comprehend by a purely quantitative method, there will be applied a critical discourse analysis through textual analysis and discourse-historical approach.

Textual analysis is considered "a necessary part of discourse analysis and of discourse-based interpretive political analysis" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2015: 196). It has been selected for the present investigation because of its goal of identifying "strategies and their linguistic realization", developed to "indicate sameness or difference", such as "the use of metaphor, metonymy, personification" and "the choice of particular lexical fields" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2015: 191). In particular, the main issues of textual analysis which will be taken into account will be strategies related to social events, difference, intertextuality, assumptions, discourses, representation and evaluation, as initially described in Fairclough (2003: 191-194). The specifics of how these issues are looked into the corpus will be explain in the next methodological chapter.

The Discourse-Historical Approach will be also applied. Wodak (2015) explained that the "discourse-historical approach (DHA) belongs in the broadly defined field of critical discourse studies (CDS), or also critical discourse analysis (CDA)" and it has been selected for this investigation because it "investigates language use beyond the sentence

level” (Wodak, 2015:275). Moreover, the Discourse-Historical Approach fits the goal of the investigation because its approach is interdisciplinary, involving “theory, methods, methodology, research practice, and practical application”, with a problem-oriented emphasis “in interpreting texts and discourses” (Wodak, 2015: 276). It is also useful because “the language use of those who have power and thus access to important institutions and public spheres can be studied by employing the DHA” (Wodak, 2009: 312). In the present investigation, the Discourse-Historical Approach will be used by studying the strategies of nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivization, intensification and mitigation, as defined by Reisigl and Wodak (2009).

It is important to notice that the issues of textual analysis and the strategies of discourse-historical approach described by these authors in the above-mentioned work are developed for their specific corpus, which have certain characteristics related to their matter of study. As quoted by the same authors: “the categories and tools are not fixed once and for all. They must be elaborated for each analysis according to the specific problem under investigation” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 96). Given that the corpus of the present work is genuine and it has distinctive characteristics, as described in the following chapter, the issues and strategies studied through textual analysis and discourse-historical approach will be adapted to cover the specification of our corpus. As such, these aspects will contribute to answer the research questions of the present investigation, which will be presented in the next chapter.

2. The methodological approach to the research

During the ancient Greek times, one of the worst punishments a citizen of the metropolis could receive was ostracism. This penalty was practised against people who "threatened the stability of the state", and for that, they could be "banished without bringing any charge against him" (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2020: 1). Nowadays, this practice is not legally recognised, but we can find many examples in which particular collectives are left out, ignored, expelled or rejected. The social practice of ostracism has consequences for the person suffering it, in particular, "sadness", "anger" and feeling of threatening to their "fundamental needs" (Williams, 2007: 1). In this thesis, we want to discover whether, nowadays, ostracism is being directed towards migrants, by studying if they are excluded from a position in which they can have a voice in the public sphere and, in particular, in the media. For that, we will start the present chapter by explaining our main objectives for the investigation, developing the hypotheses and the research questions that support each of the objectives.

This chapter will then dedicate a section to explain in detail the characteristics of our research corpus, including the reasons to choose the keyword that will be used to select the articles that will be coded and analysed. We will additionally explain the criteria to apply the search engine that will locate the articles of the corpus, illustrating the benefits and limitations of the search engine. We will continue by putting into context the two research periods of study, showing the political circumstances surrounding them and highlighting the particular events of those times. This section will also show the characteristics of the chosen newspapers from which the articles are retrieved, explaining their political inclinations, their relevance in the public sphere and their areas of influence. We will finish the chapter by pointing out the methodological limits of the research and the challenges encountered during the development of the codebook.

In order to achieve the research objectives and verify the hypothesis, it will be necessary to create a set of methodological tools, rooted in the theoretical learnings apprehended in previous stages of the research, as exposed in the first chapter, and expanded to cover all the nuances and particularities of our corpus of study. These tools will be the core of the codebook that will be deployed in the corpus. This chapter then

will continue explaining in detail the characteristics of our codebook. For that, we will show in each subsection one of the tools implemented. We will clarify the process for the creation of these tools, the theory behind their purpose and the methodology to apply them. The intention is to give clear instructions in case other authors want to corroborate the outcome of this investigation or continue the work with an expanded research corpus.

The tools of the codebook will be categorised in two sections in this chapter, regarding the scope of the characteristics of data they are collecting. First, we will show those tools that have a quantitative emphasis and collect information about the following aspects: the main topic of the article, the main topic related to migration, the words used to refer to migrants, the type of migration mentioned, the mention about the origin of the migrant, the number of migrants to whom the information is related, mentions of the name of the migrants, information on the picture, from whom the information originates, whether migrants are a source or not, mentions of the name of the source, the type of information produced by each source and the position of the contribution of the source. The chapter will continue by detailing the tools from the codebook developed for collecting data with an emphasis in qualitative results, in this case regarding the following features: the domain of the Cynefin framework of the information, the use of known representations, the identification of ethical frames in discussions of immigration controls, the identification of topic frames in discussions about migrants, the evaluative character of the main event and the tags used to catalogue the articles. After that, there will be presented how the issues strategies from the discourse-historical approach and issues from the textual analysis are discovered in the articles of the corpus, by describing the devices that are looked into the text and describing every item of this qualitative codebook. It is relevant to note that the classification separating quantitative and qualitative is created just for organising purposes and they are not exclusive. Holistically, the information from both sets of categories combined will bring results in both quantitative and qualitative aspects.

In the last section of the chapter, it will be presented the set of tools that will be used to direct the discourse analysis which results can be found in the fourth chapter of the investigation. The section will start by including an explanation of how strategies of the discourse-historical approach will be uncovered in the corpus, taking into consideration the approach developed by Reisigl and Wodak (2009). After that, it will be

presented with a similar structure the tools that will be used to apply to find issues from the textual analysis in the same corpus, by following the approach established by Fairclough (2003). The section will finish by showing the research questions of the investigation in relation to the specific results that will be obtained from applying discourse-historical approach textual and analysis discourse into the investigation.

Before that, as mentioned before, the chapter will start by defining our main objectives, the hypotheses and the research questions, which will ignite the rest of the investigation and will help understand whether migrants are suffering a modern version of ostracism.

2.1. Main objectives, hypothesis and research questions

This chapter will start by presenting the main objectives of the research, the hypothesis and the research questions. The hypotheses are critical aspects in the body of research developed by social scientists, as shown by Caldach (1998), who expressed that "the formulation of hypotheses is essential in all scientific and or academic research" (Caldach, 1998: 39). This author also highlighted that "hypotheses are assumptions of answers or solutions to the questions or problems that reality raises and they are susceptible of being verified, confirmed or refuted, through scientific research" (Caldach, 1998: 39). In order to get to the verification stage, as it will be seen, each hypothesis will be linked to one of the three main objectives of the thesis. Additionally, each objective will have correlated research questions which will lead to the construction of the methodological tools and, finally, to the verification of the hypothesis and conclusions.

The first and main objective of the investigation is to study if and how migrants are represented in the media, and if this representation varies according to the political context of elections. With that, we want to expand the types of data available from a country, Spain, which has 4,719,418 people from abroad officially living in the country, which represents the 10.1% of the total population (INE: 2018). The particularities of the Spanish media are relevant, as well as the position of the public opinion of a country that celebrated the 40th anniversary of its democratic Constitution in 2018. Moreover, the data extracted is also relevant from a Romanian perspective, because there are 673,017 Romanians officially living in Spain (INE, 2018). Relying on previous experience on the

field of migration and journalism (Pérez, Urquijo & Last., 2016; Urquijo, 2013; Mayoral, 2009), the first hypothesis related to the main objective that will be tested is the following: 'Migrants are misrepresented in the Spanish newspapers'. In order to study the first objective and verified the hypothesis, this investigation will work to answer the main research question: 'How migrants are portrayed in the media in a receiving country, in this case, Spain?'.

The second objective will uncover practices of journalists approaching migration and framing migrants as social actors. The auxiliary hypothesis in this respect is as follows: 'Journalists in charge of covering migration are selecting predominantly negative frames and not including, in most cases, migrants as sources of information'. In studying the second objective, the investigation will take into account the following research questions concerning journalistic practices of framing migrants: 'What frames are journalists using to portray migration?', 'Are migrants a source in the information about themselves?'; and 'Are journalists prioritising some sources over others?'.

The third objective will be to examine the coverage of immigration in the media during recent historical events, in particular during an electoral context in Spain, in which the topic of migration is susceptible to have been instrumentalised and strategically used by the politicians in the media. In this respect, the interest resides in analysing how media -through diverse framing, including those by politicians- situate migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in a political and electoral context. The research will focus on a specific aspect, that is, the way media shape key topics and aspects connected to migration among highly polarised contexts, making use of historical contexts and assumed representations. The auxiliary hypothesis in this case is the following: "Journalists reproduce arguments of politicians who try to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration, among other aspects". The research questions related to this objective are: "To what extent, in representing migrants, media make use of public memories and historical assumptions that include sensitive aspects about migrants?" and "Are journalists reproducing arguments from politicians who are trying to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration?"

In this section, we have set the main objectives of the investigation, as well as the related research questions and the main hypothesis and auxiliary hypothesis required to

start the research. It will be our task in the following sections to build the methodological tools to achieve the objectives, give an answer to the research questions and verify the hypothesis. In case we verify the hypothesis, we will contribute with information that will be "directly applicable to the knowledge of that reality" and, in case we refute the hypothesis, we will also contribute by "ruling out explanations" and opening "the path to further research" (Calduch, 1998: 40). By answering the research questions and developing the theory, we hope to understand the flaws of the process of representing migration in the Spanish press.

2.2. Defining the corpus

This section of the chapter is divided into three subsections. First, we will show the process to select the keyword that will be implemented to find the articles of study. We will explain why this keyword was chosen, the advantages of this term concerning similar ones and also its limitations. We will also describe the search engine selected to find the articles containing the chosen keyword and we will justify its use and adequacy for reaching the objectives of the investigation, showing its advantages and establishing its limitations.

The section will continue with the second subsection, in which we will describe the two periods of study that will be taken into consideration for the research. We will show the political context surrounding these periods and explain why are relevant for our investigation in relation to the research questions. Finally, the section will finish by describing the newspapers selected for the investigation. We will detail their characteristics and justify their selection, basing our arguments in their suitability for reaching the research goals. The intention with this section will be to explain clearly the process that took the author to select the periods of study, the keyword, the search engine and the newspapers, so other authors could continue the investigation further with accurate precision, given that the instructions to repeat the analysis are well defined.

2.2.1. Selection of keyword and search engine

In this subsection, we will describe the characteristics of the word that will be selected to set the automatic search of the articles that will be analysed. We will explain

why we will choose this term over others, the benefits of picking this word and its limitations. We will also explain the search engine selected to carry out the preliminary automatic search of the articles that comprehend the corpus of study.

The first issue to tackle in the investigation is the selection of the word that will be used to discriminate the articles of study. The decision is to use the keyword "inmigrante" (immigrant in English). Whereas in English the term migrant is typically used to refer to people from abroad coming to the receiving country, as well as nationals going abroad, this definition is not found in the Spanish language. Spanish is very selective in the distinction between immigrants and emigrants, and the term "migrant" is not widely used at the time of this investigation. By rule, in Spanish, when referring to foreigners coming to Spain to work, the word used to define this group of people is "inmigrante" (immigrant in English). By contrast, when talking about Spaniards going to work abroad, the term used is "emigrante" (emigrant in English). In some cases, the term used for Spaniards working abroad is "expatriado" (expatriate). This term might be also used to refer to western foreigners working in Spain. In addition, "inmigrante" is a noun that could refer both to male and female people, which is expanding the scope of the research without the need to use different words for both genders.

Given that the term "inmigrante" is precise, accurate and refers precisely to the collective we want to study, it was decided to use this term to perform the automatic search. We agree with the definition of the International Organization for Migration (IOM). This organization considers migrant as "a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons. The term includes a number of well-defined legal categories of people, such as migrant workers; persons whose particular types of movements are legally-defined, such as smuggled migrants; as well as those whose status or means of movement are not specifically defined under international law, such as international students" (IOM, 2019: 130).

We are aware of the limitations that reducing the automatic search to only one term can bring to the results. Not including in our search terms such as "migración" or "migratorio" could leave out some relevant articles. However, the number of articles found by limiting the search to "inmigrante" seems adequate to achieve our goal. As we

will see, just by searching by the word "inmigrante" we can analyse 215 articles. This quantity of articles should be representative of the reality of the Spanish newspapers at the time of our study, reaching a point of saturation in which analysing more articles will not give us new information. At one point, analysing more does not bring more or better results. We agree with Krippendorff (2004) who indicated that "after an analyst decides on a sampling plan, the question that naturally follows concerns how large the sample must be to answer the research question with sufficient confidence" (Krippendorff, 2004: 121). This author points out that one of the techniques to be sure about the confidence of the results can be achieved by the split-half technique, which "calls for analysts to divide a sample randomly into two parts of equal size. If both parts independently lead to the same conclusions within a desired confidence level, then the whole sample can be accepted as being of adequate size" (Krippendorff, 2004: 124).

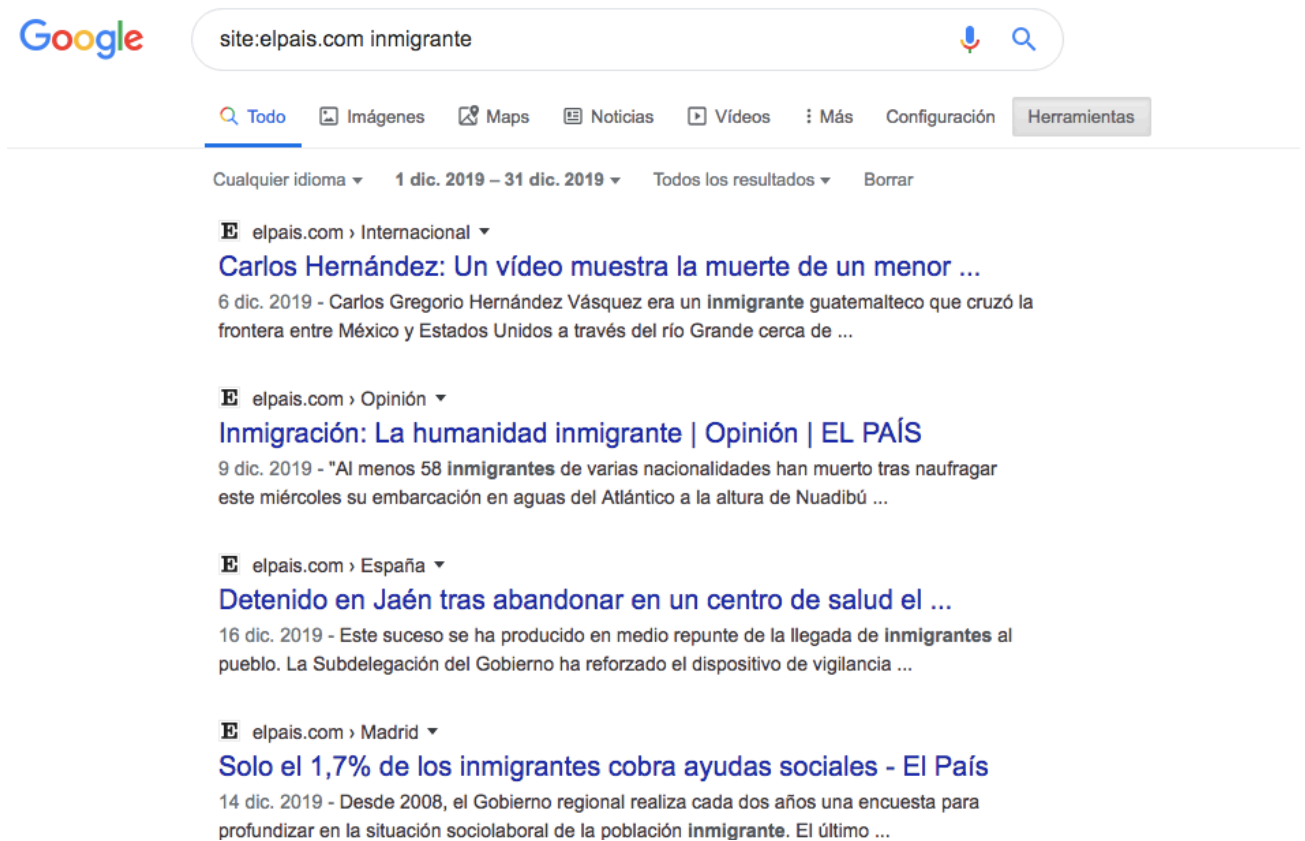
Concerning other limitations, it is essential to point out that by selecting articles containing the word "inmigrante", we are leaving out two relevant collectives who are included indirectly in the search: refugees and asylum seekers. We are aware that migrants, refugees and asylum seekers are not interchangeable concepts. That is why the results of this investigation can only be applied to the representation of immigrants. However, it could happen that journalists do use the term "migrant" to refer to refugees and asylum seekers wrongly. In that case, it will be attended and analysed this practice.

The next step will be to select the search engine to look through the articles. For that, it was selected the search engine Google, accommodating the characteristics of the search to our needs. The reasons to select Google are: (i) Google can look through the articles available by searching through a singular term. (ii) It is possible to select the period of search to match the period of our study. (iii) It is available for free by any researcher that might want to reproduce or expand our investigation, making it accessible to the broad public and, therefore, more accountable. (iv) It is the most used search engine by ordinary users, coping with "over 75 per cent of the search market share" (Davies, 2021), which means that most of the readers have encountered and consumed the articles studied in our investigation by finding them through Google.

The next step is to decide on the periods of study, which will be further elaborated in the next subsection of the chapter. Once we have the word, the period and the search

engine, the search will be implemented. Below we can see an image from the implemented search where it is possible to see the results by looking for a term in a particular website and a limited period.

Image 2



As we can see, if we want to search for the results only in a particular website, it is necessary to write in the search bar "site:" and the name of the website. In the case of the example, it is written "site:elpais.es". If we include the word that we want to search after this request, we will get the result that we need. In this case: "site:elpais.es inmigrante". Once we have the results, we need to select the period of study, in this case, it can be observed that the period is "1st December 2019 to 31st December 2019". Once the automatic search is done, the articles are critically read to discover if they are relevant for the investigation.

In this subsection, we have shown the term, "inmigrante", that will be used to deploy the search engine. We detailed the adequacy of this word for the investigation and listed its possible limitations. We also explained the selection of Google as the search

engine to apply the automatic search of the articles that will result in the units of analysis, explaining how this search will be implemented, and the limitations of the selection. There are still aspects to define in order to complete the search, starting by a crucial one: the periods of study, which can be found in the next subsection.

2.2.2. Periods of research and their context

In this section, we will describe the two periods of study selected for the analysis, and it will be shown their political and social context. The selection of the periods of study is a critical phase in order to achieve the goals of our investigation, especially the third objective: the coverage of immigration in the media during recent historical events, in particular during an electoral context and periods. In order to uncover whether the treatment of migration is different during a period of an election concerning a regular period, it is necessary to select two segments of time. One segment refers to a period in which elections were coping news and another segment in which there were not political elections in the near future.

The first period of analysis was selected because of its prominence in the recent history of Spain and "the national and international media and foreign policy attention" that it triggered (Schneeweis: 2012, 676). In this case, the period chosen is the month of December 2017. During this time, the then Spanish Prime Minister, Mariano Rajoy, called for extraordinary Regional Elections in Catalonia after the application of the Spanish Constitution and discharge of the Catalan Government. During this period, the ruling party was Partido Popular (PP), considered a conservative party (European Social Survey, 2012: 49). The extraordinary call for Regional Elections in Catalonia was made after the Catalan parliament announced on the 27th of October, 2017, a unilateral declaration of independence "with 70 votes for, ten votes against and after lawmakers from three national parties walked out of the vote", being later annulled by Spain's Constitutional Court (Reuters, 2017).

The second period of study takes place two years later, in December 2019, a period in which there were not foreseen elections in the near future and the politicians were not campaigning. In this time, the ruling party was Partido Socialista Obrero Español (PSOE), which was governing with a simple majority in the Congress of Deputies. The political

position of PSOE is considered to be "centre-left" (European Social Survey, 2012: 49). Unidas Podemos, an "alliance of left-wing" parties (Reuters, 2019), and PSOE were part of a coalition government. The agreement to govern in coalition was reached at the end of December 2019 and it would lead to the first coalition government in modern Spanish democratic history. This period is also relevant because of the irruption of VOX, an "anti-immigration, nationalist party" (Reuters, 2019) in the electoral context, which meant that, after "decades without making an impact on Spanish politics, the far-right has made huge gains in the country's general election, becoming the third force in parliament" (Hedgecoe, 2019: 1).

The two selected periods of study will be relevant in order to answer the research questions and, in particular, given the political context as a reference, the following two questions could be benefitted from the comparison of data extracted from both periods: "To what extent, in representing migrants, media make use of public memory and historical assumptions that include sensitive aspects about migrants?" and "Are journalists reproducing arguments from politicians who are trying to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration?". By comparing the periods, one in which an electoral process was beginning and the other, in which the electoral process was over, we could find patterns in the representation of migration that could be directly related to electoral contexts.

In this subsection of the chapter, we defined the two periods of study and explained the political contexts surrounding the selected time of the study. The next step in the construction of the corpus will be to choose the newspapers that will be studied, as it can be seen in the following subsection.

2.2.3. Newspapers selected and their characteristics

This subsection will present the three newspapers that will be studied in the present investigation. We will detail their characteristics and explain the political spectrum they cover, as well as their impact in the public opinion by showing the number of daily readers for each of them. We will also justify the election of these three outlets, as well as the decision to study written press over radio or television.

The core of the corpus will be the content published in newspapers of Spain. The proposed significant newspapers that will be studied, which include a wide range of the political spectrum in Spain, are *ABC*, *El País* and *La Vanguardia*. These newspapers are prominent dailies and considered quality press. They are selected due to their predominance and their relation between the number of readers and their different political views. *ABC* is the third most read newspaper in Spain (EGM, 2018). It is conservative, monarchist and advocate for the centralization of power in Madrid, where it has its newsroom. *El País* is the most read newspaper in Spain (EGM, 2018) and considered to be progressive. Its newsroom is based in Madrid and it is in favour of the union of Spain, tending towards federalization. *La Vanguardia* is the fourth most-read newspaper of Spain (EGM, 2018), the first from the ones published in Catalonia, with a favourable approach towards the celebration of a referendum that could lead to the independence of Catalonia. It is possible to see the homepage of the websites of these three newspapers in the annex 2 (images 3, 4 and 5).

In relation with the objectives of the research, the three newspapers represent very distinct branches of the Spanish politics, having each of them a critical role in setting the public opinion through their influence, thanks to their daily readers. *ABC* has 601,000 daily readers, *El País* 1.862.000 and *La Vanguardia* 790,000 (EGM, 2018). All of them are published both online and on paper. The reputation of the papers and their circulation in their national context suggests "their prominence, legitimacy, and authority" (Schneeweis, 2015: 676). Moreover, the political inclinations of the newspapers are "relevant in the representational modes they employed" (Schneeweis, 2015: 676). The empirical research area will include the articles published in these newspapers, during the selected periods of study. The genre of the articles will include general news, opinion articles and editorials. After locating the articles including the keyword, the corpus of the research will comprehend 215 articles, distributed in the two periods of study described above. As a justification for the corpus, it is contemplated that "using individual articles as the unit of analysis yields frequency counts of the different topics within the overall body of immigration-related coverage in the different newspapers", as stated previously by Caviedes (2015: 906).

The decision to focus the study in online articles is due to the open-access that they represent. Given the limitations of time and space that constraint this investigation,

it would not be possible to analyse only print media or to add other outlets from television or radio. However, most of the articles that are posted online nowadays are also printed and, in any case, the online version of the newspapers has more readers than the printed version (Europa Press, 2017). We can justify the decision of selecting newspapers over television or radio in practical terms, "because of better archiving" of written press and the easiness "to deal only with words during coding and analysis", (Bleich, 2015b: 864). Additionally, there are important reasons for studying newspapers, even when they have fallen on difficult times, according to Bleich (2015b), who also states that flagship newspapers "often set the agenda of coverage by syndicating their news stories to other media outlets" Bleich (2015b: 864). Other authors, such as Lázaro Carreter (1997), got to the same conclusion.

In this subsection, we justified the election of the three newspapers as the core of our corpus of study. We have explained their characteristics and influence to the public concerning their prominence among the Spanish media. It was also defended the election of newspapers as our subject of investigation over radio or television, which are also valuable sources. Moreover, this section has established the corpus of study -articles containing the keyword "inmigrante" from *El País*, *La Vanguardia* and *ABC*- and the period -December of 2017 and December 2019-. In the next section, it will be explained how we are going to code and analyse these units of study in order to give an answer to the research questions and achieve our objective.

2.3. Introduction to the codebook and its methodological and theoretical background

In this section, we will introduce the codebook created exclusively for this investigation. The process to create the codebook took two years and fourteen working versions to be completed. In order to create the codebook, tools from Balch and Balabanova (2012 and 2014), Igartua and Muñiz (2004) and Igartua, Muñiz and Otero (2005) were taken into account to create some of the research categories, as it will be seen in the next section. However, for most of the categories, it was necessary to create an original set of tools to match the specifications of our corpus. All the process for the creation of the codebook is documented in a personal logbook, which was written day by day in order to document the advances and challenges faced by the author.

Even though the direct work into the codebook took two years, the research to create it took longer, since I used some of the practical and theoretical instruments acquired during my participation as a field researcher for the University Vrije of Amsterdam during the investigation 'The Deaths at the Borders Database', which took places in 2015 and 2016, and it is documented in the paper 'Deaths at the Borders: Gaining access to civil registries. Research notes from Spain' (Pérez, Urquijo & Last., 2016) and 'Deaths at the borders database: evidence of deceased migrants' bodies found along the southern external borders of the European Union' (Last, Mirto, Ulusoy, Urquijo et al. 2017). The instruments of this investigation included "a codebook for extracting data from documents, a logbook for recording experiences and results of searching a registry and an Excel template for entering data from codebooks" (Last, Mirto, Ulusoy, Urquijo et al., 2017: 8). The collection of data for the investigation of the University Vrije of Amsterdam took ten months of fieldwork in Spain and another year of analysis in the Netherlands. During this time of work, I was methodologically trained about the instruments and good practices to collect information. I experienced the conditions of data collection in a real environment, where decisions to overcome challenges must be taken in order to achieve the objectives of a whole team of investigators. Results of this investigation can be found in articles such as Pérez, Urquijo and Last. (2016), published with the help of the University of Palermo, Last, Mirto, Ulusoy, Urquijo et al. (2017), published on the Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Urquijo (2015), published by the University of Oxford and Urquijo and Black (2017), published by the International Organization for Migration of the United Nations.

When confronted with the task to build the codebook for the present investigation, the knowledge, experience and skills developed from working in a team of field researchers were deployed, taking into account the particular objectives of this research and including the new references that covered our precise topic of study and suggestions from the supervisors of this investigation, Camelia Beciu and María José Pérez. The first final version of the codebook was tested with a preliminary set of codes to a sample of 102 articles. While coding the test, the preliminary set of codes was modified and extended in order to fit the specifications of the corpus of the current investigation. After this test, several categories needed to be modified, eliminated and expanded. All these changes and the decision-making were recorded in the personal logbook. With all this

background, after two years of trials and fourteen versions, the final version of the codebook is shown below. The explanation of each of the categories shown in the codebook is included following subsections.

Table 1

<i>Codebook for Data Collection for the PhD Thesis</i> <i>'The representation of migration in the Spanish newspapers'</i> <i>Author: José Ignacio Urquijo Sánchez</i> Preliminary information about the corpus. Keyword used to select the articles: <i>inmigrante</i> Newspapers of publication. <i>ABC</i> <i>El País</i> <i>La Vanguardia</i> Periods of publication of the articles. 01/12/2017 - 31/12/2017 01/12/2019 - 31/12/2019 A. Data collection information. A1. Number of the unit of analysis. A2. Newspaper. A3. Link to article. A4. Date of publication. A5. Number of words. A6. Name of the author of the article. A7. Section. A8. Related articles from the same period. A9. Title. A10. Number of comments. B1. Main topic of the article. B2. Main topic related to migration. <i>Original criteria from Igartua and Muñiz (2004: 96) and expanded by the author. See table 2 for explanation of the categories.</i> 1. Border control, including rescue operations.

2. Advances in coexistence.
3. Fight against mafias, illegal smuggling and traffic.
4. Helping measures for migrants.
5. Fostering of regular migration.
6. Debate about migratory policies.
7. Good action done by migrant.
8. Active politics of employment, education, integration.
9. Political disagreements.
10. Offenses committed to migrants.
11. Offenses committed by migrants.
12. Massive arrivals or attempt of migrants.
13. Multiculturalism.
14. Fictional representation of migrants.

B3. Words used to name migrants and source of the naming. *See table 3 for explanation of the categories.*

The word or correlated words are registered and categorized by the source who used them in the text:

- B3.1. By journalist.
- B3.2. By politician from the ruling party.
- B3.3. By politician from the opposition.
- B3.4. By migrant.
- B3.5. By refugee.
- B3.6. By association related to migration.
- B3.7. By police.
- B3.8. By expert.
- B3.9. By judicial authority.
- B3.10. By inclusion in the name of an organization.
- B3.11. By other sources.

B4. Collective emphasized. *See table 4 for explanation of the categories.*

1. Immigrants.
2. Minors
3. Refugees.
4. Asylum seekers.

B5. Mention about the origin of the migrant, including the country. *See table 5 for explanation of the categories.*

1. Spaniards as internal migration.
2. Spanish emigrants.
3. Intra-EU migration.
4. Specific region (and which one).
5. Specific religion (and which one).
6. Specific ethnic (and which one).
7. Specific nationality (and which one).

8. No mention.

B6: Number of migrants to whom the information is related. *See table 6 for explanation of the categories.*

1. Large group.
2. Family or recognizable group.
3. Individual.
4. Collective actor.
5. Collective actor in terms of profession.
6. Collective actor in terms of religion.
7. Collective actor in terms of nationality/origin.
8. Collective in terms of irregularity.

B7. Mention of the name of the migrants. *See table 7 for explanation of the categories.*

1. Yes.
2. No.

B8. Information on the picture. *See table 8 for explanation of the categories. Criteria from Igartua, Muñiz and Otero, 2006: 11, and expanded by the author.*

1. Migrants working.
2. Migrants wounded.
 - 2.1. Migrants dead.
3. Migrants commenting on the information.
4. Migrants detained.
5. Migrants in a leisure situation.
6. Politicians.
7. Minors or young migrants.
8. Representative of associations.
9. Other people.
10. No picture.
11. Demonstration for the rights of migrants.
12. Graphic.
13. Migrants arriving at the receiving country.
14. Migrants celebrating rights.
15. Migrants being attended by care professionals.
16. Migrants trying to enter irregularly in the country.
17. Police agents.
18. Migrants contributing to society.
19. Migrants unfairly treated.
20. Migrants in a context of poverty.
21. Image of movie, theatre play, book.

C1. From whom the information originates. *See table 9 for explanation of the categories.*

1. Migrant.
2. Representative of migrant.
3. Politician from the ruling party.
4. Politician from the opposition.
5. Police agent.
6. Refugee.
7. Journalist.
8. Religious authority.
9. Academic/Expert/Think tank.
10. Other.
11. Agency publishing data.
12. Other associations not related to migration.
13. Justice body.

C2: Inclusion of the migrant as a source.

1. Yes.
2. No.

C3. Mention of the name of the source.

1. Yes.
2. No.

C4. Type of information produced by the source. *See table 10 for explanation of the categories.*

1. Opinion.
2. Details of the incident.
3. Statistics.
4. Analysis.

C5. Degree of the contribution of sources. *See table 11 for explanation of the categories.*

1. Main.
2. Secondary.
3. Residual.

D1. Domain of the Cynefin framework of the information.

See table 12 for explanation of the categories.

Criteria from Balch and Balabanova, 2011: 888.

1. Complex.
2. Knowable.
3. Chaos.
4. Known.

D2. Use of known representations.

See table 13 for explanation of the categories.

1. Assuming the past representation.
2. Explaining the assumed past representation.
3. Confronting a representation with another.
4. Proposing a new representation.

D3. Identification of ethical frames in discussions of immigration controls.

See table 14 for explanation of the categories.

Criteria from Balch and Balabanova, 2014: 6, and extended by the author.

1. Welfare chauvinism.
2. Economic nationalism.
3. Cultural protectionist.
4. Public security.
5. Liberal constitutionalist.
6. Priority for compatriots.
7. Consequentialist.
8. Universalist.
9. Multiculturalist.
10. Identity differentiation.
11. Migrant controls are not discussed.

D4. Identification of topic frames in discussions about migrants.

See table 15 for explanation of the categories.

1. Migrants as a source of conflict
2. Treatment of migrants as a way to differentiate from another actor.
3. Migrants as a collective that should hold rights.
4. Migrants associated with development.
5. Migrants need to be protected.
6. Migrants mistreated.
7. Migrants are different from natives.
8. Migrants are not welcome in receiving countries.
9. Migrants as a collective that needs to be taken into account.
10. Migrants as a flow of people entering in the receiving country difficult to handle.
11. Migrants as collective associated with poverty.
12. Migrants profiting from receiving countries.
13. Migrants as agents of their discourse.
14. Migrants are not good for the economy.
15. Migrants as a burden for the receiving country.
16. National emigrants associated with development.
17. Migrants suffering during time in custody or during interceptions.

D5. Evaluative character of the main event. *See table 16 for explanation of the categories.*

1. Negative.
2. Positive.
3. Neutral.

D6. Tags used to frame the article.

E. Notes of interest and extracts from the text.

The first set of categories of the final codebook are extracted using tools from content analysis, going from automatic content analysis -in categories such as 'Words used to name migrants and source of the naming'- to a combination of automatic and manual content analysis -such as in the category of 'Number of migrants to whom the information is related', the category of 'Type of collective emphasised', the category 'Mention about the origin of the migrant' or the category 'Mention of the name of the migrants by the media'-. It is taken into account that "relying on a large-scale computer-assisted content analysis of news coverage allows for the analysis of a large number of news items" (Damstra, Jacobs, Boukes & Vliegthart: 2021: 113). However, most of the categories needed extra tools to be extracted, in this case from critical discourse analysis, since a purely automatic methodological approach "cannot compete with the accuracy of human coders when it comes to the understanding of textual meaning" (Damstra, Jacobs, Boukes & Vliegthart: 2021: 113). That is the case of the categories regarding 'From whom the information originates', which required human interpretation and induction to be cleared out. In the case of 'Information on the picture', the criteria and tools firstly developed by Igartua, Muñiz and Cheng (2005) are expanded. The objective of this expansion is to cover the specification of this particular research that differs from the one established by the authors mentioned.

Elements from frame analysis were deployed in order to continue with the analysis of the following categories, starting by the 'Identification of ethical frames in discussions of immigration controls', which criteria was developed by Balch and Balabanova (2011). This category was extended to incorporate the needs of the corpus. However, it remains structurally similar to the one of Balch and Balabanova. In the case of the next set of categories, 'Identification of topic frames in discussions about migrants', I built all the variables from scratch. Other categories such as 'Domain of the Cynefin framework of

the information' maintained the criteria from their original authors (Balch & Balabanova 2011), while categories like 'Used of known representations' are also an original contribution to the field of research.

To sum up, this section has explained the background behind the construction of the codebook, and we have presented the final version of it. In the following section, we will show in detail each category of the codebook, we will express the references used to create every category, we will explain the methodological tools for implementing them, we will include a definition of each variable and an example extracted from the sample of 102 articles analysed for the preliminary research. The intention with this chapter is to settle clear instructions in case other researchers want to corroborate and verify our work or wish to continue the investigation using the same tools with expanded data.

2.4. First set of tools implemented: quantitative emphasis

In the following section of the chapter, it will be presented the set of tools created for the codification of the corpus in order to extract quantitative information by applying content analysis and critical reading. Each subsection of this section correlates with one of the tools developed. In each of them, we will explain the process that took to the creation of these tools. In some cases, other authors have previously developed the categories, and we will apply them by following their steps. In most of the cases, though, the tools have been created initially for this research, or they have been expanded from the original scope proposed by the authors that first applied them. All this information will be stated clearly in each of the following subsections. Even though there is a predominancy on the quantitative aspect of the tools, some of the data extracted from these categories will be also analysed qualitatively in combination with other results. Each subsection will conclude by showing the relation between the tools and the research questions that are trying to answer.

2.4.1. Data collection information

The first section of the codebook is dedicated to the collection of technical information about the articles analysed. We will detail how we are going to collect information about the following categories: A1. Number of the unit of analysis. A2.

Newspaper. A3. Link to article. A4. Date of publication. A5. Number of words. A6. Name of the author of the article. A7. Section. A8. Related articles from the same period. A9. Title. A10. Number of comments.

As such, the codebook starts by registering the number of the unit of analysis (A1). The code to number the article starts with two to three letters: EP for *El País*, LV for *La Vanguardia*, and ABC for *ABC*. Three digits follow the code. The first one refers to the period of study: 1 for December 2017, and 2 for December 2019. The last two digits refer to the number of the article organised chronologically, from the oldest to the newest. For instance, the unit of analysis LV245 refers to *La Vanguardia* (LV) in the second period of study (2) and article 45, which means that 44 articles were preceding this one. After this, we can find stated the name of the newspaper we are analysing in A2 and a link to the original article (A3), followed by the date of publication stated in the body of the text (A4).

In the next category, the number of words (A5) the total amount of words is recorded into a range of units of 50. For getting this number, the whole text of the article is taken into account and counted by an automatic text processor that gives us an exact number. In the next category, it is registered the name of the author of the article (A6). When the name is not available, it will also be stated. Furthermore, when the article is not signed by a person but by an agency of news is also registered. This category is followed by the registration of the section where it is published the article (A7) and the related articles from the same period (A8). In this category, it is registered the number of articles that are covering the same incident -for instance, the deceased of a migrant while being into custody- from the same period of study. It is indicated the number of related articles and the unit code of those ones. We will not register related articles published in other periods different than the ones studied. This preliminary section is completed by the category in which is registered the title (A9) and the number of comments presented in the article (A10). This last category could be interested in order to comprehend the engagement that the article has among readers, since other data such as the number of shares on social media is not available in any of the newspapers. The comments of the articles are not part of the investigation, and they will not be analysed except for a few outstanding instances. However, they could represent an interesting body of study for future investigations.

The information collected from this set of categories are not directly answering any of the research questions, but they are required for situating the article in context and classifying them so they can be later studied and, as such, they are indirectly required for achieving the whole set of objectives.

2.4.2. Main topic of the article

The category B1, 'the main topic of the article', will register the broad matter of the unit of analysis descriptively. It will be as concise as possible, and the purpose of it is to situate the piece into the context of the information provided. Each topic will be singular and not belonging to any pre-set classification. It will be defined by applying critical reading. Examples of the main topic of the article extracted from the preliminary research are: "Migrant from Sub-Saharan area arrived in Spain after a dangerous trip, and he managed to have a prosperous life in Europe" (LV122), "Swedish citizen is judged for killing migrants" (LV123), "Migration is needed in order to counterbalance population getting older in the European Union" (LV124), "Analysis of the total number of migrants arriving in Spain, and how it is higher than in previous years" (LV125). This information is required to, indirectly, answer all the research questions, but it is a working category for getting the context of the story and for analysing.

2.4.3. Main topic related to migration

In this case, the category 'main topic related to migration' (B2) was first extracted from the work of Igartua and Muñiz (2004: 96). They analysed four Spanish newspapers and five Spanish TV stations during a week and extracted fourteen topics related to migration. These topic categories were applied in our preliminary research on 102 articles in order to establish their suitability for our investigation. We discovered that some of the categories could be applied but others, such as "Events related to irregular migration", "Other topics of debate" and "Publication of reports and data", were too broad for our purpose of study. Likewise, we found that these categories did not cover the complete range of topics found in our sample, and it was required to add new topics to reach the scope of our corpus. After an inductive work, we expanded the topics categories,

eliminated the ones that were not applicable for our research, and proposed a new set of topic items.

In the following table 2, we can find the criteria to categorise the articles in each topic and an example extracted from our coding. The explanation of the category is not the one defined by Igartua and Muñiz (2004), but it is an original contribution of our work. Close to the name of the category is written whether this item was developed by Igartua and Muñiz (2004) or newly included.

Table 2

Main topic related to migration	Example from the preliminary research	Explanation
1. Border control, including rescue operations. <i>(Adapted from Igartua & Muñiz, 2004)</i>	"Un barco de pasajeros rescata a un inmigrante en un flotador en el Estrecho" (LV229)	Articles informing about active actions to protect the borders from attempts of migrants to enter irregularly into the territory. It can also include active politics to expel migrants. It includes as well articles that inform about rescue operation of migrants, usually at sea, either planned or accidental.
2. Advances in coexistence. <i>(Adapted from Igartua & Muñiz 2004)</i>	"Por último, en lo que respecta a la comparación entre el alumnado nativo e inmigrante, aquellos estudiantes inmigrantes de segunda generación	News related to the integration of migrants in society. Articles showing migrants as participants of the economy of the region.

	cuentan con un rendimiento equiparable al del alumnado nativo en Castilla y León, con una diferencia de 8 puntos en el caso de las matemáticas, y de 1 en el caso de las ciencias" (LV204).	
3. Fight against mafias, illegal smuggling and traffic, etc. <i>(Adapted from Igartua & Muñiz 2004)</i>	"Desmantelan una red que introdujo a un millar de inmigrantes en Barcelona en 2019" (EP224).	Articles showing interventions by police agents to fight smugglers. News related to the creation or implementation of policy to punish or prosecute the irregular entry.
4. Helping measures for migrants. <i>(Adapted from Igartua & Muñiz 2004)</i>	"Canarias activa su Foro de la Inmigración para mejorar atención a migrantes" (LV231).	Articles showing actions from third parties -NGO's, religious congregations, etc.- to ease the situation of migrants in the receiving country.
5. Fostering of regular migration. <i>(From Igartua & Muñiz 2004)</i>	"Iratxe García defiende papel política inmigración UE ante retos demográficos" (LV124).	Actions and policy established mainly by the government to promote regular migration.
6. Debate about migratory policies.	"Una detención tiene que estar prevista en la ley,	Two or more parties giving arguments about the

<i>(Original contribution)</i>	debe durar el mínimo tiempo posible y debe estar fiscalizada por un juez. Si una detención sucede de manera automática, sin atender a las responsabilidades concretas del individuo, y no tiene mecanismos de revisión, podemos hablar de detención arbitraria" (EP205).	convenience to legislate situations of migration or in relation to the rights of migrants to access social benefits.
7. Good action done by migrant. <i>(Original contribution)</i>	"Marlaska sobre regularización del héroe de incendio: la Ley prevé excepciones" (LV211).	Articles showing a positive contribution of a migrant in the receiving country.
8. Active politics of employment, education, integration. <i>(Adapted from Igartua & Muñiz 2004)</i>	"El Consorci per a la Normalització Lingüística abre sus cursos de catalán de invierno" (LV207).	News about governmental policy established to improve the integration of migrants into the society of the receiving country.
9. Political disagreements. <i>(Adapted from Igartua & Muñiz 2004)</i>	"EE.UU. también rompe con el Pacto Mundial de la ONU sobre refugiados" (ABC103).	Articles exposing the arguments of two or more opposing political parties that differ in relation to the acceptance of

		migrants in the receiving country.
10. Offences committed to migrants. <i>(Adapted from Igartua & Muñiz 2004)</i>	"Un vídeo muestra la muerte de un menor inmigrante detenido en la frontera de Estados Unidos" (EP204).	News about wrongdoings done against migrants, intentionally or unintentionally, by any actor.
11. Offences committed by migrants. <i>(Adapted from Igartua & Muñiz 2004)</i>	"Un ataque terrorista en el corazón de Nueva York deja cuatro heridos" (LV116).	Information about wrongdoings, major or minor, done by migrants.
12. Massive arrivals or attempt of migrants. <i>(Original contribution)</i>	"El 2019 ha sido el año en el que más inmigrantes han llegado a las costas canarias desde 2006" (ABC232).	Articles describing migrants travelling to the receiving country in a significant number or waiting on the other side of the border in order to attempt the crossing in big groups.
13. Multiculturalism. <i>(Adapted from Igartua & Muñiz 2004)</i>	"El film guatemalteco "La Llorona" es premiado por el festival suizo FILMAR" (LV201).	News about the culture of the region of origin of the migrants impacting positively into the receiving country and being appreciated by society.

14.	Fictional representation of migrants. <i>(Original contribution)</i>	"Muere la actriz Shelley Morrison, la salvadoreña Rosario en «Will & Grace»" (ABC202).	Articles describing a piece of art -movie, book, commercial, etc.- in which a migrant is represented.

In order to code this category, it will be applied critical discourse analysis. One unit of analysis may be categorized into two or more items if the article covers two or more topics. The objective with this category is to contribute to the answer of the research question "What frames are journalists using to portray migration?". So as to thoroughly answer this and the rest of the research questions, it will be required to obtain information from the analysis of other categories also exposed in this section. As a side note, it is relevant to mention that in this category we do not look for frames in the text, and the information extracted from this item is limited to the main topic of discussion in the article. In order to extract the frame, we will apply other tools that will be described later in this chapter.

2.4.4. Words used to name migrants and source of the naming

This category is one of the most relevant items of the investigation. By using content analysis, we have created an original system to categorize the words that are used to refer to the migrants, in some cases adjectives, in other nouns or nominal constructions of two or more words. The objective is to quantify the type and number of words used to name migration and the source producing the word directly. The words selected to refer to different actors and situations have consequences since the perception that the reader can obtain from the selection of words to correlate with migrants is a key element to the way the public opinion see them. As seen by Fairclough (2001), the journalist will succeed in influencing when these words ("illegal migrants", "undocumented migrants") sound usual and are connected to the "common sense", becoming "hegemonic" and sustaining "relations of domination" (Fairclough, 2001: 124), getting the reader not to question if this is wrong.

One of the relevant elements of this category is the categorization by sources. In the analysis, we will not only obtain data about which words are used in the articles to

refer to migrants, but also which source is using these words and how many times in each article. In the examples, it has been highlighted the words or correlated words that are used to refer to migrants and that would be registered as such.

Table 3

Source responsible to produce the word or words to name migrant	Example from the preliminary research	Explanation
1. By journalist.	“Un vídeo revela cómo fue la muerte de un menor inmigrante bajo custodia de EE.UU.” (ABC204).	The journalist is the producer of the word used to refer to the migrant. In the cases in which a journalist is referring to the declaration of another source without quotation marks, the journalist is also considered to have the responsibility of the words picked to refer to the migrant, and it will be coded as the source.
2. By members of the ruling party.	“La presidenta regional ha defendido que a ella no le gusta «colectivizar a la gente » dado que no cree que haya «dos inmigrantes iguales» y ha deslizado que esta es una de las cuestiones	The politician is the producer of the word used to refer to the migrant. The politician can belong to the national or any regional or local government, as long as the main focus of the

	en las que se opone a Vox (ABC205).”	story is the area of influence of the referred politician.
3. By politicians from the opposition.	"Porque una sociedad amorosa abraza a los inmigrantes ", declaró Ocasio-Cortez ante las más de 14.000 personas que acudieron al acto electoral, según cifras oficiales" (LV234).	The non-governmental politician is the producer of the word used to refer to the migrant. This category refers to any politician, national, regional or local, who is acting as the opposition to the ruling party.
4. By migrant.	Míriam Hatibi publica en Rosa dels Vents el 22 de marzo Mira'm als ulls. "Se dice que 'la gente es el espejo en que nos miramos'. Si me miro en mi propio espejo, soy Míriam Hatibi , soy de Barcelona, ilerdense, española, catalana, marroquí y musulmana" (LV151).	A person identified as a migrant is the producer of the word used to refer to the migrant.
5. By refugee.	-Not found in the research-	A person identified as a refugee is the producer of the word used to refer to the migrant.

6. By association related to migration rights.	“Correr esta carrera es una forma de socialización estupenda y, además, les convierte en ciudadanos de plenos derechos ”, destaca Cabrillo [coordinadora del Servicio Capuchino para el Desarrollo] (EP146).	Any association working for the rights and defence of the well-being of migrants is the producer of the word used to refer to the migrant.
7. By police.	“Las rutas de la inmigración cambian cada cierto tiempo porque hay muchos factores que influyen, especialmente la presión que los países ejercen o dejan de ejercer sobre esas rutas en un momento determinado”, señalan fuentes policiales españolas (LV138).	Any member of the police, border patrol or any other police enforcement member is the producer of the word used to refer to the migrant.
8. By expert.	“Se están gastando millones de dólares para identificar posibles errores en los formularios o pequeñas faltas que permitan retirar la nacionalidad a inmigrantes que la obtuvieron”, apunta Pitzer [Andrea Pitzer,	Academics, members of think-tanks, writers or political scientist, among similar sources considered to have expertise in the field of migration, are the producers of the word used to refer to the migrant.

	autora de una monumental historia de los campos de concentración] (EP205).	
9. By Judicial authority.	"Es una ampliación de la cobertura sanitaria en el ámbito subjetivo de las prestaciones no contemplado por la normativa estatal, que como hemos señalado, incluye entre los sujetos que tienen la condición de asegurados a los extranjeros titulares de una autorización para residir en territorio español , pero no a los que no están registrados ni autorizados como residentes en España", agrega en su sentencia el TC [Tribunal Constitucional] (EP120).	Members belonging to any level of the judicial institution, such as Tribunal Constitucional or Tribunal Superior de Justicia, are the producers of the word used to refer to the migrant.
10. Included in the name of an organization.	Sobre la base de esa declaración, el Alto Comisionado para los Refugiados tenía el encargo de proponer un pacto mundial, que debe	It includes the way migrants are referred in the name of an organization or a program, such as ‘Oficina de Migraciones’ or ‘Programa de Protección de Migrantes’.

	firmarse el próximo año (LV106).	
11. By other sources.	El Defensor del Pueblo hizo alusión a esa falta de desarrollo del Real Decreto: “[El Gobierno] reguló de forma incompleta algunos aspectos que pueden afectar a varios colectivos de personas en situación de vulnerabilidad ” (EP203).	It refers to any other source not included in the previous categorization that was not found to be present enough to have their own category. Examples from this category are the following: Spanish Central Bank, United Nations, Working Unions, the Pope Francis and any other person or institution that was not quoted as many times as the ones presented in categories the above-mentioned categories.

The sources were selected after the preliminary analysis, and they cover the most used sources found in the articles that will be analysed. In order to categorize a reference as coming from a specific source, the word must be included in quotation marks. For instance, we can find the words used to refer to the migrant highlighted in bold in this extract from one of the articles analysed: "El vecino de Denia con problemas de movilidad que estuvo a punto de morir al incendiarse su casa ha abrazado emocionado a su héroe anónimo -hasta ahora- un inmigrante senegalés que le rescató en brazos por el balcón y se marchó, sin que se hubieran tenido más noticias suyas" (ABC207). In this case, the source is a journalist.

In those cases in which the reference is indirect, the source is considered to be the journalist because she/he is the one using that word. In order for any source different than

the journalist to be counted, the quote must be clear. For instance, "“Tenemos más problemas para bajar el paro porque crece la población activa especialmente por la entrada de mano de obra inmigrante atraída por la evolución de la economía”, afirma Cardoso." (LV245). In this case, the source, Miguel Cardoso, head economist in Spain of the bank BBVA, is categorized as "expert", because it is quoted directly in the body of the article. In any case, it is relevant to note that, ultimately, journalists have the sole responsibility of the way migrants are named in the articles. They are the selectors of the words used to name migration, because journalists are the ones selecting the sources of the article and the quotes from these sources.

With the analysis of this category, we will continue answering the following research questions: "How migrants are portrayed in the media in a receiving country, in this case, Spain?", and "To what extent, in representing migrants, media make use of public memories and historical assumptions that include sensitive aspects about migrants?".

2.4.5. Type of collective emphasized

To build the set of categories related to the type of collective emphasized in the articles about migration, we followed the same process developed for the previous categories. A possible consequence of misrepresenting migrants is that when public opinion is asked to think about the prototype of migrants, they tend to think about "illegal immigrants", but in fact "international students are largely invisible, yet students far outnumber asylum seekers in recent arrivals" (Blinder & Allen, 2015: 3). Relevant authors point out that there is not a correlation between the image of migration and the reality, which can lead to modern manifestation of racism, as expressed previously by Muñiz, Igartua and Otero (2006: 111). In this case, we follow the description given by IOM (2019) in order to define the different collectives, as shown in this table.

Table 4

	Example from the preliminary research	Explanation

Type of collective emphasized		
1. Immigrants.	“El argumento de que los inmigrantes les quitan el empleo a los trabajadores locales y hacen caer sus salarios –sostiene Rowthorn– puede ser exagerado, pero no siempre es falso” (LV103).	"An umbrella term, not defined under international law, reflecting the common lay understanding of a person who moves away from his or her place or usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons. The term includes a number of well-defined legal categories of people, such as migrant workers; persons whose particular types of movements are legally defined, such as smuggled migrants; as well as those whose status or means of movement are not specially defined under international law, such as international students" (IOM, 2019: 130)
2. Minors.		

	"Y que los menores no acompañados -menas, por sus siglas- son niños a los que es más fácil ver jugando al balón que metidos en líos" (ABC215).	In reference to minors in the context of migration and in relation to unaccompanied children: "Children, as defined in Article 1 of the Convention on the Right of the Child, who have been separated from both parents and other relatives and are not being cared for by an adult who, by law or custom, is responsible for doing so" (IOM, 2019: 219)
3. Refugees.	"El número de inmigrantes indocumentados y refugiados que llegaron este año a España a través de la ruta del Mediterráneo occidental se situó en casi 20.000 personas, más del doble que el año pasado" (LV112).	"A person who, owing to a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is

		unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it" (IOM, 2019: 169)
4. Asylum seekers.	"Comencé a trabajar para la alcaldía de Caracas —entonces en manos del Movimiento V República, el antiguo partido de Hugo Chávez— y a título personal ayudaba a los solicitantes de asilo que llegaban al país", cuenta este hombre de ahora 46 años" (EP129).	"An individual who is seeking international protection. In countries with individualized procedures, an asylum seeker is someone whose claim has not yet been finally decided on by the country in which he or she has submitted it. Not every asylum seeker will ultimately be recognized as a refugee, but every recognized refugee is initially an asylum seeker" (IOM, 2019: 12)

The definitions expressed in this section do not always match with the way journalists classify migrants. In this case, in the investigation, we have coded in each category by following a purely automatic content analysis and, therefore, attending to the criteria of the journalists. It will be later examined in the qualitative section whether journalists are referring to migrants correctly in attendance to definitions such as the one provided by IOM, or by contrast they are misrepresenting migrants with other groups of people on the move, such as refugees or asylum seekers.

Thanks to this category, we will continue collecting data in order to answer the research question: "How migrants are portrayed in the media in a receiving country, in this case, Spain?".

2.4.6. Mention about the origin of the migrant

The next phase of the investigation is dedicated to discovering what origin of migration is represented more often in the media and if there is any origin indeed mentioned. For that, it was created the categorisation shown below, applied after the word search of the term migrant, as previously done, and the deployment of critical reading. Media could preponderate concerns as having more relevance than others, "either directly through the work of journalists and media owners, or indirectly, by allowing some issues to be covered while ignoring or not seeing others" (Bleich, Bloemraad & De Graauw, 2015: 858). Not mentioning the origin of the person could be, then, a practice that carries consequences. These are the original categories built for the codification, in which the origin has been highlighted in the example:

Table 5

Mention about the origin of the migrant	Example from the preliminary research	Explanation
1. Spaniards as internal migration.	“Rendé reconstruye la historia de una niña de la emigración andaluza al alto Pirineo, a principios de los años cincuenta” (LV115)	The article refers to internal migration within Spain, such as people from Andalusia working in Catalonia.
2. Spanish emigrants.	“Yo, un castellano leonés de mundo, ¡muy viajado!, acostumbrado a estar siempre de reuniones sociales, restaurantes,	The article mentions Spaniards working abroad.

	bares... pasé a tener una vida social nula, como inmigrante en un país extranjero, y comenzamos a hacer lo que siempre habíamos criticado” (LV210)	
3. Intra-EU migration.	“Aunque todo el mundo crea que la inmigración llega en barca, en patera, en realidad la mayoría llegan en avión a Andalucía. Y es más, suelen ser de la Unión Europea , no de Marruecos o el resto de África” (ABC215)	The article specifies migration coming from another country of the European Union into Spain.
4. Specific region.	“El auténtico reto no son los refugiados, que pasada la ola del 2015 llegan con cuentagotas, sino “los veinte millones potenciales de inmigrantes que tiene África , que son económicos” y para lo que no propone soluciones, lamentan fuentes diplomáticas españolas” (LV126)	The article mentions at least one geographical region, being broad or specific.

5. Specific religion.	“Donald Trump le ha respondido con un “no sois bienvenidos”, reforzado en su postura nacionalista –y regocijo de sus bases–, metiendo en el saco de la culpabilidad por igual a todos los inmigrantes musulmanes” (LV121)	The article mentions the religion of the migrant.
6. Specific ethnic.	“Un análisis de sociología política desde el prisma de un inmigrante latino que trabaja como reportero para un medio hispanoparlante” (ABC106)	The article mentions an ethnic origin of the migrant, such as "Arab" or "Latin".
7. Specific nationality.	“Un inmigrante uzbeko perteneciente al EI arrolla en Nueva York a varias personas y causa 8 muertos, entre ellos 5 argentinos” (LV146)	The article directly mentions at least one specific nationality.
8. No mention.	“Sólo un inmigrante de 200 entra en Ceuta en un intento de salto masivo” (LV111)	The article does not refer directly or indirectly to any origin of the migrant.

Articles can contain more than one category, and as such, it will be registered. In the case of Spanish emigrants and internal migration in Spain, this actor is not the topic of our search. However, it has been included when it appears in our general search by the keyword "inmigrante", because it could be relevant to find out why journalists decided to call the Spanish migrants with a term meant for foreigners and to compare with the way they refer to immigrants from abroad. It is pertinent to mention on this subsection that, after finalising the analysis of the corpus, it was discovered that a small percentage of them, twelve in total, were informing only about Spanish migration, either internal or in other countries. It was decided to not include the results of the analysis of these articles with the rest of the data, because it could distort the results, which are focussed on the representation of foreign migration. The comparison of the representation of Spanish migration and foreign migration is also a relevant topic that could be further explored in the future using the information extracted from this research, but it is not the purpose of the present thesis. In particular, data collected and analysed from this category will contribute to answering the research question: "How migrants are portrayed in the media in a receiving country, in this case, Spain?".

2.4.7. Number of migrants to whom the information is related

A similar approach to the shown in the previous subsection is adopted for this category. After the selection of the articles containing the keyword, it will be deployed a critical reading and categorization by the number of migrants to whom the information is related. The misrepresentation in the real size of the migratory and refugee collective has consequences, since there is evidence showing that "perceived immigrant population size increases perceptions of immigrants as a threat" (Blinder & Allen, 2015: 2). Below it can be seen the original grid of categories created by induction exclusively for the investigation. As it can be appreciated, we can find that size is linked to other characteristics attributed by media, such as religion and profession, creating an exclusive group that will also be taken into account.

Table 6

		Explanation

Number of migrants to whom the information is related	Example from the preliminary research	
1. Large group.	“Rescatados en aguas de Melilla 21 inmigrantes obligados a saltar al mar” (EP126)	The article talks about a relatively big group of migrants, without giving information about their origin or any other personal reference.
2. Family or recognizable group.	“Ella misma se define como “andaluchina”, porque nació en la ciudad gaditana de Algeciras. Prefiere usar este término en vez del de “chinos”, acuñado por los hijos de migrantes chinos nacidos en España para definirse como una generación a caballo entre la cultura asiática y la europea” (EP135)	The article shows a recognizable group, either because names are presented or because they are all part of a family or a particular group.
3. Individual.	“Continúan las pesquisas sobre el atentado que se registró el lunes en Nueva York, con un saldo de cuatro heridos, uno de ellos el presunto terrorista, un inmigrante bangladeshí con simpatías por el extremismo islámico” (LV119)	The information is about a specific individual stated to be a migrant.

4. Collective actor.	“El auténtico reto no son los refugiados, que pasada la ola del 2015 llegan con cuentagotas, sino “los veinte millones potenciales de inmigrantes que tiene África, que son económicos” y para lo que no propone soluciones, lamentan fuentes diplomáticas españolas” (LV126)	The information is about a group of migrants, but there is not any data available about them.
5. Collective actor in terms of profession.	“Los objetivos del dispositivo son asegurar el acceso a los servicios y prestaciones sociales a la población inmigrante temporera, reforzar su alojamiento en la capital, prestarle asesoramiento socio-laboral y facilitar su desplazamiento a los lugares de trabajo” (ABC231)	The information is about a specific group of migrants in relation to the profession that they have, for instance, students or doctors.
6. Collective actor in terms of religion.	“El estudio demuestra que países como Polonia, cuyos dirigentes gubernamentales han institucionalizado un discurso arriesgado respecto a la inmigración musulmana y sus supuestos efectos	The information is about a group of migrants belonging to a specific religion, for instance, Muslims.

	negativos, tienen una representación casi inexistente de este colectivo entre sus fronteras” (LV101)	
7. Collective actor in terms of nationality/origin.	“Además la crisis de los migrantes y refugiados que tratan de llegar a Europa, el problema se ha agudizado con el éxodo masivo desde agosto de los miembros de la minoría birmana de los rohinyás a Bangladesh y las informaciones sobre la existencia de mercados de esclavos en Libia” (LV105)	The information is about a group of migrants from a specific origin, for instance, members of the Burmese minority Rohingya.
8. Collective in terms of irregularity.	“El número de inmigrantes sin papeles es una incógnita. En 2016 el Gobierno detectó 37.295 viviendo de manera irregular en España, pero suponen apenas una parte de todos los que, según define Falconi, “solo son las manos y los cuerpos para trabajar en la economía sumergida”” (EP118)	The information is about a group of migrants who are only linked in terms of the irregular way they enter or might enter in the receiving country.

As it happened in previous classification, in this case the articles can also mention more than one category. It is significant for the research to register whether there is no mention about the number of migrants to whom the information is related. During the

preliminary test, it was decided to include the categories 5. Collective actor in terms of profession. 6. Collective actor in terms of religion. 7. Collective actor in terms of nationality/origin. 8. Collective in terms of irregularity. These items might not seem related to size, but indeed they are, because they are subdividing the general category of migration into subgroups.

The information from the analysis of these categories will contribute to answering the research question: "How migrants are portrayed in the media in a receiving country, in this case, Spain?".

2.4.8. Mention of the name of the migrants

The analysis will continue by unveiling whether the articles dealing with migration mentioned any name of migrants who are, in many cases, the protagonists of the information. The process to code this category will apply an automatic word search of the keyword, followed by critical reading of the articles and the classification in one of the two options. We want to find out whether the name of the migrant is usually mentioned as a way to uncover journalistic practices towards their approach about news in which migrants are the main topic of the article.

Table 7

Mention of the name of the migrants	Example from the preliminary research	Explanation
Yes	“El pasado 31 de octubre, un hombre mató a ocho personas en Nueva York al arrollarlas con una furgoneta, en lo que la policía considera una tentado de inspiración islamista. Cinco de los muertos eran turistas argentinos que	There is at least one mention to the name, with or without a surname, of the migrant or migrants who are part of the information.

	paseaban en bicicleta. El atacante era un inmigrante uzbeko, Sayfullo Saipov, que actuó en nombre de ISIS” (EP127)	
No	“Un inmigrante ha fallecido este jueves en una nueva oleada de pateras en las costas andaluzas, donde Salvamento Marítimo ha rescatado en las inmediaciones de la isla de Alborán a 113 personas de origen subsahariano que viajaban en tres pateras” (EP114)	The name of the migrant or migrants is not mentioned, even in cases where it could have been known.

The results of this category will be relevant by their inclusions and exclusions. Even if names of migrants are preponderantly not mentioned, this will tell us a relevant outcome from the way journalists take into account the agency of the migrants. In case the name is mentioned, it will be interesting to understand when this is happening and to match this result with the frame of the article. For instance, in the case of the example shown in the table, the name of the migrant is mentioned in association with terrorism, but not in the case when they are lost at sea.

Data extracted from this category will contribute to answer the research question: "How migrants are portrayed in the media in a receiving country, in this case, Spain?".

2.4.9. Information on the picture

This category was used in a first stage of the preliminary research criteria created developed by Igartua, Muñiz and Otero (2006), in order to categorize the type of pictures used to illustrate articles about migration. Their set of tools are considered relevant and useful for this investigation, since they also study Spanish media, in this case, newspapers and television news. Moreover, the scope of their investigation, which used the theory of framing, was suitable for the thesis, since this scope fits with the one selected in the present investigation. However, since the methodology developed by Igartua, Muñiz and

Otero (2006) was created in order to study television as well, it was necessary to adapt and specially to add further categories for the analysis, in order to incorporate the nuances of our corpus of investigation, which are pictures published exclusively in the newspapers. During the preliminary research, it was considered necessary to study the pictures that illustrate the articles regarding migration, since images reinforce the importance given to an article and they also transmit a frame to the reader, highlighting not only a topic, but how the public "think about this topic and about immigrants", which can "lead public opinion to think about immigration in an overly simplistic way and with a low level of cognitive complexity that reinforces stereotypes towards immigrants" (Igartua, Muñiz & Otero 2006: 12).

The following table shows the items implemented in the coding, both the ones from Igartua, Muñiz and Otero (2006) and the ones created by the author of this investigation. The description of each item is also an original contribution, since it is created to match the research characteristics of our corpus.

Table 8

Information on the picture	Explanation
1. Migrants working (<i>Adapted from Igartua, Muñiz & Otero, 2006</i>)	The article is illustrated with a picture of migrant/s in a working context.
2. Migrants wounded (<i>Adapted from Igartua, Muñiz & Otero, 2006</i>)	The article shows a picture of migrants wounded because of reasons such as accidents during the attempt to enter into Spain, aggressions of third parties, working accidents. This category was included with the next one, 'Migrants dead', in the criteria of Igartua, Muñiz and Otero (2006) and separated for this research.

2.1. Migrants dead (<i>Adapted from Igartua, Muñiz & Otero, 2006</i>)	Pictures show migrants who died in different circumstances, such as trying to enter in the receiving country or during custody, among other situations.
3. Migrants giving a comment about the information (<i>Adapted from Igartua, Muñiz & Otero, 2006</i>)	A picture in which the migrant, usually the main topic of the article, is shown commenting on the information related to the context of the news.
4. Migrants detained (<i>Adapted from Igartua, Muñiz & Otero, 2006</i>)	The picture shows migrants detained, either in jail, temporary centres or restricted areas from where they are not allowed to leave freely.
5. Migrants in a leisure situation (<i>Adapted from Igartua, Muñiz & Otero, 2006</i>)	Migrants are shown in a positive context in which they are free and behaving as they wish.
6. Women (<i>Adapted from Igartua, Muñiz & Otero, 2006</i>)	A picture of female migrants accompanies the article.
7. Minors or young migrants (<i>Adapted from Igartua, Muñiz & Otero, 2006</i>)	The article shows the image of migrants of young age: babies, children, teenagers.

8. A representative of associations related to migration (<i>Adapted from Igartua, Muñiz & Otero, 2006</i>)	The main focus of the picture is a person who is talking in representation of the migrants, belonging to an organization created to support their rights.
9. Other people different than migrants. (<i>Original contribution</i>)	The picture shows people who are not directly related to migration, such as politicians.
10. No picture (<i>Original contribution</i>)	A picture does not accompany the article.
11. Demonstration for the rights of migrants (<i>Original contribution</i>)	The article shows a demonstration of people in support of migrants. For more information about who is in the demonstration, this category can be complemented with one of the others.
12. Graphic (<i>Original contribution</i>)	The article shows a graphic in which is represented data related to the information published.
13. Migrants arriving at the receiving country (<i>Original contribution</i>)	Migrants are shown arriving at the receiving country by any means of transport, including boats, hiding in cars, or by foot.
14. Migrants celebrating rights (<i>Original contribution</i>)	The picture illustrates a situation in which migrants are shown celebrating the

	acquisition of rights, for instance, celebrating when they got the legal residence in the receiving country.
15. Migrants being attended by care professionals (<i>Original contribution</i>)	The article is accompanied by a picture of care professionals taking care of migrants, for instance, after arriving by sea to Spain.
16. Migrants trying to enter irregularly in the country (<i>Original contribution</i>)	The picture shows attempts, in-group or individually, of migrants trying to enter to the receiving country without the legal permission to do so.
17. Police forces (<i>Original contribution</i>)	The picture shows police forces or facilities belonging to them.
18. Migrants contributing to society (<i>Original contribution</i>)	The photograph of the article shows a situation in which migrants are contributing positively to society. It can include artistic representations created by a migrant or act of heroism displayed by them, such as the rescued of a person in need.
19. Migrants unfairly treated (<i>Original contribution</i>)	The picture shows a situation in which migrants are mistreated, such as being attack physically or emotionally. It also includes a situation in which their belongings are damage by a third party.

20. Migrants in a context of poverty (<i>Original contribution</i>)	The photograph shows a migrant in a distressing situation because of the context in which they are photographed.
21. Image of movie, theatre play, book (<i>Original contribution</i>)	The picture shows an image belonging to an artistic creation, such as the ones described in the article. They can be created either by migrants or by any other actor.

The categories shown above are not exclusive, and one article can contain more than one item. For instance, in the article LV215, migrants in a leisure situation (5) are also represented contributing to society (18). By contrast, in the article EP204, it is shown a minor (7) who died (2.1). In any case, for clarity of the coding, it will prevail the category that it is most present in the picture.

In case there is no picture accompanying the article, this information is also collected, because it is considered to be relevant for the investigation. The fact that journalists are not illustrating the information with a picture shows the lack of relevance that they attribute to this piece of information. Generally, relevant articles are complemented with pictures or graphics. In contrast, information that is considered to be less significant by media is not illustrated. The reason for this is that an article without an image "does not look attractive; it does not make you want to read it. It looks as though it will be hard work, and readers are therefore put off. It is also limited in its ability "to tell the news accurately" (Henshall & Ingram et al. 1991: 46). Consequently, knowing how many articles about migration are illustrated or not will also be a relevant outcome of our research.

With the data collected by the analysis of the information on the pictures, we will answer the following research questions: "How migrants are portrayed in the media in a receiving country, in this case, Spain?", and "To what extent, in representing migrants,

media make use of public memory and historical assumptions that include sensitive aspects about migrants?".

2.4.10. From whom the information originates

In this case, it is applied to a set of categories to uncover what type of source is used in the articles dealing with migration. For instance, if the origin of the source is stated to be ‘Government’, it means that a member from the Government was used as a source of the information published in the article.

This category is especially relevant for the investigation because "it is not just the reporting of a story which matters, but the choice of source influences both its shape and its orientation, casually but irrevocably promoting a particular perspective which goes unchallenged" (Coleman et al., 2010: 50). Media serve as gatekeepers, determining what is public and also setting an agenda by choosing the topics they are going to publish, and leaving out of the debate other topics. That is why the sources could be diverse, but even in that case, media are responsible of the frame, even when they do not appear as a source, since journalists are the ones in charge of selecting the topic, the sources and, lastly, of writing the article.

In the preliminary codebook, this section used the categories for sources created by Balch and Balabanova (2011: 391). However, after deploying the preliminary research, it was clear that we needed to expand and adapt the categories in order to fit our investigation, and the following grid, created for this research, is implemented. The source is highlighted in the example included in the description.

Table 9

Origin of the source	Example from the preliminary research	Explanation
1. Migrant	“Yi Yi opina que el racismo persistirá.	Migrants or refugees

	“Siempre habrá personas que simplemente no nos acepten como somos”. Pero dice haberse acostumbrado a los insultos: “Me da igual que me digan chino de mierda, no dejo que me afecte”. La ilustradora Quan es más optimista: “No somos tan diferentes. Da igual de donde seas, si eres buena persona, lo esencial y lo bueno está ahí”. Susana Ye añade: “Es hora de que nos dejen de ver como a una masa uniforme y nos empiecen a ver como individuos”” (EP135)	are used as a source of information.
2. Representative of migrant	“"Debe abrirse una investigación inmediata y paralizarse todas las expulsiones de los internos por si tuvieran algún tipo de información”, ha exigido este viernes José Luis Rodríguez Candela, coordinador legal de Andalucía Acoge, la ONG que ha prestado asistencia jurídica a los inmigrantes encerrados” (EP143)	A member of an association related to the defence of the rights and well-being of migrants and refugees is used in the information.
3. Government and members of the ruling party	“Guillier, candidato de la Nueva Mayoría, la coalición de Gobierno de la todavía presidenta Michelle Bachelet, se mostró, por el contrario, a favor de una postura abierta hacia la inmigración. “Conviene ser empático. Por cada chileno que sale a estudiar o a	A member of the ruling party, who could be also part of the Government, is used as a source, including the Government of the

	trabajar entra un extranjero”, señaló el senador socialdemócrata” (EP111)	country and/or specific regions.
4. Politicians from the opposition.	“ Piñera, candidato de la coalición opositora Chile Vamos cree, sin embargo, que “si en algún momento la migración pusiera en riesgo el desarrollo" del país o "le causara daño, por supuesto habría que establecer regulaciones"” (EP111)	A member from a non-ruling party, either nationally or regionally, is used as a source of information.
5. Police enforcement	“Según han informado fuentes de Salvamento Marítimo , en torno a las cuatro de la madrugada activaron, tras recibir una llamada de un cooperante, un dispositivo para la búsqueda de al menos cinco pateras que habían salido del norte de Marruecos y en el que participaron la Guardamar Polimnia, el avión Sasemar 101 y el buque Valpas del Frontex, la Agencia Europea de la Guardia de Fronteras y Costas” (EP114)	A member of the law enforcement is used as a source, including Spanish National Police, Guardia Civil and Sea Rescue, among others.
6. Asylum seeker and refugee	“Este caso de abuso contrasta con otras muestras de solidaridad que han dado los ciudadanos a migrantes en apuros.	An asylum seeker or a refugee is used as a source for the

	Acogida tras el desahucio por unos compatriotas, la familia decidió entonces pedir asilo, 20 días después de su llegada. “No lo hicimos antes porque desconocíamos que teníamos ese derecho”, cuentan [Alberto y su familia] . Hasta ese momento, como cualquier inmigrante irregular, eran invisibles para el sistema” (EP201)	information. In the coding is stated whether the source is one of the two.
7. Journalist	“Pero ofreció un culpable: señalando a los inmigrantes, satisfacía el resentimiento de los que no han tenido más remedio que acogerlos en sus barrios” (LV128)	A journalist is used as a source of information, including opinion articles signed by the journalist.
8. Religious authority	“Acoger, proteger, promover e integrar. Con estas cuatro acciones el papa Francisco propone en su mensaje para la Jornada Mundial de la Paz un programa de acción social destinado a nuestras sociedades ante los emigrantes y refugiados” (LV144)	A religious authority from any faith is used as a source, including the head of any religious congregation.
9. Expert	“Sin embargo, un estudio reciente del economista de la Universidad de Cambridge Robert Rowthorn ha demostrado que este argumento está lleno de agujeros. [...] “El argumento	An expert on migration topics, including academics and members of think tanks, is used

	de que los inmigrantes les quitan el empleo a los trabajadores locales y hacen caer sus salarios –sostiene Rowthorn– puede ser exagerado, pero no siempre es falso”” (LV103)	as a source of information.
10. Other	““Trump, has fallado en la protección de tu nación”, escribió en Facebook el presunto suicida poco antes de tratar de hacerse explotar la mañana del lunes en un túnel del metro de Nueva York, en la zona de Times Square y en hora punta del servicio” (LV122)	A person belonging to a group not described above is used as a source of information. The reference is not representative enough among the preliminary units of analysis to have their own category. Among others, here we can find sources such as the United Nations, business owners, neighbours, terrorists and movie directors. In the coding, it will be stated the subject producing this source.
11. Agency publishing data	“Las proyecciones demográficas, como la que sostienen el último informe de	Statistical information

	la OCDE sobre pensiones y envejecimiento, suelen tener un ángulo muerto: les cuesta ver venir los movimientos migratorios. Se utilizan supuestos “simplistas”, como indica un artículo recién publicado por el Banco de España, y se asume que permanecen constantes en los niveles actuales” (EP106)	produced by an agency is used as a source of information.
12. Other associations not related to migration	“España ocupa el primer puesto de la Unión Europea en riesgo de pobreza de trabajadores extranjeros, sean estos de otros Estados miembro (29,5% de tasa) o de fuera del entorno comunitario (41,8%), según un informe de UGT difundido con motivo del Día Internacional del Migrante” (LV133)	A member of an association or group not related to migration is used as a source, such as unions of workers.
13. Justice body	“Es una ampliación de la cobertura sanitaria en el ámbito subjetivo de las prestaciones no contemplado por la normativa estatal, que como hemos señalado, incluye entre los sujetos que tienen la condición de asegurados a los extranjeros titulares de una autorización para residir en territorio español, pero no a los que no están registrados ni autorizados como residentes en España”, agrega en su sentencia el TC” (EP120)	A judicial institution is used as a source of information, including the Constitutional Tribunal shown in the example.

In those cases when sources are extensive, such as the category 10, it will be stated who is precisely the producer. In the category 6, asylum seeker and refugee, we are aware that both subjects are not interchangeable. However, the preliminary research did not show any result for asylum seekers, neither for refugees, used as a source of information. This is the reason for including them in the same category but, in case they are referenced as a source, it will be stated the status mentioned in the article. Nevertheless, it is important to state that sources are not always the author of the article, but the author is many times used as a source. In order to know who is the author of the article, it is necessary to see the category A6, Name of the author of the article.

The codification of this category will be complemented with the information from other categories to answer the following research questions: "Are migrants a source in the information about themselves?", "Are journalists prioritising some sources over others?", and "Are journalists reproducing arguments from politicians who are trying to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration?".

2.4.11. Migrants as a source

The objective of this category is to emphasize whether migrants were indeed mentioned as one of the sources in the information. This piece of data was already collected in the previous category, but it will be highlighted in this section for methodological reasons, in order to facilitate the analysis of one of the most critical aspects of our research. For the coding, the options in this category are 1. Yes, 2. No. The information collected from both answers is pertinent for our research, showing journalistic practices and whether journalists decide, as gatekeepers, to count with the input of migrants in articles concerning migration. In this case, the information collected from this category will contribute to answering the research questions "Are migrants a source in the information about themselves?", and "Are journalists prioritising some sources over others?".

2.4.12. Mention of the name of the source

After collecting data about what type of sources are used in each article, it will be detailed whether the sources are given a personal attribution. With this procedure, we will contribute to explore the journalistic practices regarding articles about migration. For instance, an article that is not signed and it does not state the source of information is telling us something different than another article that is signed and in which the sources are multiple and identified with their personal names. The same can be extrapolated to other sources. Knowing which sources are usually named and which ones are not is a key element for understanding how journalists approach information about migration. With the information extracted from this category, we will continue answering the research questions "Are journalists prioritising some sources over others?", "Are migrants a source in the information about themselves?" and "Are journalists reproducing arguments from politicians who are trying to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration?".

2.4.13. Type of information produced by each source

In this case, we will attribute to each of the sources used in the articles the type of information produced for each of them, as shown in the following table.

Table 10

Type of information produced by each source	Example from the preliminary research	Explanation
1. Opinion	“Este sábado, la embajadora Haley argumentó que la declaración contiene elementos "inconsistentes" con los "principios" de la política	The articles reflect the thoughts and interpretation of one source, clearly defined as an opinion.

	migratoria de Trump y añadió: "Ningún país ha hecho más que EE UU [por los migrantes] y nuestra generosidad continuará"" (EP103)	
2. Details of the incident	“Hasta 100 personas, ocho de ellas menores de edad, han sido rescatadas en el lapso de cinco horas en las inmediaciones de las costas de la provincia de Cádiz. Viajaban a bordo de tres pateras y han sido auxiliadas gracias a Salvamento Marítimo y la Guardia Civil” (EP109)	The information reflects objective records about an event.
3. Statistics	“En Italia, por el contrario, las cifras van a la baja ya que en lo que va de año se ha producido un descenso del 21% en las entradas (116.400 frente a los 182.000 del 2016). La mayoría de quienes llegan a las costas italianas son	Raw data without interpretation is shown.

	nigerianos, seguidos por los procedentes de Guinea Conakry, Costa de Marfil y Bangladesh. La entrada por Grecia se ha desplomado un 79% por el acuerdo firmado entre la UE y Turquía (37.900 entradas frente a las 174.000 del año pasado), la mayoría de estos inmigrantes proceden de Siria, Iraq y Afganistán” (LV138)	
4. Analysis	“En declaraciones a los periodistas tras presentar en la universidad de Valladolid el informe sobre despoblación que defendió y aprobó recientemente, con las correspondientes enmiendas, el parlamento europeo, ha incidido en la importancia de la población inmigrante para volver a dar vida, para "repoblar" a Europa, aunque eso requiere de políticas de integración y estrategias locales claras	The source gives an interpretation of the events or the statistics shown in the article.

	para que no tenga efectos no deseados” (LV124)	

It will be analysed the type of information produced by each source used in the article. Moreover, each source could participate with more than one type of information. The nuances to differentiate opinion from analysis are thin and, when the article does not clearly state it, it will prevail the criteria of the researcher for the classification. The information collected from the analysis of this category will contribute to answering the following research question: “Are journalists prioritising some sources over others?”, "Are migrants a source in the information about themselves?" and "Are journalists reproducing arguments from politicians who are trying to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration?".

2.4.14. Degree of the contribution of sources in relation to their relevance

In this category, we will code the degree of the contribution in the article of each of the sources, according to the following classification elaborated with the input from the preliminary test.

Table 11

Degree of the contribution of sources	Example from the preliminary research	Explanation
1. Main	Title of the article: “Ayuso defiende la acogida de los menores inmigrantes en familias para integrarlos en la sociedad” (ABC205)	The source has a preponderant role in the article. The information from the source is used constantly throughout the piece and it includes references in the title, the

		summary or the first paragraph, or all of them, as well as the rest of the piece. In the example, the source "Government" has as a main position as a source because it is used repeatedly and preponderantly throughout the article, including the title.
2. Secondary	“«Hemos tenido en cuenta más del 80 % de las alegaciones que recibió el primer borrador de la ley, por lo que ha dejado de ser la Xunta a ser una ley de todos», afirmó este lunes la conselleira de Política Social, Fabiola García, durante la entrega del anteproyecto al CES, un texto «más rico, más dinámico y en el que todos los grupos políticos ya pueden ver su pegada». El objetivo, destacó, es que sea «una ley a largo plazo y no a corto plazo». Entrará en	The source is used to complement information from the primary source, it appears in the body of the text and on some occasions in the summary or the first paragraph, always bearing a supporting role. In the example, the source "Government" has a secondary position, because it is used to support the main source of information, the journalist.

	el Parlamento en el primer trimestre de 2020” (ABC213)	
3. Residual	“La cónsul de Mali se ha reunido con Mahamadou, con representantes de CGT, de Adelante Andalucía y de la Asociación de Trabajadores de ese país africano en Huelva con el objetivo de desarrollar una campaña de concienciación «para evitar que en los campos andaluces se den este tipo de sucesos, para que se respeten las leyes y a las personas trabajadoras extranjeras»” (ABC230)	The source is used at some point in the article, but his/her information is not relevant, and it does not change the scope of the information or it does not give any significant input to the reader, often appearing at the end of the text or another non relevant position. In the example, the source "non-government politician" has a residual position, because it is used only once at the end of the article.

The classification will be carried out for each of the sources. In any case, we will keep into consideration that the journalist, even when she/he does not appear as a source in the article, has a preponderant role. The journalist is the one in charge of the selection of the sources and the one deciding in what position they are going to appear, and how many times they will be quoted, as well as the extent of the contribution of each source.

The information collected from the analysis of this category will result in the contribution to the answer of the following research questions: “Are journalists prioritising some sources over others?”, “Are migrants a source in the information about themselves?” and “Are journalists reproducing arguments from politicians who are

trying to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration?".

2.5. Second set of tools implemented: focus on qualitative information

The present section follows the structure of the previous one. The difference will be in the emphasis of the results extracted from the deployment of the tools, that in this case will be mainly qualitative, even though they will also provide with quantitative information. The following tools have been applied in order to "clear up ambiguous meanings and provide further insight on how particular words are most often used" (Blinder, 2015.: 4). As such, to create the following tools, it has been deployed critical reading by inductively finding the classification that will be shown in the next subsections. As it happened in the previous section, some of the categories are developed by other authors and then expanded in this research, a process that will be described below. Each subsection will show the procedure to create each set of tools, and they will enumerate the research questions they are addressing.

2.5.1. The domain of the Cynefin framework

The theory for the codification of this category was extracted from Balch and Balabanova (2011). It was selected because of their holistic approach towards the qualitative classification of the information. In this approach, articles are not just "good" or "bad", in a simplistic or Manichaeian way. Balch and Balabanova (2011) explain that Cynefin is "a typology which can link policy with types of systems-thinking" and "methods of decision-making" (Balch & Balabanova, 2011, 888). We agree with these authors when they say that Cynefin is useful because "it links understanding with praxis: the way that something is framed (through narrative) places it within a particular domain which then connects with certain actions" and pushes "the issue towards the most desirable domain and away from the least desirable" (Balch & Balabanova, 2011: 889). In this sense, we could learn whether media frame migration concerning categories that are understood to be chaotic or complex, which is creating a state of alarm in the readers, or by contrast, media are not contributing to the unrest of the reader by showing a topic that is knowable or known. We can see the criteria applied by Balch and Balabanova (2011) to categorise the information in this table.

Table 12

The domain of the Cynefin framework of the information	Example from the preliminary research	Explanation
1. Complex	“El suicidio de uno de los cientos de inmigrantes encerrados en Archidona marca el primer mes y medio de actividad de esta cárcel, reconvertida en improvisado CIE en solo unas horas” (EP143)	"Cause and effect are only coherent in retrospect and do not repeat. Pattern management. Perspective filters. Complex adaptive systems. Probe-Sense-Respond." (Balch, 2011: 888)
2. Knowable	“‘Chiñol’: el dilema de ser chino y nacer en España. Los hijos de migrantes del gigante asiático denuncian sufrir un racismo constante desde que son niños” (EP135)	"Cause and effect separated over time and space. Analytical/Reductionist. Scenarios planning. Systems thinking. Sense-Analyse-Respond." (Balch, 2011: 888)
3. Chaos	“Una fuente de conflictos. Problemas y protestas por el internamiento de 500 simpapeles en la cárcel de	"No cause-and-effect relationships perceivable. Stability-focused intervention.

	Archidona. Protestas, motines, expulsiones, investigaciones judiciales... la decisión del ministro del Interior, Juan Ignacio Zoido, de concentrar a medio millar de inmigrantes, en su inmensa mayoría de procedencia argelina, en el centro penitenciario Málaga II, ubicado en la localidad de Archidona, ha suscitado reacciones de todo tipo dentro y fuera de los muros de la prisión, habilitada provisionalmente como centro de internamiento de extranjeros” (LV137)	Enactment tools. Crisis management. Act-Sense-Respond." (Balch, 2011: 888).
4. Known	“Las Palmas de Gran Canaria inaugura la primera Casa del Migrante de Canarias. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria cuenta desde hoy con la primera Casa del Migrante de Canarias, que nace con la finalidad de ofrecer asesoramiento a la población migratoria de Gran Canaria y del resto las islas” (LV132)	"Cause-and-effect relationships repeatable, perceivable and predictable. Legitimate best practice. Standard operating procedures. Process re-engineering. Sense-Categorize-Respond." (Balch, 2011: 888)

By applying this classification, we can discover nuances in the text that are not clear in more quantitative analysis. Each unit of analysis will be categorised in one of the four groups after a critical reading and applying inductively the definition for each

category developed by Balch and Balabanova (2011). The information collected from this category will surpass the quantitative data, and it will help us elucidate the general tone of the articles concerning migration, extracting the tendency that will be analysed afterwards. The information extracted from this analysis will contribute to answering qualitatively the research question "What frames are journalists using to portray migration?".

2.5.2. Use of known representations

In this set of categories, we will develop an original set of classification by applying a theoretical approach recommended by Entman (2010). This author explained that it is possible to distinguish framing from other communication by its diachronic nature and its cultural resonance (Entman, 2010: 389). In order to succeed, frames "must call to mind congruent elements of schemas that were stored in the past". The notion of a schema is defined by Fiske et al. (1991: 131) as "cognitive structures that represent knowledge about a concept or type of stimulus, including its attributes and the relations among attributes". A schema fits "new perceptions to an existing organization of knowledge" (Entman: 2010: 391). Consequently, it is relevant for this investigation to discover what type of schemas media are using to present sensitive aspects about migration, how often media are using assumed past representations and whether it is explaining this context or presenting new perspectives of the public memory. The following categories are developed originally for this article.

Table 13

Use of known representations	Example from the preliminary research	Explanation
Assuming the past representation/context	“A lo largo de esta mañana han sido localizadas tres embarcaciones, dos de las cuales	In this representation, people arriving in Spain are assumed to be migrants, and

	fueron interceptadas a unas cinco millas al oeste de la isla de Alborán. Una de ellas estaba a la deriva y semihundida y con algunos de sus ocupantes el agua, según Salvamento Marítimo. Dos de las pateras transportaban a un total de 69 personas, 15 de ellas mujeres” (EP114)	the reader is not supposed to question this point. Even though there is not information about the supposed migrants involved in the story, they are not considered to be asylum seekers or refugees. Moreover, the source of information assumes that migrants are often dying during the trip to Spain, which is presented as a historical fact that is not questionable. Therefore, according to the source, it should not generate surprise or repulse to the reader the fact that migrants die at sea. The reader is expected to face these deaths as part of the migratory journey of the assumed migrant. Besides, the context shows migrants as rescued, detained or intercepted. Migrants are presented as a collective that can be objectified, naming them by their mean of transport, assuming that the reader knows already the relation between objects such as “vessel” and

		migration, presenting a context in which migrants are passive agents.
Explaining the assumed past representation/context	““Si acogiéramos a todo el mundo no podríamos hacerlo en buenas condiciones. Hemos decidido acoger a quienes son refugiados de zonas de guerra, a quienes son prisioneros políticos, pero al mismo tiempo intentar una política que permita que las migraciones económicas se gestionen de otra manera”, dijo recientemente el ministro francés del Interior, Gérard Collomb, en una entrevista con la cadena de radio RTL. “Quienes no obtengan el derecho de asilo deben ser expulsados”, añadió. Y reveló que las expulsiones o deportaciones habían aumentado un 14% en los 11 primeros meses de 2017” (EP145)	More context about the migratory experience of the migrant is presented, showing background stories and justifying why the migrant or the refugee is portrayed as such. The assumed representation matches the previous category -migrants as faceless groups, who are rescued and often not welcomed in the receiving countries, who are in general not considered refugees or asylum seekers-, but the journalist or one of the sources explain why they are using this assumed context. The result could lead to reinforce this representation or, given that the reader has more information about the topic, could counterbalance this representation with their previous assumptions of the presumed context, finding

		dissonances that question this depiction.
Confronting a representation with another	“Nada hicieron, pero son los culpables. Donald Trump volvió a mostrar este lunes su rechazo al migrante. Poco después de haber prometido a sus ciudadanos volver a la Luna, el presidente de Estados Unidos tomó en sus manos el terror desatado por el frustrado ataque suicida al metro de Nueva York, lo expandió bien por <i>El País</i> y, a cuenta de que el autor es un migrante con residencia legal, pidió públicamente un endurecimiento de las leyes de extranjería y el fin de la reagrupación familiar, una vía que ha permitido entrar a EEUU a 20 millones de personas desde 1981. La diatriba culminó con la petición de la pena de muerte para los terroristas. Todo en un mismo saco.” (EP110)	Another representation of migration is presented, counterbalancing the assumed representation explained in the previous category, or the assumed representation is questioned as invalid. The journalist might or might not explain the new representation; in any case, the previously assumed representation is shown as only one of the possible historical contexts to represent migration.
Proposing a new representation/context	“En los años cincuenta, América Latina recibía pateras llenas de "inmigrantes ilegales" canarios y otros arriesgados navegantes españoles. (...) Las sociedades de	A new historical representation is presented, counterbalancing the assumed representation. The new representation shows

	nuevos ricos olvidan con facilidad. Una revisión de fotografías de exiliados republicanos españoles huyendo a Francia acercaría a la situación de personas refugiadas del mundo” (EP136)	migrants, refugees and asylum seekers from a positive perspective. It portrays them as individuals, adding information about their context and their origin countries or the current country where they live. It brings closer to the reader the experience of migration, removing the differences between the reader and the migrant and putting them in the same historical context. Migrants and refugees are presented as a positive asset for the economy, contributing to the development of the receiving country.

Each article will be classified in one of the categories after a critical reading. Knowing whether journalists are assuming the past representation when covering migration topics can give us a deep understanding in the way migrants are not only portrayed in the articles, but additionally the common public knowledge of the society. The fact that journalists could, for example, assume that by writing about three dinghies " (LV239), the reader is going to understand, without further clarification, that "dinghies" refer to the migrants or asylum seekers travelling in those boats, is showing how deeply rooted in the public knowledge is the image of a migrant as an object susceptible to get lost at sea because of their mere existence. In any case, the analysis of this category will tell the degree of this assumption and the information will also contribute to answering the following research questions: "What frames are journalists using to portray migration?" and "To what extent, in representing migrants, media make

use of public memory and historical assumptions that include sensitive aspects about migrants?"

2.5.3. Identification of ethical frames in discussions of immigration controls

In this set of categories, it will be identified ethical frames in articles regarding migration controls. For that, we support our coding in the methodology proposed by Balch and Balabanova (2014), expanding their scope with original additions to cover the characteristics of our corpus. We agreed with them in considering that frames are "important in a contested policy field", because they "define problems", "diagnose causes", "make moral judgements", as wells as "suggest remedies", "organise everyday reality" and promote "particular definitions and interpretations of political issues" (Balch & Balabanova 2014: 5). According to them, selecting, emphasising or excluding certain frames can shape "how individuals think about specific issues", making "some values and arguments more accessible at the expense of others" (Balch & Balabanova 2014: 5). Their method is firmly rooted in the theoretical work of another author studied in the previous chapter, Entman (1993).

In the next table, it is shown the criteria to identify the ethical frames in relation to immigration controls. In the explanatory column, it is stated whether the description is developed by Balch and Balabanova (2004) or, in the last two cases, originally created for this investigation.

Table 14

Ethical frames in discussions of immigration controls	Example from the preliminary research	Explanation
1. Welfare chauvinism	“El argumento de que los inmigrantes les quitan el empleo a los trabajadores	"Article employs/repeats arguments justifying the imposition of immigration

	locales y hacen caer sus salarios –sostiene Rowthorn– puede ser exagerado, pero no siempre es falso” (LV103)	controls on the basis of delivering public ‘goods’, e.g. national economic performance or the best possible economic, social and welfare conditions for national citizens" (Balch & Balabanova, 2014: 6)
2. Economic nationalism	“El auténtico reto no son los refugiados, que pasada la ola del 2015 llegan con cuentagotas, sino “los veinte millones potenciales de inmigrantes que tiene África, que son económicos” y para lo que no propone soluciones, lamentan fuentes diplomáticas españolas”” (LV126)	Same description as the previous category: "Article employs/repeats arguments justifying the imposition of immigration controls on the basis of delivering public ‘goods’, e.g. national economic performance or the best possible economic, social and welfare conditions for national citizens" (Balch & Balabanova, 2014: 6)
3. Cultural protectionist	“Pensé que era un símbolo: la escuela Primaria, volver a empezar y una imagen que podría ser noticia en cualquier periódico: el reflejo del gran problema de la sociedad de hoy, la integración” (LV108)	"Ethno-national arguments for immigration controls in order to maintain a ‘national culture’" (Balch & Balabanova, 2014: 6)

4. Public security	“Continúan las pesquisas sobre el atentado que se registró el lunes en Nueva York, con un saldo de cuatro heridos, uno de ellos el presunto terrorista, un inmigrante bangladeshi con simpatías por el extremismo islámico” (LV119)	"[The article] justifies controls on the basis that uncontrolled immigration poses a threat to public order and social stability" (Balch & Balabanova, 2014: 6)
5. Liberal constitutionalist	“Piñera, candidato de la coalición opositora Chile Vamos cree, sin embargo, que “si en algún momento la migración pusiera en riesgo el desarrollo" del país o "le causara daño, por supuesto habría que establecer regulaciones". "Queremos abrir las puertas a lo que le hace bien a Chile. A los que vienen a cumplir nuestras leyes, a trabajar, a colaborar en nuestro desarrollo, a integrarse a nuestra sociedad y, por supuesto, a formar una nueva vida. Pero le vamos a cerrar las puertas a los que vienen a causarnos daño. A los que vienen a traer delincuencia, narcotráfico, bandas	"Demands that immigration policy should take into account how migration is undercutting liberal structures and functioning of the state" (Balch & Balabanova, 2014: 6)

	organizadas y trata de personas” (EP111)	
6. Priority for compatriots	““Aseguraremos nuestra frontera con la construcción de un muro. La inmigración ilegal crea problemas económicos, daña a los trabajadores americanos, presenta riesgos para la seguridad pública y enriquece a los traficantes de personas y otras bandas”, establece la estrategia de seguridad de Trump, presentada el lunes. La estrategia referencia el crimen organizado, la violencia y la corrupción de países de los países del triángulo norte: Guatemala, El Salvador y Honduras” (EP125)	"[The article] highlights special ties or obligations related to the nation-state, e.g. civic practices or historical (national) conflicts/struggles in order to justify controls" (Balch & Balabanova, 2014: 6)
7. Consequentialist	“En el estudio del Banco de España, sin embargo, se usa una simulación más sofisticada para proyectar la migración internacional hasta 2050. Y su principal conclusión es que las grandes economías de la UE, España incluida, serán el principal polo de atracción, con	"[The article] judges immigration rules in utilitarian terms with regards to global welfare" (Balch & Balabanova, 2014: 6)

	el doble de población inmigrante que en 2010. Una entrada que aliviaría los problemas que se vislumbran para el mercado laboral y el sistema de pensiones” (EP106)	
8. Universalist	“Guillier, candidato de la Nueva Mayoría, la coalición de Gobierno de la todavía presidenta Michelle Bachelet, se mostró, por el contrario, a favor de una postura abierta hacia la inmigración. “Conviene ser empático. Por cada chileno que sale a estudiar o a trabajar entra un extranjero”, señaló el senador socialdemócrata” (EP111)	"Putting forward arguments based on universalist conceptions of human rights to evaluate or judge immigration controls" (Balch & Balabanova, 2014: 6)
9. Multiculturalist	““No puedo pasar por alto esta noche que una chica inmigrante rinde tributo a otra”, subrayó la artista Rita Moreno en un segmento grabado en la previa a la fiesta que tuvo lugar el sábado en el Departamento de Estado. “Este es el sueño americano y Gloria y yo estamos viviendo cada minuto	"Justification of continued immigration on the basis that it produces positive cultural benefits including post-national forms of identity formation" (Balch & Balabanova, 2014: 6)

	de ese sueño”, remarcó” (LV108)	
10. Identity differentiation	“Albiol no ofreció una respuesta a los que residen en estos barrios congestionados. Seguramente ignora que las políticas liberales del PP favorecen la lógica migratoria. Pero ofreció un culpable: señalando a los inmigrantes, satisfacía el resentimiento de los que no han tenido más remedio que acogerlos en sus barrios. De manera similar enfoca la cuestión identitaria: culpabilizando a los catalanistas de los males del país, intenta halagar a los catalanes metropolitanos que ignoran a Pompeu Fabra” (LV127)	"Arguments that treat immigration controls with the political purpose of differentiating one party from the antagonist opponent" (Original contribution)
11. Migrant controls are not discussed	“Alumnos de ESO del IES 'Enrique Nieto' ofrecen un concierto solidario a inmigrantes del CETI de Melilla. Alumnos de primero y segundo curso de la Educación Secundaria Obligatoria (ESO) del Instituto 'Enrique Nieto' de Melilla han ofrecido en el salón de actos del Centro de Estancia	"The article does not cover topics related to migration controls, either explicitly or implicitly" (Original contribution)

	Temporal de Inmigrantes (CETI) un emotivo concierto navideño para los numerosos niños que en estos días acoge dicho centro” (LV143)	

Each article will be situated under the preponderant frames by applying critical reading, which will resolve ambiguous frames. This method is especially relevant in those cases when the argument is implicit in the article, and immigration controls are not directly referred to in the text, but they can be inductively extracted from the story. In the examples of the table 14, it is shown only an extract of the article. In order to clearly identify the ethical frame, it is necessary to read the whole article referenced. The frames shown in the text can be multiple if the journalist gives space to different and juxtaposed sources. For that reason, more than one frame can be recorded in this category.

Two categories which were not part of the tools developed by Balch and Balabanova (2014) have been originally added after completing the preliminary test. They were found to be necessary in order to cover the specific characteristics of the corpus, which includes newspapers with different political inclinations, as in the case of the category regarding “identity differentiation”. In relation to the category “migrant controls are not discussed”, it was included to cover those articles in which there could not be found arguments related to immigration controls.

The following research question will be attended with the analysis of the information extracted from this set of categories: "Are journalists reproducing arguments from politicians who are trying to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration?".

2.5.4. Identification of topic frames in discussions about migrants

In this case, all the categories shown are an original contribution of the investigation. They were developed during the critical reading analysis of the preliminary

test. The focus will be the topic frame. Frames try to be simpler than the reality, since "simplifying a complex issue is attractive for certain actors as it can provide a (false) illusion of explanation and control" (Balch & Balabanova: 2011, 901). This practice can have adverse effects as "it leads to the construction of a system that is poorly designed, rigid or vulnerable to collapse" (Balch & Balabanova: 2011, 901). We want to study whether the simplification in the media is constant and tends to acknowledge the diverse reality of migrants by reducing them to a simplistic abstract concept. Whether this practice is done because of careless journalistic practices, or because of an agenda behind the articles, the result would be the same: readers are not getting the full image of a complex reality. Moreover, as explained by Chong and Druckman (2007), framing effects can have a significant impact, since "(often small) changes in the presentation of an issue or an event produce (sometimes large) changes of opinion" (Chong & Druckman 2007: 104). Below it is presented the set of categories developed for the coding, with the definition for each item and an example extracted from the preliminary research.

Table 15

Identification of topic frames in discussions about migrants	Example from the preliminary research.	Explanation
1. Migrants as a source of conflict	“La avalancha de pateras que se lanzaron al mar de Alborán y llegaron al puerto de Cartagena, hace ahora algo más de un mes, desbordó al Gobierno, que no contaba con tal circunstancia en un momento en el que todos los centros de la península están	Discussions including framing of migrants as criminals, terrorists or overcrowding the social services of the receiving country.

	allímite de su capacidad” (LV137)	
2. Treatment of migrants as a way to differentiate from another actor	“La llamada “refundación” también responde a una estrategia que domina la presidencia de Macron: abordar de raíz los temas que preocupan a los votantes del FN para evitar su ascenso. Y ningún tema está tan ligado a los éxitos de este partido extremista, desde los años setenta, como la inmigración” (EP145)	Migration is used with a political purpose: the way migrants are treated -or mistreated- is an element to define a party against other political actors.
3. Migrants as a collective that should hold rights	“El espectáculo fue un homenaje a los inmigrantes que llegaron a Barcelona durante la dictadura y a las luchas sociales por dignificar las condiciones de vida en el barrio” (LV130)	Migrants are represented as a collective that deserves to hold at least fundamental human rights, and demonstrating for this purpose is a crucial element of this argument.
4. Migrants associated with development	“En el estudio del Banco de España, sin embargo, se usa una simulación más sofisticada para proyectar la migración internacional hasta 2050. Y su principal conclusión es que las grandes economías de la UE,	Migrants are shown as a beneficial asset for the development of the economy or as contributing positively to the culture of the receiving country,

	España incluida, serán el principal polo de atracción, con el doble de población inmigrante que en 2010. Una entrada que aliviaría los problemas que se vislumbran para el mercado laboral y el sistema de pensiones” (EP106)	including writers, directors, actors, among others.
5. Migrants need to be protected	“Rescatados en aguas de Melilla 21 inmigrantes obligados a saltar al mar. Dos hombres están ingresados en la UCI tras haber sufrido paradas cardiorrespiratorias” (EP126)	Migrants are presented as being in danger and they need to be protected from mafias, rescued from the sea and shielded from risky situations.
6. Migrants mistreated	“Hasta ahora Trump ha dicho mucho y hecho poco. Ciertamente les ha fastidiado la vida a los inmigrantes ilegales, a los dreamers y a los que aspiraban a establecerse legalmente en Estados Unidos o reunificarse con los familiares que ya están allí” (EP124)	Situations in which migrants are abused, harmed and ill-treated are shown.
7. Migrants are different from natives	“En Cataluña hay dos grupos antagónicos separados por el origen de su familia y el deseo de independizarse. En un extremo	The article includes discussions about cultural, social or economic differences between

	están el 37% de catalanes hijos de catalanes e independentistas. En el otro hay un 37% de catalanes que son inmigrantes, o hijos de inmigrantes, y no quieren la independencia. A esos dos grupos los separan diferencias económicas. Los catalanes de origen inmigrante y no independentistas son más pobres y es más probable que estén desempleados, que no hayan estudiado y que se consideren clase baja” (EP116)	migrants and natives from the receiving region.
8. Migrants are not welcome in receiving countries	“"Queremos abrir las puertas a lo que le hace bien a Chile. A los que vienen a cumplir nuestras leyes, a trabajar, a colaborar en nuestro desarrollo, a integrarse a nuestra sociedad y, por supuesto, a formar una nueva vida. Pero le vamos a cerrar las puertas a los que vienen a causarnos daño. A los que vienen a traer delincuencia, narcotráfico, bandas organizadas y trata de personas"" (EP111)	The article includes narratives with negative portrayals of migrants as a collective who is not welcome in the receiving area.
9. Migrants as a collective that needs	“Acoger, proteger, promover e integrar. Con estas cuatro acciones el papa Francisco	Arguments supporting actions that promote the

to be taken into account	propone en su mensaje para la Jornada Mundial de la Paz un programa de acción social destinado a nuestras sociedades ante los emigrantes y refugiados” (LV144)	improvement of migrants' lives are included in the text.
10. Migrants as a flow of people entering in the receiving country challenging to handle	“La corriente migratoria que comenzó en Canarias hace 25 años se trasladó luego al estrecho de Gibraltar y ahora se desplaza hacia las costas más orientales. Y ahí entran en juego Murcia, Alicante, Valencia y las Baleares” (LV138)	In the article, migrants are compared with natural forces such as “waves”, “streams” or “massive movements” of people, who are difficult to handle by the authorities of the receiving or transit countries.
11. Migrants as collective associated with poverty	“España ocupa el séptimo país de la UE en tasa de riesgo de pobreza para sus propios nacionales (18,4%), el cuarto en tasa de pobreza de extranjeros europeos (30,6%) y el tercero en pobreza de población extranjera no comunitaria (51,7%), situación que afecta también a los menores de 17 años: los hijos de españoles tienen un riesgo de pobreza del 24,5%, situación que afecta al 57,5% de los hijos de inmigrantes” (LV133)	In the article, migrants are considered as a collective in need of basic resources.

12. Migrants profiting from receiving countries	“Venga a vivir a Canadá, pero no vaya mucho al médico. Las personas que solicitan la residencia permanente canadiense deben probar que no causarán gastos excesivos en servicios sociales o sanitarios” (EP122)	Arguments assuming that migrants might over-use social benefits are presented.
13. Migrants as agents of their discourse	““Los medios dan una visión muy simplista de la comunidad asiática”, añade la periodista Susana Ye. [...] La ilustradora Quan es más optimista: “No somos tan diferentes. Da igual de donde seas, si eres buena persona, lo esencial y lo bueno está ahí”. Susana Ye añade: “Es hora de que nos dejen de ver como a una masa uniforme y nos empiecen a ver como individuos”” (EP135)	Migrants are shown as direct producers of their claims or they are given space to counterbalance arguments from another actor.
14. Migrants are not beneficial for the economy	“Sin embargo, un estudio reciente del economista de la Universidad de Cambridge Robert Rowthorn ha demostrado que este argumento está lleno de agujeros. [...] “El argumento de que los inmigrantes les quitan el	Positions explaining that migrants are not beneficial for the economy of the receiving country are included.

	empleo a los trabajadores locales y hacen caer sus salarios – sostiene Rowthorn– puede ser exagerado, pero no siempre es falso”” (LV103)	
15. Migrants as a burden for the receiving country	“El candidato conservador llama a "establecer regulaciones" si la llegada de migrantes "pusiera en riesgo el desarrollo del país”” (EP111)	There are arguments portraying migrants as a weight that is slowing the development of the receiving or transit country.
16. National emigrants associated with development	“Así es ‘Most Beautiful Island’, la película ‘indie’ española que arrasa en EE UU. Estrenamos el tráiler del 'thriller' escrito, protagonizado y dirigido por Ana Asensio, candidato a los premios Independent Spirit y ganador del festival SXSW de Austin” (EP128)	Emigrants from the same country as the newspaper are considered valuable when living in another country, producing successful stories.
17. Migrants suffering during a time in custody or during interceptions	“Uno de los inmigrantes internados en la cárcel de Archidona, acondicionada como improvisado Centro de Internamiento de Extranjeros (CIE) desde el pasado 20 de noviembre, ha sido hallado muerto en su celda en la mañana de este viernes. Los primeros	Arguments about migrants who are put in risk during detention periods or rescue and interception operations are included.

	indicios apuntan a que se trataría de un suicidio y que el hombre, de 36 años, podría haberse ahorcado en el habitáculo individual en el que dormía” (EP138)	

These topic frames have been created inductively after critically reading 102 articles of the preliminary test. The seventeen frames were found repeatedly throughout the corpus. They were defined in order to continue applying them to the rest of the investigation. Every unit of analysis will be assigned at least one topic frame. One article can have more than one frame, since the journalist might give space for more than one argument in the story. The topic frames can be clearly found in the text or, by contrast, they can be subtly presented. That is why a machine will not be able to undertake this task, and it is necessary to include a human who, inductively, can extract the topic frames from the text.

The information collected from this set of categories will continue contributing to the answer of the following research questions: "What frames are journalists using to portray migration?" and "Are journalists reproducing arguments from politicians who are trying to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration?"

2.5.5. Evaluative character of the main event

In this holistic category, it will be established the evaluative character of the main event treated in the unit of analysis. For the preliminary research, it was used the set of tools previously developed by Igartua, Muñiz and Cheng (2005), who adopted an "inductive perspective" to "identify and extract the different types of news frameworks on immigration in a sample of national newspapers with general information in Spain, using content analysis as a research collection technique" (Igartua, Muñiz & Cheng 2005: 150). However, in our case, the evaluation is complemented with critical reading. We propose a general classification in attendance to the evaluation of the main topic reported in the article, as seen in the table below.

Table 16

Evaluative character of the main event	Example from the preliminary research	Explanation
1. Negative	“Un estudio reciente del economista de la Universidad de Cambridge Robert Rowthorn ha demostrado que este argumento está lleno de agujeros. [...] “El argumento de que los inmigrantes les quitan el empleo a los trabajadores locales y hacen caer sus salarios –sostiene Rowthorn– puede ser exagerado, pero no siempre es falso”” (LV103)	The main event covered in the article has a negative connotation about migrants. These articles cover news related to terrorism, attempts to irregularly enter in the receiving country, overflowing of the social system of the receiving country, threats about the destabilization of the status quo, blames on worsening the economic stability, harmful events or other similar actions related to migration.
2. Positive	“Marlaska sobre regularización del héroe de incendio: la Ley prevé excepciones. El ministro del Interior en funciones, Fernando Grande-Marlaska, ha afirmado, en relación al senegalés que el pasado viernes	The main event covered in the article contributes to show migration as a contributor actor in the society of the receiving country, as a factor for

	rescató a un hombre con movilidad reducida en un incendio en Denia (Alicante), que la Ley prevé "criterios excepcionales" en el proceso de regularización de inmigrantes" (LV211)	improving the economy, enriching the culture, helping nationals in need, acting heroically in a dangerous situation or other similar actions.
3. Neutral	“Un 11% de los estadounidenses con ascendencia hispana niegan sus raíces latinas. Los matrimonios mixtos y una ralentización de la migración han reducido la identidad hispana en Estados Unidos, según un estudio de Pew Research Center” (EP132)	The main event does not contribute to worsen or improve the image of migration, including an aseptic description of an event about migration.

Each unit of analysis will be classified under to one of the categories, matching the requirements expressed in the table above. In those cases when two opposite arguments are expressed in the same article, the frame will be considered neutral, because it is not leaning towards only one evaluation. The information collected from the analysis will provide an extensive result that will be required to be complemented with data from other categories to be put into context. With that, it will contribute to answering the research questions "What frames are journalists using to portray migration?".

2.5.6. Tags used to frame the article

In this category, it will be recorded the tags used by the journalist or editor of the article to classify the information. Tags usually appear at the beginning or at the end of the article, in a differentiated area. Tags are used to categorise the articles and classify them by both broad and specific topics. They also are used to improve the visibility of topics for search engines, such as Google. We consider tags as one of the most essentials

and basics ways to frame an article. As such, they will provide information concerning journalistic practices about the classification of articles regarding migration. For instance, the tags used for the unit of analysis ABC209 include the following words: Sucesos, Senegal, Inmigración, Inmigración ilegal, Inmigración en España, Delegaciones del gobierno, Gandía, Valencia (Provincia), Alicante (Provincia), España (País), Superman.

The analysed data about what are the tags used to frame and classify articles about migration will contribute to answering the following research questions: "How migrants are portrayed in the media in a receiving country, in this case, Spain?", "What frames are journalists using to portray migration?" and "To what extent, in representing migrants, media make use of public memory and historical assumptions that include sensitive aspects about migrants?"

2.6. Methodological approach for the qualitative analysis

In the last section of the chapter, it will be presented the set of tools that will be used to analyse qualitatively the corpus of research, linking the quantitative data extracted from the codification thanks to the tools presented in the previous section, with the analysis of the discourse that will be undertaken with the tools presented now. These tools will be applied in a comprehensive way, looking for them in the body of the text, but they will not be quantified, since the objective is to understand the nuances and subtle references which were not able to be registered using the tools presented in the previous section.

First, it will be presented strategies from the discourse-historical approach that will be look into in the articles, shown with a description of the objective of the specific strategies, the devices used to establish these strategies and an example extracted from the corpus. Second, the issues from textual analysis that will be searched in the text will be described, including a description of the issues and related examples of the text in which these issues can be found. In the last part of the section, the specific strategies and issues from discourse-historical approach and textual analysis will be linked to the research questions of the investigation, in order to justify their practical used in the analysis.

2.6.1. The search for strategies from the discourse-historical approach and issues from the textual analysis

For the purpose of identifying strategies of the discourse-historical approach, it has been studied the work of authors such as Reisigl and Wodak (2009), as seen in the previous chapter. In particular, during the fourth chapter of this work, the one dealing with discourse analysis, the corpus will be analysed in order to discover particular devices that are only possible to be identified by a human eye after interpretation of the text. The following table shows the relation between strategies, objectives and devices which will be attended during this qualitative analysis. It is also shown an extract from the corpus of the study in which these particular strategies can be found, in order to clarify how the analysis will be applied.

Table 17

Strategy	Objective	Device	Example from the corpus
Strategy of nomination	Constructing a discourse of social actors, objects, events, processes and actions (adapted from Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 95)	Use of tropes such a metonymy and synecdoche (adapted from Reisigl and Wodak, 2009: 95)	“Salvamento Marítimo ha auxiliado a tres pateras , a bordo de una viajaban ocho menores ” (EP109). The noun “pateras” is used as a metonymy and “menores” as a synecdoche.
Strategy of predication	Constructing a discourse of social actors, objects,	Use of stereotypes, attribution of negative or	“Si los centros se desbordan esos centros se convierten

	events, processes and actions (adapted from Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 95)	positive traits, explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures, including metonymies, hyperboles, euphemisms (adapted from Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 95)	en un foco y un problema para todos los menores, para los que tienen peores conductas pero también para los que no tienen ninguna maldad” (ABC205). The action of “desbordar” is a hyperbole with negative connotations, “foco de problemas” can also be interpreted as a rethorical figure with negative traits.
Strategy of perspectivization	Positioning the writer’s point of view to express involvement or distance from the source and/or the information (adapted from Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 95)	Use of deictics, direct, indirect or free indirect speech and quotation marks (adapted from Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 95)	“A los que el Consistorio ha recalcado que Pozo Alcón “no es ningún municipio de acogida, ni lo ha sido nunca” ” (ABC214). The author uses quotation marks to directly quote politicians, and it leaves out comments from migrants who are also part of the story.

Strategy of intensification or mitigation	Modifying, by intensifying or mitigating, the subject and therefore changing their status (adapted from Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 95)	Use of diminutives or augmentatives particles, hyperboles, litotes, indirect speech acts, tag questions, vague expressions, in which points of view and claims are not clearly attributed to voices (adapted from Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 95)	“Aunque todos los países comunitarios cerrasen sus fronteras, la población musulmana seguiría creciendo a un ritmo elevado en la Unión Europea. Pero en el escenario de que no lo hicieran y 14,0% continuase el intenso flujo de refugiados que han llamado a la puerta de Europa en los últimos dos años, los musulmanes en toda la UE aumentarían del 4,9% del total de la población en el 2016 al 14% en el 2050. Se triplicarían” (LV101). The article includes hyperboles such as “intenso flujo de refugiados”, which is also a vague expression.

The qualitative analysis also uses tools developed by authors such as Fairclough, particularly looking at issues in textual analysis, already explained above. The following

table shows the specific issues which will be searched in the corpus and an example extracted from this corpus related to the issue of study.

Table 18

Issue	Description	Example from the corpus
Issue of social events	The text is part of a chain or network of texts (adapted from Fairclough, 2003: 191- 193)	Three articles published by <i>El País</i> during December 2017 about the suicide of a migrant in custody in Spain (EP113, EP138, EP143).
Issue of difference	In the text there is an openness, acceptance, recognition of difference or there is an accentuation of difference, conflict, polemic, and struggle (adapted from Fairclough, 2003: 191- 193)	Title: “Una fuente de conflictos”. Opening of the text, “Protestas, motines, expulsiones, investigaciones judiciales...” (the three dots are included in the original). Pretitle: “Problemas y protestas por el internamiento de 500 simpapeles en la cárcel de Archidona” (LV137)
Issue of intertextuality	There are relevant voices excluded and others included. There is attribution to source or the attribution is missing.	“Bajo el paso elevado, en la calle de Bailén, varias gitanas rumanas han montado su «dormitorio». Son otro perfil” (ABC105). Comments from the

	Sources might be directly reported, quoted or indirectly reported (adapted from Fairclough, 2003: 191- 193)	mentioned subjects (“gitanas rumanas”) are excluded from the article.
Issue of assumptions	There are ideological, existential, propositional or evaluative assumptions in the text (adapted from Fairclough, 2003: 191- 193)	“Los primeros indicios apuntan a que puede ser un inmigrante magrebí o subsahariano” (ABC225). The finding of a floating body of a man is interpreted as he being a migrant and not being European.
Issue of speech functions	There are metaphorical relations between exchanges in the text (adapted from Fairclough, 2003: 191- 193)	“Las cuatro mayores economías europeas continentales (Alemania, España, Francia e Italia) ‘acapararían el mayor flujo de inmigrantes entre los países desarrollados’” (EP106). The autor of the article references migration as a flow, quoting the National Bank of Spain
Issue of discourses	There are sematic relations between words, collocations, metaphors	Title: “Informe sobre la inmigración en Catalunya”. Beginning of the article: “Los

	and/or assumptions (adapted from Fairclough, 2003: 191- 193)	musulmanes catalanes son más que una comunidad, muchas comunidades diversas, un grupo heterogéneo, unido por otros factores al margen de la religión, pero todavía tienen pocas voces en el mundo de la política” (LV127). The title assumes that Muslims from Catalonia are migrants. There is a correlated word changing the meaning of the main noun in “musulmanes catalanes”.
Issue of representation	There are elements included and others excluded. Among those included, some are more salient. Some characteristics are represented abstractly and others concretely. There are metaphorical representations. Social actors are represented in an active or passive way, personal or impersonal way, named or classified, specific or generic way.	“El Servicio Marítimo Provincial de la Guardia Civil ha interceptado esta embarcación de cinco metros de eslora con diez hombres a bordo que han sido puestos a disposición de la Policía Nacional” (LV240). Migrants are represented in a passive way, carried by a boat, which has the active role of the action.

During the analysis of the discourse implemented into the corpus, these strategies and issues will be searched by looking into the devices described in these two tables. Some of the issues and strategies can be complementary. The focus of the analysis will be paid into highlighting these issues and strategies by providing examples of the corpus in which they can be found in a comprehensive way. The ultimate purpose is to use this information to answer the research questions, as it will be explained in the next subsection.

2.6.2. The relation of discourse-historical approach and textual analysis with the research questions of the investigation

In the first segment of the qualitative chapter, it will be studied the portrayal of migrants by answering the main research question of "how migrants are portrayed in the media in a receiving country, in this case, Spain?". Issues of textual analysis, as semantic relations between words, with an emphasis in analyzing the metaphorical ways to refer to migrants, and the representation of the main actor of the investigation, migrants, will be taken into account, following the work of Fairclough (2003). Regarding the Discourse-Historical Approach, it will be analyzed the discursive strategies of nomination, by looking into "tropes such as metaphors, metonymies and synecdoches", as well as strategies of intensification and mitigation, such as "tag questions" and "vague expressions" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 95).

To implement the qualitative analysis of this first part, it will be taken into account the results shown in the quantitative analysis, starting by looking into the words used to refer to migrants, whether there is a mention about their origin, the number of migrants to whom the information is related, the presence or absence of the name of the migrants, the information shown in the picture and the relevant tags selected to categorize the information. This data will be put into context by analyzing specific articles of the corpus, applying the strategies of textual analysis and discourse-historical approach already described. In any case, the main research question will not be fully answered in this first block, and it will need the support of the secondary research questions in order to have a wider understanding of the representation of migrants in the newspapers analyzed, which will be studied in the following segments.

The second segment of the chapter will take as a reference the research question "to what extent, in representing migrants, media make use of public memories and historical assumptions that include sensitive aspects about migrants?". To expand the understanding of the quantitative results, there will be applied a qualitative evaluation by using tools of textual analysis, specifically the existence of assumptions and features characterizing discourses, as applied in Fairclough (2003). This segment will take deeply into consideration strategies developed by the discourse-historical approach, especially the strategy of predication and, from textual analysis, the issues of assumption and difference. The described issues will be searched in the data extracted from qualitatively analysing selected articles of the corpus, looking for the use of known representations, complementing them with the metaphorical ways to name migrants, both in the text and in the tags of the articles, as well as examining whether the pictures illustrating the text are using assumptions.

The third segment of the qualitative chapter will look into the use of frames to portray migration, in order to add a qualitative element to the answer of the secondary research question, "what frames are journalists using to portray migration?". We will pay attention to issues of textual analysis and discourse-historical approach. Regarding textual analysis, we will search for the issue of difference, particularly the acceptance or rejection of difference, as well as the possible accentuation of topics such as conflict, solidarity, consensus or the "attempt to resolve or overcome difference" (Fairclough, 2003: 192). The strategies from discourse-historical approach that will be taken into consideration in this segment will be predication, which is used by publishing "stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits" and making "explicit comparisons, similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures" by including "metonymies, hyperboles, litotes, euphemisms" and "presuppositions" or "implicatures" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 95). In order to study these issues, it will be implemented a qualitative analysis of the quantitative data extracted from categorizing the main topic related to migration of the articles, together with the domain of the Cynefin framework of the information, the identification of ethical frames in discussions of immigration controls, the identification of topic frames in discussions about migrants and the evaluative character of the main event of the articles. As done in the other segments, the information will be put into

context by qualitatively analyzing selected articles of each newspaper related to the figures of study.

The fourth segment will close the section by working with the last auxiliary questions: “are journalists prioritising some sources over others?”, “are migrants a source in the information about themselves?” and “are journalists reproducing arguments from politicians who are trying to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration?”. Again, the quantitative information will be put into context in this segment by applying features of textual analysis, in particular the intertextuality of voices, analyzing which ones are included, if there is an attribution and, if so, if this attribution is direct or indirect, in addition to the discourses produced by each of the voices, as seen in Fairclough (2003: 192). Likewise, this last segment will take into account tools developed by Discourse-Historical Approach, studying the strategy of perspectivization, framing and discourse representation, which shows the position of the authors of the article and their involvement or distance from the information, by looking into “direct, indirect or free indirect speech”, plus other elements such as quotation marks (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009: 95). In order to study these issues, it will be qualitatively analysed a selection of articles, examining from whom the information originates, the mention or absence of the name of the sources, the type of information produced by each source, the position of the contribution of the sources in relation to their relevance and, in order to unveil the role of politicians, it will be taken into account the identification of ethical frames in discussions of immigration controls, in particular the ethical frame of identity differentiation, and the identification of topic frames in discussions about migrants, principally the topic frame of contrasting the treatment of migrants to other actors.

With that, it has been explained the four segments that will form each of the sections of the fourth chapter. It is relevant to mention that the chapter will contain six sections, because the study will be replicated for each of the three newspapers, in each of the two periods of the investigation. As such, there will be a section for *ABC* in the period of December 2017 and another section for *ABC* in the period of December 2019, as well as sections for *El País* and *La Vanguardia* for the same two periods. All the six sections will contain the same structure of analysis. This organization will facilitate it the comparison between periods and newspapers in a broad context of social events, following also the work of Fairclough (2003). In particular, the main social event that

characterized the first period of study are the regional elections of Catalonia, which characteristics have been already explained in the first section of this chapter. By comparing the two periods, it could be noticed whether there are differences in the representation of migrants during a time of political elections in comparison to a period without them.

2.7. Methodological limits of the research

The first limitation shown already in the body of the chapter is that, by choosing to start the automatic search using the word 'inmigrante', there is a possibility to reinforced stereotypes about migration, since only those articles containing this word are taken into account, and not those in which the word 'foreigner' or simply a name is used to identify the person. Nevertheless, the results are considered to be valid, in as much they are applied to those articles dealing directly with migration.

The second limitation is the methodological presence of using manual content analysis and discourse analysis instead of search-engine analysis. The election of the manual content analysis and discourse analysis was already explained at the beginning of this chapter: the human eye is able to discover nuances that machines are not capable to understand. However, this also means that the internal set of ideas and subjective preconceptions inherited to the human condition are present throughout the investigation.

The third limitation is the time available for the research. Given that the majority of tools and categories applied to collect and analyse data on this investigation are new and created on purpose for this research, the time let to apply the analysis and evaluate the data collected is limited. It will need further investigation in the future in order to take advantage of all the information collected. In this line, it would be relevant to collect data from journalists and other agents dealing with the creation of information related to migration, a situation that it was not possible to fulfil during this investigation because of lack of time, as well as implementing a comparison between articles dealing with immigration with articles reporting about Spaniards working abroad.

The fourth limitation is related to the previous ones: since only one researcher is doing mostly non-machine assisted analysis, the research has to be limited to the study of

three newspapers during a limited period. The inclusion of other newspapers, and the expansion of the time of the study, would give even more data to analyse, and that would probably benefit the results. The research would also benefit profoundly from the inclusion of other media, such as television and radio, which were not possible to include given time constrictions. However, it is considered that the conclusions extracted from the analysis are relevant enough to make an impact in the field.

The fifth limitation continues the one shown above: the election of only one country to collect information limits the scope of the research. It would be highly relevant to compare the data analysed from this investigation with the one collected from the analysis of newspapers from other countries. For instance, since Romanians are one of the most populated group of foreigners living in Spain (INE: 2018), it would be pertinent to expand the methodology of this investigation to an analysis of the Romanian media concerning how they represent migration.

Now that the methodological tools are set and explained, the next phase of the research will be to implement these tools by coding and then analysing the information extracted from the field research. The results of the deployment of the codebook are shown in the next two chapters of the research.

Second part: the case study of *ABC*, *El País* and *La Vanguardia*

3. Media representation of migration. Thematic and knowledge patterns

3.1. Structure and objective of the chapter

The present chapter introduces the quantitative data extracted from the codification of the corpus, obtained by applying the previously described tools of the codebook, into the articles published in December 2017 and December 2019, including the selected keyword in *ABC*, *El País* and *La Vanguardia*. The results presented in this chapter will be purely quantitative, leaving for the last chapter the qualitative analysis of the information. At first sight, the quantitative findings of this chapter might look cold and dreary. This is my intention since the objective for this chapter is not to enter into judgments but to show objective results. The fourth chapter will undertake the task of interpretation. The chapter will present and analyse the quantitative results in three main sections. The first one focuses on the informative treatment of migrants and how they are presented in the articles. It starts by quantifying the words each of the sources used to refer to migrants, establishing the percentage of preferences when naming this collective and what type of terms are associated with migration. The section continues by showing the type of migration emphasised by each newspaper and whether it is mentioned the origin of migrants and, if so, registering the stated origin. Next, it will be shown the findings of the number of migrants to whom the information is related, published by each newspaper in each period. The section continues by determining whether and in what proportion the name of the migrants is quoted in the article. The section finishes by showing the main focus of the picture used to illustrate the story, in those cases when was included an image.

In the second section of the chapter, the focus is set on the sources, registering what type of role they play in the articles. It starts by presenting the from whom the information originates, continuing by registering whether the author of the articles is

reported as being an identified journalist, a news agency or, by contrast, the article was signed only with initials or directly it was unsigned. The section then shows whether the name of each source is mentioned in the story. Afterwards, it is displayed the type of information produced by each of the sources. The segment ends by determining the position of the contribution of the source concerning its relevance. The last section gathers up information about the topic and frames used in the articles analysed. This section starts showing the main topic related to migration published in each of the articles. After that, there is a classification of the articles in relation to the domain of the Cynefin framework of the information. The section then presents whether newspapers use known representations about migration in their stories. Later, it identifies the ethical frames in discussions of immigration controls and the topic frames in discussions about migrants. The last point studies the evaluative character of the main event of the articles.

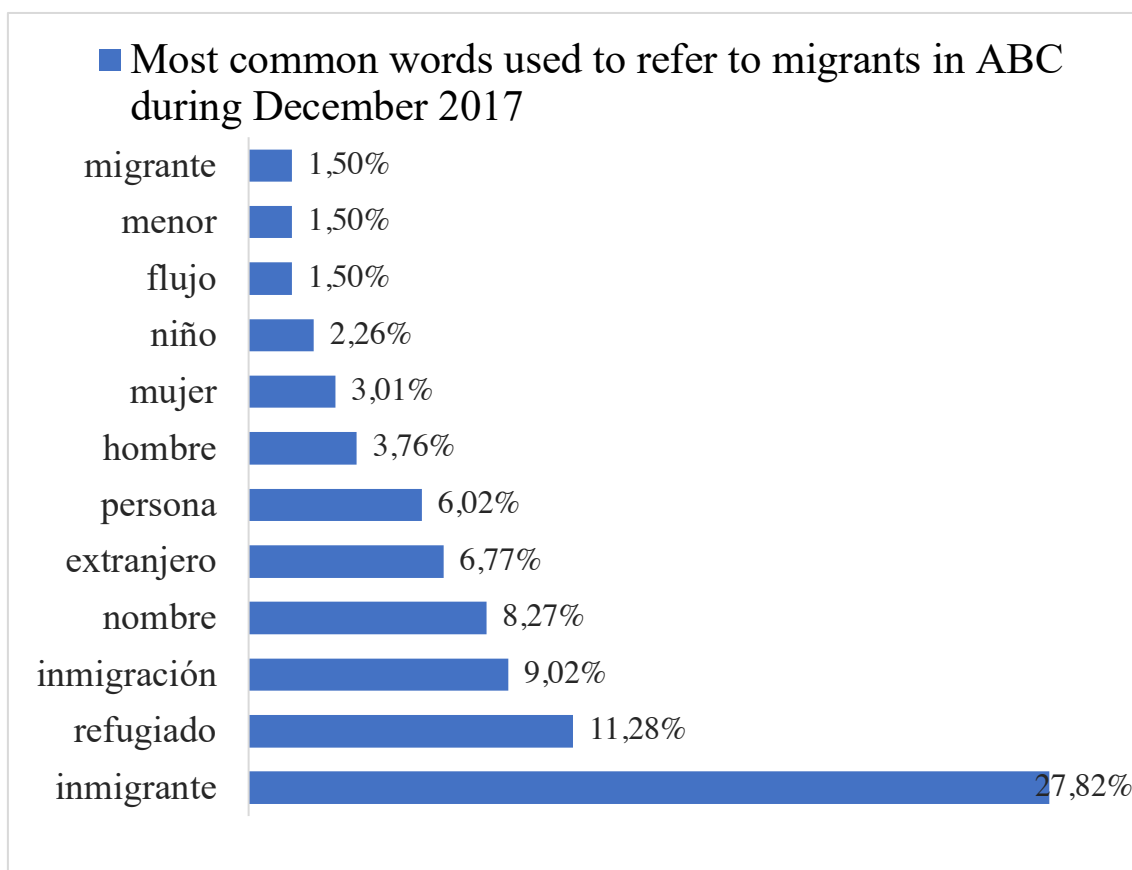
All the results are organised in specific tables by newspaper and period of study. The percentage data are established for each journal and period. The objective is to present it to make it possible for other researchers to compare by themselves if necessary. For that, each subsection includes an explanation about the type of data shown in the subsequent table and a brief description of the methodology already explained in detail in the previous chapter. The periods of study, December 2017 and December 2019, are often referred to as 2017 and 2019, which in every case means the month of December for both years. It is relevant to insist on the quantitative perspective of the results shown in this chapter, which at times they might seem monotonous if we do not keep in mind that behind each number, there is a human being. As it was described previously, the quantitative data will not give a complete and comprehensive result about how the Spanish media represent migration unless this information is not complemented with a qualitative analysis. That is why the fourth chapter will fill the gaps by adding a qualitative examination about the content and the discourses of the information, showing and analysing relevant articles from which the quantitative data has been extracted. Before that, the present chapter will present the cold but necessary quantitative data that will be essential to answering the research questions.

3.2. Information about migrants

3.2.1. Words used to name migrants

This subsection is one of the most extensive classifications of the present work. In this case, we will pay attention to those words and group of words used to refer to migrants. Given space restraints, the focus is put on the aggregated list of most common words used to refer to migration. At the end of the subsection, a comparison among the most frequent words of each newspaper and periods will be shown, highlighting the main quantitative findings. Data extracted from this subsection will contribute to answering the research questions of how migrants are portrayed in the media in a receiving country, in this case, Spain, and to what extent, in representing migrants, media make use of public memories and historical assumptions that include sensitive aspects about migrants. The first table of this subsection shows a list with the ten most common terms used to refer to migrants by *ABC* during December 2017. It is also marked the percentage of times the particular words are used in relation to the total amount of ways used to refer to migrants in this newspaper and this period. The words used to name migration are presented in the original version, Spanish. The translation in English of the terms presented in this subsection is included in the Annex 4, page 499.

Table 19



The words presented in this subsection are used in singular or plural, as well as referring to a masculine or a feminine subject. When not stated differently, this norm applies also to all the tables shown in this chapter. To present the result more clearly, terms are shown in the singular masculine form in Spanish. The plural or the feminine form have been listed when they offer relevant information. For the extensive and precise terms found in the corpus, see the database accessible through the link in annex 3.

As we can see, the most common word used in *ABC* during December 2017 to refer to migrants is, unsurprisingly, “inmigrante”. This type of reference is used in more than a quarter of the mentions about migrants. The second most common reference is the term “refugiado”, even though the topic of the articles is migration. Some remarkable terms of this list, such as “flujo” and “menor”, will be studied in the next qualitative chapter.

Continuing with the analyses, these particular words are often associated with other terms. For instance, “inmigración” frequently appears as “inmigración legal”. Correlated words add meaning to the main term and provide a deeper understanding of how migrants are portrayed by media. They appear close to the main word referring to the migrant. Information about correlated words is recorded in the following table, accompanied by the percentage of times the particular combination of words is used in relation to the main term. The main term could have been used without relation to other words; in that case, the term is presented as “without correlated words”. This is the norm for all the tables of the chapter. Another rule that will apply to all the tables is that, in those cases when the noun is published without any correlated word, it is recorded as “without correlated word”. In the example shown below, the reference to the noun “inmigrante” is written alone, without any correlated word altering its meaning, in 64,86 percent of the cases when this word is used. Given the space restrictions, this subsection will show the correlation among the most common words; the complete list of the correlated words is registered in the database accessible through the link inserted in the annex 3.

Table 20

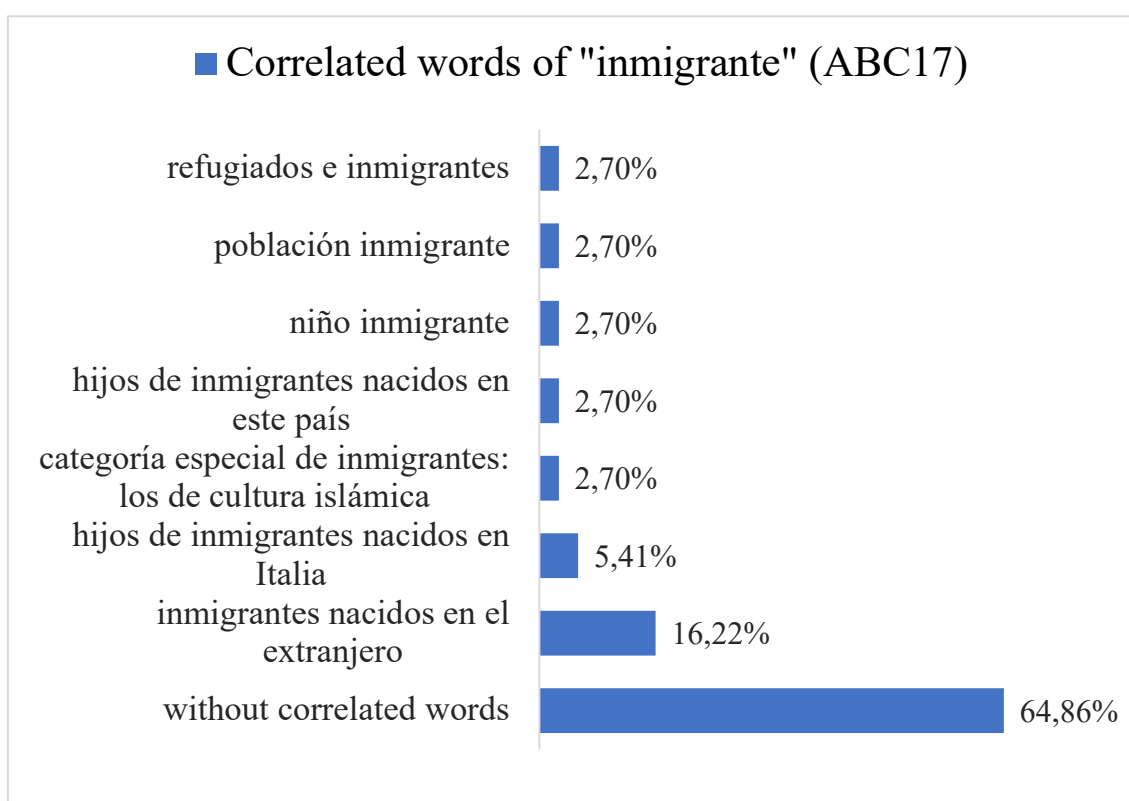


Table 21

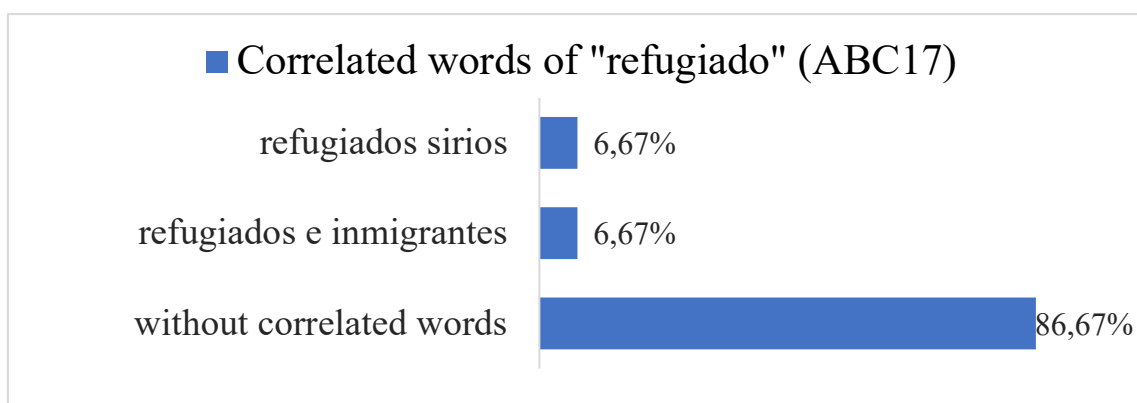


Table 22

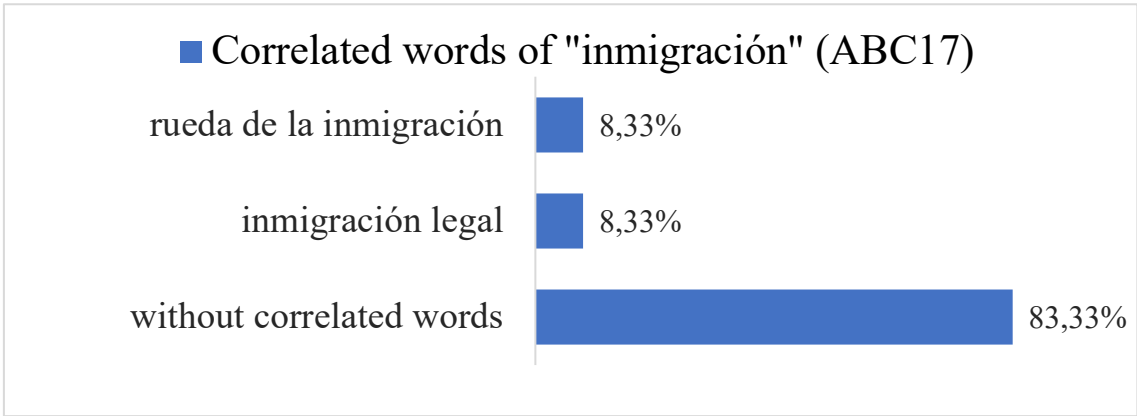


Table 23

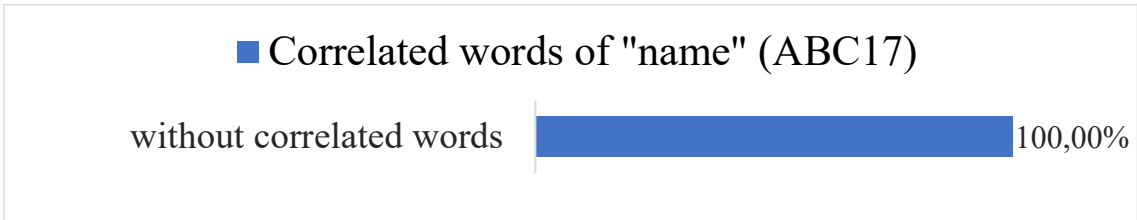


Table 24

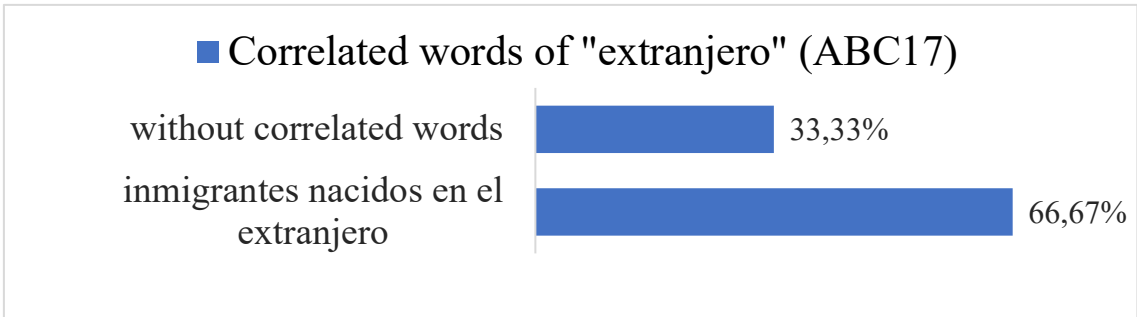


Table 25

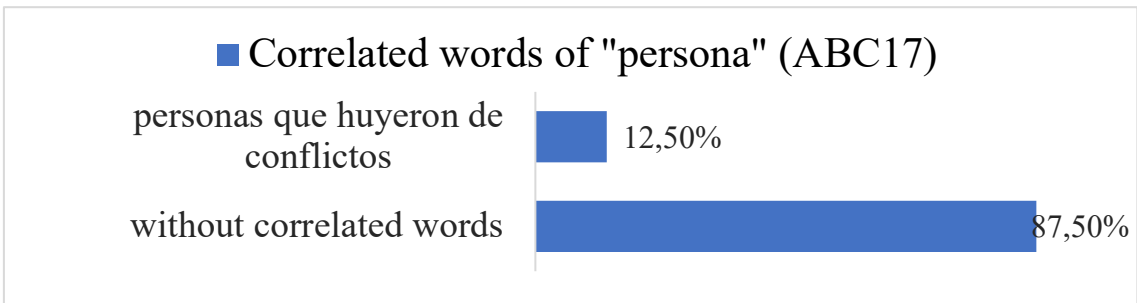


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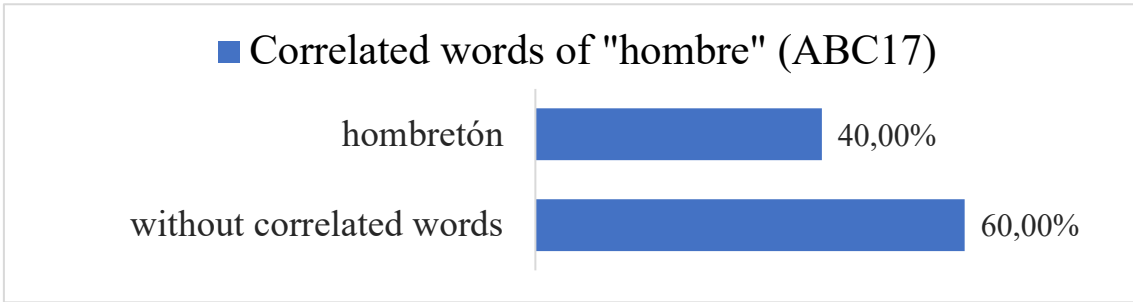


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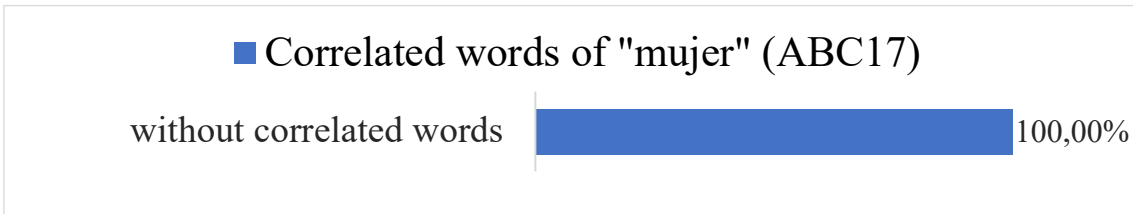


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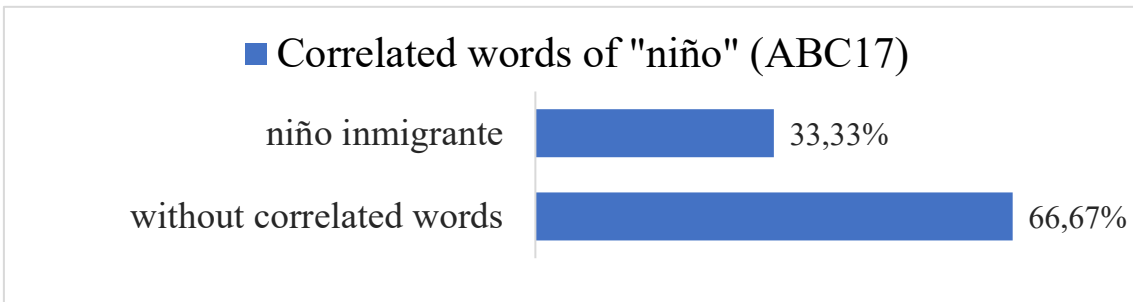


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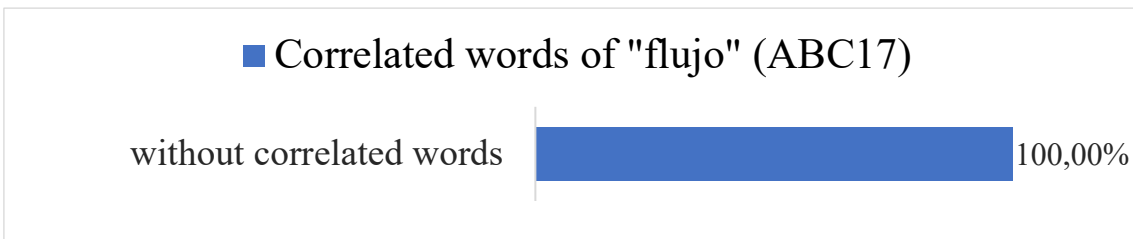
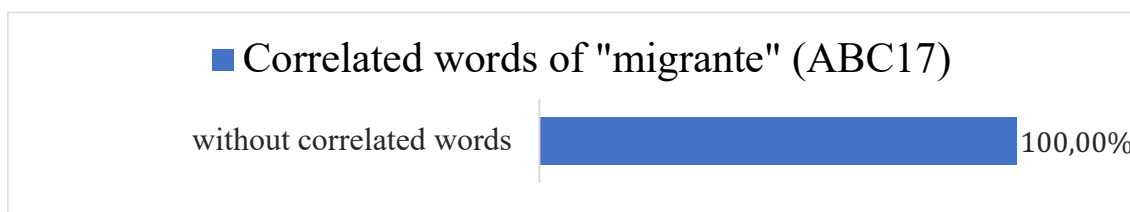


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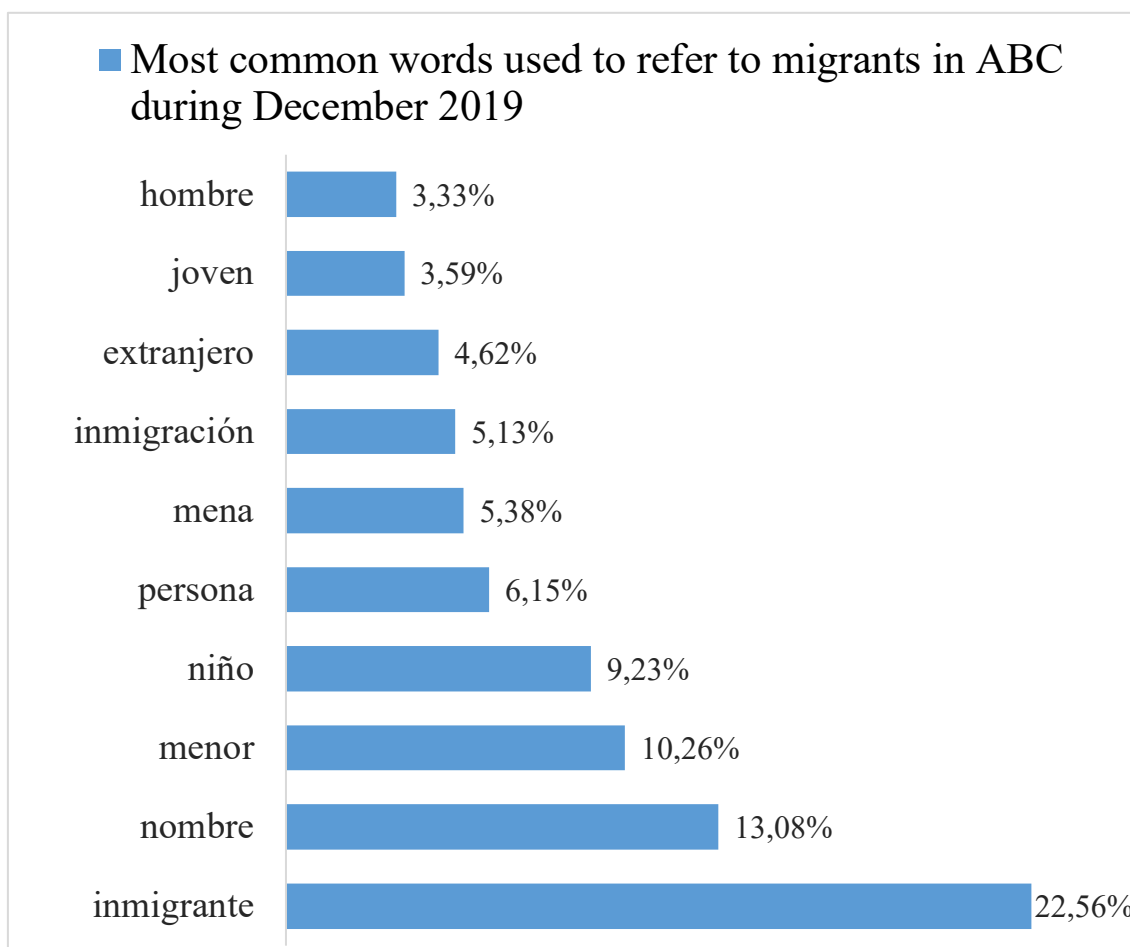


Table 31



As we can see, in most of the cases in *ABC* during this period of 2017, the term “inmigrante” appears by itself, but very often the term is accompanied by other words, being “inmigrantes nacidos en el extranjero” the most common combination. Some attention-grabbing correlated words not related to humans are found in the list, such as “rueda de la inmigración”, besides the term “flujo”, which is not related to any other word. It is possible to compare the most common terms chosen by *ABC* two years later, during the period of December 2019, looking at the following table.

Table 32



In December 2019, the direct reference to the name climbed up to the second position, coming from the fourth position in 2017. A remarkable term that came up in 2019, which was not present in 2017 is “mena”, is an acronym that requires the reader to know the meaning besides this neologism: “mena”. The term “mena” is an acronym for “menores extranjeros no acompañados”. It refers to underage migrants who entered in Spain irregularly and are not under the supervision of a family member or a tutor in Spain. The used of “mena” in the articles will be studied in detail in the next chapter. Another relevant finding is the term “refugiado”, that disappeared from the most common words in 2019, even though it was in the second position in 2017. The next table presents the combination of words used with the most common terms to refer to migration in *ABC* during the period of December 2019.

Table 33

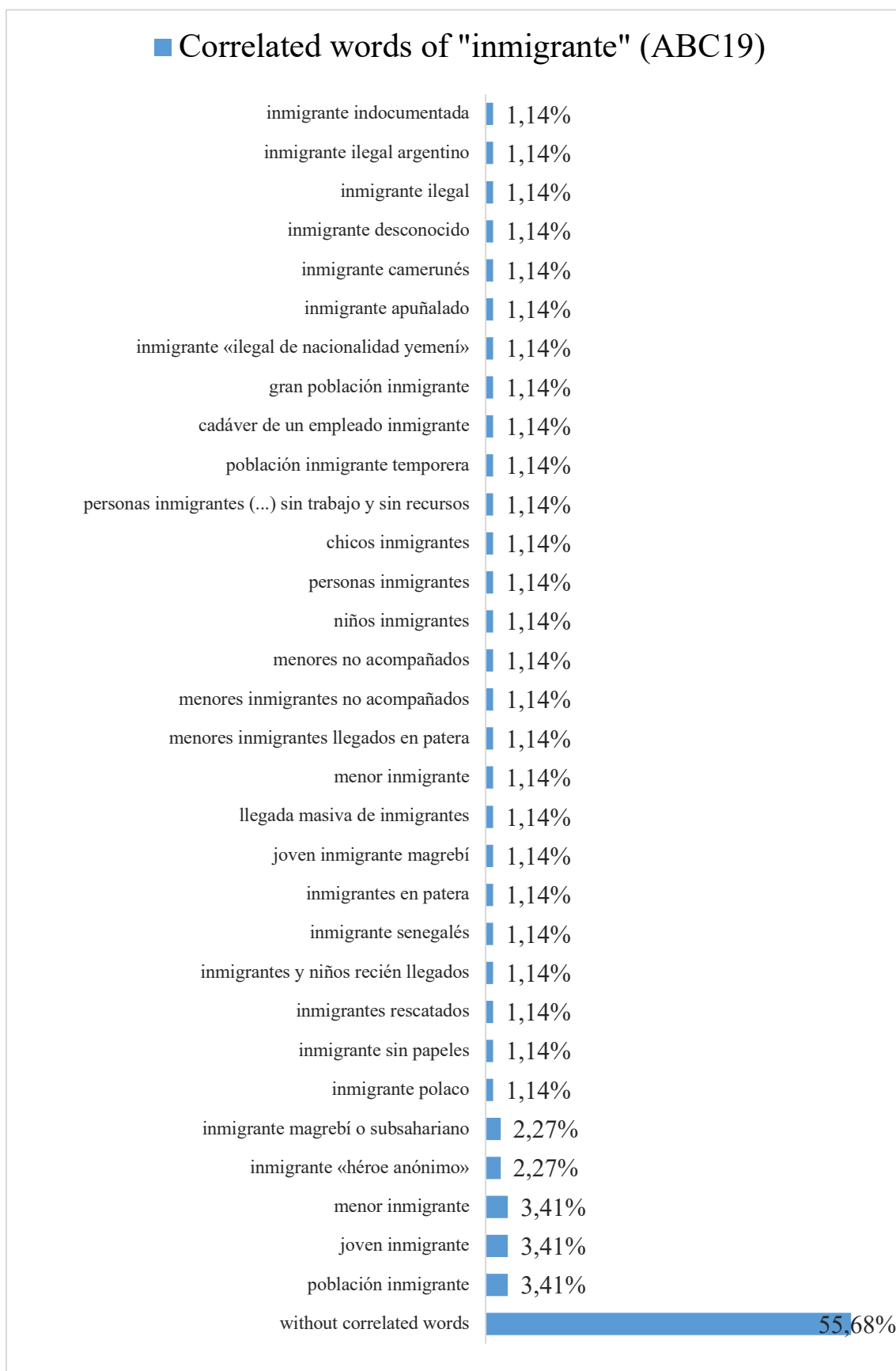


Table 34

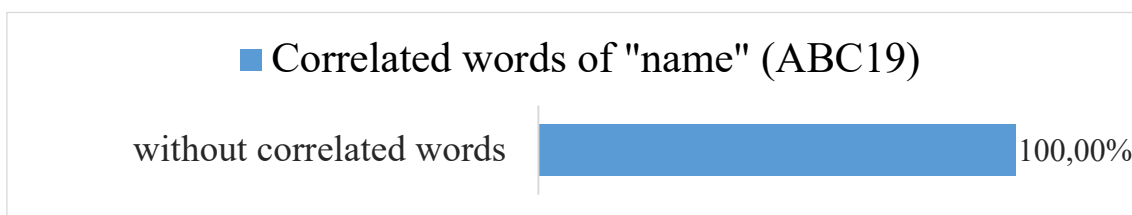


Table 35

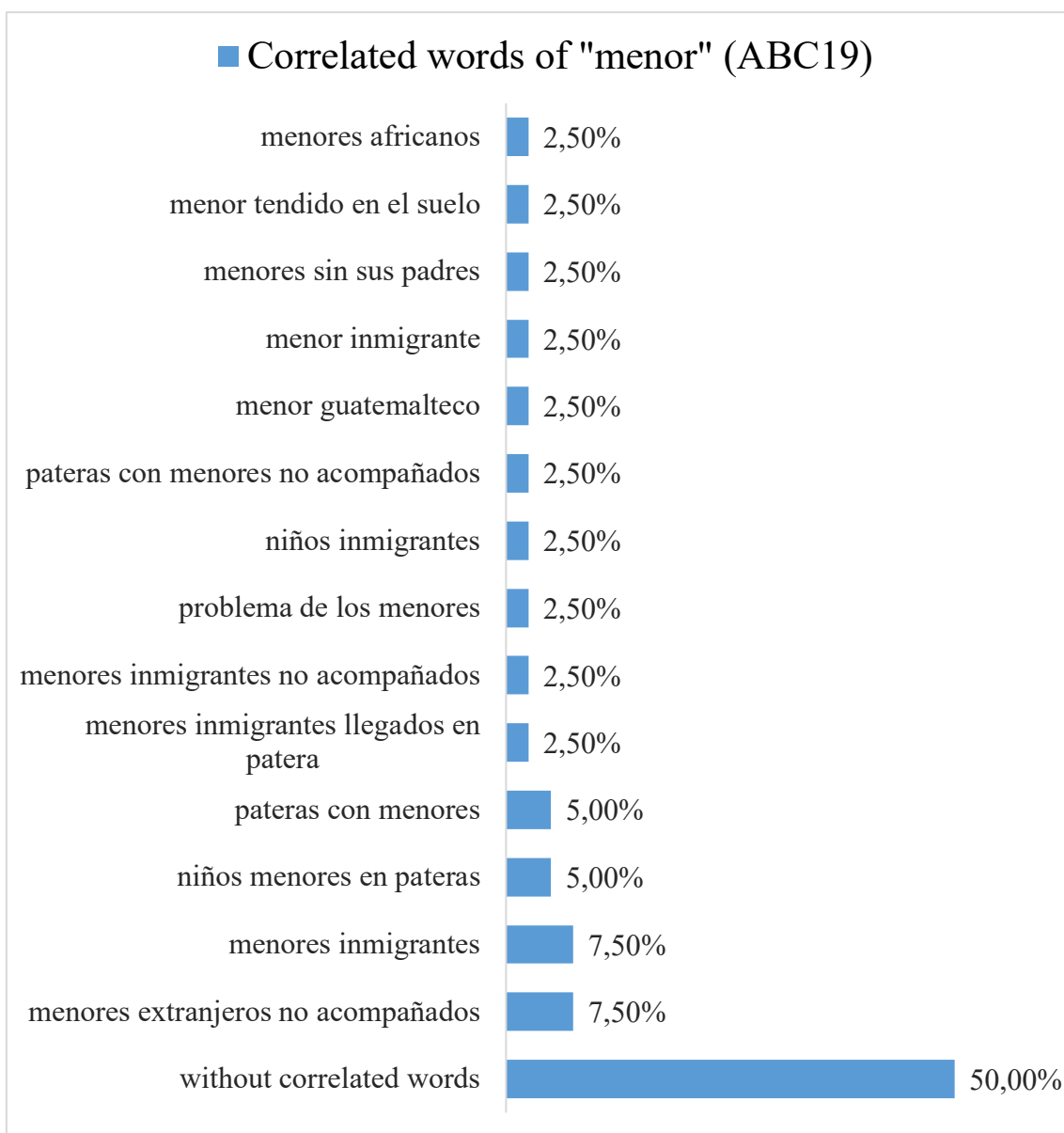


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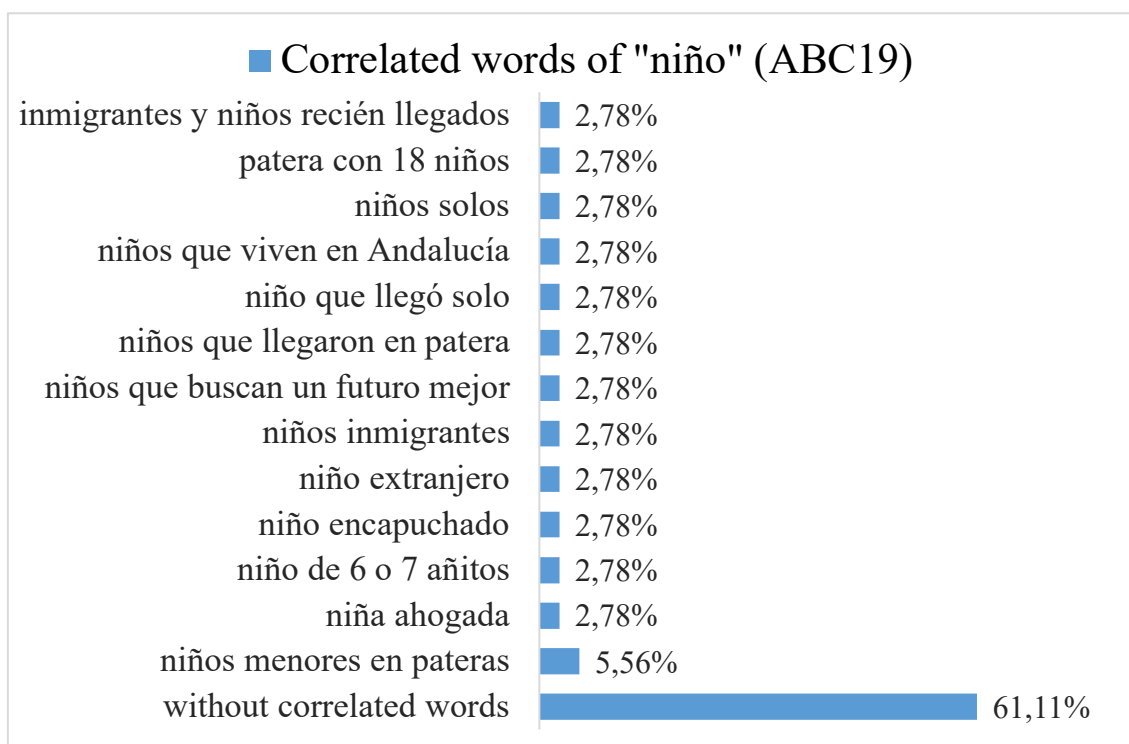


Table 37

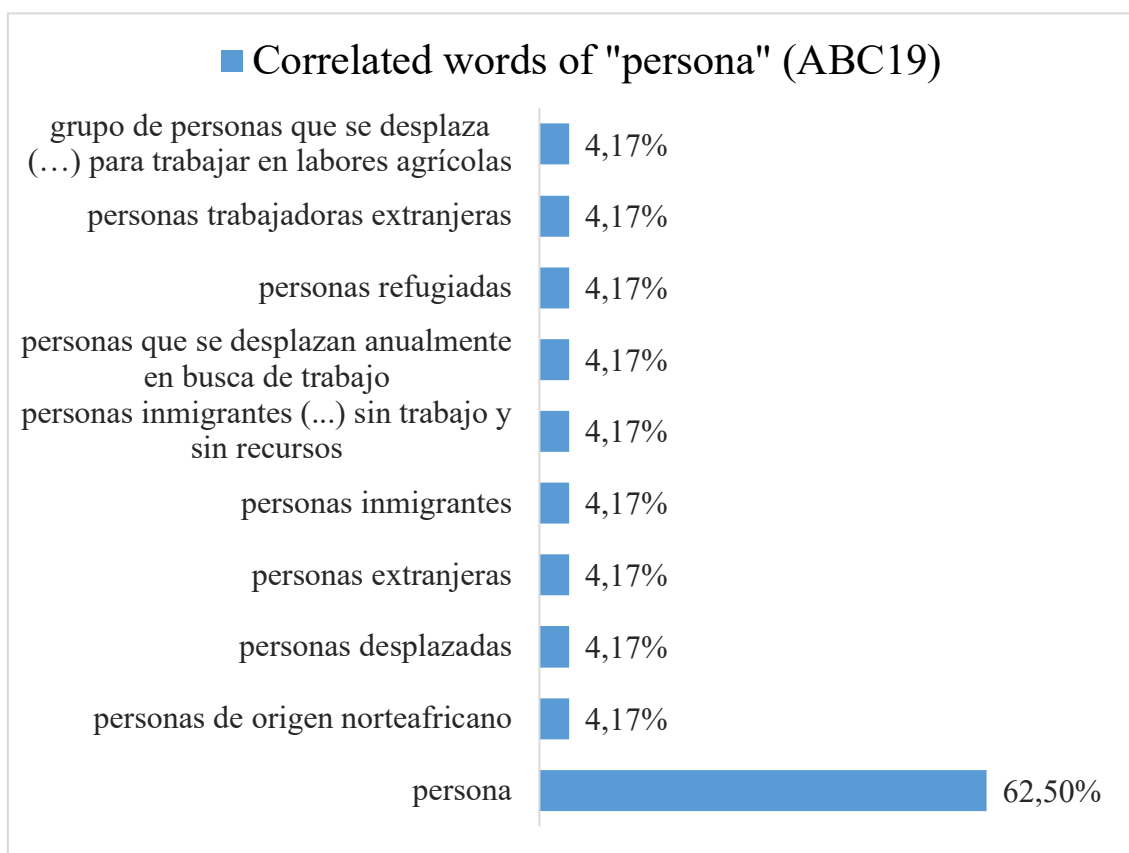


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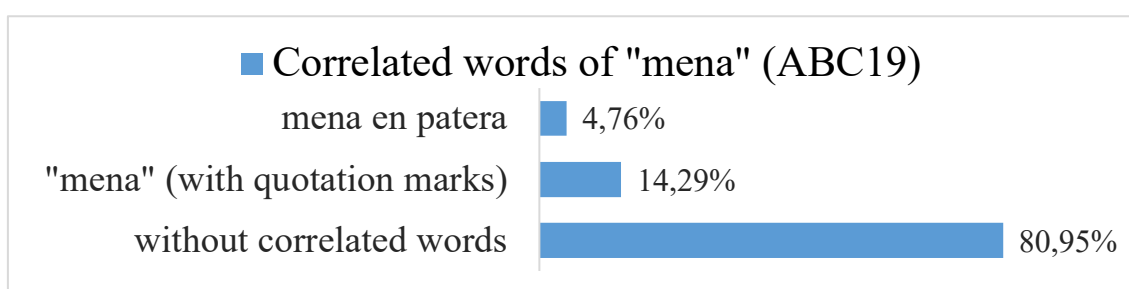


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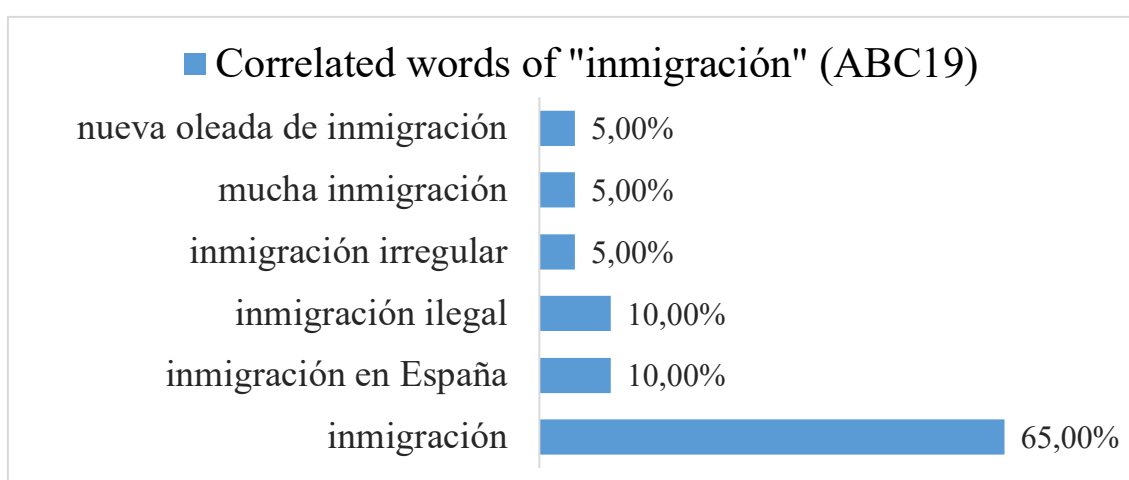


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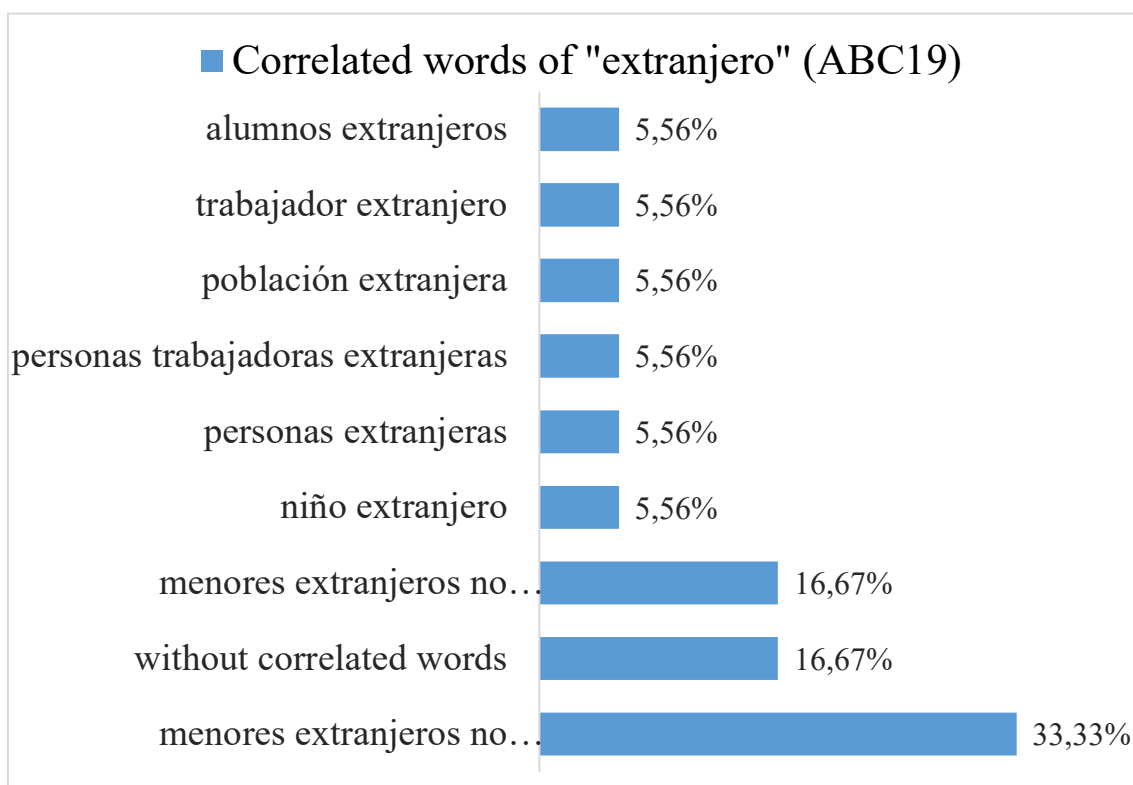


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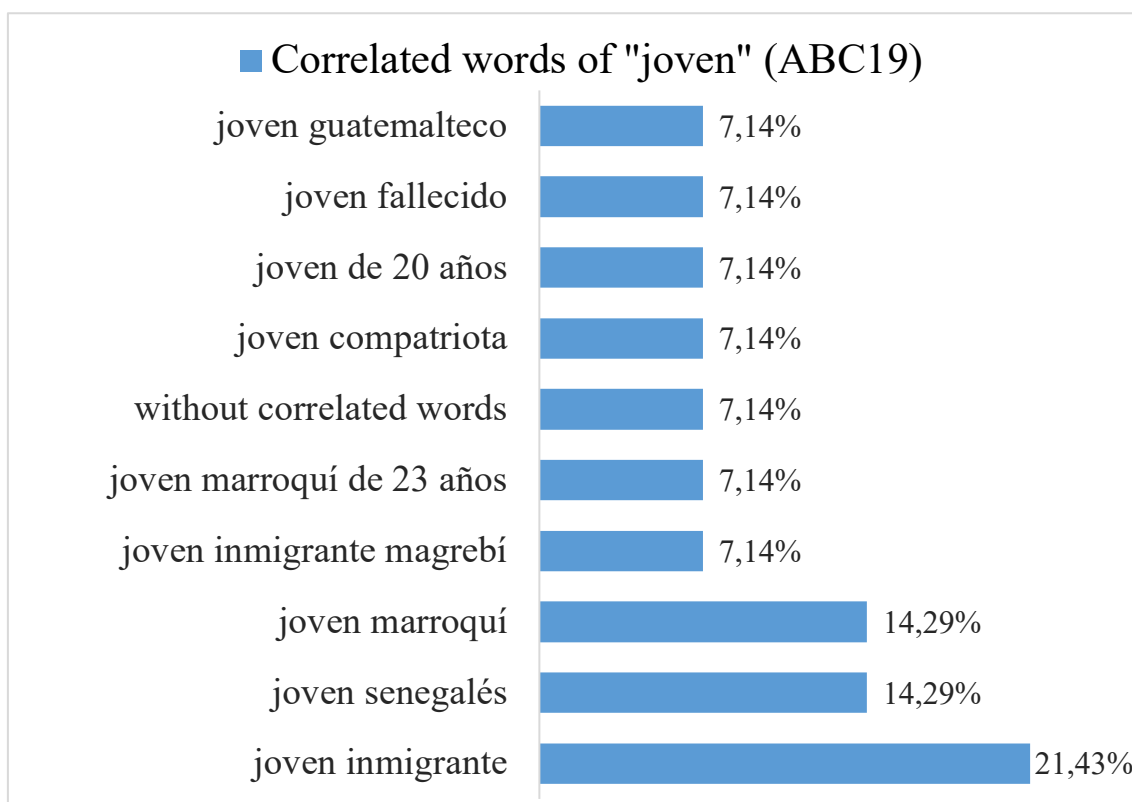
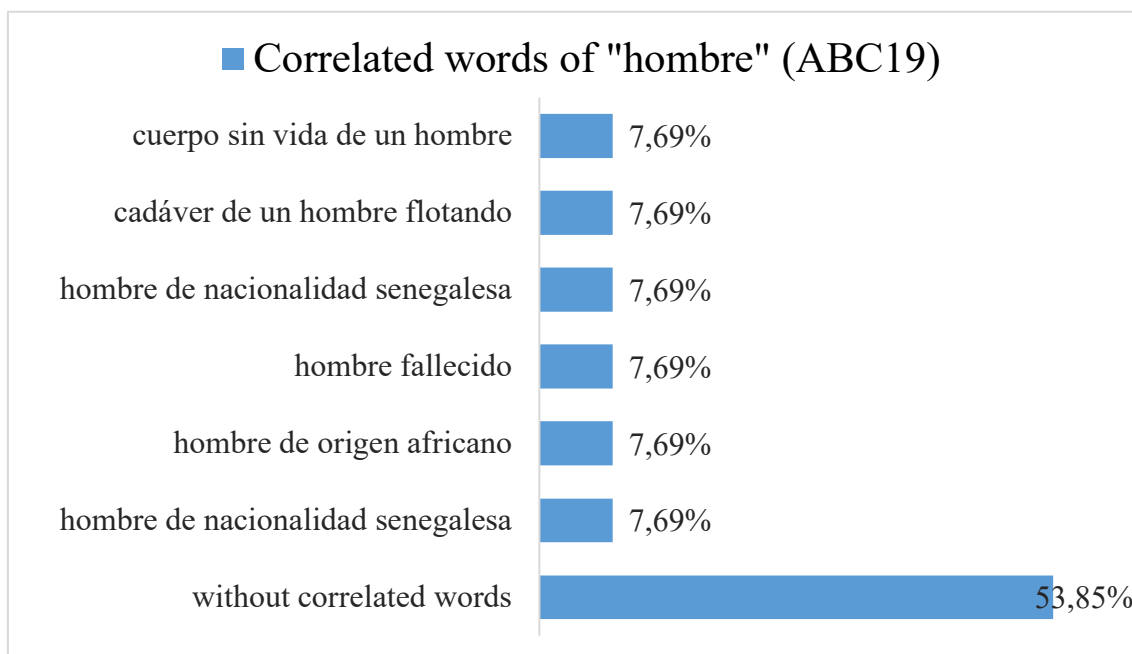


Table 42

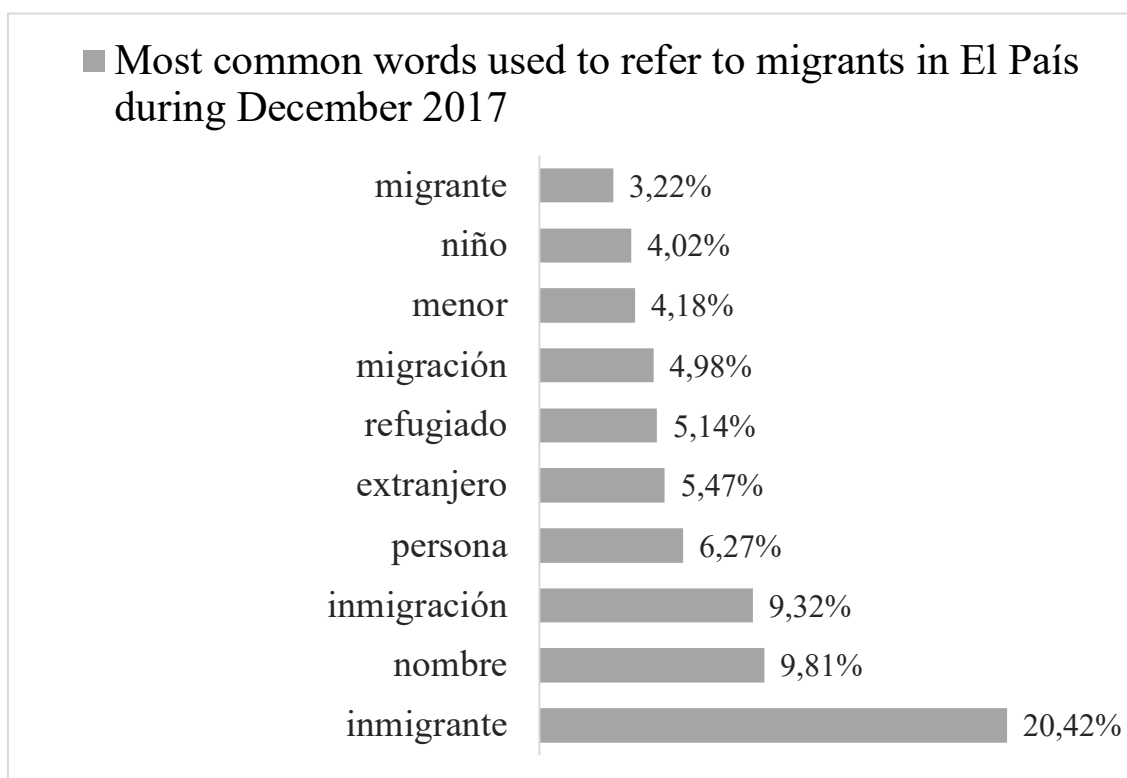


It is significant to discover how diversified the words accompanying “inmigrante” are in this period of 2019. In almost half of the cases, this term is correlated with other

words. None of them is used in more than 3,41 per cent of the cases with the main term, “inmigrante”.

The term “menor” is providing more information when we look at its correlated words. In many cases, *ABC* emphasized that underage migrants are not accompanied by any adult and that they enter in Spain by boat, as we can also see in the fact that “niño” is the fourth most common word when writing about migration. This noun is also frequently related to travelling by boat, “niños menores en pateras”, “niños que llegaron en patera”, “patera con 18 niños” and “niña ahogada”. This is also happening when writing about the acronym “mena”, which appeared for the first time in 2019 and it is also related to arriving by boat, “mena en patera”. The fact that, in some cases, “mena” is quoted between brackets will be studied in the next qualitative chapter. Continuing with the analysis, the table below shows the most common words referring to migrants published in *El País* during December 2017.

Table 43



There are many similarities between the most common words of *ABC* and *El País* in the same period of 2017. In the case of *El País*, we can find that “refugiado” does not

appear as often in the articles. Also, a direct reference to the name, “nombre”, is in the second position. Words such as “flujo” are not present in this list, but we can see how terms referring to underage migrants are again present in “menor” and “niño”. We can find out more information by looking at the correlated words of these terms in the following table.

Table 44

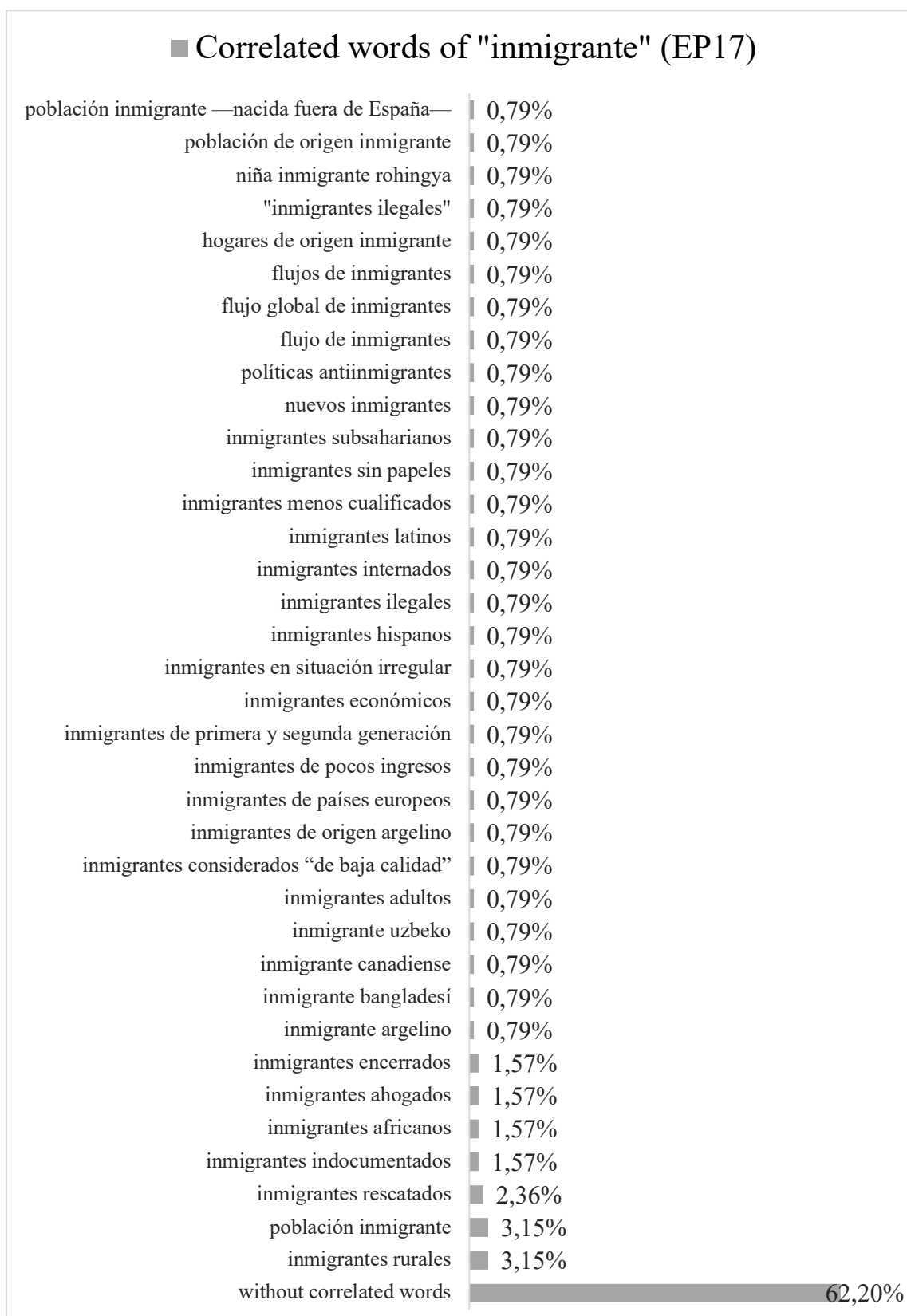


Table 45

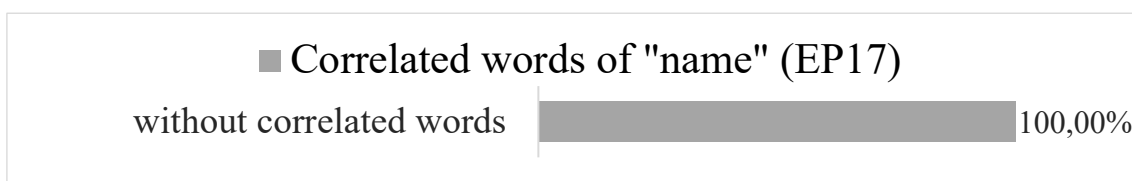


Table 46

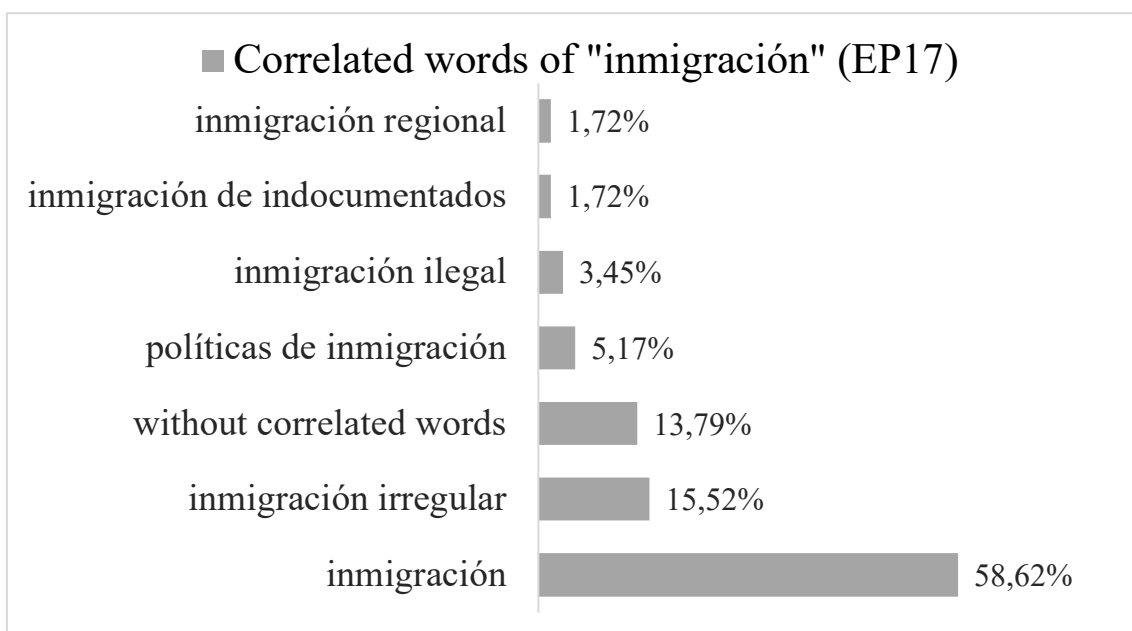


Table 47

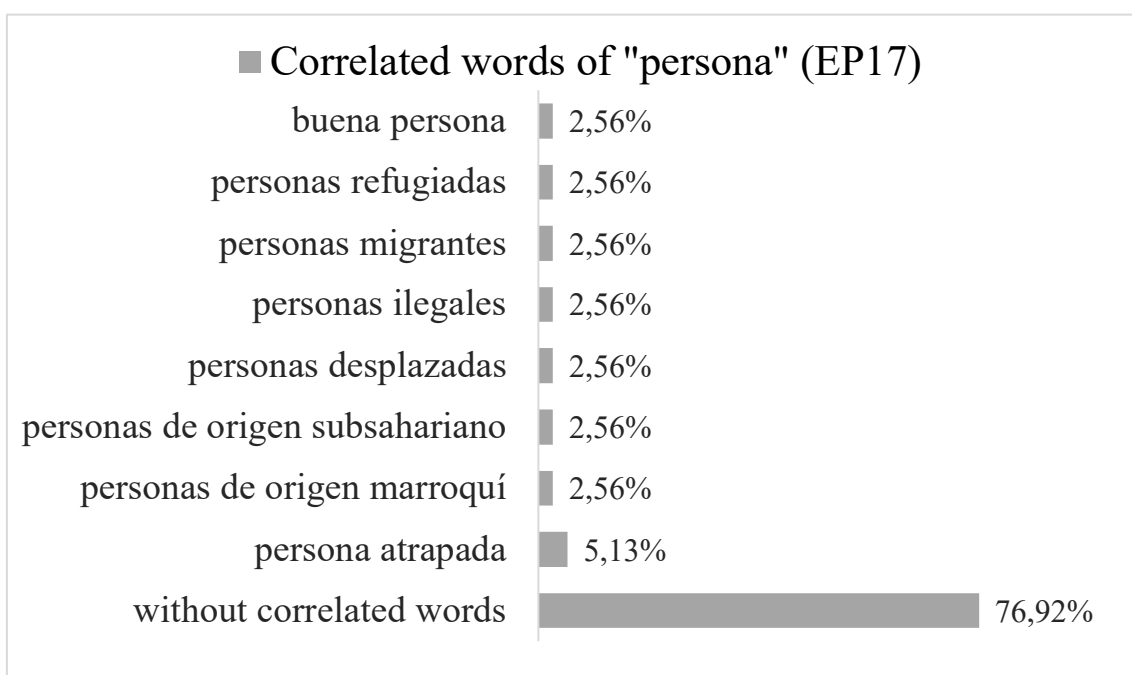


Table 48

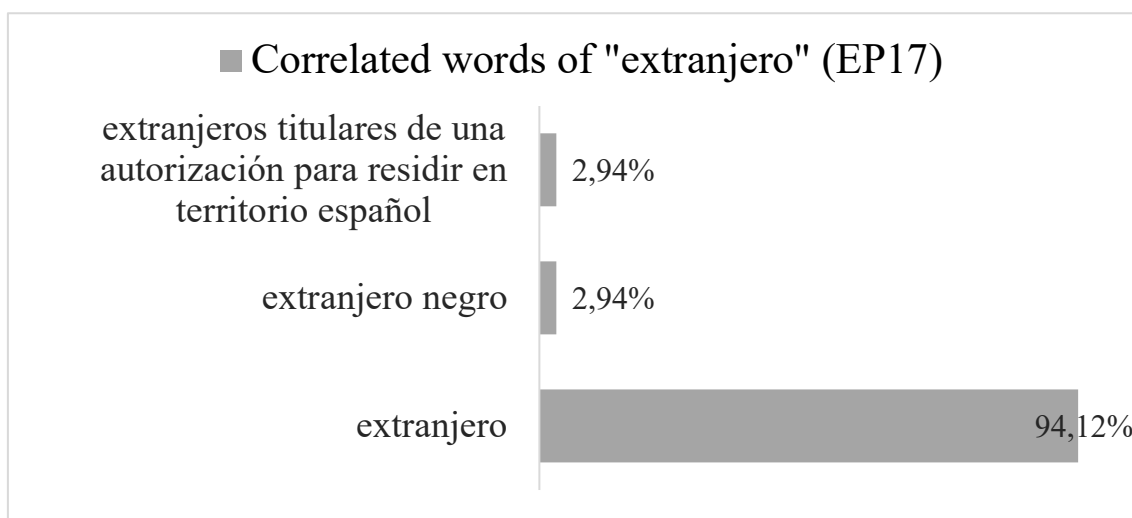


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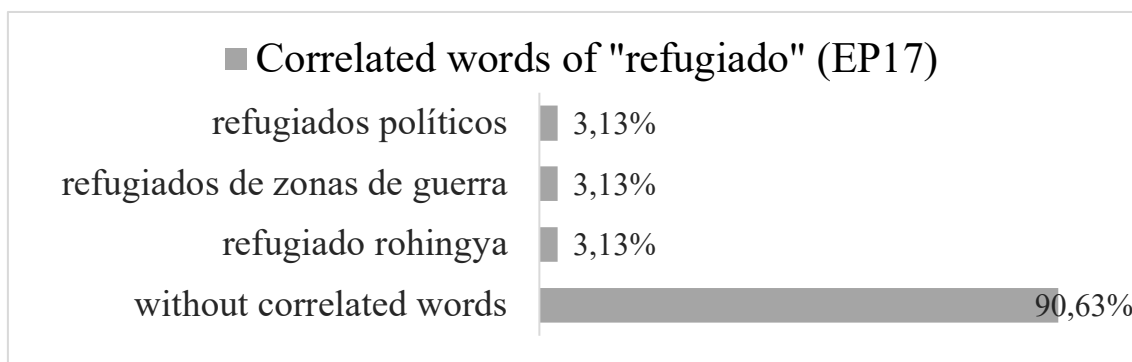


Table 50

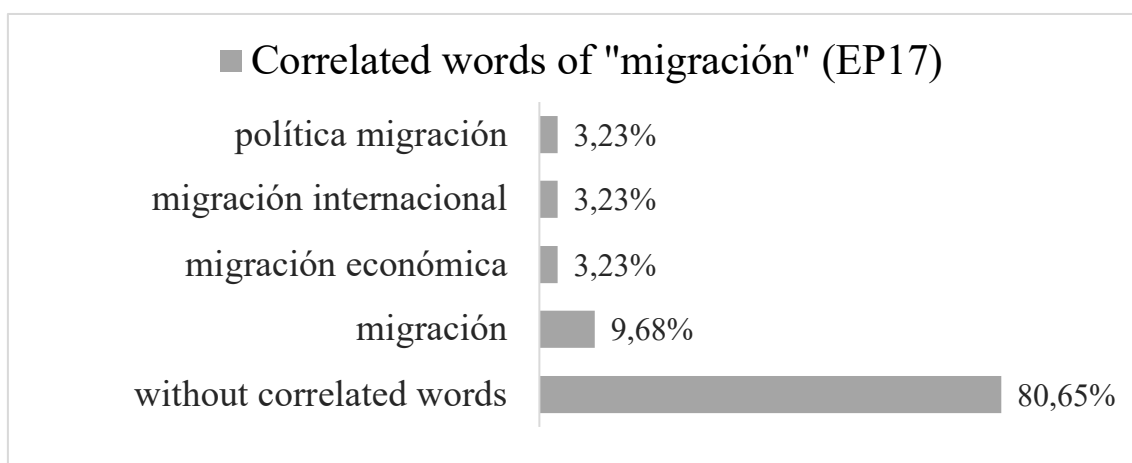


Table 51

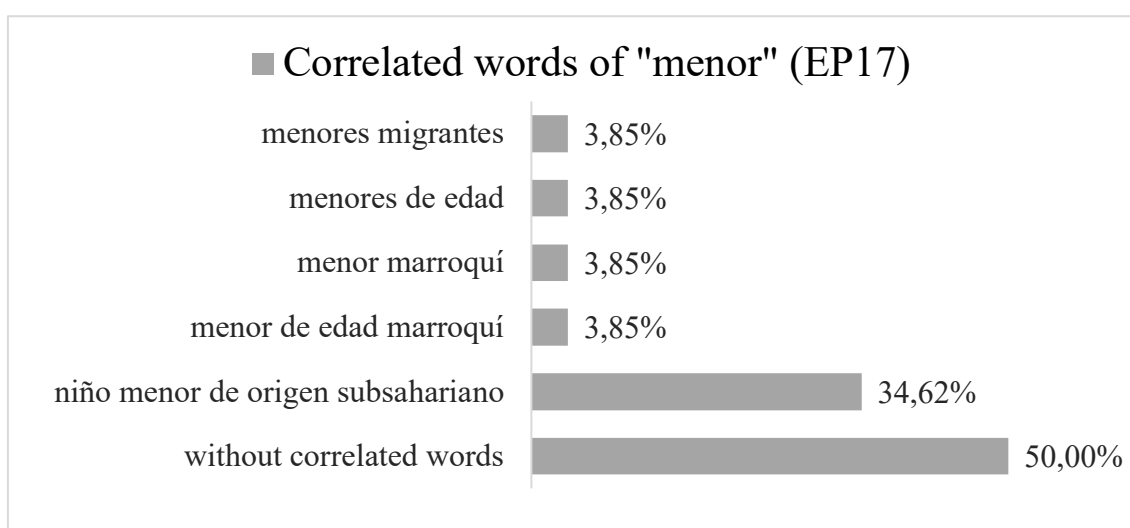


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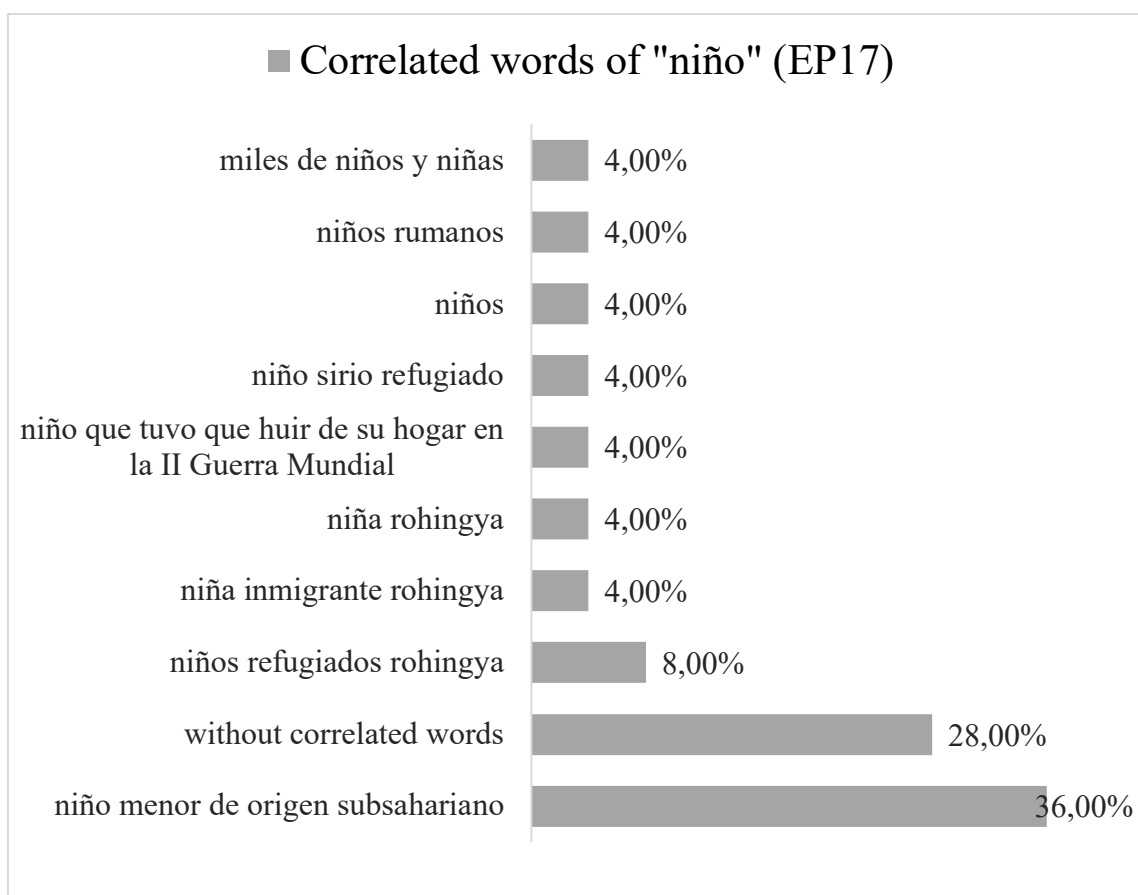
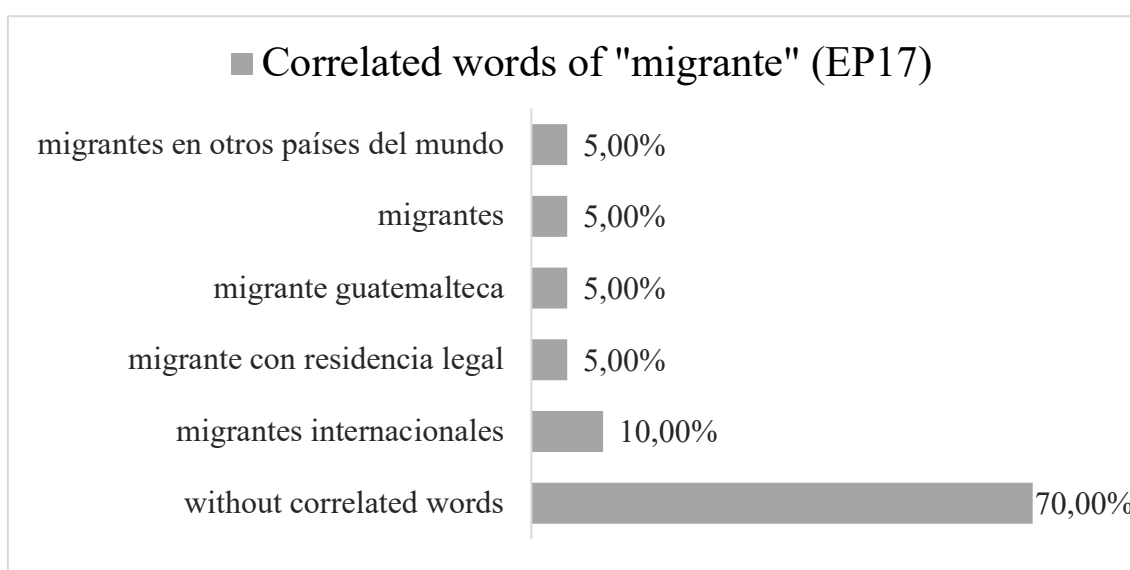


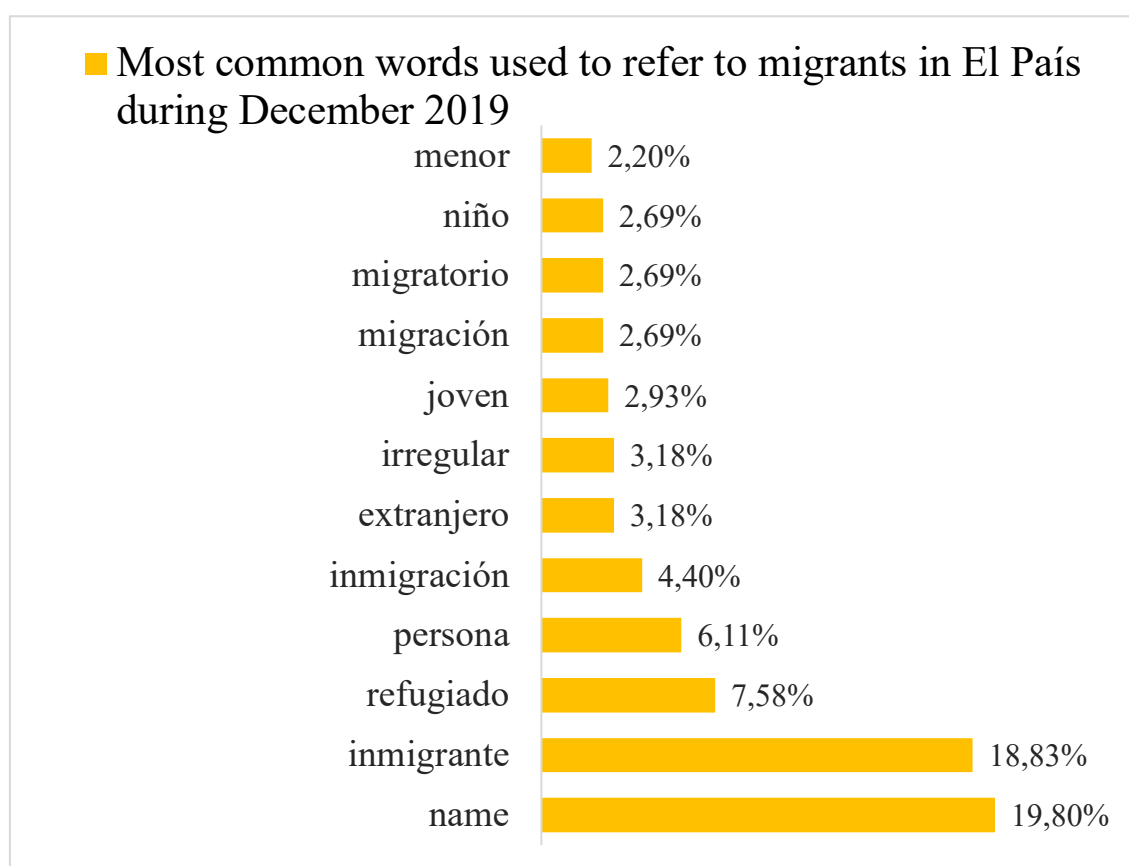
Table 53



By studying the correlated words, we can find that “inmigrante” is often related by *El País* in this period to the origin of the person. The term “flujo”, which appeared in *ABC*, is also found *El País* in relation to migration, in this case used in different combinations: “flujo de inmigrantes”, “flujo global de inmigrantes” and “flujos de inmigrantes”.

When talking about “inmigración”, *El País* used more often the term “irregular” than “ilegal”, even though we can find this term accompanying other nouns such as “personas ilegales”. The terms “menor” and “niños” are frequently followed by a correlated word, in most of the cases defining their origin, sometimes a broad one, such as in “niño menor de origen subsahariano”, and others specifically, for instance, “niños rumanos”. In the following table, we can become aware of the evolution of the most common terms used to refer to migration in *El País* two years later, in December 2019.

Table 54



In December 2019, the direct reference to the name of the migrant was the most common way to designate migration in *El País*. Other examples of good practice, such as the prevalence of “persona”, remained in the top 5. The term “joven”, which was not in the list of *El País* in 2017, appeared now. The term “irregular” was not present in this list in 2017, but it appears in 2019. The debate about the convenience of referring to migration as “irregulars” will be attended in the next chapter. We can understand more details about the representation of migrants in *El País* when looking at the correlated words in the following tables.

Table 55



Table 56

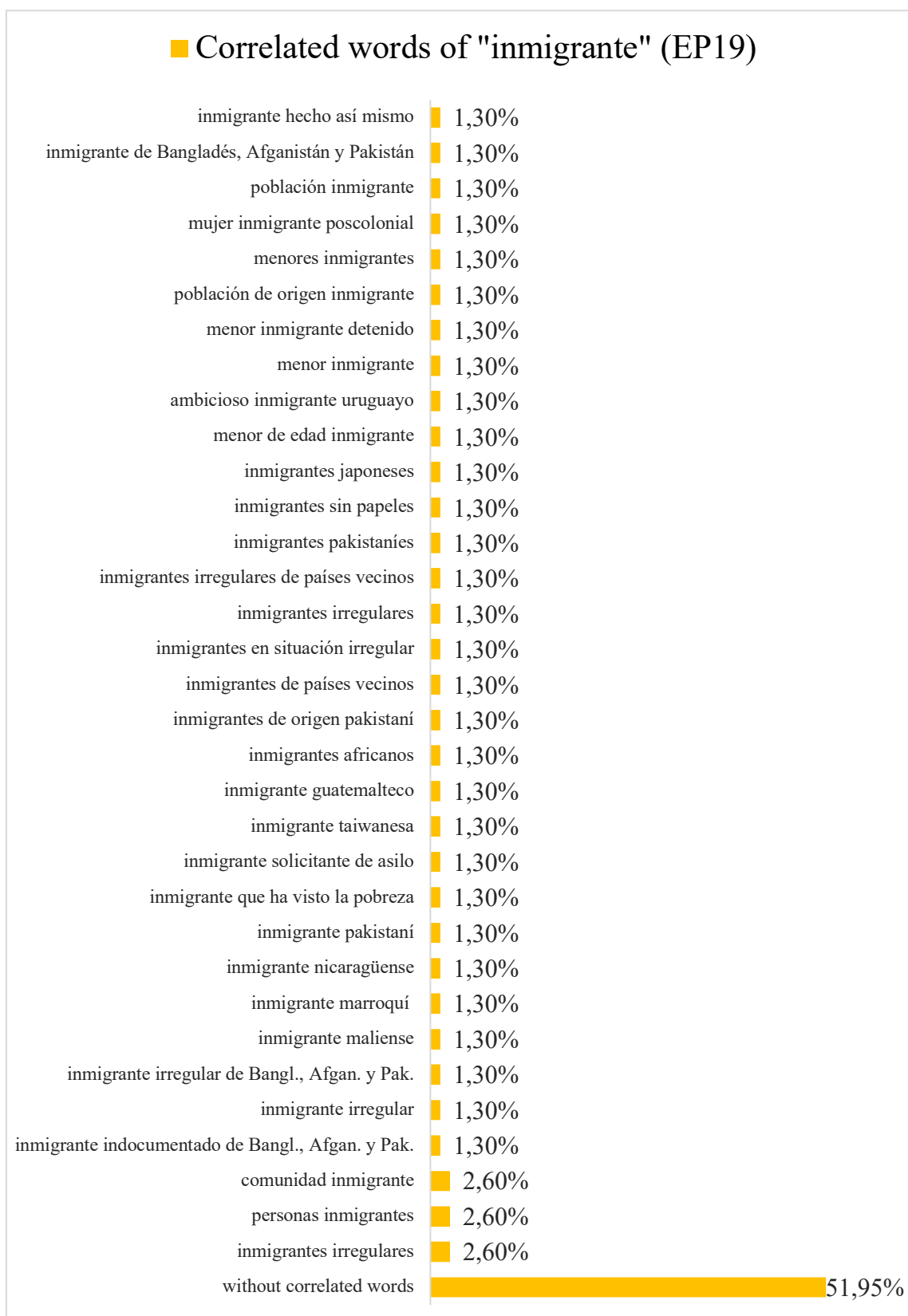


Table 57

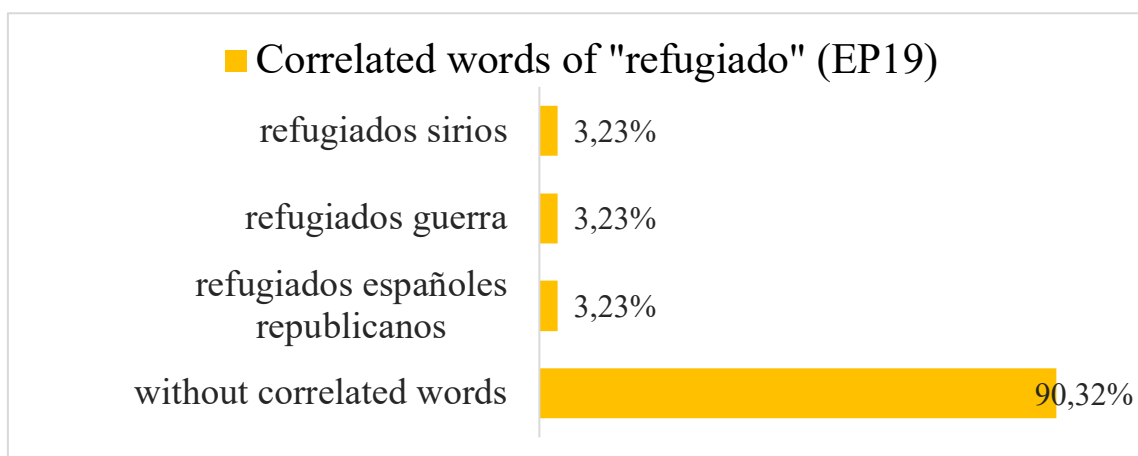


Table 58

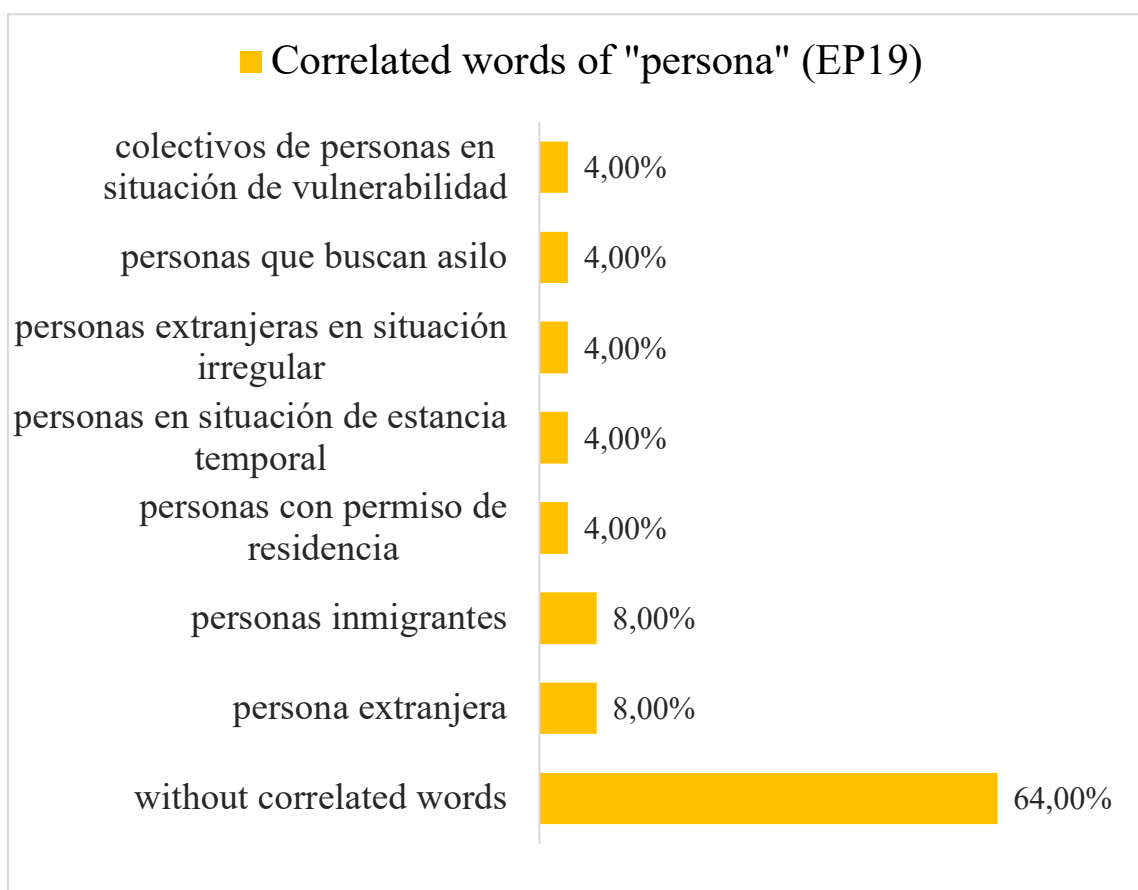


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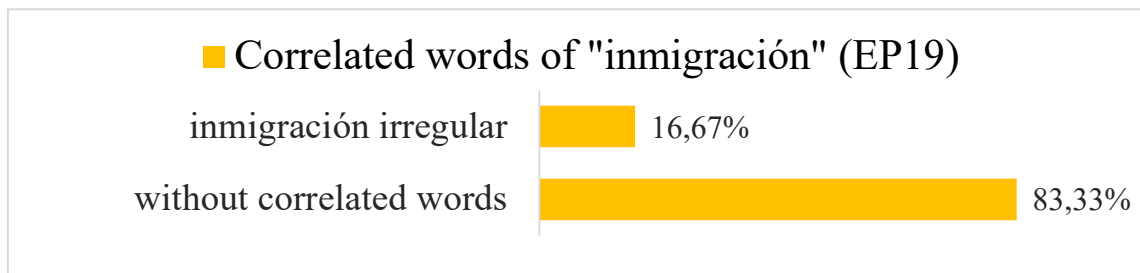


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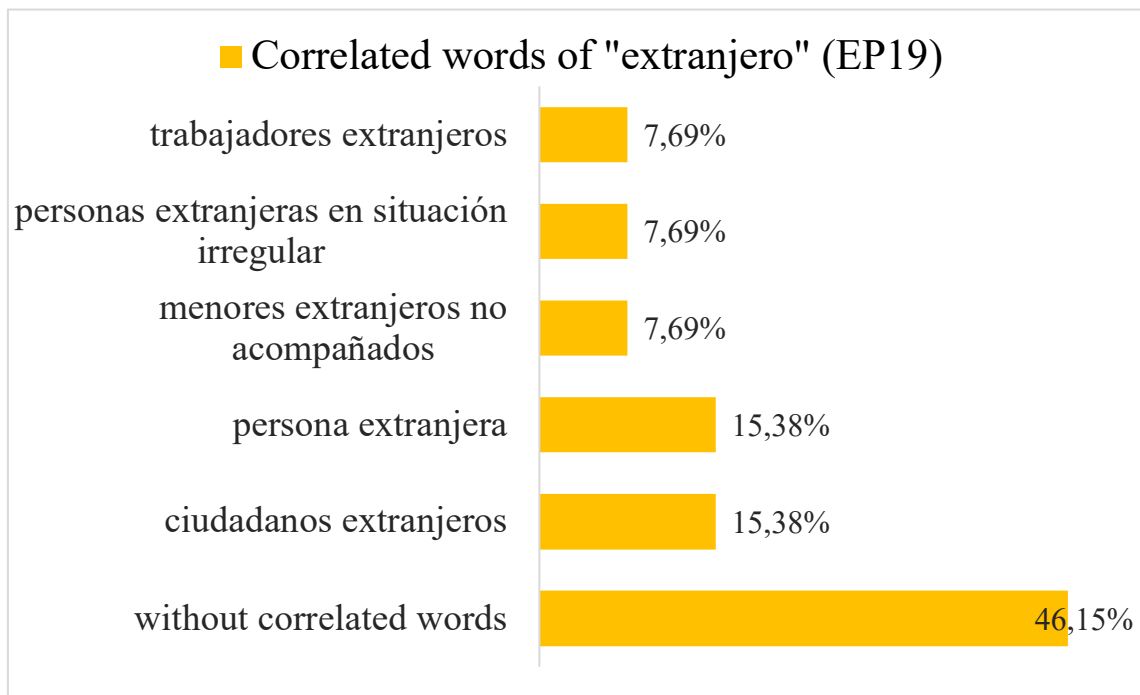


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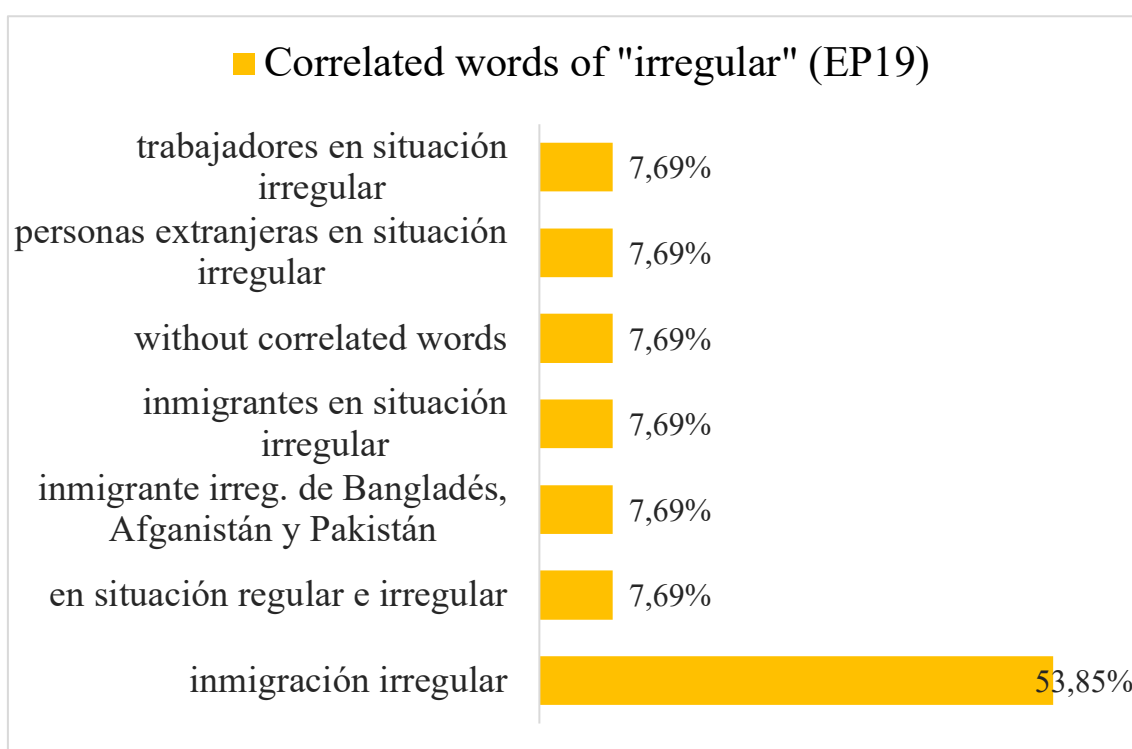


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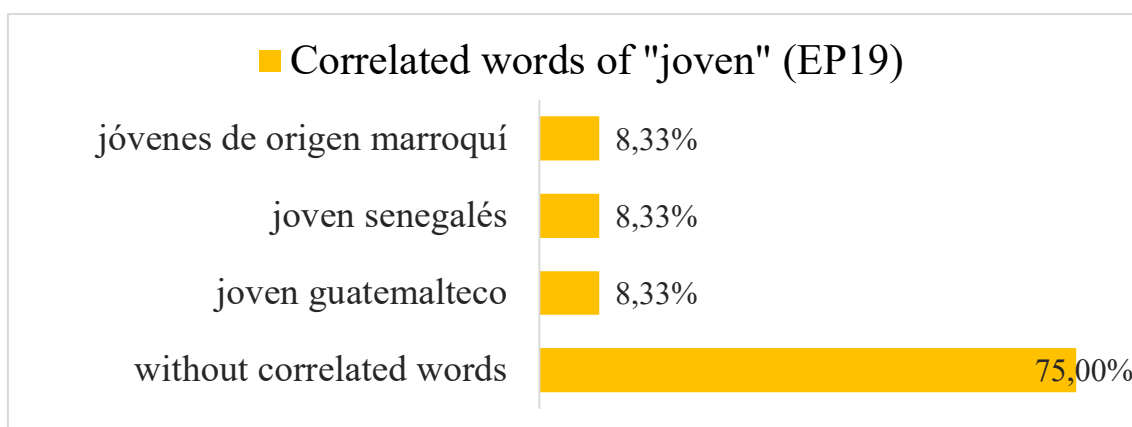


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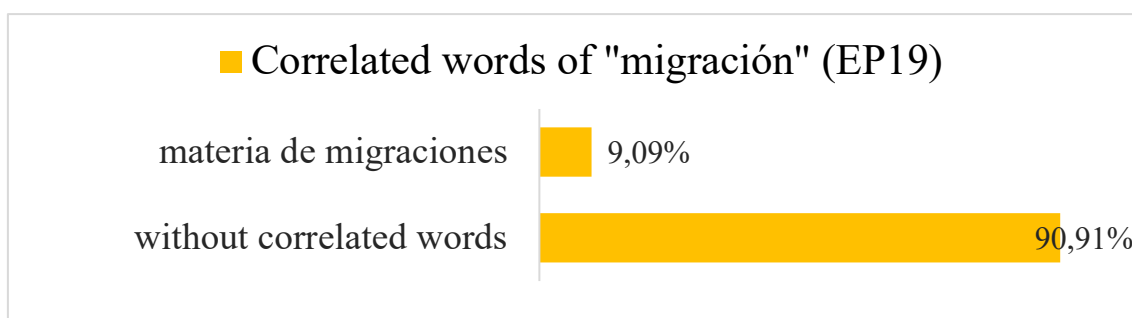


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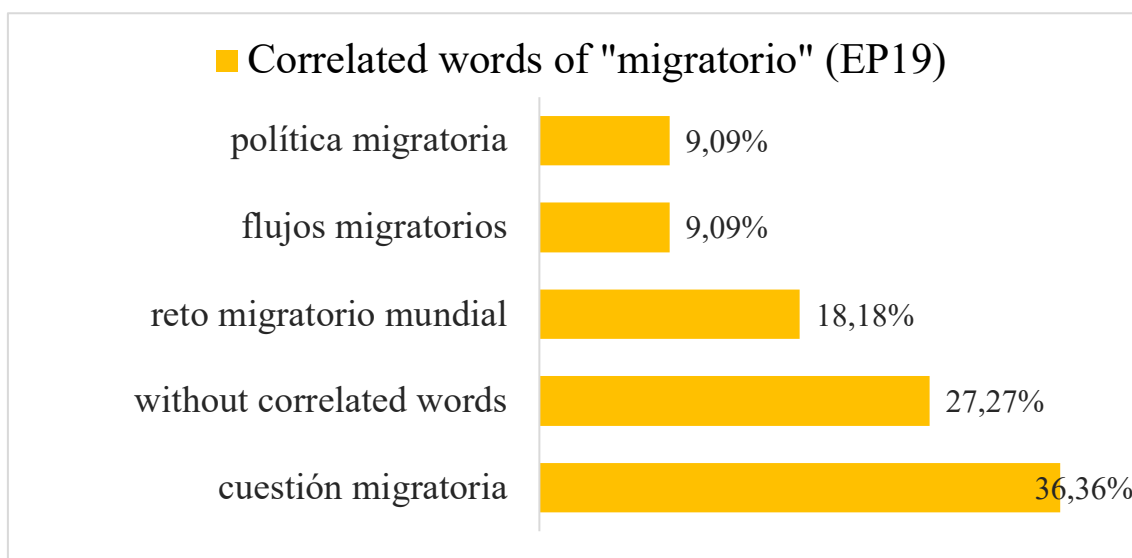


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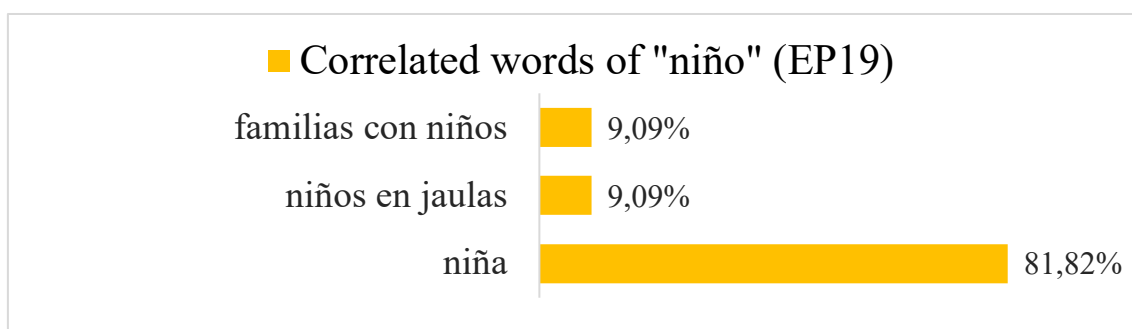
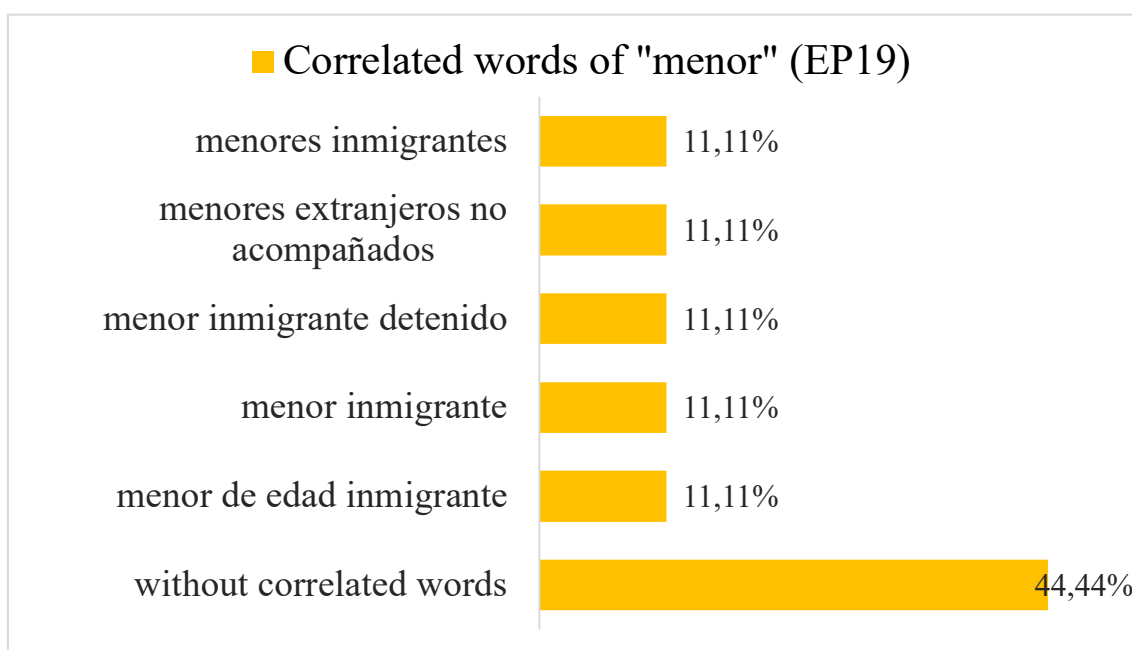


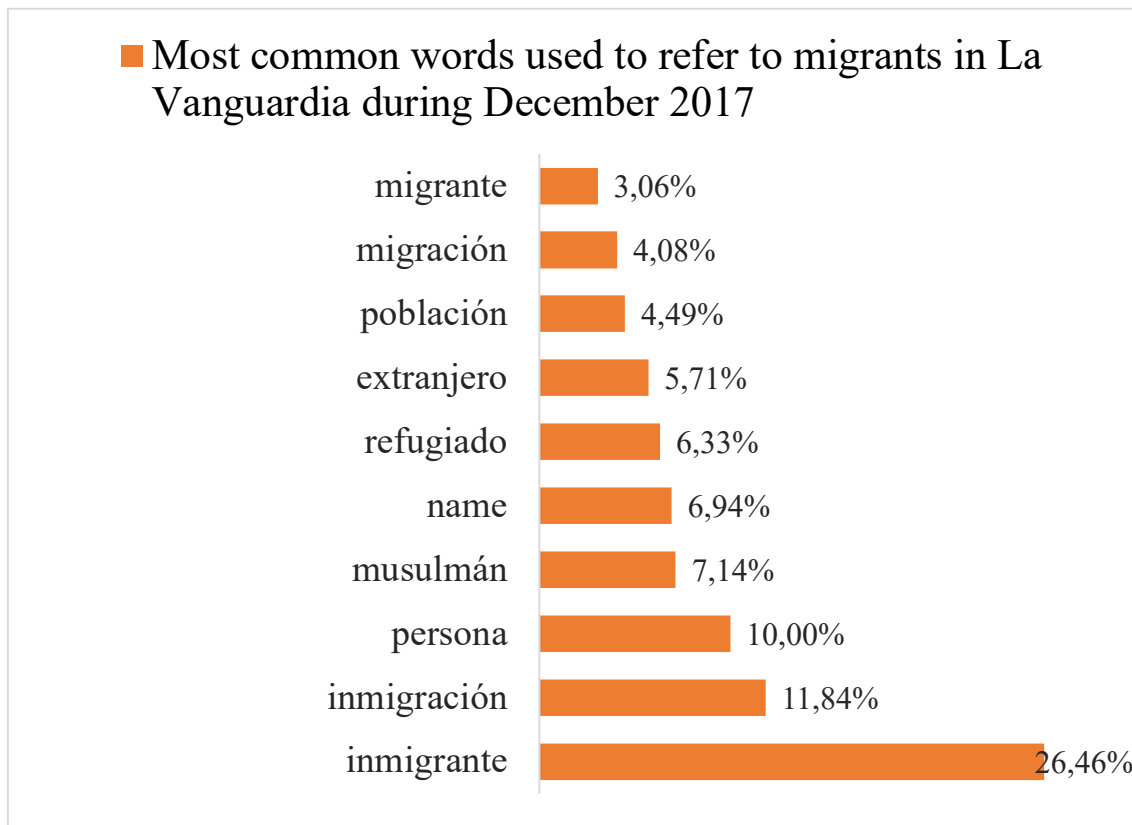
Table 66



One of the most relevant findings of *El País* in this period of 2019 is the incidence of “irregular” as the main term and also as a correlated word. It appears in relation to migrants, “inmigrante irregular”, to people, “personas extranjeras en situación irregular”, to underage migrants, “menores extranjeros no acompañados”, to workers, “trabajadores en situación irregular” and in general and predominantly to migration, “inmigración irregular”.

We can also find the term “flujo” in *El País*, as it happened in *ABC*, as in “flujos migratorios”. By contrast, *El País* does not use the acronym “mena” among their most common ways to refer to migrants, but we can find its long-form, “menores extranjeros no acompañados”. Regarding underage migrants, it is remarkable the correlation made between children and detention, both in “niños en jaulas” and “menor inmigrante detenido”. In the following table, we can observe the most common words addressing migrants published in *La Vanguardia* during December 2017.

Table 67



The most relevant findings from *La Vanguardia* in this period are, on one side, the fact that the direct reference to the name is rare, compared to *El País* and, on the other side, the inclusion of one term that was not present in either in *El País* or *ABC* in any of the periods, that is, the reference to “musulmán”, which is in the top four of most common terms, above the reference to the name. It is possible to discover more nuances in the use of these terms by looking at the correlated words in the following tables.

Table 68

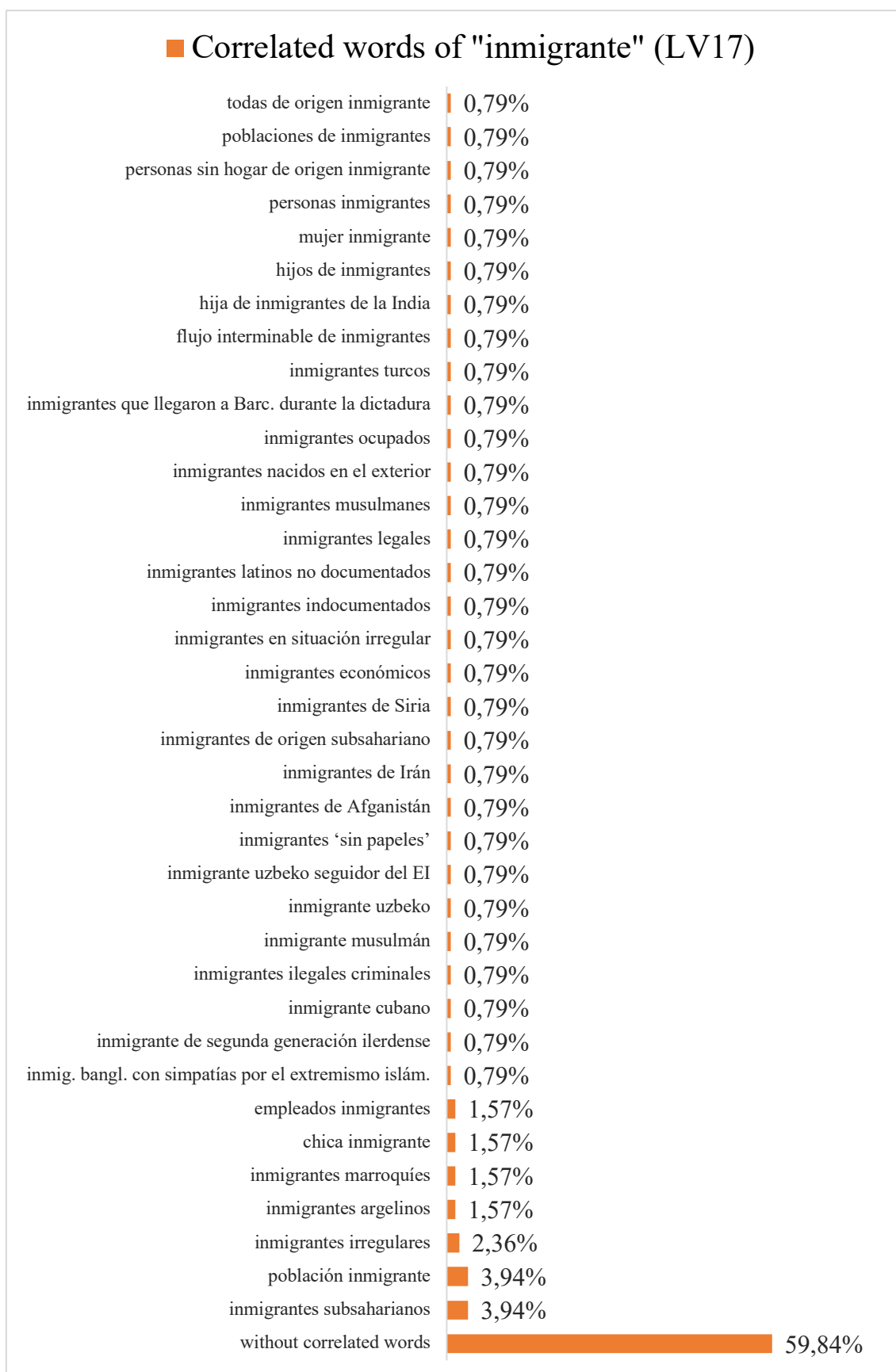


Table 69

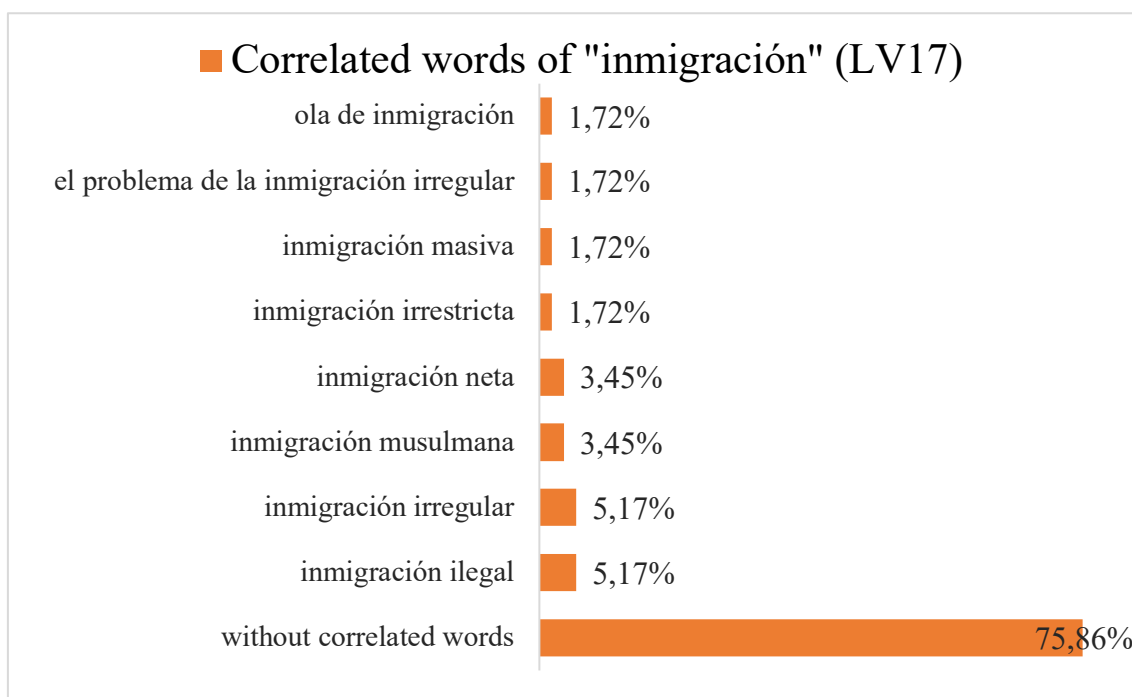


Table 70

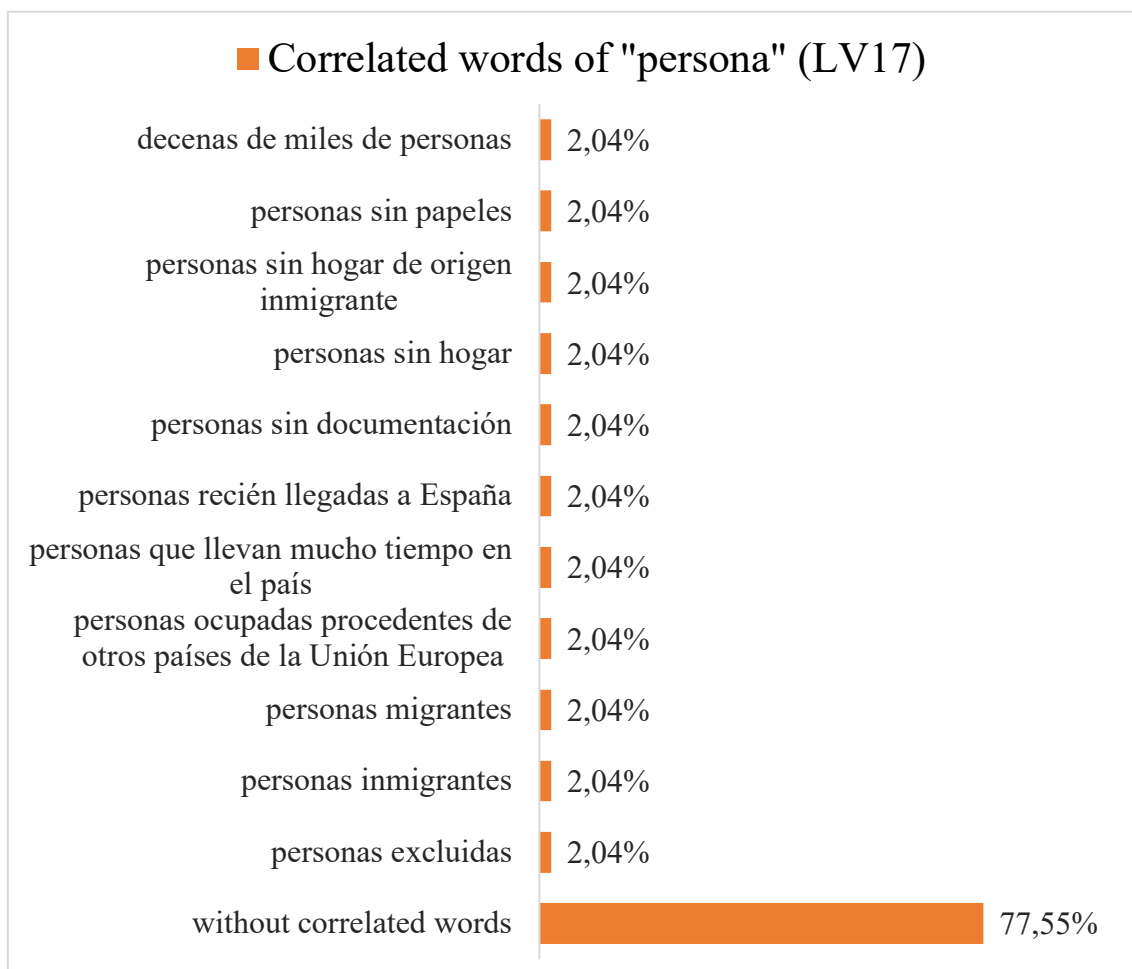


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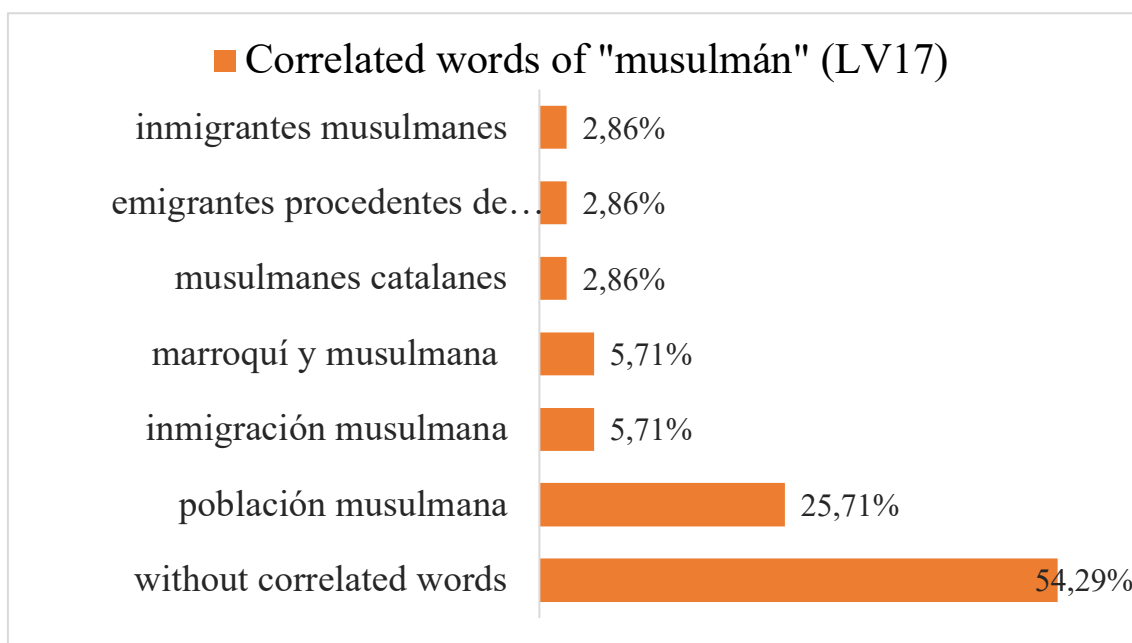


Table 72



Table 73

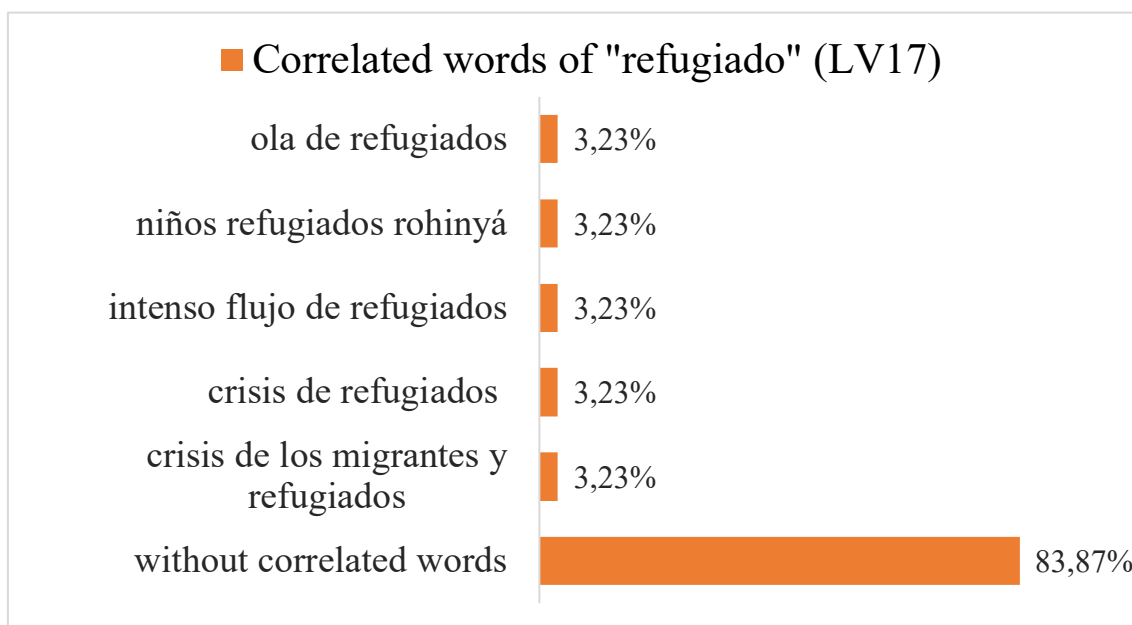


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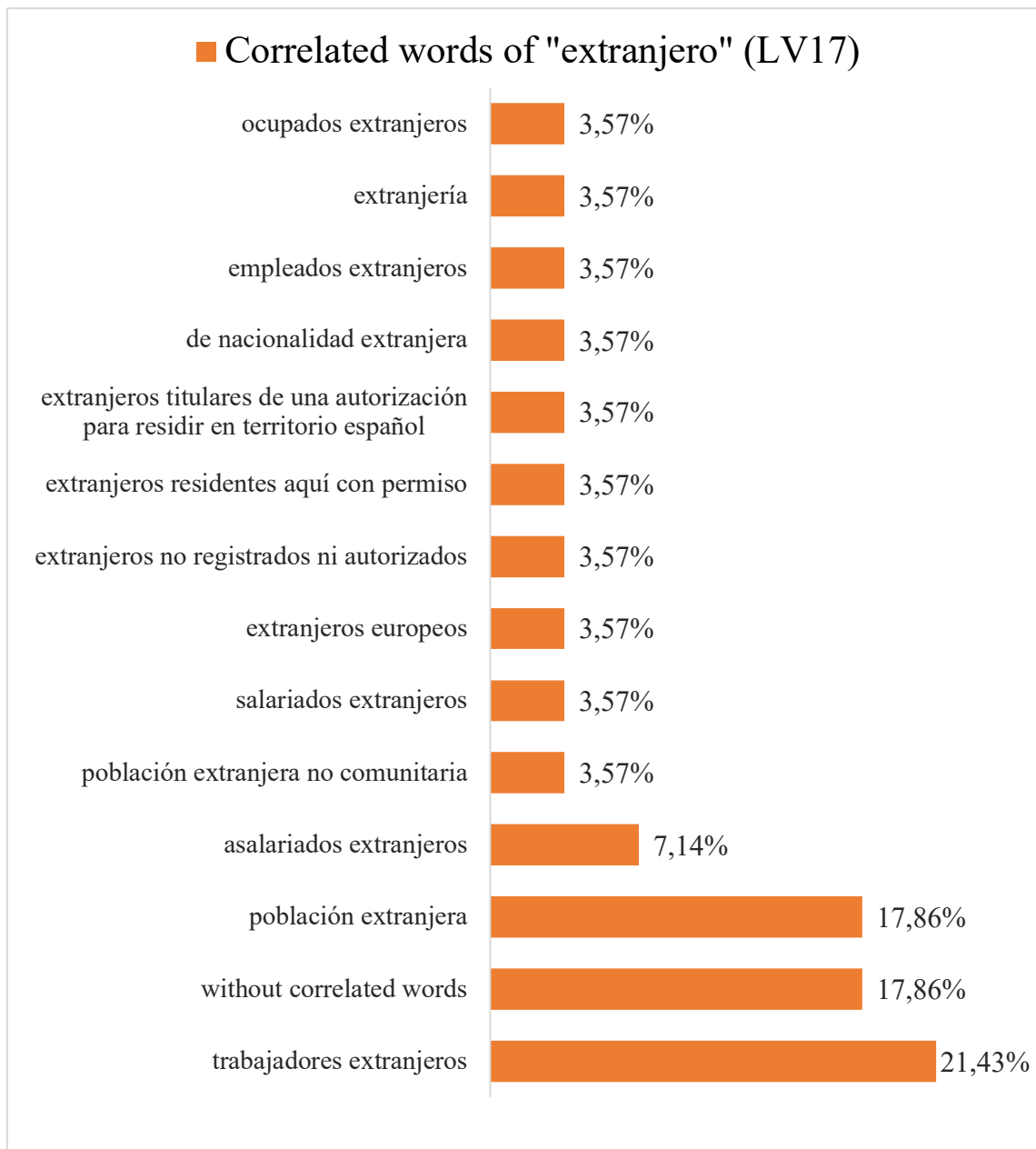


Table 75

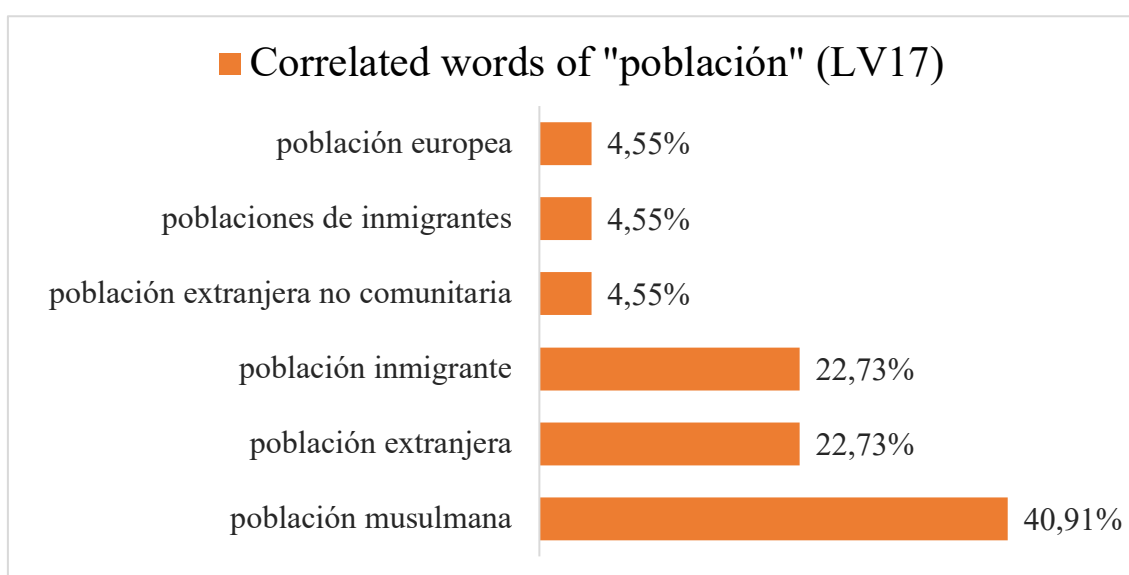


Table 76

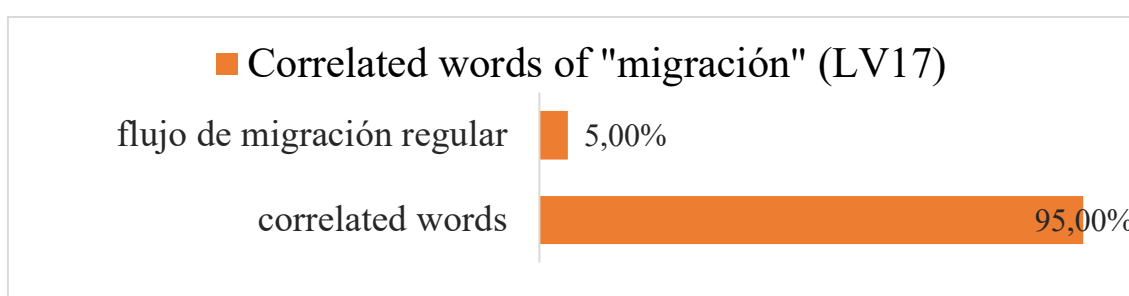
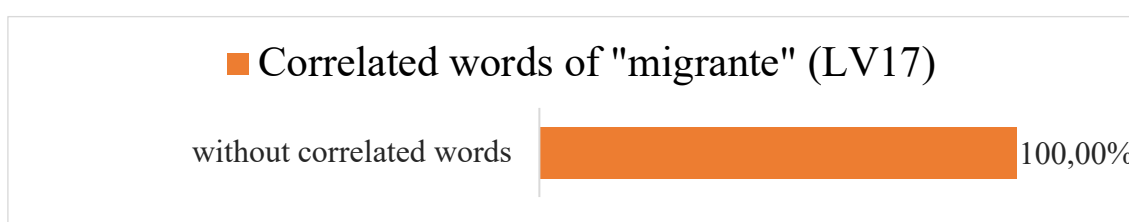


Table 77

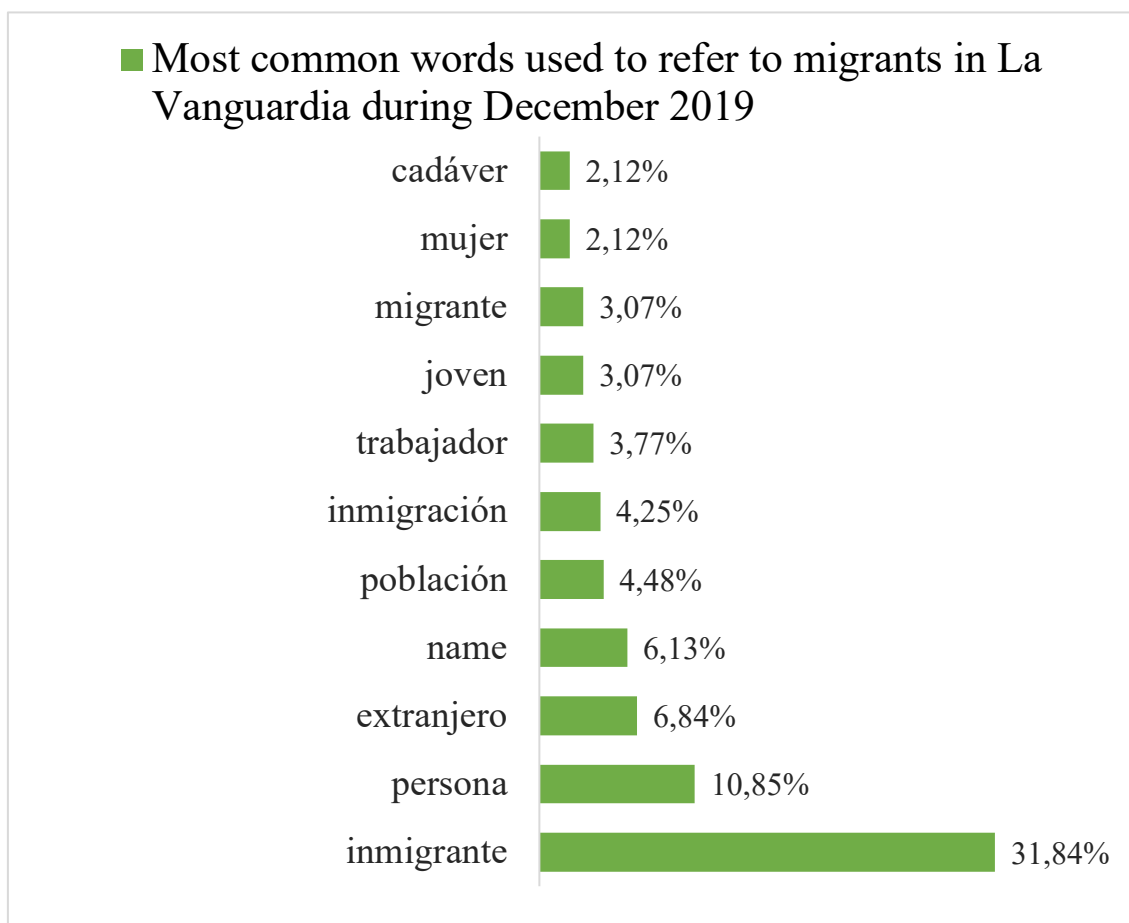


When looking at the correlated words accompanying the most common terms used by *La Vanguardia* to refer to migration in December 2019, we can find a pattern among many of these references, such as the relation between migration and objects not related to humans. For example, the most common term, “inmigrante”, is related to “flujo” in “flujo interminable de inmigrantes”. We can also find a relation to this word when writing about migration in “flujo de migración regular” and refugees in “intenso flujo de

refugiados”, with the intensified emphasis. A similar metaphor related to water, “ola”, is found in “ola de inmigración” and “ola de refugiados”.

Another set of correlated words that stands up is related to the intensity and the sense of chaos that the arrival of migrants to Spain is creating reflected by *La Vanguardia* in expressions such as “inmigración irrestricta”, “inmigración masiva”, “el problema de la inmigración irregular”, “crisis de los migrantes y refugiados” and “crisis de refugiados”. The next table presents the most common words used by *La Vanguardia* in December 2019 when designating migration.

Table 78



As we can see, the reference to Muslims in this list of *La Vanguardia* 2019 is absent. In contrast, other references which were not present in the most common words in 2017 are present now, such as “trabajador” and “mujer”. Other terms associated with good practices, such including the name and referring to the migrant as a person, climbed

in the list to the second and fifth position, respectively. The term “cadáver” is present among the most common words to refer to migrants.

Looking at a detailed enumeration of the correlated words associated with the most common terms shown above will provide more information about the way *La Vanguardia* represented migration in December 2019.

Table 79



Table 80

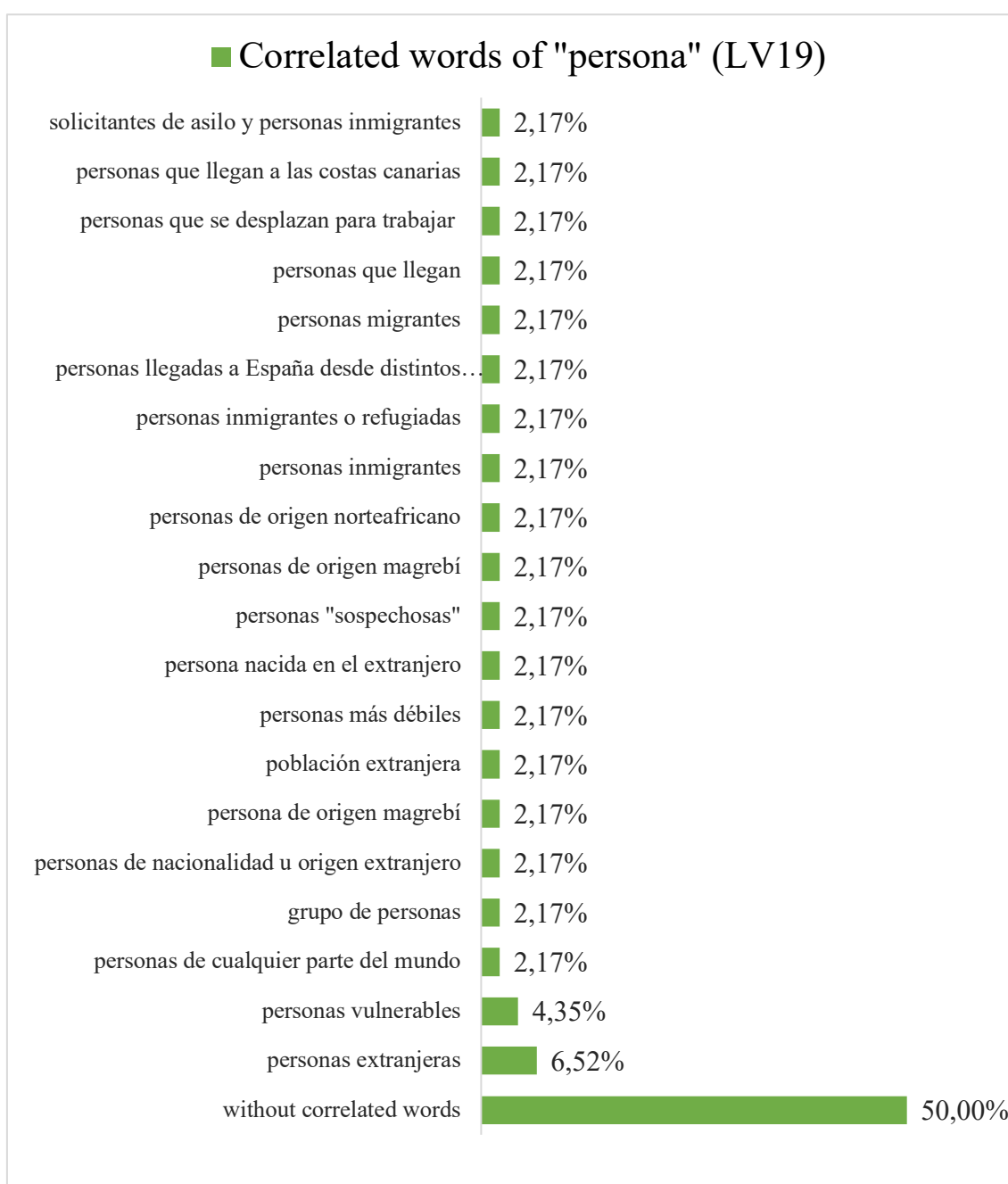


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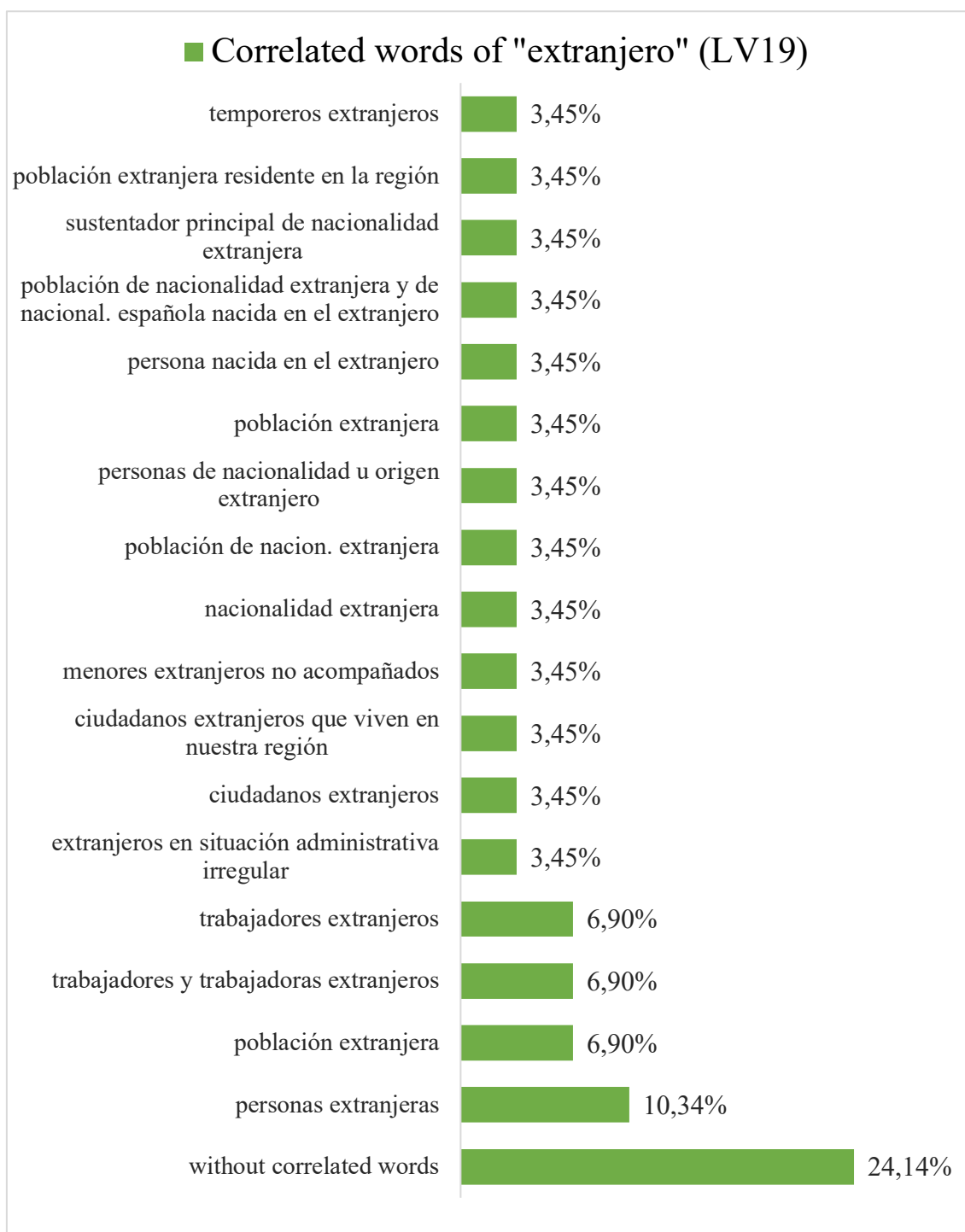


Table 82

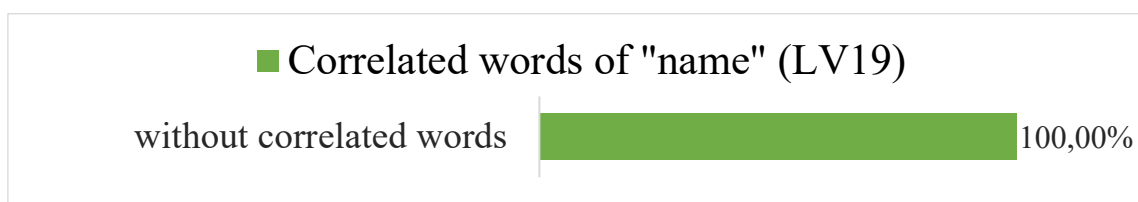


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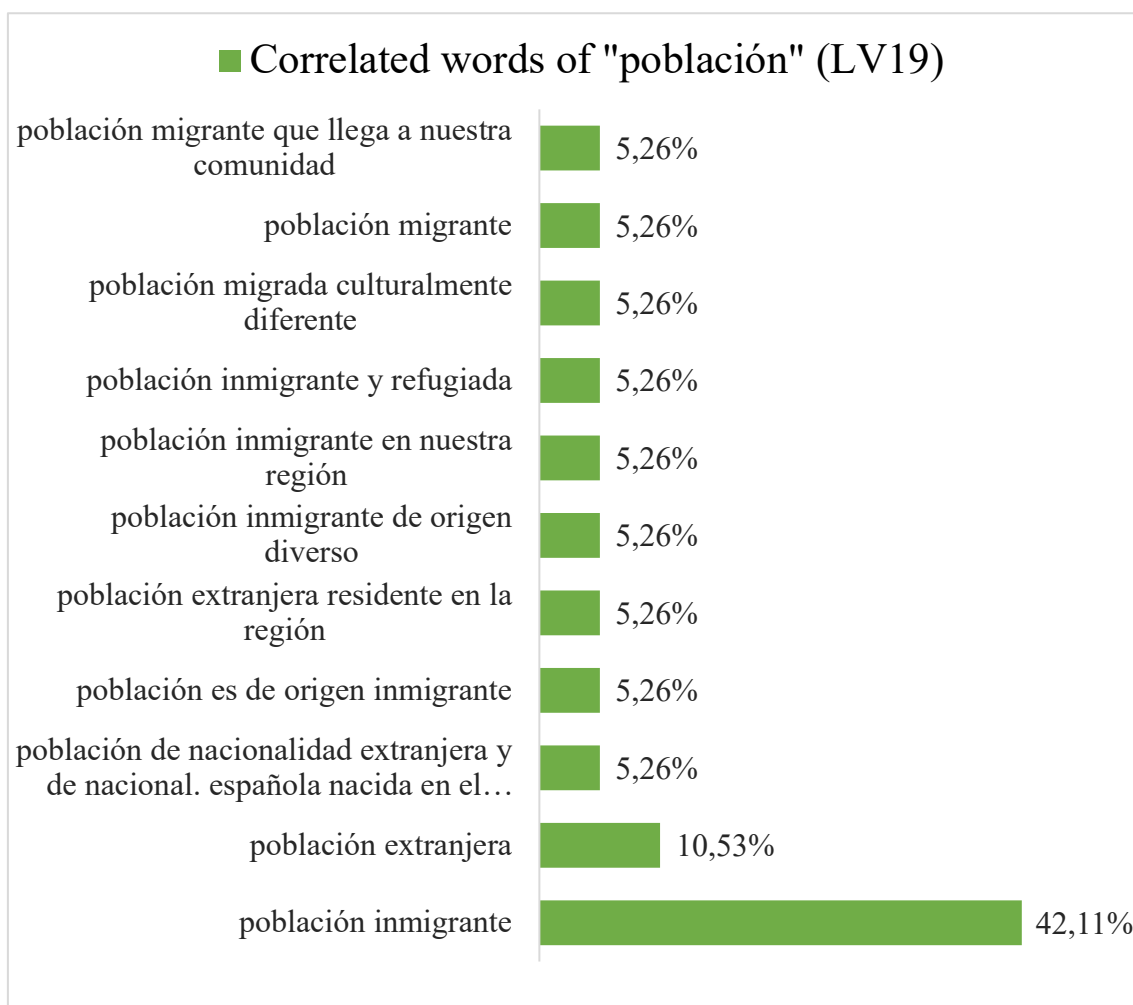


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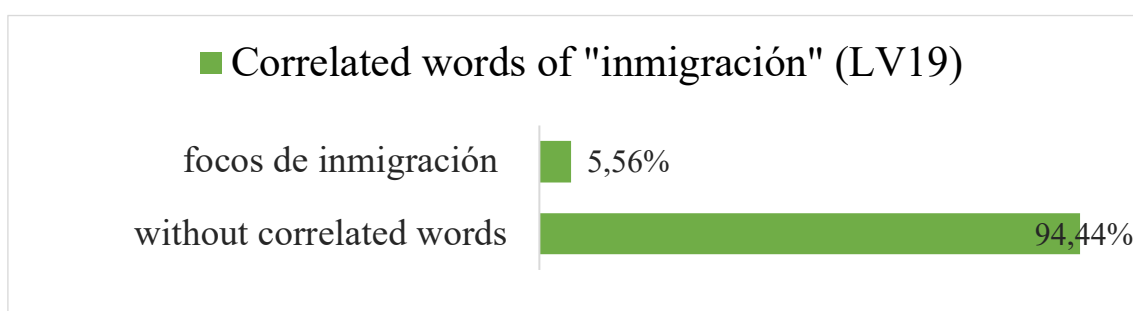


Table 85

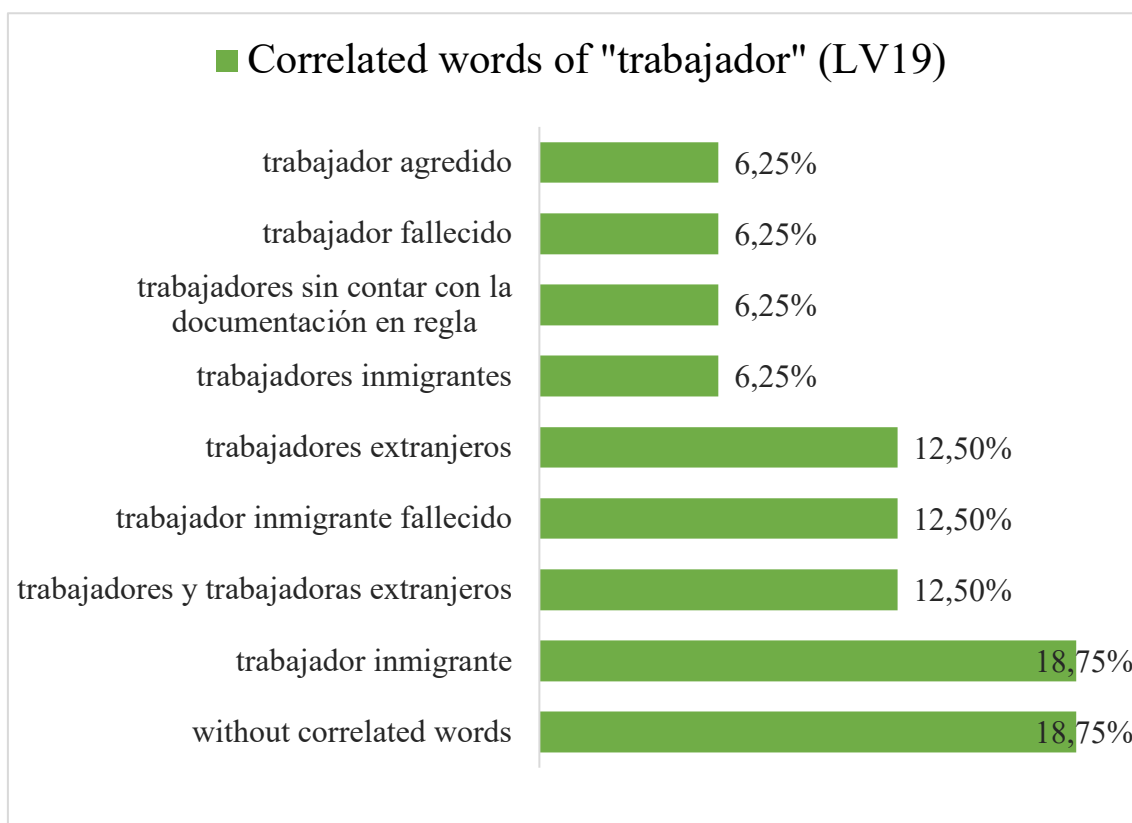


Table 86

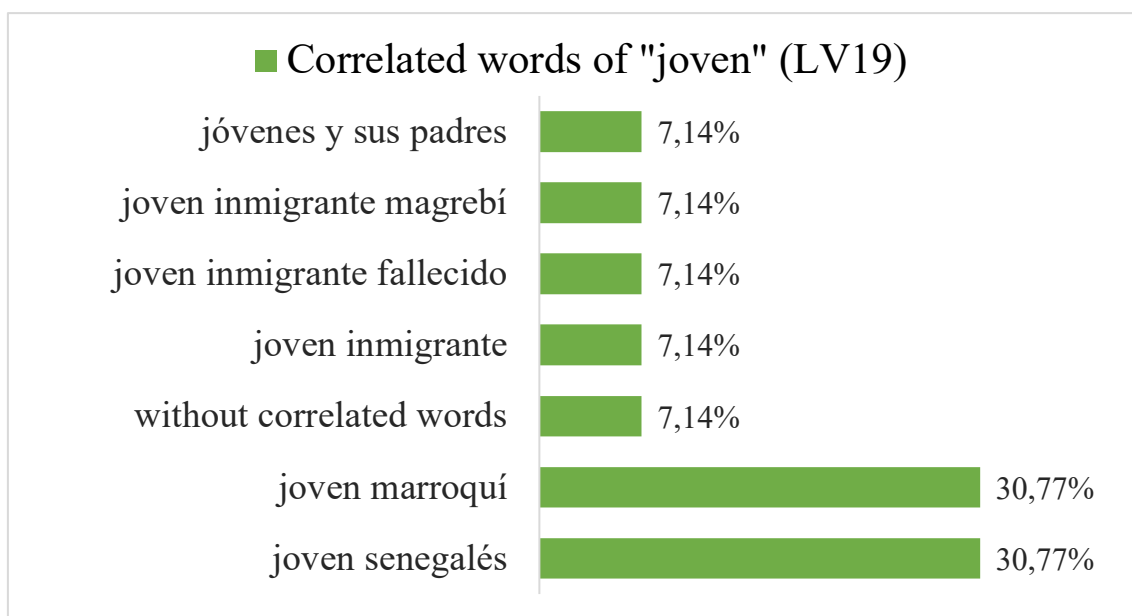


Table 87

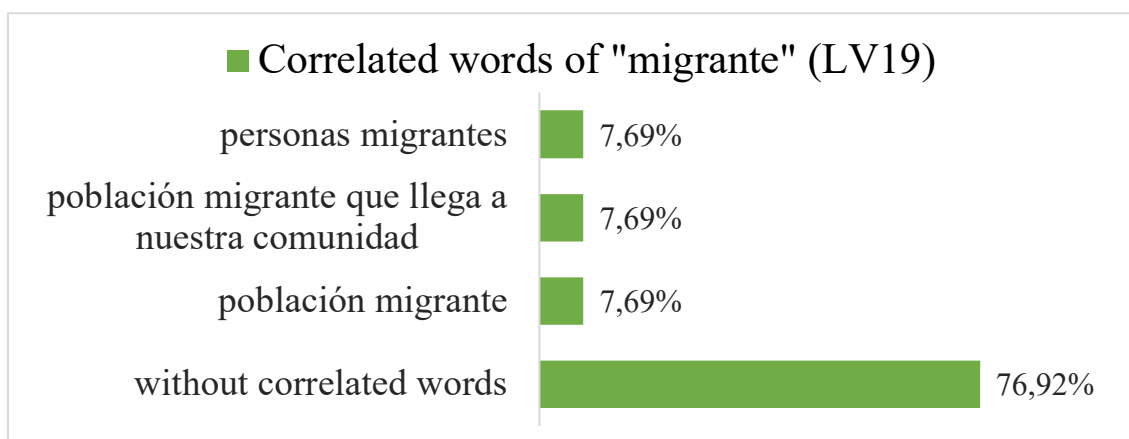


Table 88

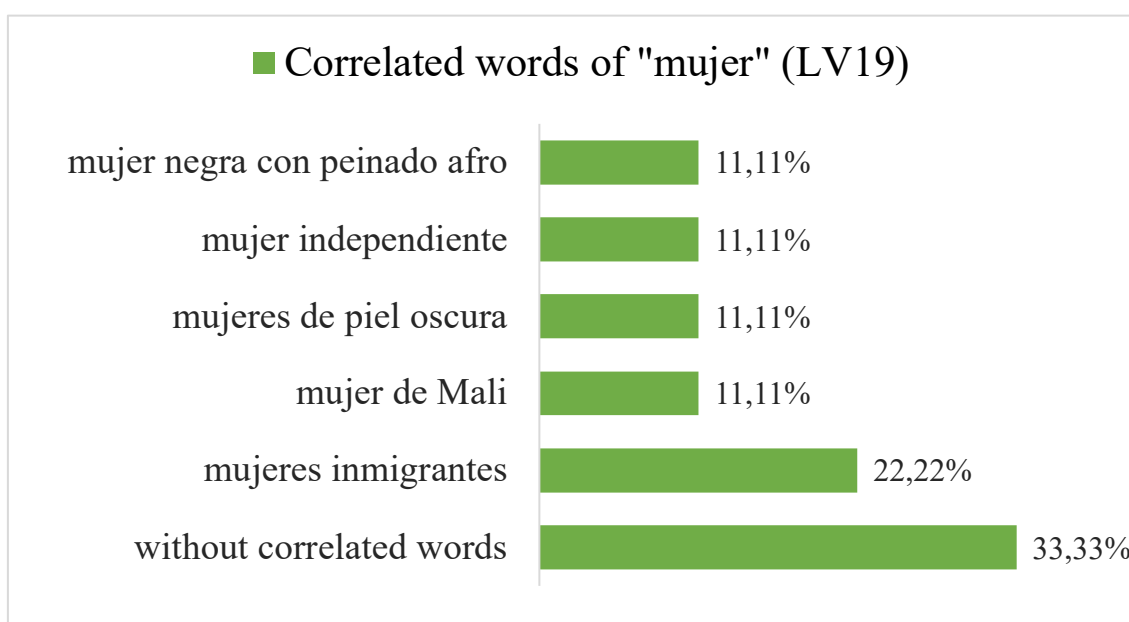
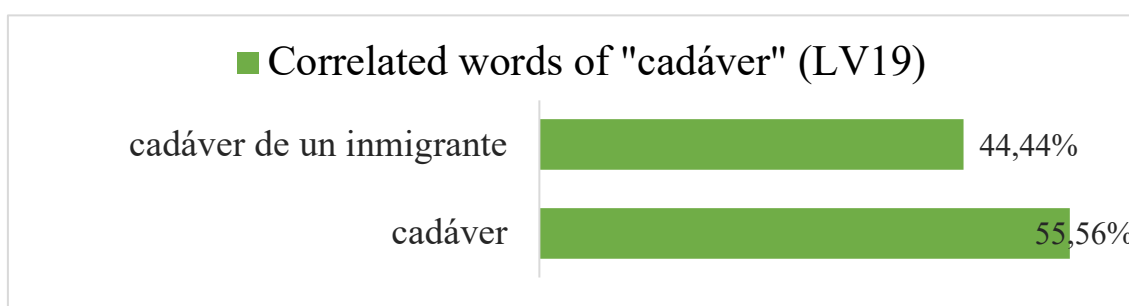


Table 89



In this case, it is relevant the incidence of correlated terms related to the death of migrants in *La Vanguardia*. We can find references to death accompanying the word

migrant in “cadáver de un inmigrante” and “joven inmigrante fallecido”, as well as with worker in “trabajador inmigrante fallecido” and in “trabajador fallecido”. The term “cadáver” appears by itself in just half of the cases and related to “cadáver de un inmigrante” in almost the other half.

The tendency to refer to migrants with correlated words not associated with humans, such as “flujo” or “ola” is not present in the list of most common words of *La Vanguardia* in 2019, finding only one reference in the expression “focos de inmigración”.

Comparing *La Vanguardia* with *ABC* and *El País* in this period of 2019, we can see how *El País* was the only one of the three which favoured the direct reference to the name to any other term. *La Vanguardia*, by its side, was the one that did not include a reference to underage migrants in their list of most common words referring to migration, differing from *ABC*, which used “mena”, and *El País*, that mentioned “niño” and “menor” in their list.

We can see a more detailed and comprehensive comparison of the three newspapers in the two periods of study in the following table. In this table, the most common terms from *ABC*, *El País* and *La Vanguardia* are presented and matched with the percentage used.

Table 90

Word	ABC17	ABC19	EPI7	EPI9	LV17	LV19
cadáver	0,00%	2,05%	0,00%	0,24%	0,00%	2,12%
extranjero	6,77%	4,62%	5,47%	3,18%	5,71%	6,84%
flujo	1,50%	0,00%	0,64%	0,24%	2,04%	0,00%
hombre	3,76%	3,33%	1,29%	0,49%	0,20%	1,89%
inmigración	9,02%	5,13%	9,32%	4,40%	11,84%	4,25%
inmigrante	27,82%	22,56%	20,42%	18,83%	26,46%	31,84%
irregular	0,00%	0,51%	1,61%	3,18%	1,84%	1,18%
joven	0,00%	3,59%	1,13%	2,93%	1,02%	3,07%
mena	0,00%	5,38%	0,00%	0,00%	0,00%	0,24%
menor	1,50%	10,26%	4,18%	2,20%	0,00%	0,24%

migración	0,00%	0,51%	4,98%	2,69%	4,08%	1,42%
migrante	1,50%	0,51%	3,22%	1,22%	3,06%	3,07%
migratorio	1,50%	0,77%	1,93%	2,69%	1,43%	0,94%
mujer	3,01%	0,00%	0,48%	1,22%	1,84%	2,12%
musulmán	0,00%	0,00%	0,16%	1,22%	7,14%	0,71%
niño	2,26%	9,23%	4,02%	2,69%	1,63%	0,24%
nombre	8,27%	13,08%	9,81%	19,80%	6,94%	6,13%
persona	6,02%	6,15%	6,27%	6,11%	10,00%	10,85%
población	0,75%	1,54%	1,29%	1,71%	4,49%	4,48%
refugiado	11,28%	0,77%	5,14%	7,58%	6,33%	0,71%
trabajador	0,00%	0,51%	0,32%	0,49%	2,04%	3,77%

As it can be seen, the percentage used for every word is presented in this table even when that word was not among the most used in the other two newspapers, to have a clear and broader picture of the results. As in previous tables, the percentage shows the number used in comparison to the total amount of mentions in the articles of each newspaper during each period of study.

Concerning the findings from the comparison among newspapers and periods, it is possible to state that the word “cadáver” only appears significantly in *La Vanguardia* in the period of 2019, being absent of the rest, except for a brief mention in *El País* in 2019. The metaphor “flujo” was used, if not significantly, at least constantly to refer to migrants in the three newspapers, being absent only in *La Vanguardia* in 2019.

The term “persona” is also one of the favourite ones for the three newspapers, especially for *La Vanguardia*. *ABC* and *El País* used it in a very similar proportion to each other in both periods. The reference to the word “población” was not very used and it entered in the list through *La Vanguardia*, which used it significantly in both periods. *ABC* and *El País* did not use “población” frequently. Another word used was “extranjero”. This term was one of the most common ones for every single newspaper in both periods. The preference for this word decreased from 2017 to 2019 in *ABC* and *El País* and it only increased during these two years in *La Vanguardia*.

Concerning the noun “hombre”, it is present in every newspaper in each period, having a special representation in *ABC*. By contrast, the reference to “mujer” was not present in *ABC* during 2019 and it was used more often in *El País* and *La Vanguardia* during 2019 than two years earlier.

Regarding those terms related to the age of the migrants, the use of the word “joven” grew in 2019 in each newspaper, in some cases as drastically as in *ABC*, where it passed from no mentions in 2017 to be among the most used words to refer to migration in 2019. A similar pattern happened with the term “mena”, totally absent in 2017 in *ABC*, *El País* and *La Vanguardia* and highly used by *ABC* in 2019. “Menor” also grew significantly in *ABC*, until the point that it passed from the eleventh most used term in 2017 to the fourth one in 2019. This pattern differs from the other two newspapers, since “menor” was not used in *La Vanguardia* in 2017 and very rarely in 2019, and it decreased in *El País* from 2017 to 2019. The reference to “niño” was not as present in *La Vanguardia* as it was in *El País* in both periods and especially in *ABC*, which used this term as its fifth favourite option during 2019.

Concerning the set of words referencing a migratory root, the term “migrante” decreased significantly in *El País* and *ABC* in 2019 in relation to 2017, only remaining significant in *La Vanguardia* in both periods. Considering “migratorio”, this way to refer to migrant issues only grew in *El País* during 2019 and it decreased in *ABC* and *La Vanguardia*. Regarding “inmigración”, it was considerably more frequent in 2017 than in 2019, when it decreased it used notably. A similar term, “inmigrante”, was unsurprisingly the preferred option for each newspaper in every period, except for *El País* in 2019. *El País* also had a smaller percentage of this word in 2017, meaning that the variety of words to refer to migrants was higher than in *ABC* and *La Vanguardia*. “Migración” had an irregular used among the newspapers, since *ABC* merely used this term and, by the opposition, the term was often used in 2017 by *El País* and *La Vanguardia*, decreasing its use in 2019 in both journals.

The name of migrants is one of the main ways to refer to migration by every newspaper studied in both periods. Among the three of them, *La Vanguardia* had a fewer incidence than *ABC* and *El País*. Among these last two, *El País* used it more often,

especially in 2019, when it grew ten percentual points in comparison to 2017. The use of the name to refer to migrants also grew in *ABC* significantly from 2017 to 2019.

The use of the word “irregular” was in general uncommon, being absent in *ABC* in 2017 and very infrequent in 2019. It was only appreciably represented in *El País* in 2019.

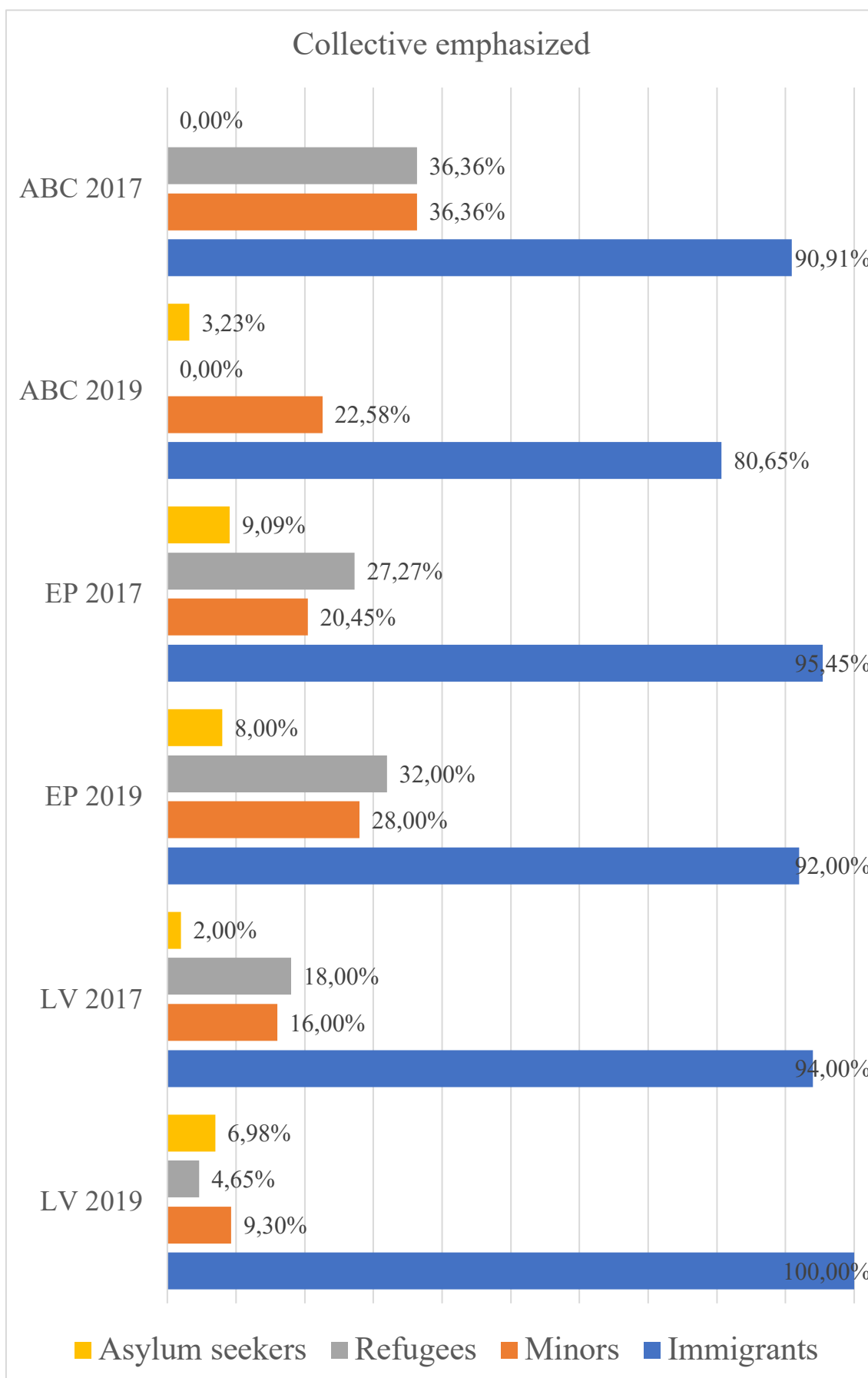
ABC did not mention the word “musulmán” in any of their periods and it was rare in *El País*. By contrast, the term “musulmán” appeared frequently in *La Vanguardia* during 2017. Muslims were the only creed present in the complete list of terms related to migration. Another term used differently among newspapers is “trabajador”, which was among the most common references in *La Vanguardia* in 2019, but it had a very low representation in *El País* and *ABC*.

Finally, the use of “refugiado” was very frequent in *La Vanguardia* and, especially, in *ABC* in 2017. It decreased strongly in the same journals in 2019. *El País* used it less often in 2017 and its use grew in 2019. In this chapter, it will not be studied whether the term “refugiado” was used properly to refer to people enjoying the status of refugee. That question will be analysed as part of the analysis in the next chapter.

3.2.2. Type of collective emphasized

In this subsection, it will be shown the main collectives of migration emphasized by the newspapers analysed. Each article can contain more than one category. The percentage is calculated in relation to the total amount of articles of each newspaper in the related period of study. This information will contribute to answer the research question of how migrants are portrayed in the media in a receiving country, in this case, Spain.

Table 91



As it can be seen, not all the articles reporting about migration emphasized immigrants as the main collective reported in the information. The only newspaper that always put the focus on immigrants is *La Vanguardia* in the period of December 2019. This newspaper is, by contrast, the least interested in writing about underage migrants in their articles about migration. By contrast, *ABC* in 2017 dedicated more than a third of its articles to write about minor migrants. *El País* also showed a significant interest in this topic.

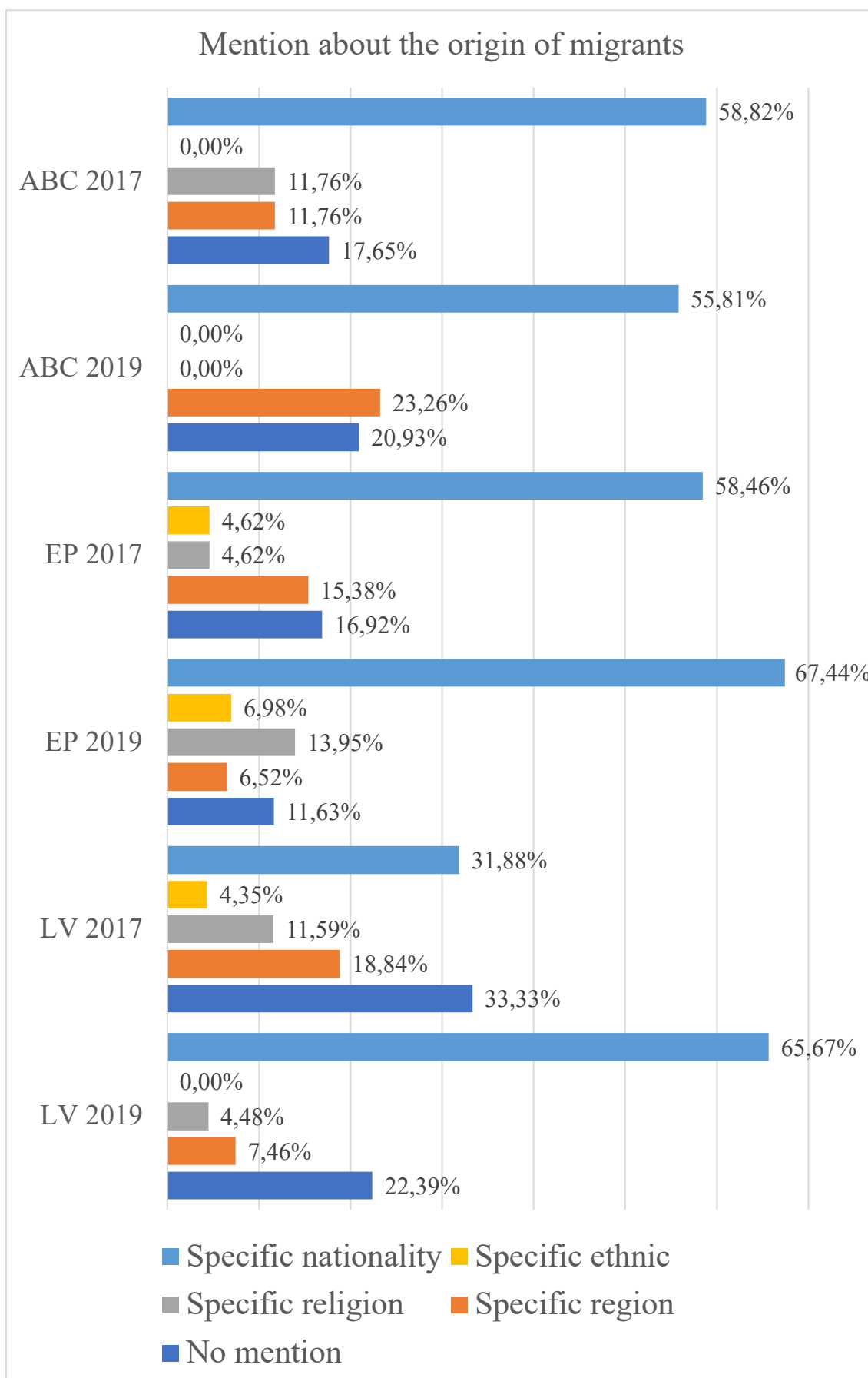
Concerning emphasizing refugees in articles about migration, the results are diverse, even among the same newspapers. As such, we can see a great interest of *ABC* in 2017 to write about refugees when reporting about migration, with a third of their articles showing an emphasis on this collective. However, there is no interest at all in refugees two years later in *ABC*. Even though it is not as notable, numbers also dropped in *La Vanguardia* from 2017 to 2019. *El País* is more consistent in both periods, being close to a third of the articles including refugees when informing about migratory issues.

Finally, asylum seekers seem to be a collective for whom the newspapers of this investigation did not show much interest. *ABC* did not report about them in the articles of December 2017 and the numbers did not increase significantly two years later. *La Vanguardia* showed more interest in 2019, but not considerably. *El País* is the only one that showed more interest, even though still moderate, not overpassing a tenth of the articles.

3.2.3. Mention about the origins of the migrants

The present subsection shows whether the analysed newspapers stated the origin of the migrants they informed about and, if so, which origin they included. The percentage shows the proportion of mentions with the aggregated number of references on each newspaper and for each period of study. The data extracted from this subsection will contribute to answering the research question about how migrants are portrayed in the media in Spain.

Table 92



In general, as we can see in the table 92, newspapers tend to mention some type of origin of migrants in their articles when reporting about migration. In this case, *La Vanguardia* in December 2017 was the only one that showed less interest in mentioning any origin. By contrast, *El País*, especially in 2019, included a reference to the origin of the migrant in the vast majority of the articles.

Mentions to the specific region to whom the migrants come from decreased significantly in *El País* from 2017 to 2019 and, especially, in *La Vanguardia*, which showed little interest in referencing the region in 2019. On the contrary, *ABC* was keener to mention the region of origin in 2019, multiplying by two the references to the region. In the following table, it is shown to which regions these newspapers referred and how often they did it.

Table 93

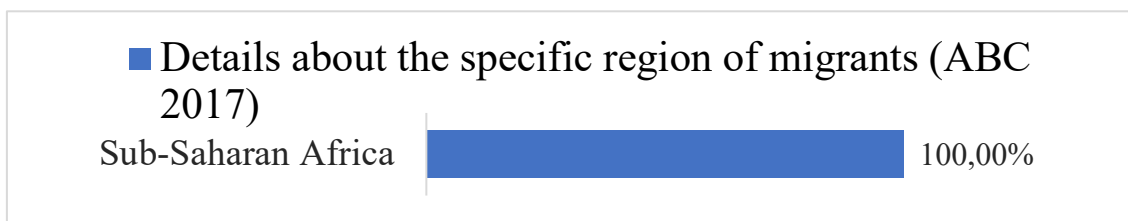


Table 94

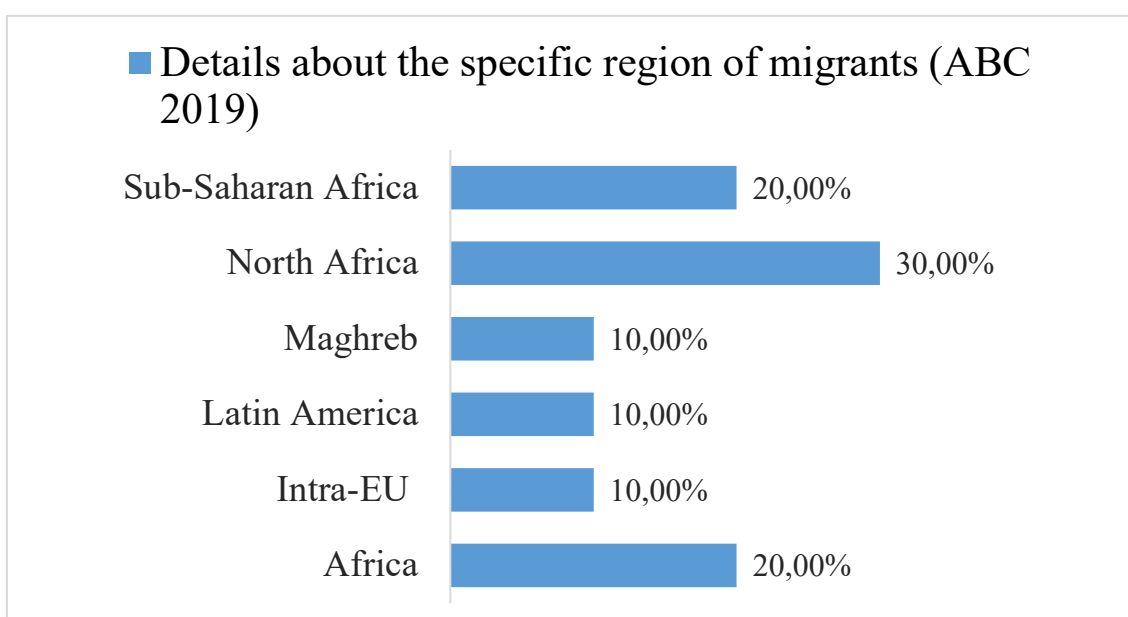


Table 95

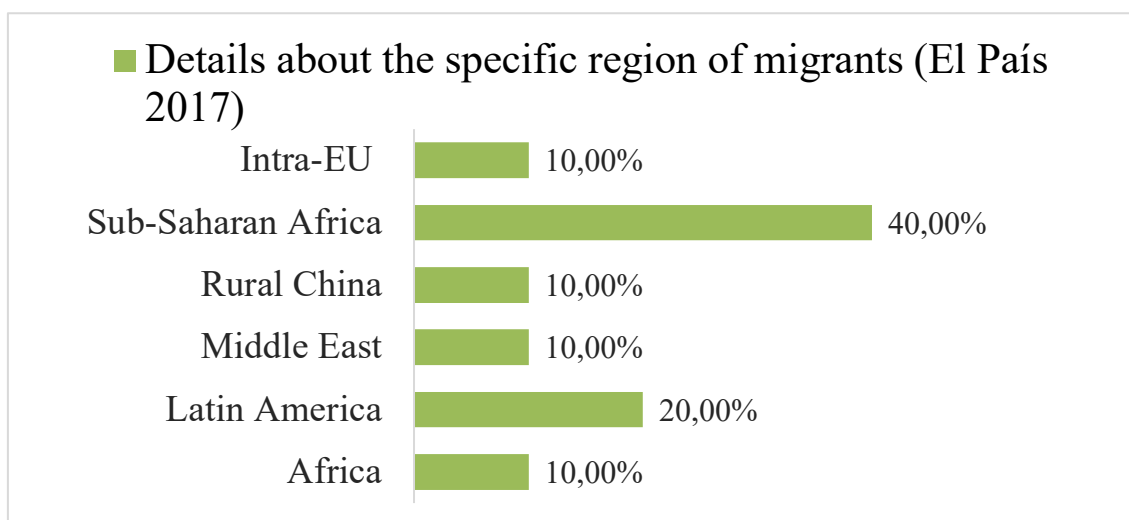


Table 96

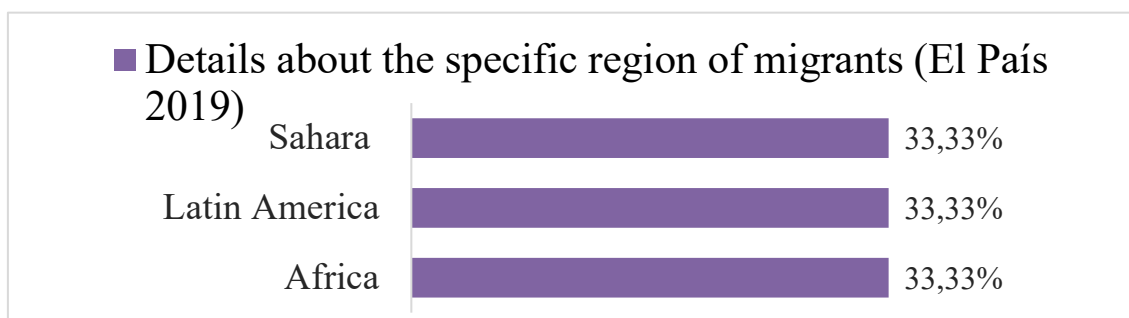


Table 97

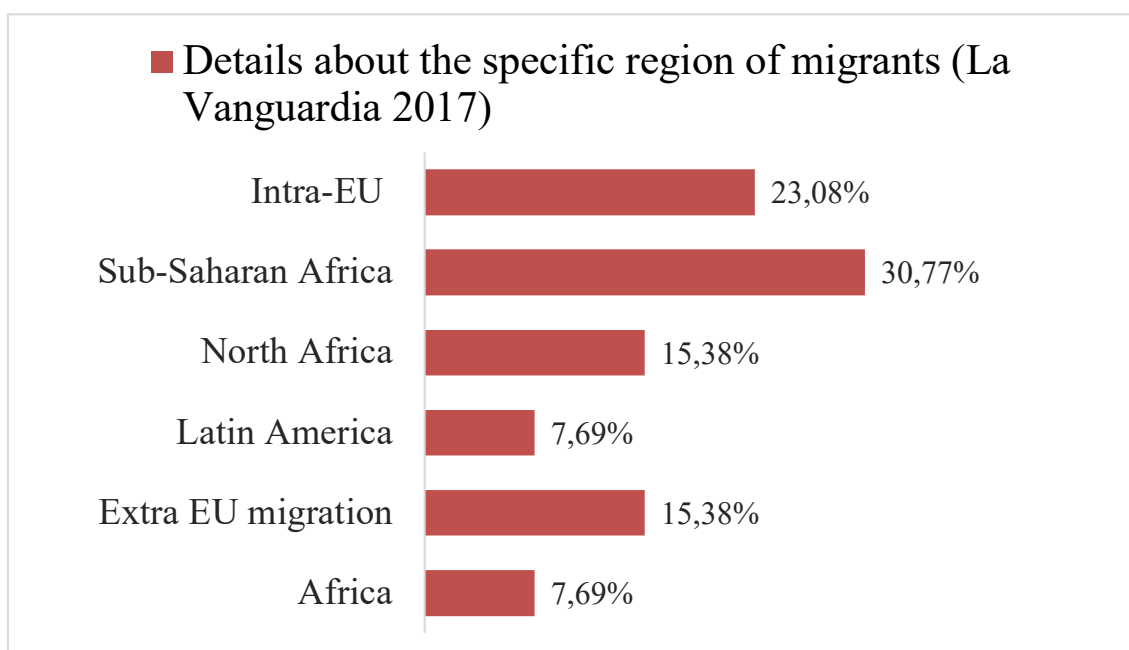
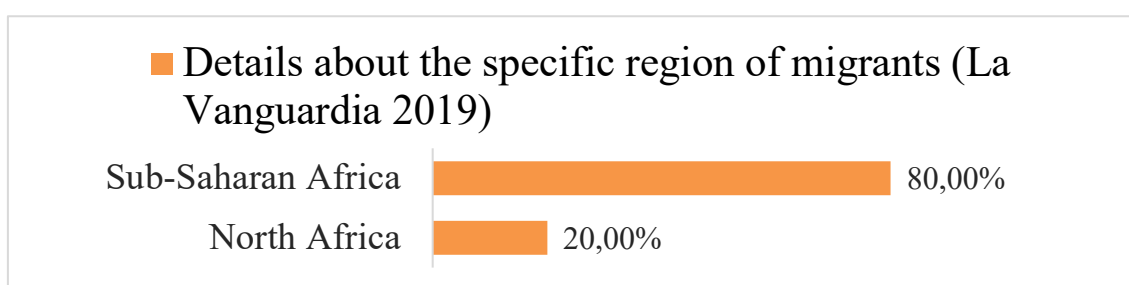


Table 98



The most relevant finding regarding regions of origin is the persistence among the three newspapers to inform about migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa with very high percentages in relation to the rest of the regions stated. In some cases, such as in *ABC* in 2017, it was the only region mentioned in this category. Only *El País* in 2019 did not mention explicitly any Sub-Saharan origins, nevertheless, they informed about people from Africa.

In general, mentions to migrants from any area different from Africa is significantly rare. The only exception would be for Latin American migrants in *El País*, but still, they are not as represented as Africans. We can find mentions to intra-EU origins only in one of the periods of each newspaper, and in any case with small percentages. Regarding extra-EU migration, this category is mentioned only by *La Vanguardia* in 2017, and it is registered in broader terms, as it is mentioned in the text. In the next chapter, it will be studied what frames are used when reporting about migrants coming mostly from Africa and whether they are associated with terms related to conflict or chaos. Concerning mentioning the religion of migrants, in general, it was not very common to reference this aspect. In fact, *ABC* in December 2019 did not even refer to it. The higher number represented in the results is provided by *El País* in 2019, but it did not reach fifteen per cent of the total references to the origin. In the next table, it is displayed what religions are stated when writing about migrants.

Table 99



Table 100



Table 101

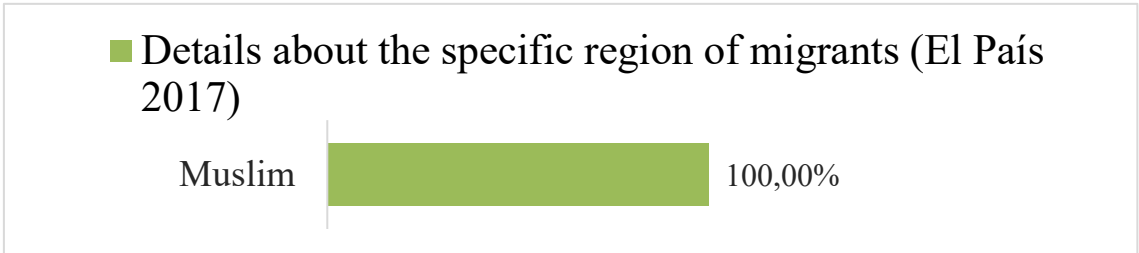


Table 102

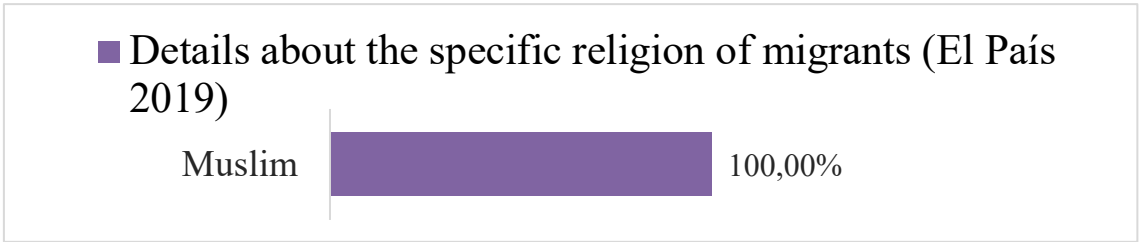


Table 103

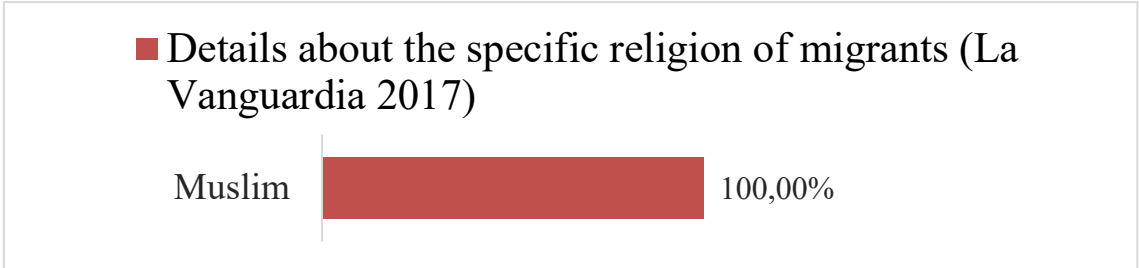
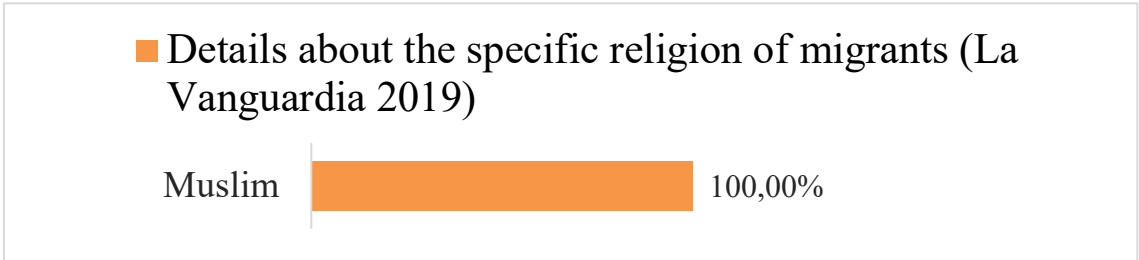


Table 104



In this case, there is only one clear finding, the fact that all the newspapers, when they report about the religion of migrants, do it only when they are Muslims. In the next chapter, it will be studied whether this is an accurate representation and the type of frames Muslim migrants are associated with.

In relation to mentioning the ethnicity of migrants, this category showed to be residual. *ABC* in both periods and *La Vanguardia* in 2019 did not even make any mention of the ethnic origin of migrants. For a more detailed calculation about this aspect, it can be seen below the results regarding the ethnics mentioned by the newspapers, with a percentage calculated with the total amount of mentions about reported ethnics in each newspaper and period.

Table 105

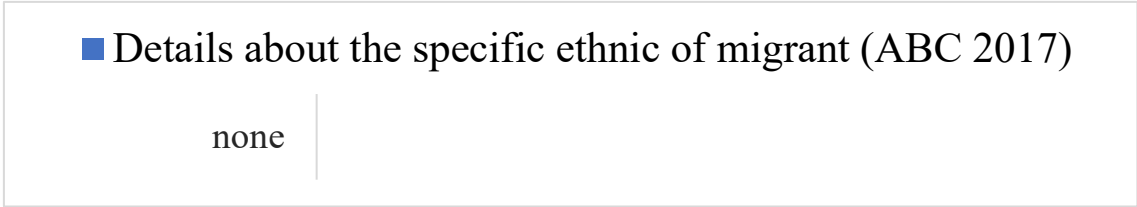


Table 106

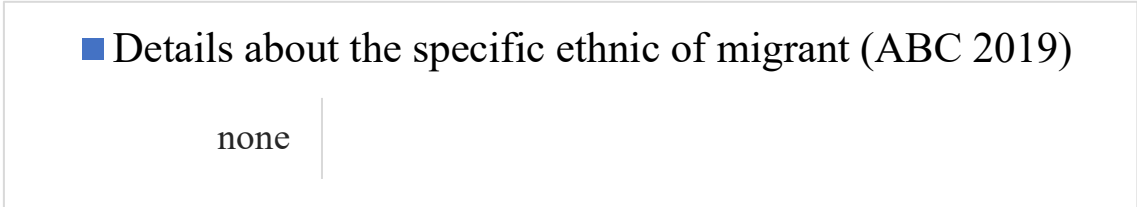


Table 107

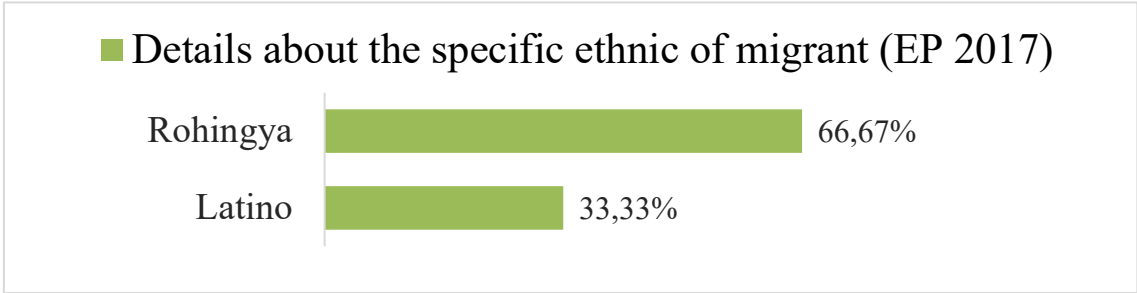


Table 108

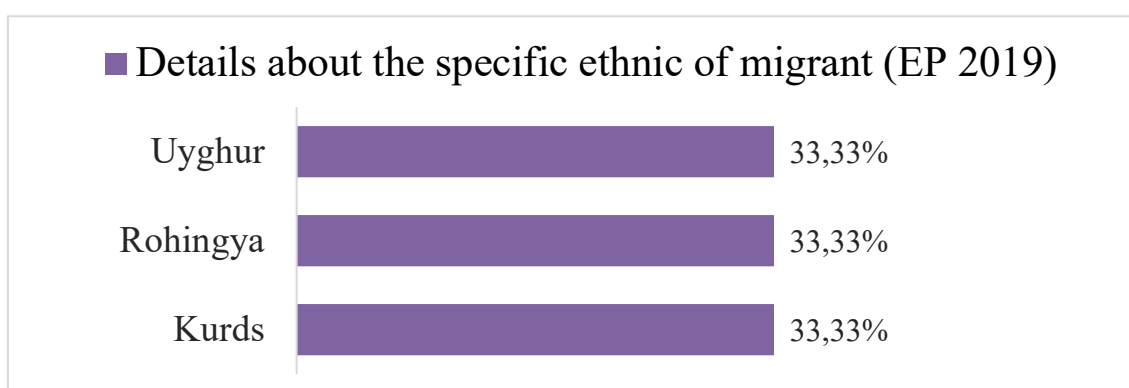


Table 109

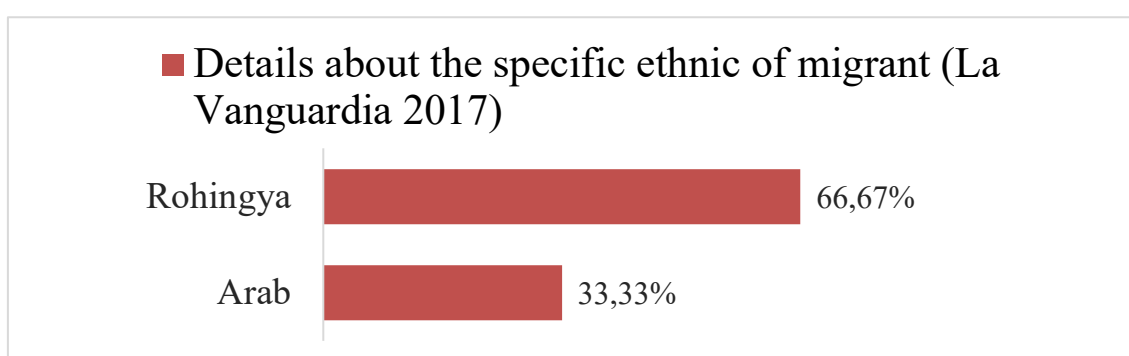
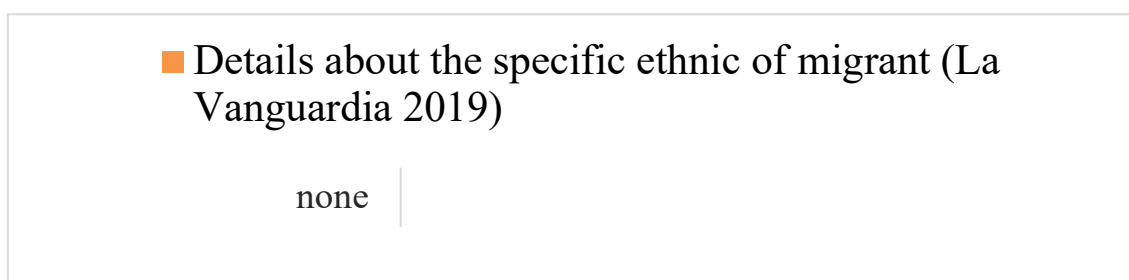


Table 110



As we can see, the diversity of ethnicities represented in the newspapers is very limited. Only Rohingya people, for reasons that will be explained in the next chapter, attracted some attention by *La Vanguardia* in 2017 and especially by *El País*, which continued reporting about them in 2017 and 2019.

Finally, it is perceived how referring to a specific nationality is the favourite option for newspapers when writing about the origin of the migrants. In general, at least one out of every two articles contain information about the country of origin of any

migrant. *El País* and *La Vanguardia* were especially interested in adding this information in 2019, getting to two out of three articles including at least a nationality. On the other hand, *La Vanguardia* in 2017 displayed the smallest interest on this point, reaching only a third of the articles with a mention to any nationality of migrants.

The next table shows which nationalities the newspapers reported about and how often. The percentage displayed is calculated with its own category during the same period. For instance, when *ABC* reported about a specific nationality, twenty per cent of the times this nationality was Cameroonian.

Table 111

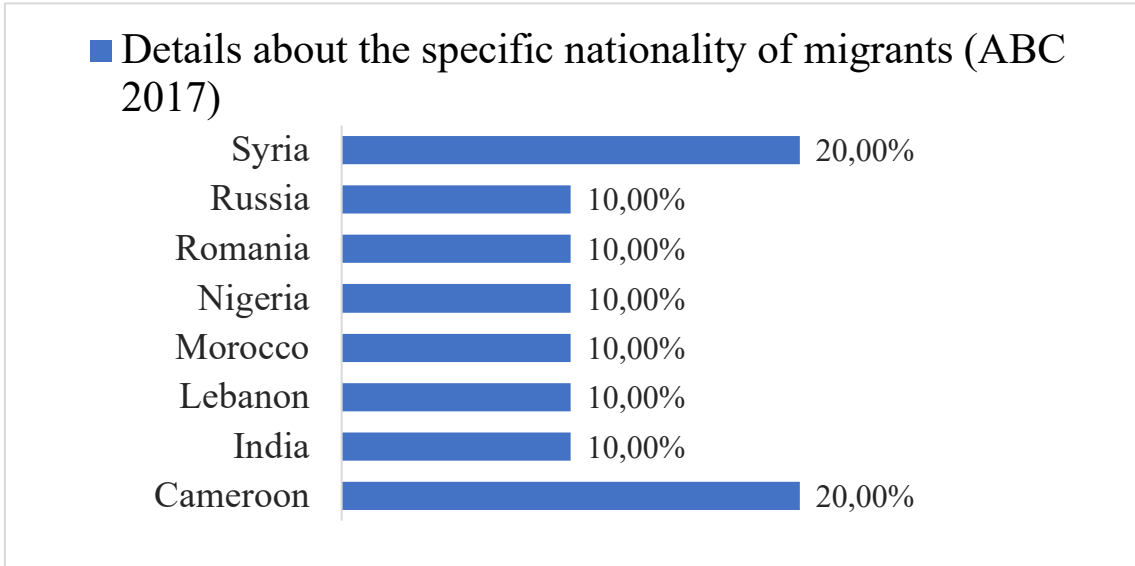


Table 112

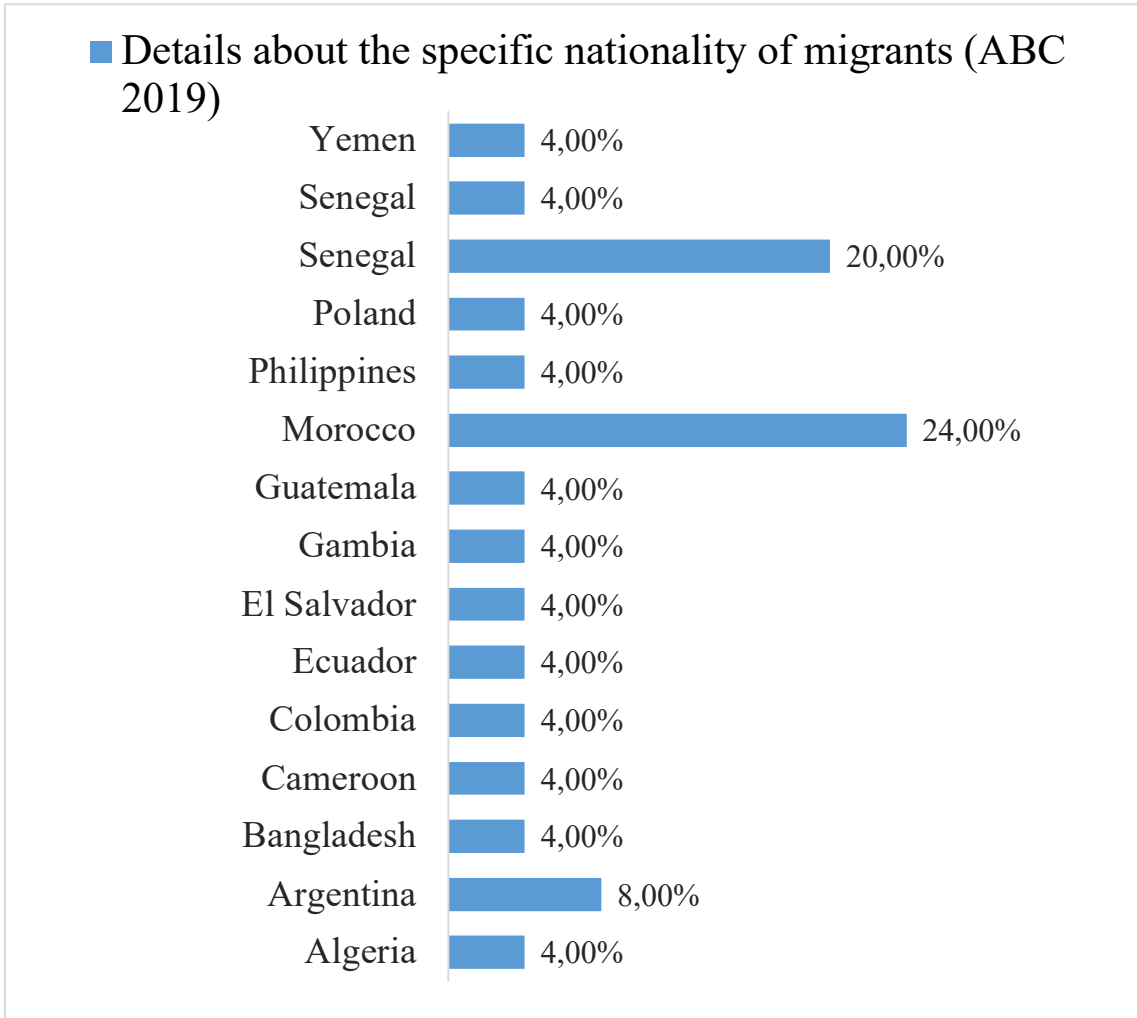


Table 113

■ Details about the specific nationality of migrants (EP 2017)

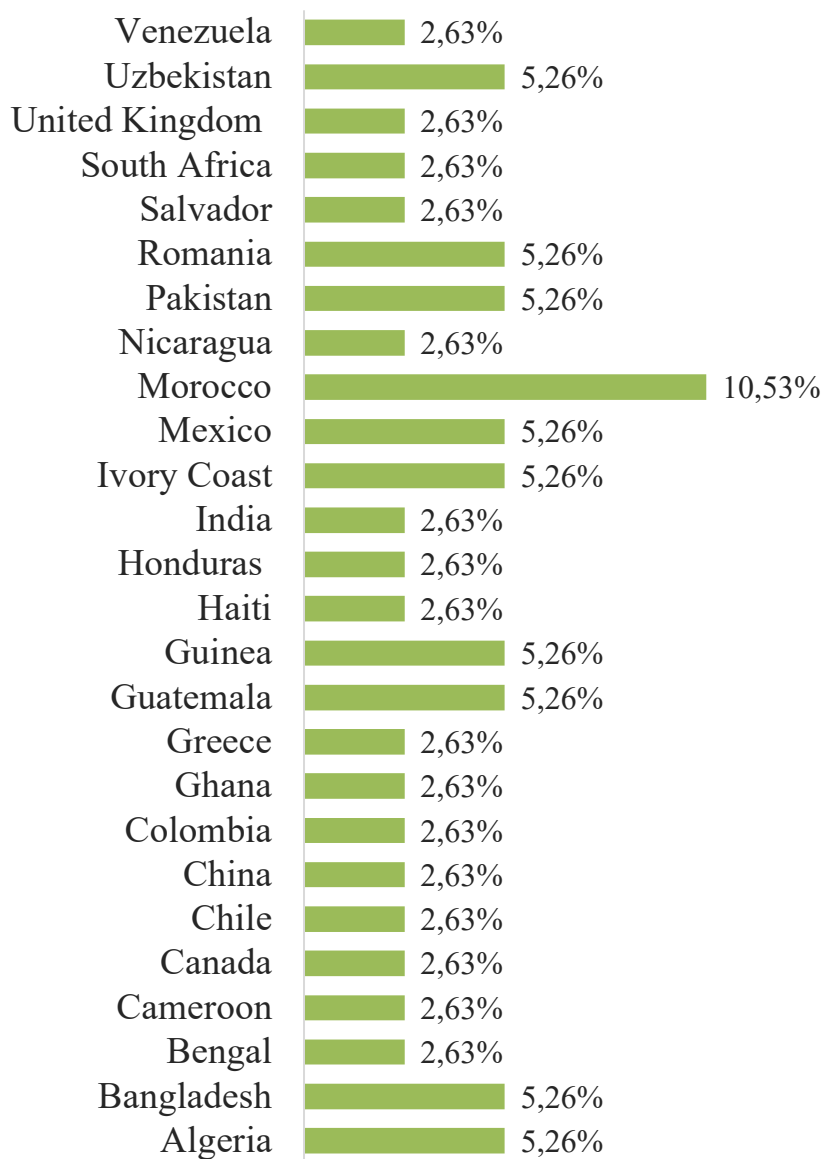


Table 114

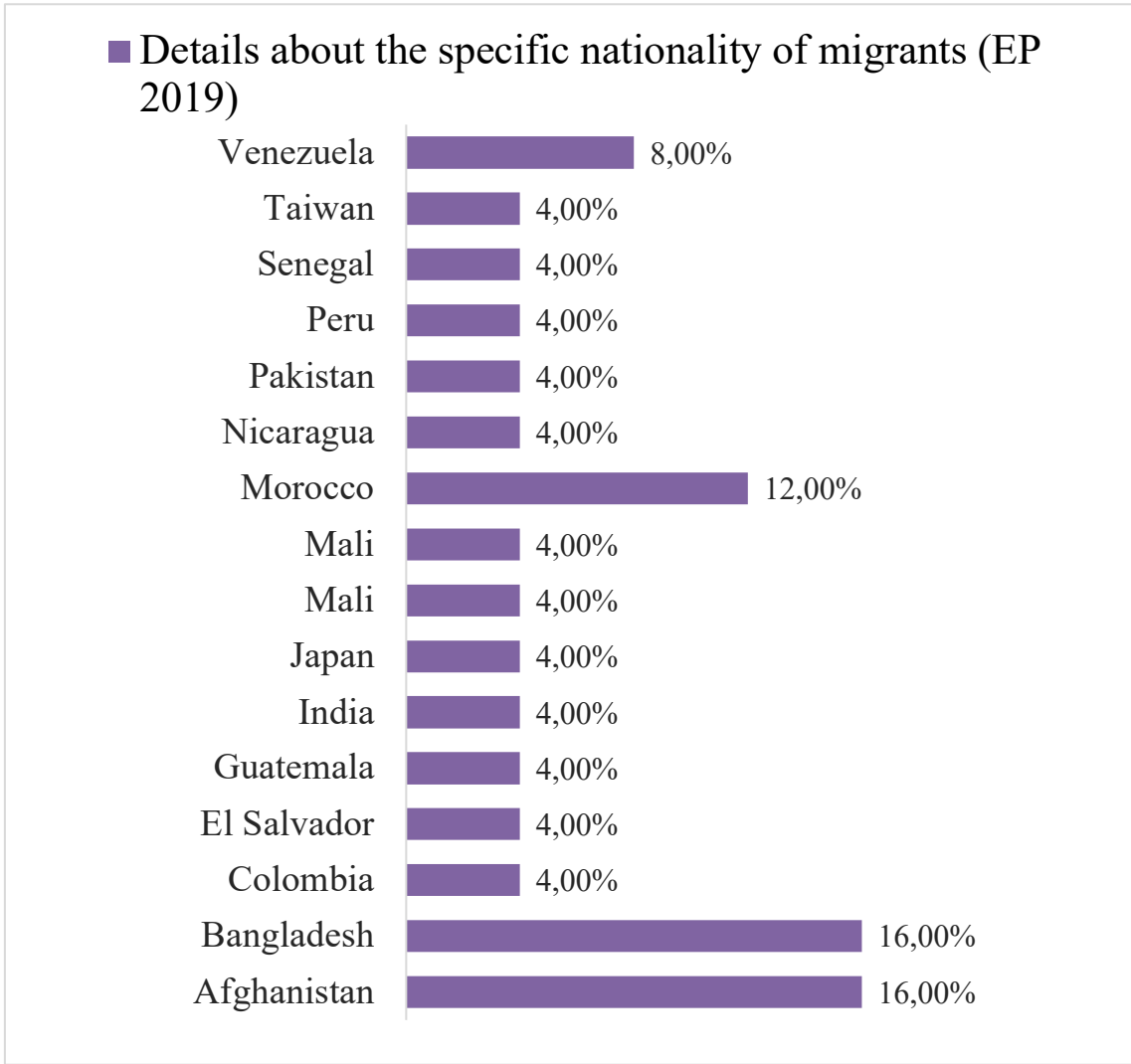


Table 115

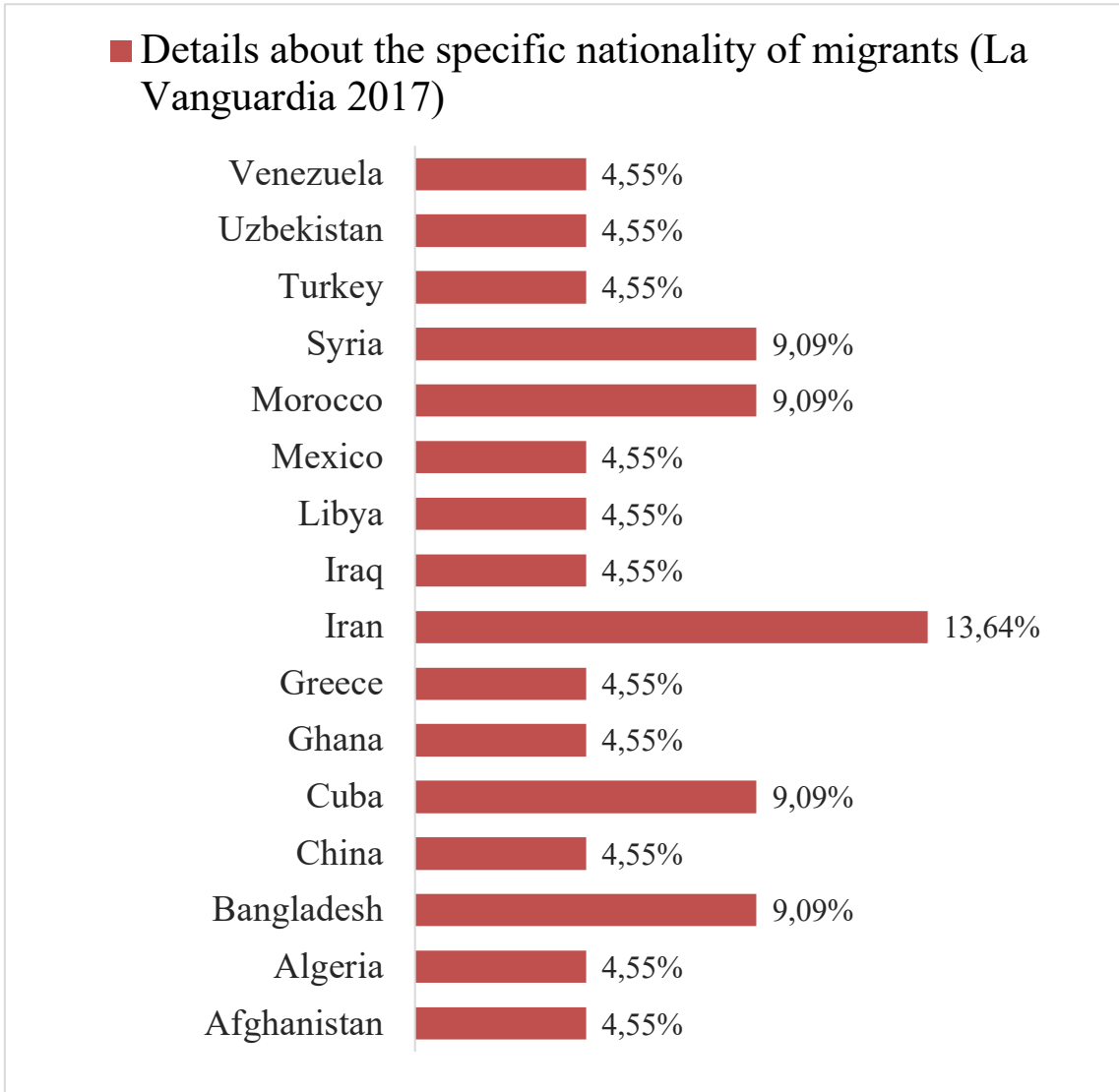
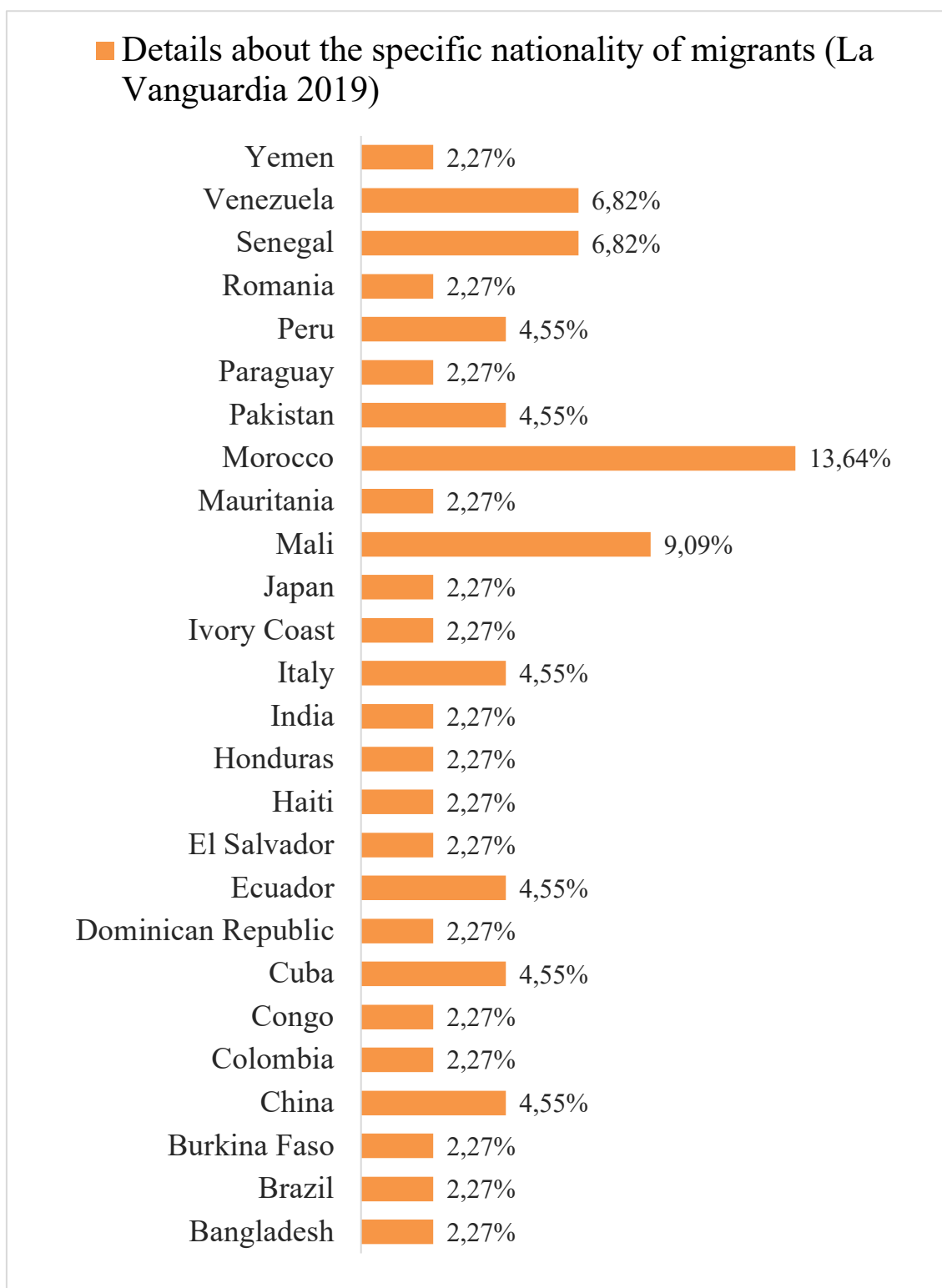


Table 116



A set of findings stands up from this table. First of all, migrants with Moroccan nationality appear in every period of the three newspapers analysed, always with a high percentage. In *ABC*, in particular, Moroccans are the most common reported nationality

in 2019, as well as in *La Vanguardia* in 2019 and *El País* in 2017. The next chapter will further the examination of the content of the articles to understand the reasons behind this preference and the frame related to this nationality. Romanians, who represent the largest migrant community by nationality in Spain after Moroccans, are barely mentioned, appearing only with low percentages in *ABC* and *El País* in 2017, and *La Vanguardia* in 2019.

ABC informed more often about Cameroonians and Syrians during 2017, and Senegalese and Moroccans in 2019. For *El País*, the most common nationalities were Moroccans in 2017 and, in 2019, Afghans and Bangladeshis. *La Vanguardia* shared these preferences with *El País*, with Bangladeshis, Moroccans and Syrians as their most shared nationalities in 2017 and, in 2019, with Moroccans by a notable difference.

Regarding Syrians, it is noteworthy to find out the attention they received by *ABC* and *La Vanguardia* during 2017. Syrians occupy in these journals a high position in the list of mentioned nationalities in 2017, but they disappeared from the articles in 2019. *El País* did not report about Syrians in any of the periods. In the next chapter, it will be analysed the suitability of relating Syrians with migration and whether they should have been associated with refugees or asylum seekers.

3.2.4. Number of migrants to whom the information is related

In this subsection, it is shown the preference of newspapers to report about a specific number of migrants. One entry per article is assigned, registering the category emphasized in the information. Therefore, the percentage shows the number of articles in which the particular category appears for each period and newspaper. For instance, *ABC* informed about large groups of migrants in 18,18 out of every 100 articles during December of 2017. Below, it is presented the complete table that will contribute to answering the research question about how migrants are portrayed in the media in a receiving country.

Table 117

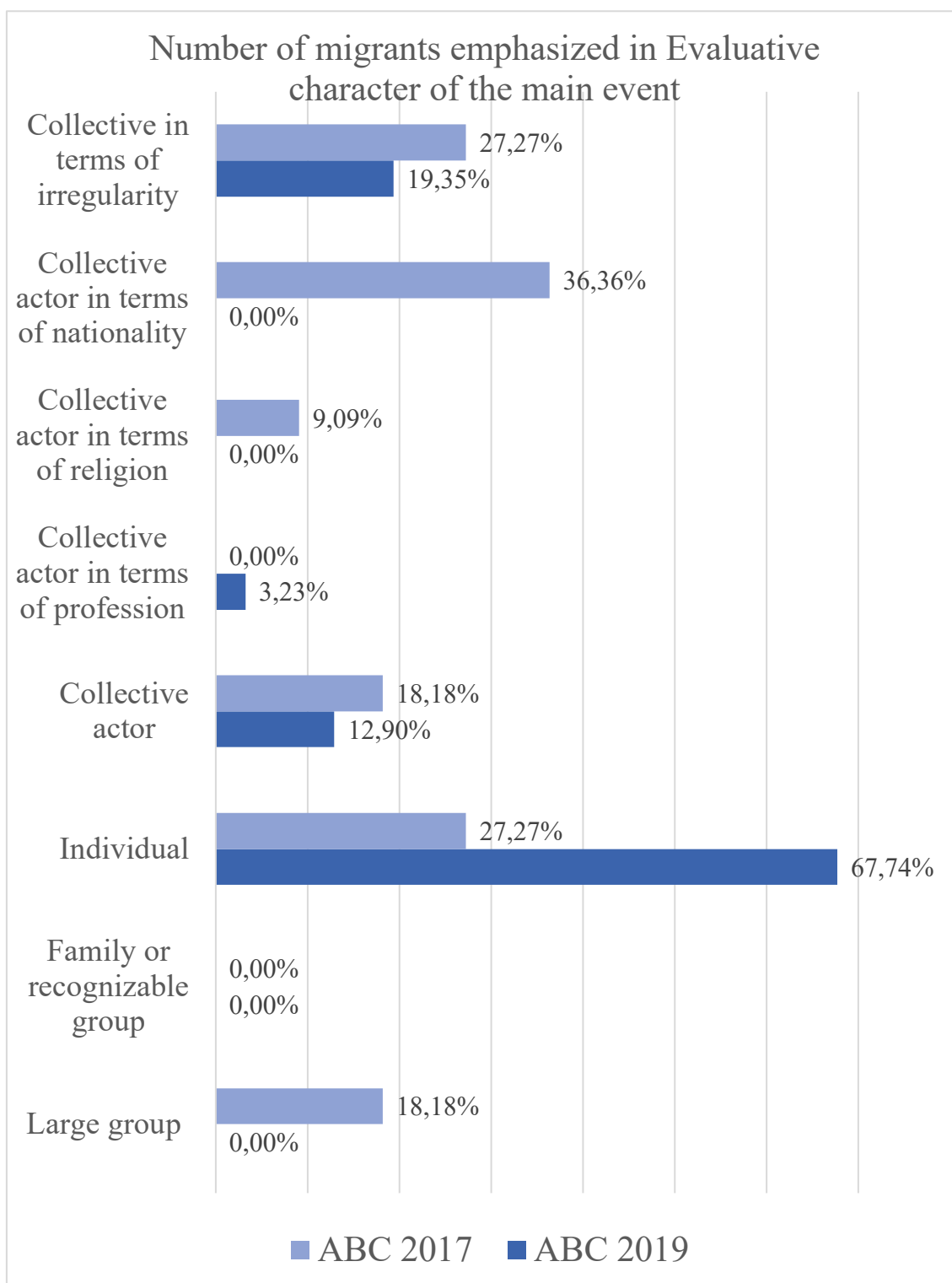


Table 118

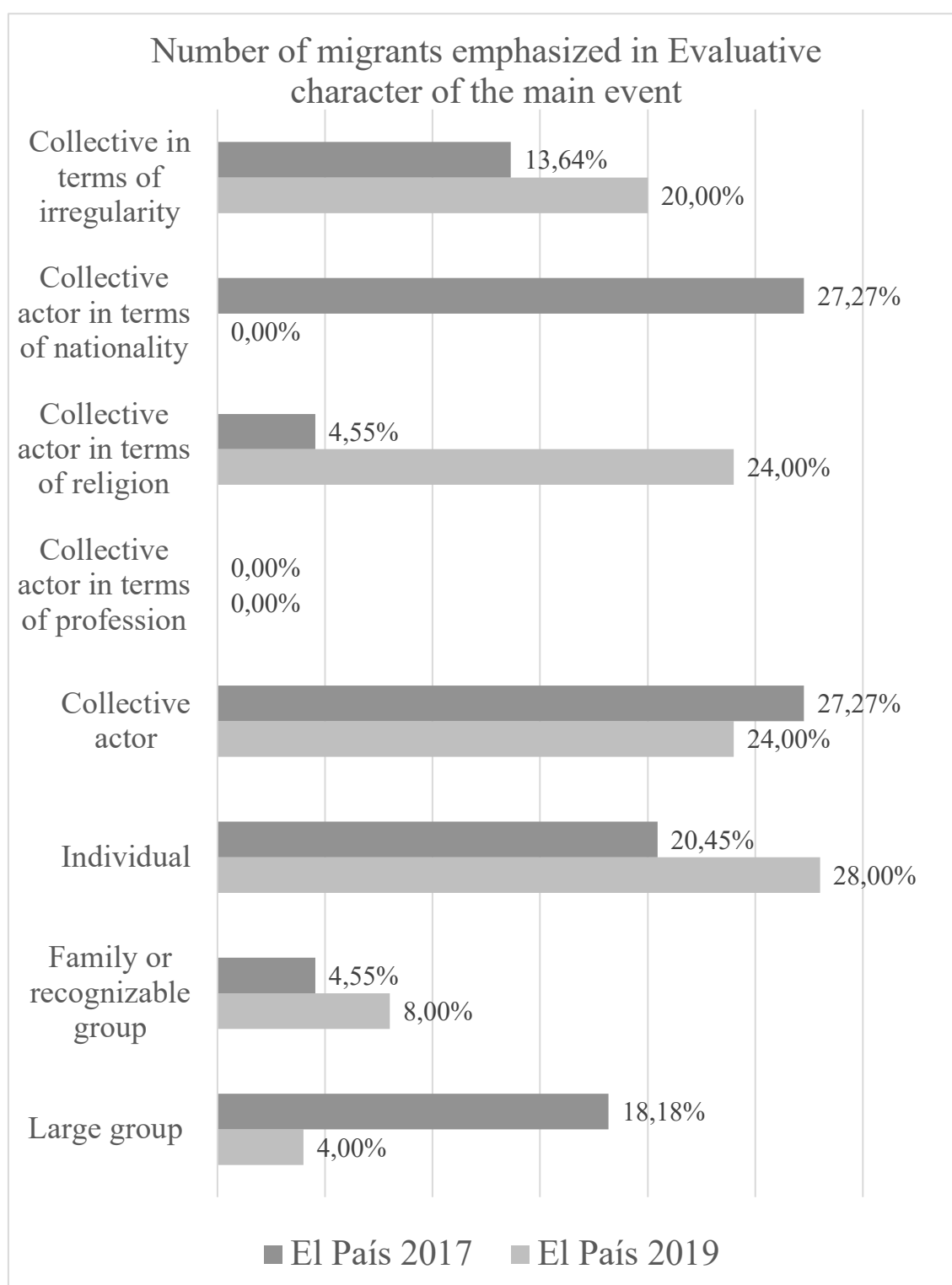
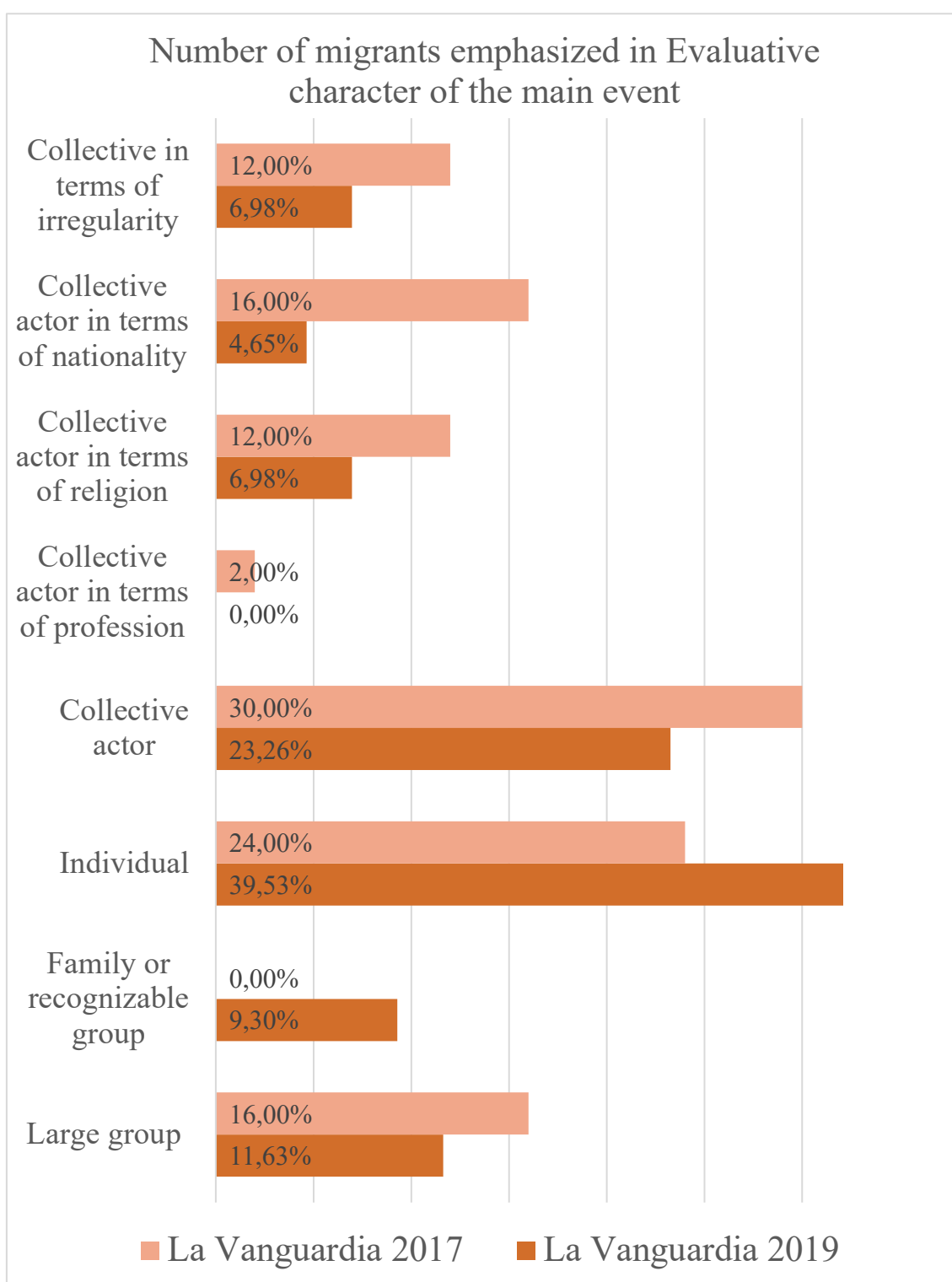


Table 119



As we can see, the first category, informing about large groups of migrants, was not especially popular during 2019, and it only got some attention during 2017, even though it was not among the most used during this period.

ABC did not inform either about families or recognizable groups of migrants in either period of study, as it happened with *La Vanguardia* in 2017. Regarding this group, numbers grew timidly in 2019 for *La Vanguardia*, and *El País* showed little interest in general about families or recognizable groups.

The opposite happened with individuals. All the newspapers focussed many of their articles in reporting about specific migrants. This category was used more often than the others by all the newspapers in 2019. It was among the most frequent in 2017, a tendency worth studying in-depth in the next chapter to determine the frame associated with specific migrants. It is especially relevant the interest shown by *ABC* in 2019 when two out of every three articles regarding migration highlighted an individual.

Informing about the collective actor of migration in general terms also attracted the newspapers' attention, especially to *El País* and *La Vanguardia*, particularly in 2017. *ABC* showed less interest in this case, but still, the numbers were significantly high in general.

Regarding the collective actor in terms of profession, newspapers showed unanimously little to no interest in this group, which will be studied in the next chapter.

The information about collective actors in terms of religion was only significantly frequent for *El País* during December 2019. By contrast, *ABC* did not publish an article highlighting the creed of the migrants in 2019.

Collective actors in terms of nationality were the priority when informing about migrants for *ABC* during 2017. However, this preference changed drastically in 2019, when *ABC* did not publish any single article regarding this collective as the main focus of the story. *El País* mirrored this behaviour, also situating the nationality of migrants as the main criteria to classify migration during 2017 and, again, avoiding this group entirely during 2019. The numbers in *La Vanguardia* in this case also dropped significantly from 2017 to 2019. The next chapter will study this abrupt tendency.

Finally, all the newspapers put the focus frequently on migrants as a collective in terms of irregularity. *ABC* showed a particular interest regarding this aspect, especially in

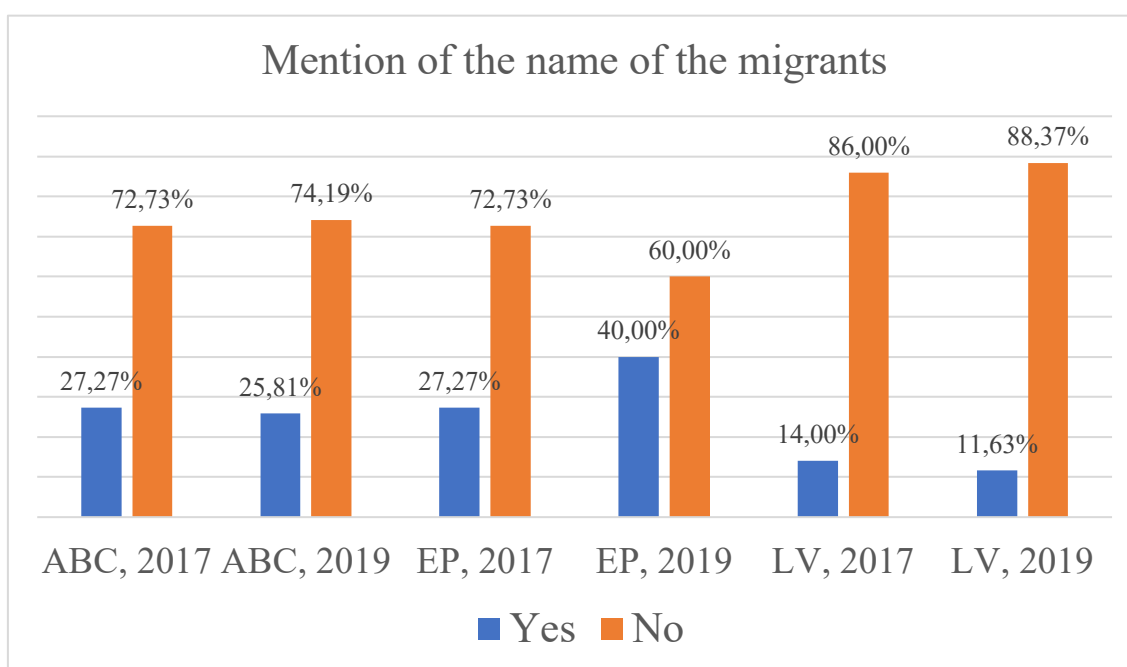
2017. Among the three newspapers, *La Vanguardia* was the one that published less often about irregularity in terms of migration.

3.2.5. Mention of the name of the migrants

The purpose of this category is to register whether newspapers recorded the names of the migrants who are the subject of the information. As we saw in the previous subsection, newspapers often focussed their articles on particular individuals. Therefore, the results of this category will be especially relevant and worthy of analysis in the next chapter of the investigation.

The results are listed in the following table. The percentage is calculated over the total amount of articles analysed; for instance, *ABC* did not report the names of migrants in 72,73 per cent of their articles during December 2017. This data will also be used to complement the answer to the research question regarding how migrants are portrayed in the media in Spain.

Table 120



The most significant finding in this table is how most of the times all newspapers avoided informing about any particular name of migrants when reporting about

migration. Particularly, *La Vanguardia* has the highest percentage in both periods of not referring to the name of the migrants in comparison to their counterparts, with almost ninety percent of the articles not including migrant's names in both periods. *El País* in 2017 and *ABC* in 2019 also showed significantly high numbers of no identifications. In any case, not mentioning the name of migrants was the most common practice in every newspaper and period.

This relevant outcome will be studied in depth in the following chapter, including an analysis of the discourse of the articles, matching the results of this category with the one about the number of migrants and the type of frame.

3.2.6. Main focus on the picture in relation to migration

The following table shows the main focus of the pictures, which are included in the analysed articles about migration. It is attributed only one category per picture, selecting the predominant type in each of them. Therefore, the percentage shows the relation with the total of articles analysed. For instance, *ABC* published pictures focusing on migrants being attended by care professionals in 27,27 per cent of their articles during December 2017. When there is no picture included in the article, this information is also recorded. The absence of a photograph also provides information about the relevance given to the story by the newspaper and about the practices of the press when informing about migrants, as was explained in the previous chapter. The research questions that will benefit from the information extracted from this subsection are how migrants are portrayed in the media in a receiving Spain and to what extent, in representing migrants, media use public memory and historical assumptions that include sensitive aspects about migrants. The results are displayed in the following tables, one per newspaper and period of study.

Table 121

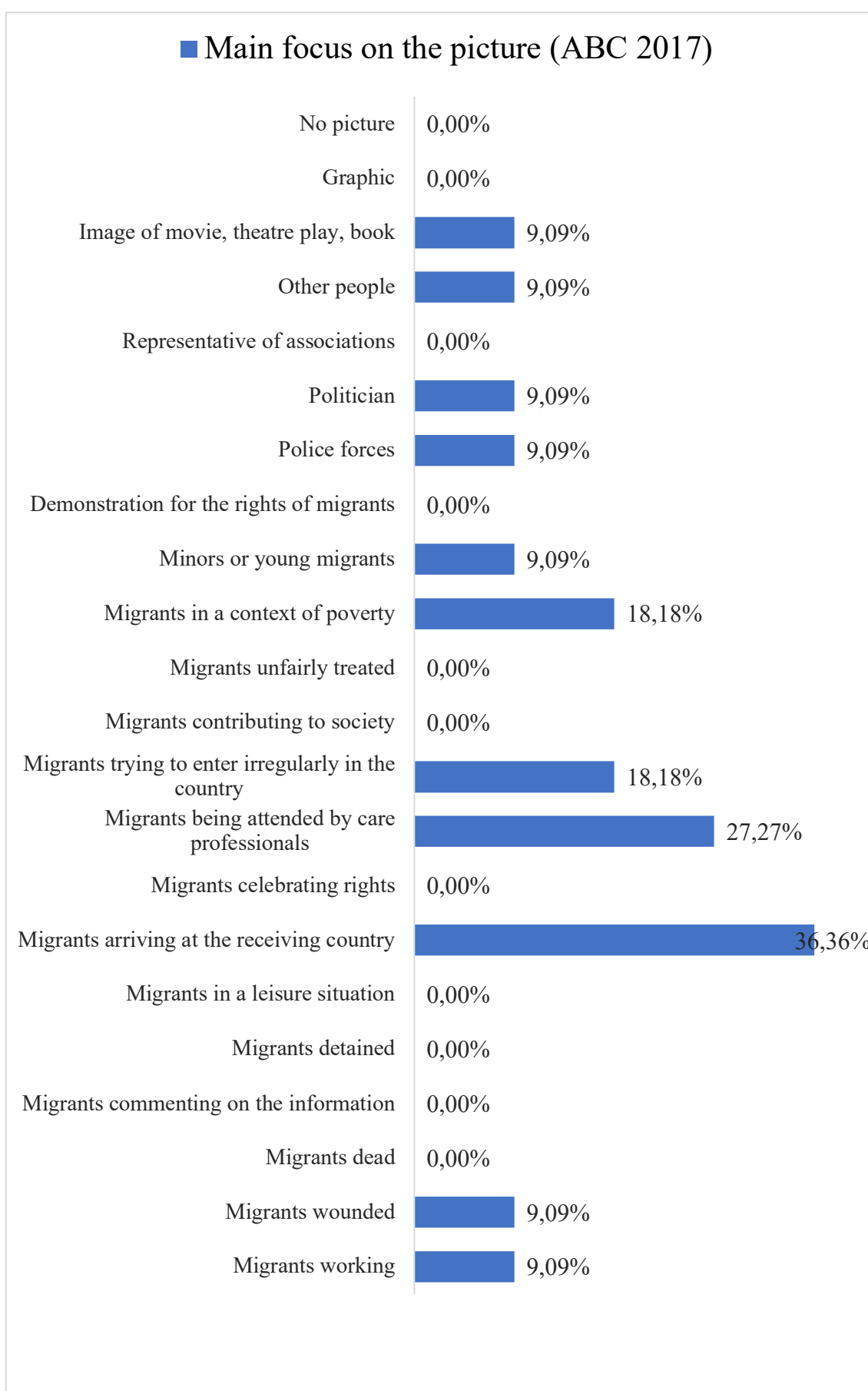


Table 122

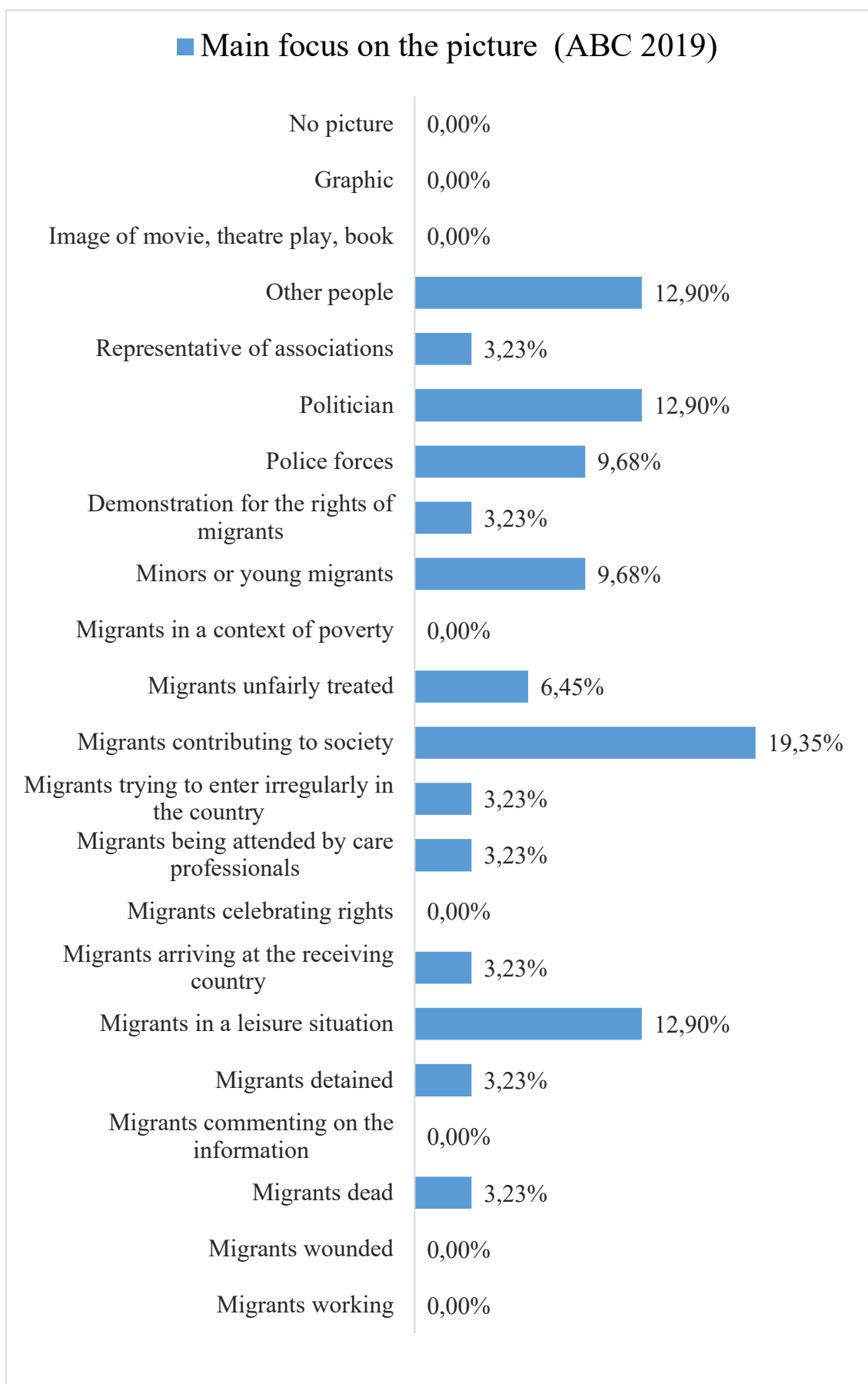


Table 123

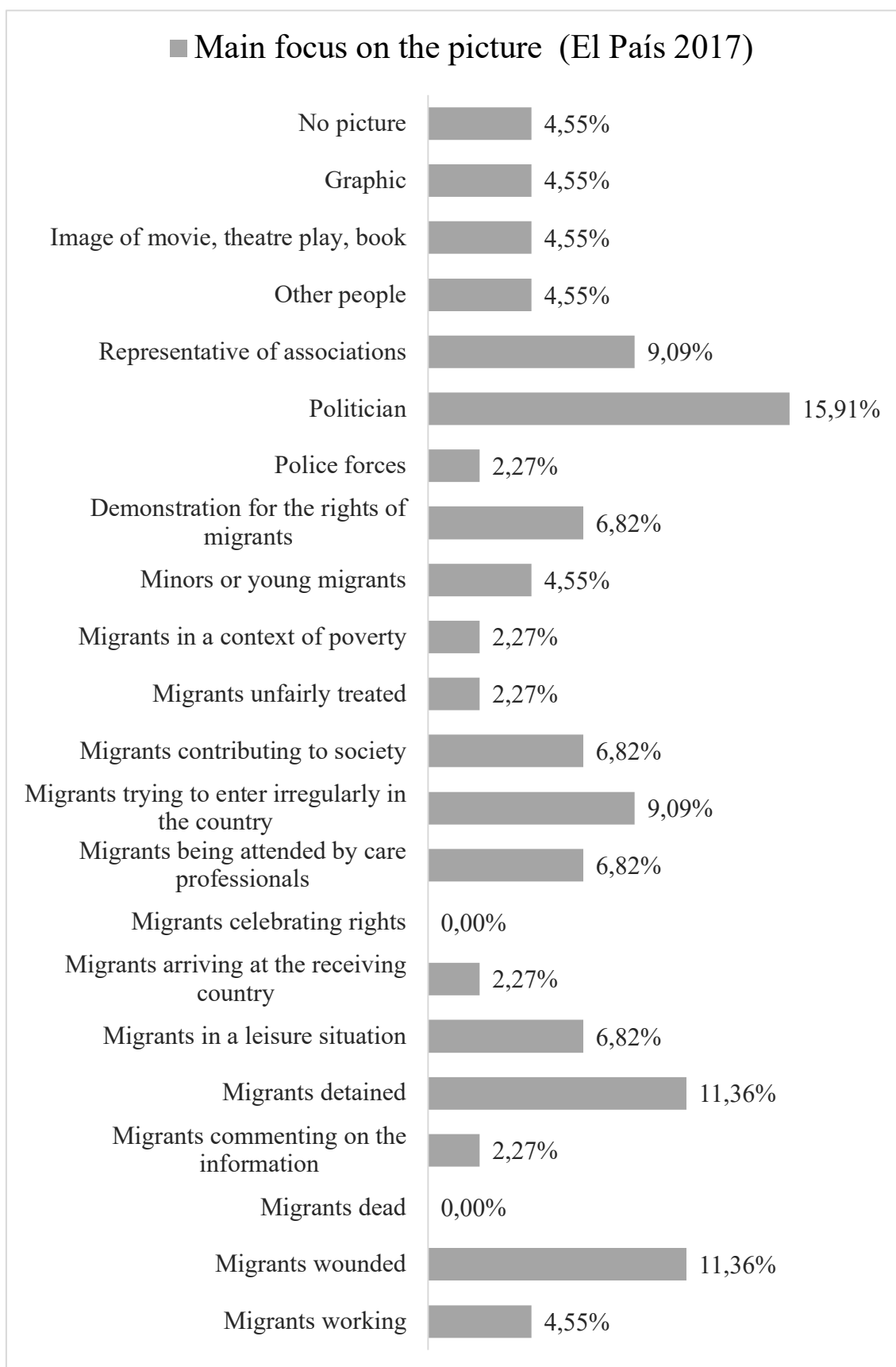


Table 124

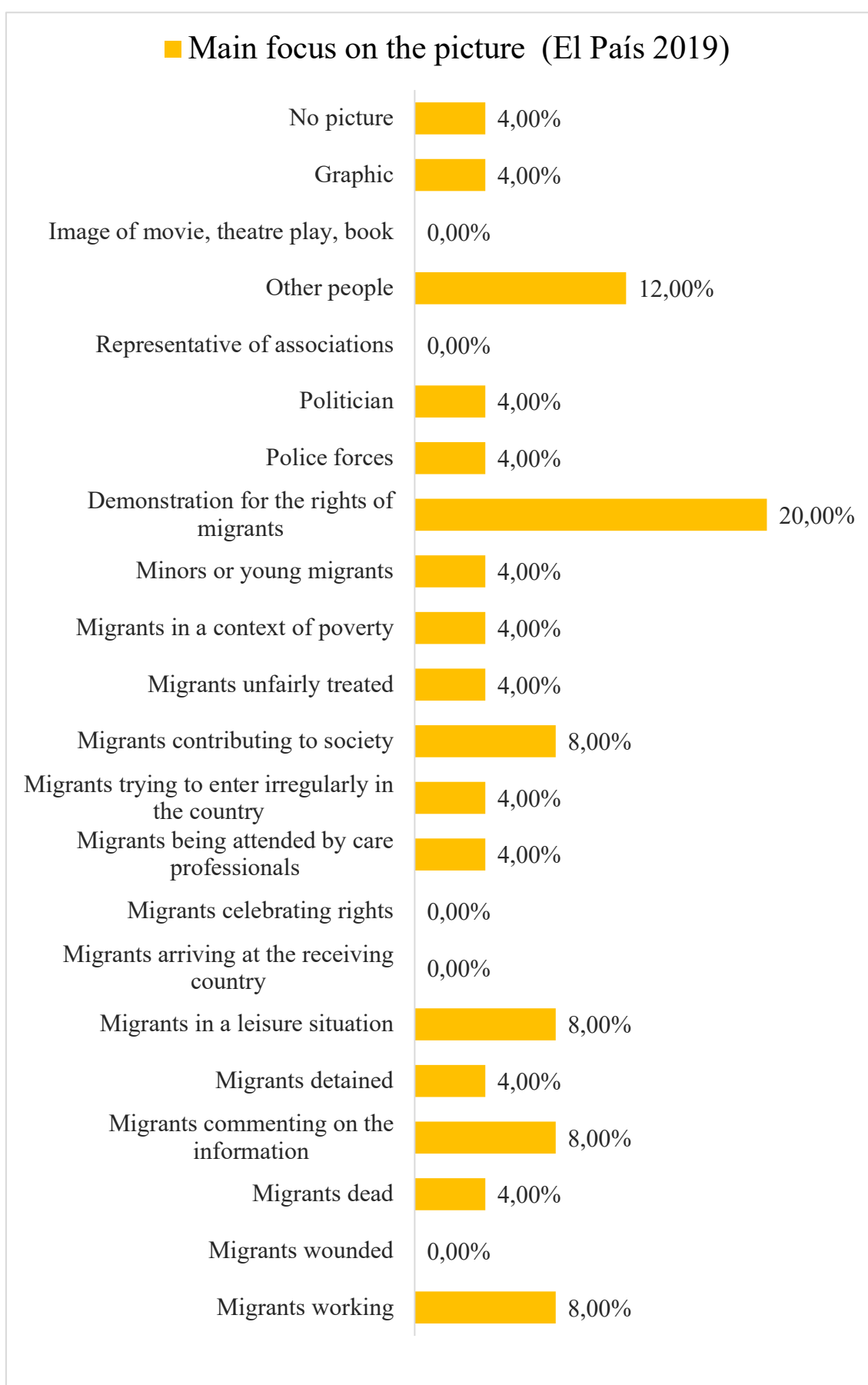


Table 125

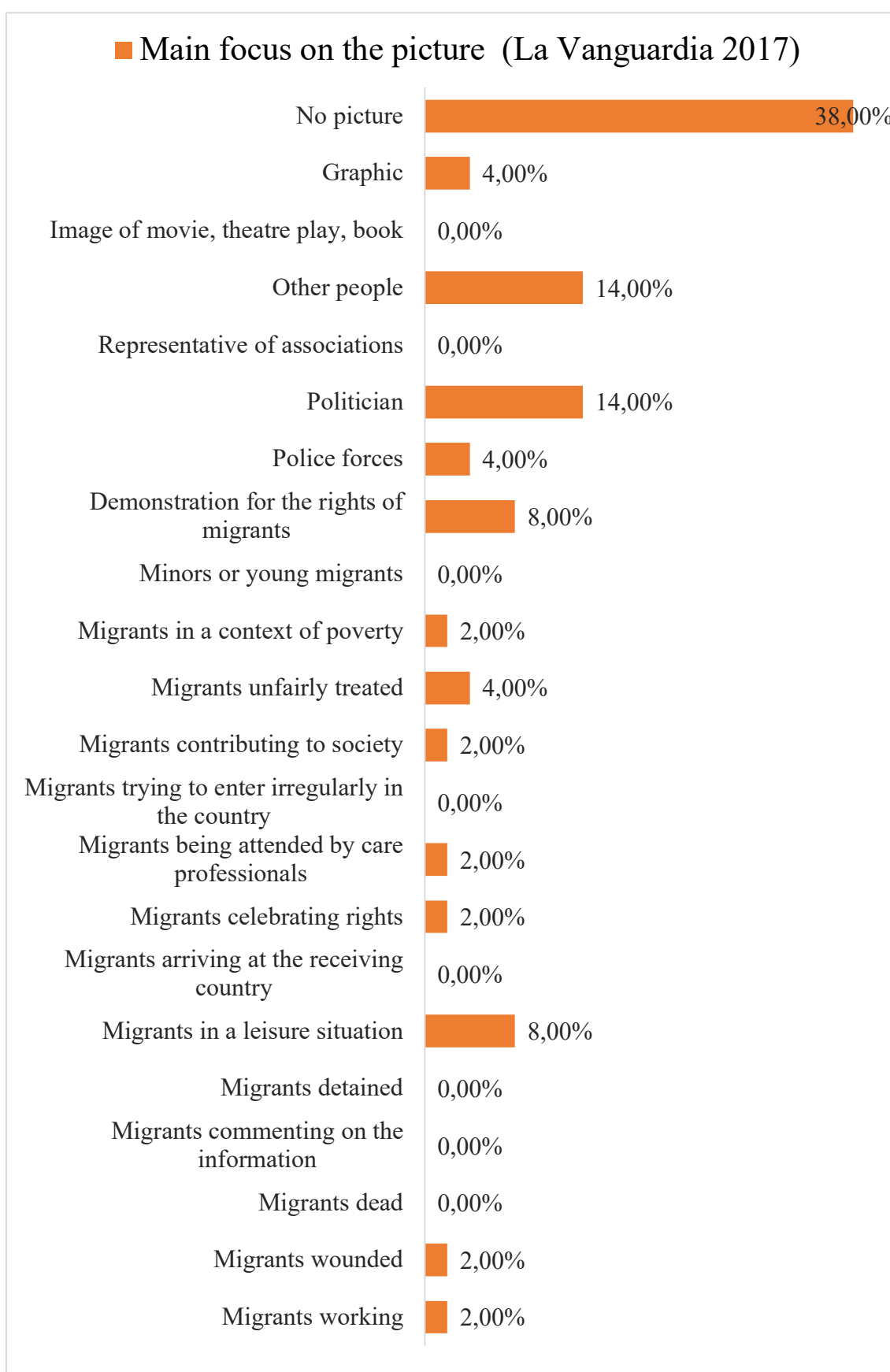
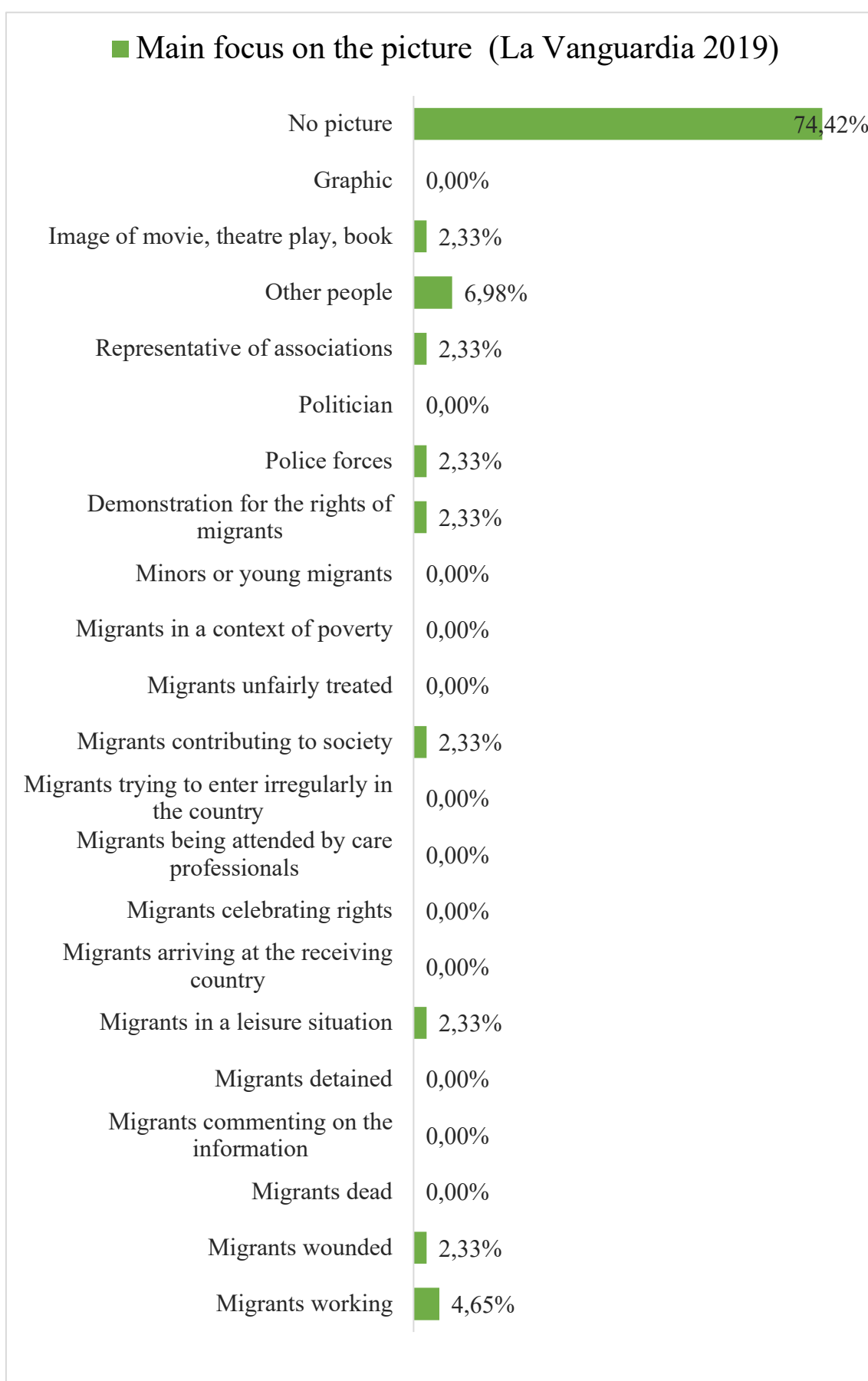


Table 126



In this classification, the most salient finding is the little interest shown by *La Vanguardia* to accompany their articles about migration with a picture of any kind. The frequency in which texts appeared without any photograph was high in 2017, the biggest among their counterparts, and it was even more salient in 2019 when three out of four articles did not show any image. By contrast, *El País* showed pictures in almost all their articles and *ABC* in every single one of them. The following chapter will study the qualitative significances of this discovery.

Regarding the articles in which there were pictures, those showing migrants working were among the most common for *El País* in 2019 and the top two for *La Vanguardia* in the same period. *ABC* used it often in 2017, but this focus disappeared two years later.

There is a similar trend in *ABC* concerning those pictures showing migrants wounded. Again, *ABC* used it frequently in 2017, but the interest disappeared entirely in 2019. Something similar happened to *El País*, in which pictures showing migrants wounded is among the most frequent ones during 2017, and it vanished in 2019. *La Vanguardia* presented little interest in this aspect in both periods.

Publishing pictures of dead migrants are, in general, not shared among all the newspapers, only with few appearances in *ABC* in 2017 and *El País* in 2019, being absent from *La Vanguardia*.

Another category that does not cast much attention is portraying a migrant commenting on the information, except *El País*, especially in 2019, when is one of its favourite choices. *ABC* and *La Vanguardia* did not choose this option in any of their periods.

It happened something similar with the category of pictures focussing on detained migrants. Neither *La Vanguardia* nor *ABC* showed any photograph with this focus. By contrast, *El País* chose this portrayal as its second most frequent picture in 2017, and it is also present in 2019 with lower numbers.

Concerning the pictures presenting migrants in a leisure situation, *ABC* is the only one that does not show an image of this type during the period of 2017. However, it grows significantly two years later, until being one of its two favourite options in 2019. It is also one of the favourite representations for *La Vanguardia* in 2017 and *El País* in 2019, including pictures portraying migrants in a leisure situation as one of the most common photographs for these two newspapers.

Pictures showing migrants celebrating rights were not popular in any of the journals, appearing only very briefly in *La Vanguardia* in 2017.

One of the most representative findings of this table comes with the pictures exhibiting migrants arriving at the receiving country. Particularly, the results shown by *ABC* and its preferences about publishing pictures with this topic when writing about migration are very distinctive. There is one picture for every three articles showing migrants arriving at the receiving country in *ABC* during the period of 2017, and this thematic almost disappeared in 2019. This pattern is worth exploring in the next chapter. In the rest of the newspapers, the topic does not appear, except for a low percentage in *El País* in 2017, which is also relevant to study in the following chapter.

Something similar happened with the category of pictures showing migrants being attended by care professionals. One more time, it is noteworthy how *ABC* picked to portrayed migrants in this way as their second favourite option during 2017. However, two years later, *ABC* was not very interested in showing pictures of migrant while being attended by care professionals. *El País* offered this type of photographs in both periods with significant frequency, and *La Vanguardia* was not particularly concerned about this portrayal, not showing any image with this thematic in 2019.

We can find a similar pattern more than the previous ones regarding pictures showing migrants trying to enter irregularly in the country. The number was again very high in *ABC* in the period of 2017, and it dropped drastically in 2019. *El País* also reflected this pattern on a smaller scale and, once again, *La Vanguardia* did not show any images about this topic in any of the periods.

This tendency changed entirely in relation to pictures showing migrants contributing to society. In this case, during 2017, *ABC* did not show any picture about this topic, but it was the favourite type of picture in 2019, a change of tendency worth exploring. The numbers of *El País* also grew from 2017 to 2019 on a smaller scale and, one more time, *La Vanguardia* did not show many pictures with the focus on migrants contributing to society.

The next type of image shows migrants unfairly treated, and it did not attract the attention of *ABC* in 2017 and *La Vanguardia* in 2019. *ABC* was the keenest among their peers to show pictures with this topic in 2019. *El País* offered a significant interest number in both periods.

ABC experienced one more time an abrupt change concerning photographs portraying migrants in a context of poverty, going from a high frequency in 2017 to avoiding this type of pictures in 2019. *La Vanguardia* showed very little interest in both periods, and *El País* increased their interest in 2019 timidly.

Regarding images presenting underage migrants, *La Vanguardia* did not show any pictures of minors or young migrants. *ABC* and *El País* did show images with this topic, and their numbers were stable in both periods.

Images showing demonstrations for the rights of migrants were the favourite topic for *El País* in 2019. The interest grew from 2017 when it was also present. *ABC* showed small numbers, not publishing any picture in 2017. *La Vanguardia* dropped its interest from 2017 to 2019.

All the newspapers showed pictures with police forces as their main character. *ABC*, in particular, presented this type of pictures more often than its counterparts.

Similarly, every newspaper published pictures of politicians when informing about migration. In fact, it was the favourite character for *El País* in 2017 and the second one for *La Vanguardia* in the same period. In both cases, their interest decreased in 2019. To the extreme, *La Vanguardia* did not show any pictures with politicians in the last period, a situation that will be studied in the next chapter.

Among those pictures showing representatives of associations, only *El País* in 2017 exhibited interest, being its second favourite portrayal. In 2019, this preference disappeared. The interest was very small or directly non-existent in the rest of the newspapers and periods.

The three newspapers analysed showed, in general, very little interest in including in their articles any images of movies, theatre plays or books related to migration. In this case, it is only significant in *ABC* in the period of 2017.

ABC did not publish any graphic to illustrate articles reporting about migration in any of the periods. The attention to graphics for *La Vanguardia* was small in 2017, and it disappeared entirely in 2019. *El País* was the only one that presented consistency in this category, however with small percentages.

Finally, in the category of images showing people different from those already mentioned in the list, we can find an array of people who did not appear enough times to have their own category. *ABC* showed an image of an unknown pregnant woman in the period of 2017 and, in 2019, the list was longer, containing the Pope, a person killed in London, a fire related to another piece of information from within the article, and images containing objects, in particular a bundle of banknotes. In *El País*, in the period of 2017, we can find pictures of a musician and unknown pedestrians. In 2019, this journal appeared images of an empty road, an international student and an abstract illustration. In 2017, *La Vanguardia* showed demonstrators unrelated to migration, a photographer, a journalist, a murderer, unidentified participants to a funeral and twice a writer. In 2019, *La Vanguardia* presented images of demonstrators not related to migration, a local neighbourhood and an olive tree.

In the next chapter, it will be studied how pictures contributed to building representations of migration, for instance, by revealing the agency of migrants. Also, it will be qualitatively analysed whether these images show migrants as passive agents.

3.2.7. The need of exploring the results about migration

In this section, it has been displayed the quantitative results about what type of words are used to refer to migrants in the articles of *ABC*, *El País* and *La Vanguardia*, published during the two periods of study. It has also been shown the type of collective, origin and number of migrants reported in the articles, and the main focus on the pictures concerning migration.

The section provided notable findings and uncovered trends that will be put into context in the next chapter. For instance, regarding *ABC*, it has been presented the relevance given by this newspaper to stories about minor migrants, together with the appearance of the term “mena” in 2019. Also, the emphasis put on refugees during 2017 by this newspaper. For example, in relation to *El País*, it has been shown the high frequency of the word “irregular” when writing about migrants. Regarding one of the findings of *La Vanguardia*, it was stated the prevalence of linking migrants with Muslims, especially in the period of 2017. In relation to all of the newspapers analysed, it was revealed the high use of correlated words when referring to terms about migration, often linked to objects and natural phenomena, such as “flujo de inmigrantes” and “ola de inmigración”.

Another remarkable finding shown in this section is the tendency of all the newspapers analysed to tell stories about Moroccans while ignoring Romanians, even though both of these nationalities are at the top of the list of foreigners living in Spain. Also, it is noteworthy how these newspapers avoided, in general, writing about families or recognisable groups when reporting about migrants. On the other hand, the newspapers focussed on individuals, often relating migrants to irregularity. Even though there is a tendency to report about individuals, the name of the migrants who appear in the articles remain in a vast majority of the cases unknown.

The section ended by presenting the results regarding the pictures included in the articles. The most salient finding is the lack of interest by *La Vanguardia* in both periods to publish images, a discovery that will be qualitatively studied in the next chapter to unveil if this practice is related to other findings, such as the type of frame or the use of specific sources. *ABC* and *El País* included pictures in most of the articles. In relation to

ABC, it is notable the use of images portraying migrants arriving into the receiving country and being attended by care professionals in the year 2017, and how this tendency disappeared two years later. Regarding *El País*, among other findings, it was noteworthy the frequent appearance of politicians illustrating migration articles.

These findings and others reported inside of the section will be qualitatively analysed in the next chapter. The purpose will be to uncover the nuances explicitly and implicitly included in the portrayal of migrants and put into context these results by matching them with the discoveries of the following sections, regarding the type of sources used in the articles and the frames selected to depict migrants.

3.3. Information about the sources

3.3.1. From whom the information originates

The following table shows the sources used by each newspaper when writing about migration in the articles of the corpus. The percentage is calculated in relation to the total amount of articles analysed in each newspaper in every single period. For instance, *ABC* used migrants as a source in 9,09 per cent of the articles about migration during December 2017. An article can have more than one source. The list of results is shown below. It is essential to notice that this category does not refer to the author of the article, but to any type of source who provided information in the story. The data from the analysis of this subsection will contribute to answering the research questions about whether migrants are sources in the news about themselves if journalists prioritise some sources over others, and whether journalists reproduce or not arguments from politicians who are trying to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration.

Table 127

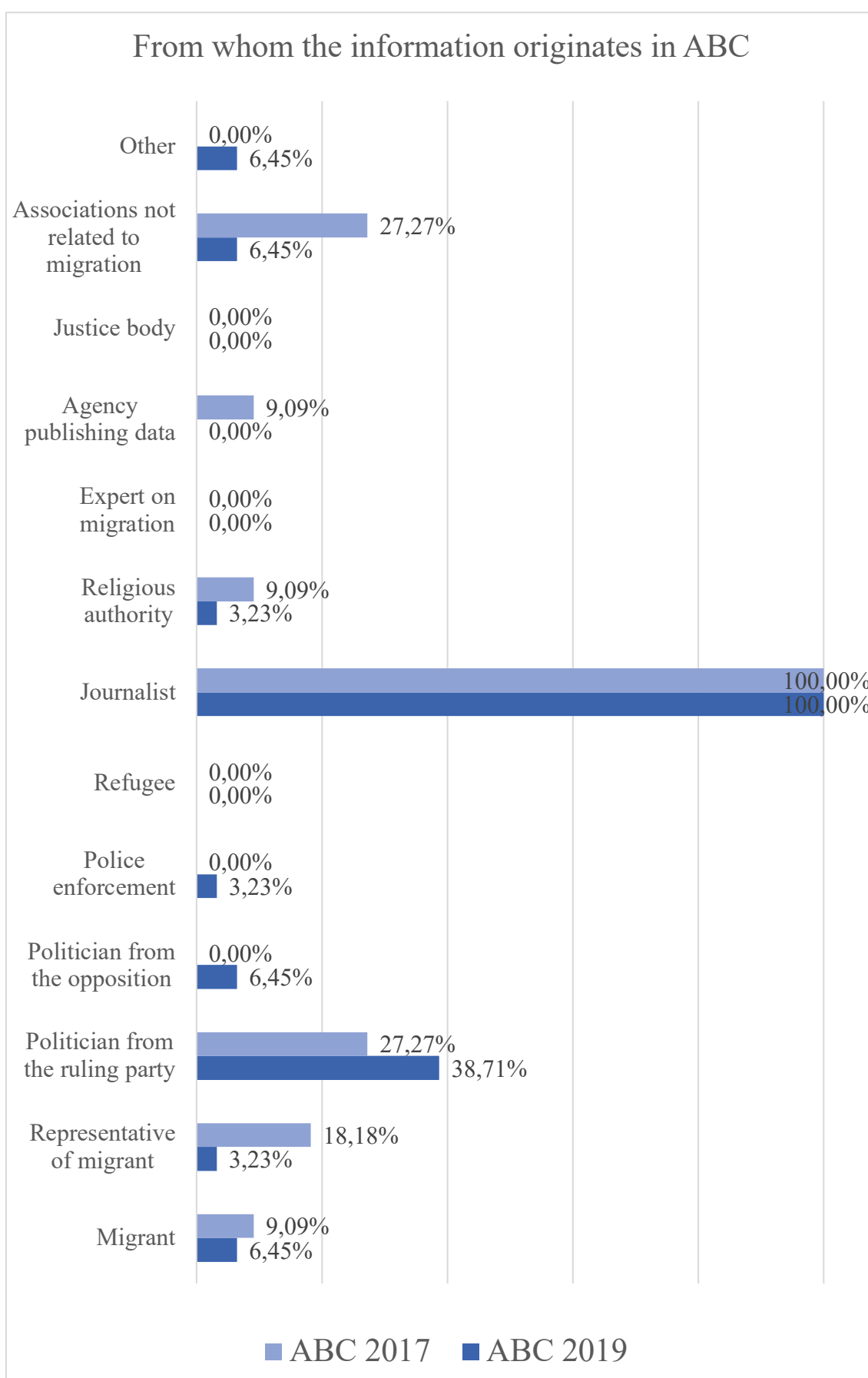


Table 128

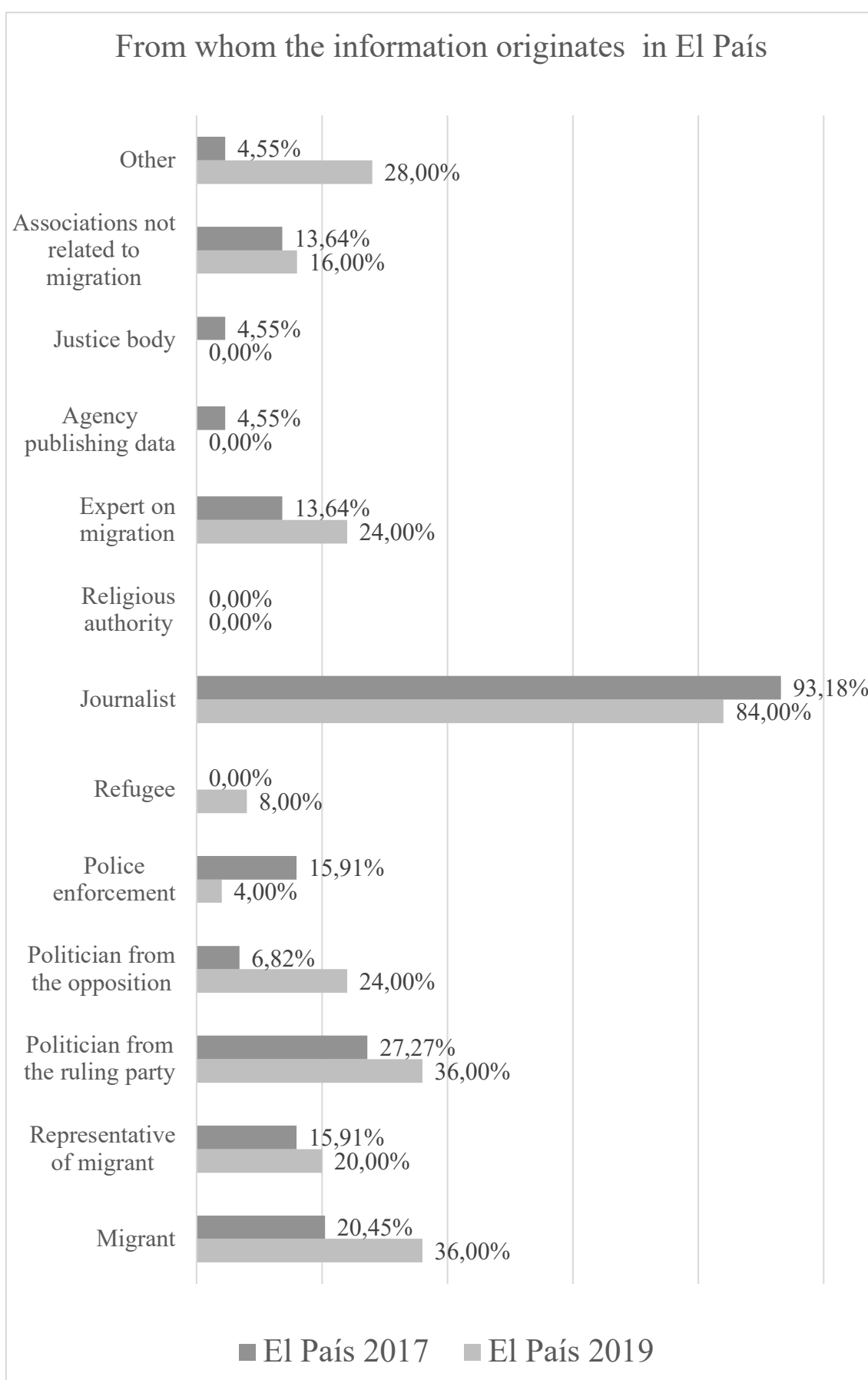
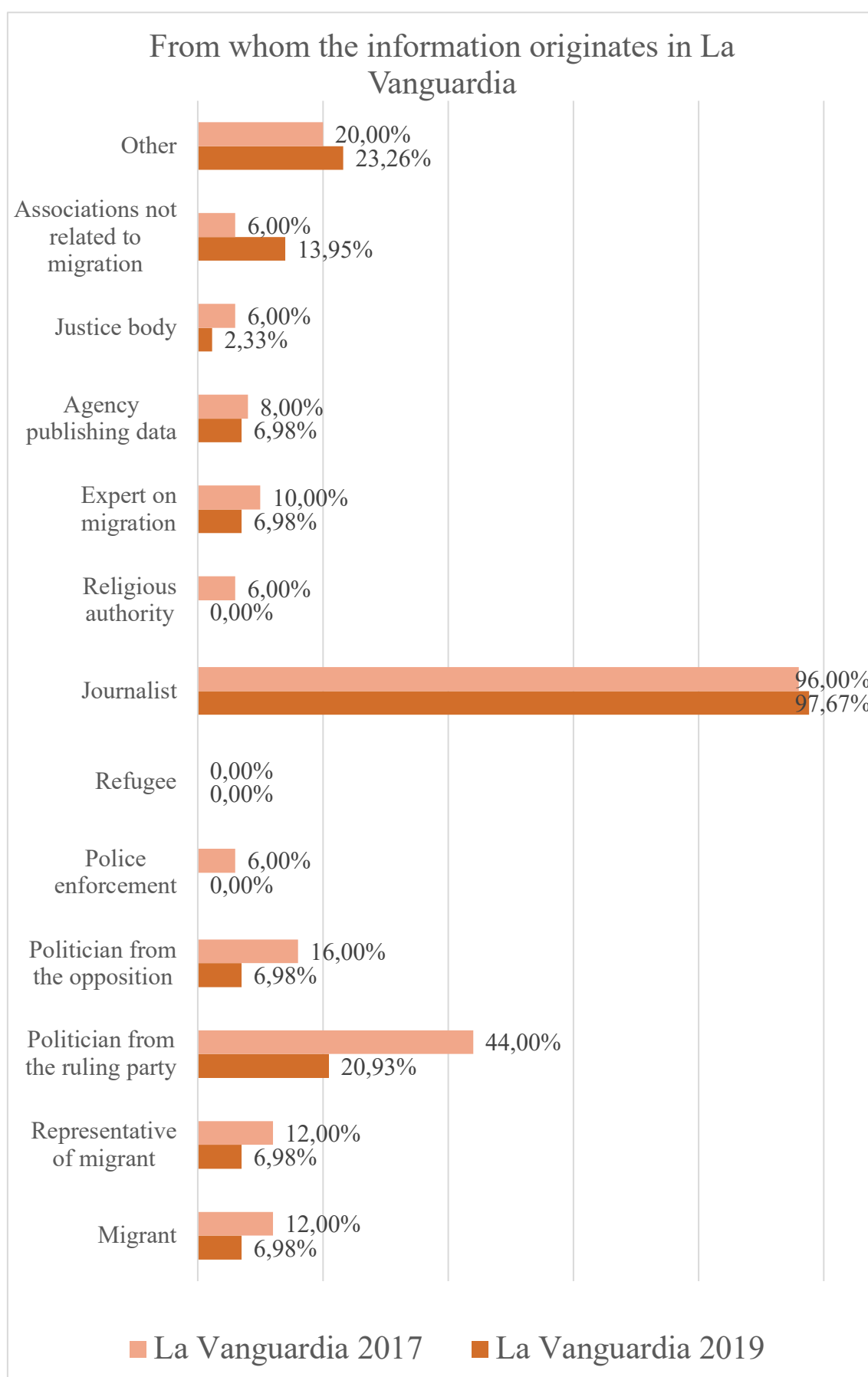


Table 129



In relation to the newspapers using migrants as a source in the articles reporting about migration, we can find that *El País* includes them more often than *ABC* and *La Vanguardia*. Migrants are the source in a third of the articles in *El País* in December 2019, which meant migrants are the second source most used for this journal during the period of 2019, matched with the number of contributions of sources from the government. *ABC* and *La Vanguardia* counted migrants as a source in both periods, but with a shallow frequency, around one out of every ten articles in 2017 for both newspapers. Numbers were even lower in 2019 for both of them.

Regarding representative of migrants acting as a source, it is significant to find out that *ABC* included in 2017 more often than the other two newspapers sources from representative of migrants and that, in 2019, it was the one that counted with them the least. *El País* showed a significant number concerning and, for *La Vanguardia*, the numbers mirrored those of migrants as a source.

Significantly, sources from the government were the second favourite option for all the newspapers in both periods. The government appeared in almost half of the articles of *La Vanguardia* in 2017 and in more than a third in *ABC* and *El País* in 2019.

Sources related to politicians who are not part of the government were very scarce in *ABC*, not appearing in 2017. By contrast, the numbers increased significantly in *El País* from 2017 to 2019, and *La Vanguardia* displayed an opposite pattern, decreasing from 2017 to 2019.

Most of the newspapers did not include police enforcement bodies as a source in their articles about migration. *ABC* in 2017 and *La Vanguardia* in 2019 did not even include them. Only *El País* in 2017 showed interest in adding the view from police enforcement agents.

The interest to incorporate comments from refugees was even more scarce. There was a common absence to include refugees as a source in the newspapers. *El País*, in 2019, was the only one that had them; however, the contribution was minimal.

By contrast, using journalists as a source is the favourite option for every studied newspaper in both periods. For *ABC*, journalists are included as a source in all their articles. *La Vanguardia* was above nine out of every ten articles in both periods, as well as *El País* in 2017 and similarly in 2019. The reason behind this use will be studied qualitatively in the next chapter.

Including a source from religious authorities was not an option for *La Vanguardia* in both periods, neither for *El País* in 2019. It was only significant in *ABC* in 2017, when it was included in one article out of ten articles.

ABC did not take into account experts on migration as a source in either of the periods. *El País*, on the contrary, often counted with this source, especially in 2019. *La Vanguardia* was at the halfway point of frequency between *El País* and *ABC*.

As it happened before, *ABC* did not use agency publishing data as a source. *El País* did not reference this source in 2019, and the numbers were low in 2017. *La Vanguardia* counted with this type of source in both periods, but not significantly.

ABC did not include representatives from the judicial system. The pattern was similar in *El País* when it barely counted with this source in 2017. Similarly, the representation of this source was very limited in *La Vanguardia* in both periods.

By contrast, *ABC* preferred to include other associations not related to migration as sources in its articles about migration during 2017, making it the second most used source. Drastically, the numbers dropped in 2019. *El País* presented more constant numbers in both periods, over one out of ten articles with this source. *La Vanguardia* showed more interest in 2019, similar to the numbers of *El País*.

Finally, the three newspapers analysed included another set of sources who were not significantly used enough to have their category, except for *ABC* in 2017, which did not include any other type of source. In total, *ABC* used seven different sources, in contrast with more than a dozen from *El País* and *La Vanguardia*. In the category of other sources, it was registered that *ABC* used as a source in 2019 a private school director and a theatre director, both only once. *El País* in 2017 included once a publishing company

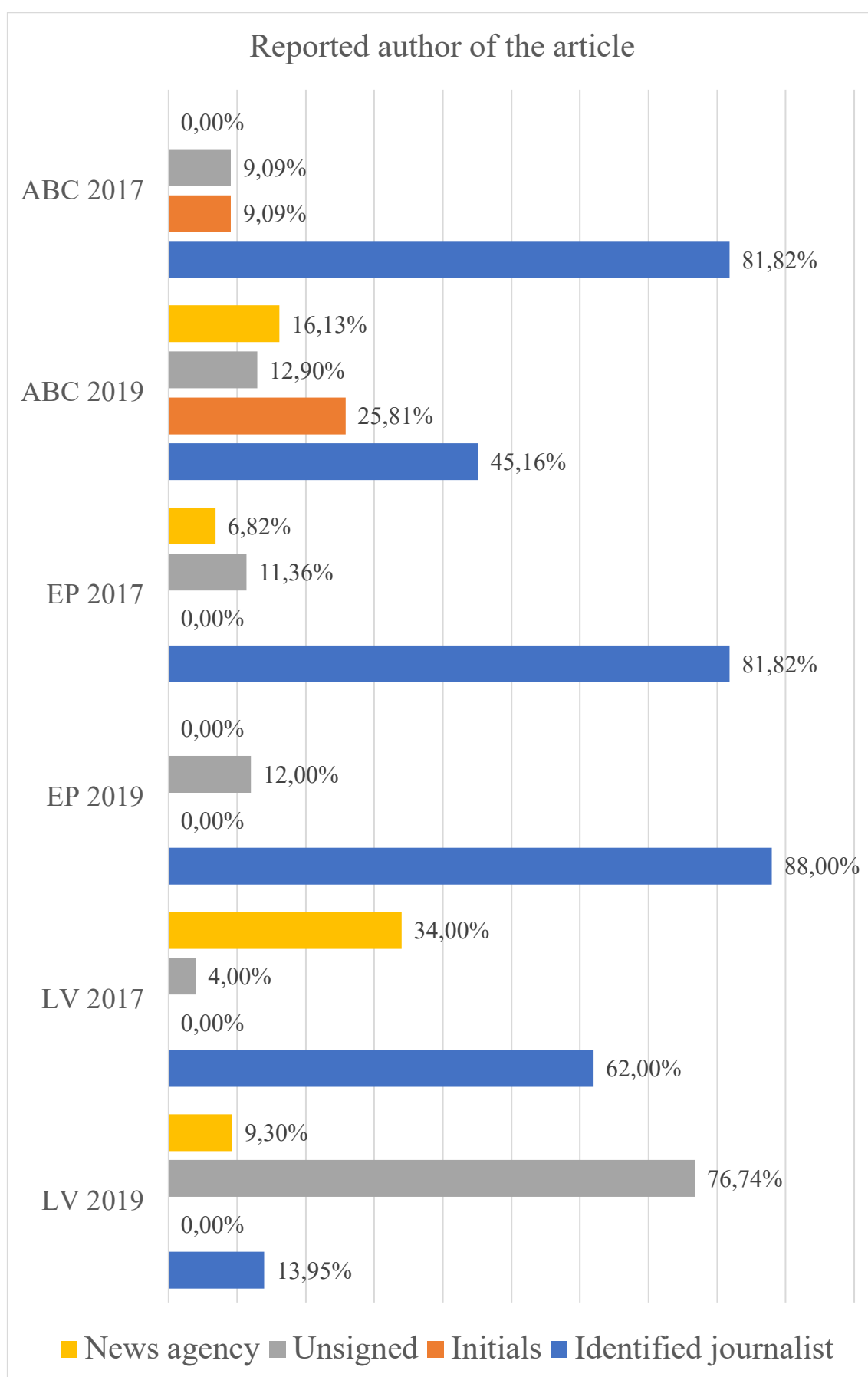
and Spanish workers. In 2019, *El País* had once a Spanish entrepreneur, a Spanish visitor, a smuggler, an asylum seeker and three times a group of students. Regarding *La Vanguardia*, the array of other sources was more varied. In 2017, it included comments once from a terrorist, the Spanish Ombudsman, an employer, a movie director, a TV producer, a writer, a murderer who killed migrants, a terrorist and, twice, a group of regular citizens. In 2019, in *La Vanguardia*, there were comments from a movie director on three occasions and once from a TV producer, an actress, an assistant to a political event, a businessman who abandoned the body of a migrant employed by him, a person rescued from a fire by a migrant, a mother of a killed singer and an unknown citizen.

3.3.2. Reported author of the article

This subsection presents the results of registering whether newspapers stated as the author of the information an identified journalist, a news agency or, by contrast, the articles were signed only with initials, or they were unsigned. The percentage is calculated in relation to the total amount of articles for each newspaper in each period. For instance, *La Vanguardia* did not include any signature in 76,74 per cent of the articles about migration published during December 2019.

The information extracted from this classification will be taken into account to answer the research question regarding whether journalists are prioritising some sources over others. Moreover, data from this section will help understand the relevance that each newspaper gives to the articles about migration. Investing resources in locating a journalist to elaborate an article, instead of relying on information already elaborated by news agencies, shows a different degree of involvement in the story, which indicates the importance given to the reported event.

Table 130



First of all, as it will be seen in the next chapter, it is relevant to point out that the articles which are not signed by an identified journalist generally have as the main source a news agency. Even those articles signed with initials have the same characteristics of reproducing information already elaborated by a news agency. Knowing this, we can observe that *ABC* was the newspaper that did not rely on news agencies in most of its articles. In particular, in 2017, *ABC* did not publish any article signed by a news agency, and the percentage only grew to around 16 per cent in 2019. In relation to articles signed by identified journalists, *ABC* presented the name of a journalist as the author of the text in more than 80 per cent of the cases. The percentage dropped drastically two years later, not reaching half of the articles and having the highest rate articles signed just by initials, with one out of every four pieces. Articles signed by initials often indicate stories in which news agencies are the main source of information.

Concerning *El País*, this newspaper showed the most consistent numbers, suggesting a higher investment in elaborating migration news. In both periods of study, *El País* signed the articles with an identified journalist in more than eighty per cent of the cases, reaching almost nine out of ten articles in 2019. It did not include any article signed just by initials, which shows responsibility in the publication of the information. The percentage of articles signed by news agencies in *El País* was minimal in 2017 and absent in 2019. The numbers of unsigned articles were similar to *ABC*, with around one out every ten articles.

Regarding *La Vanguardia*, this newspaper is the one with the highest percentages of articles signed by news agencies in 2017, when a news agency signed one out of every three articles. This percentage was smaller in 2019, but the number of unsigned articles grew drastically, reaching more than seventy per cent of the articles. In total, in 2019, only around one out of every ten articles published by *La Vanguardia* was signed by an identified journalist, which shows little interest by the editors of this newspaper in covering migration. The next chapter will analyse whether there is a correlation between articles elaborated by the news agency and the quality of the information provided.

3.3.3. Mention of the name of the source

Besides knowing the type of sources included in the articles, it is also relevant to determine whether the sources are named or, by the contrary, they remain unknown. The following tables present this information. The percentage is shown concerning the total amount of mentions in each newspaper during the specific period of study. For instance, *ABC* included the name of the journalist who participated as a source 81.81 per cent of the times in December 2017. Data extracted from the analysis of these findings will contribute to answer the research question about journalists prioritising some sources over others.

Table 131

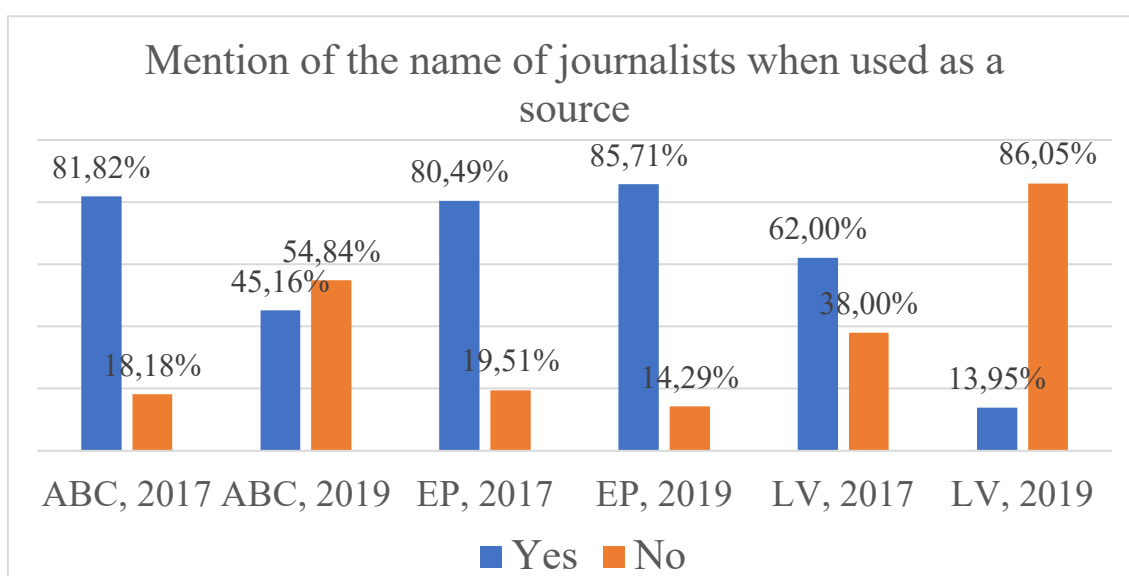


Table 132

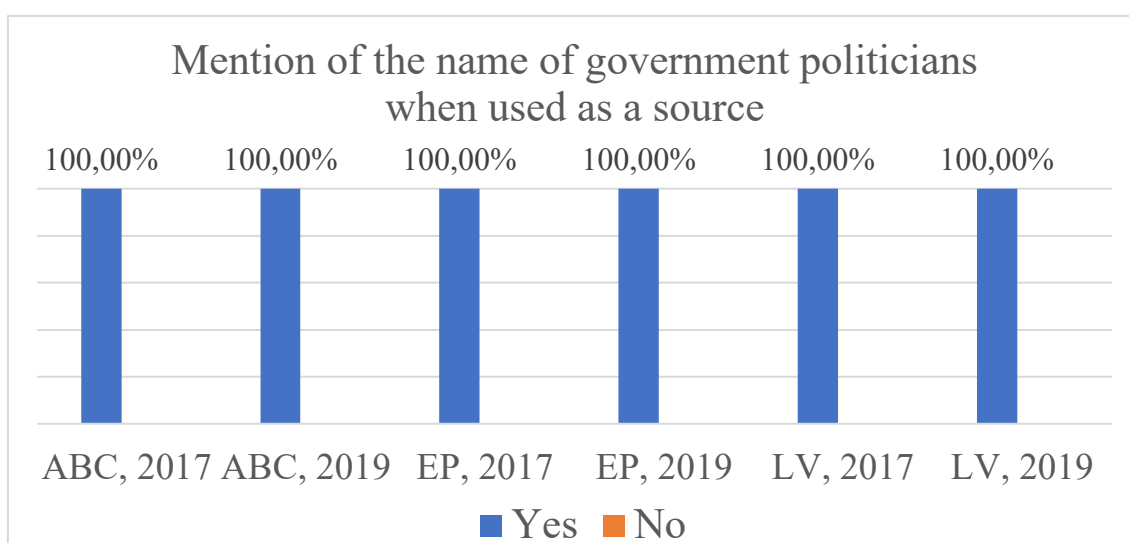


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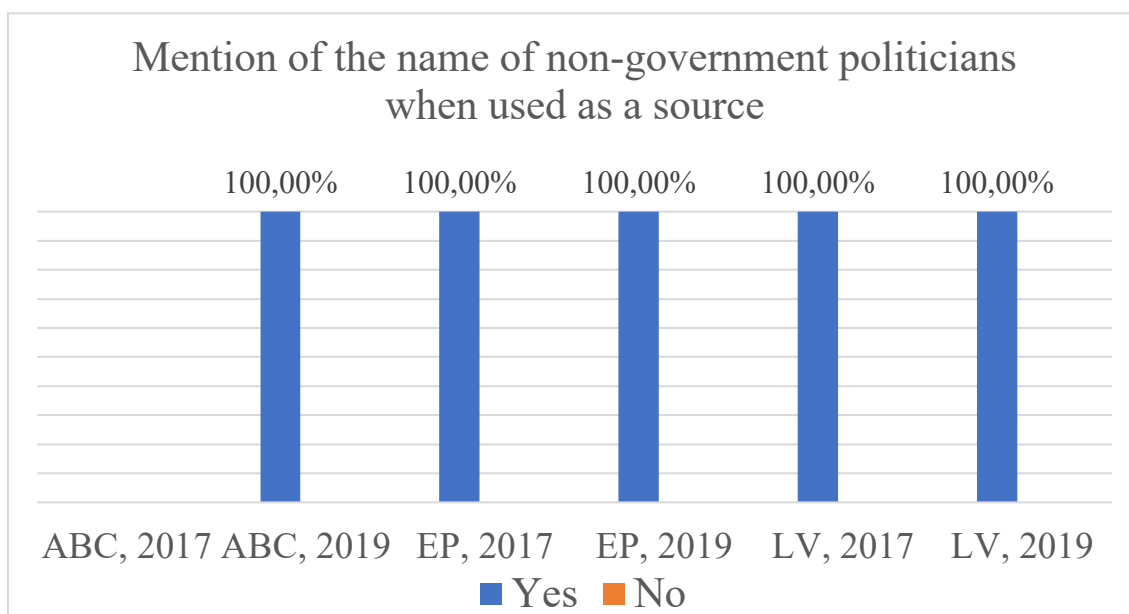


Table 134

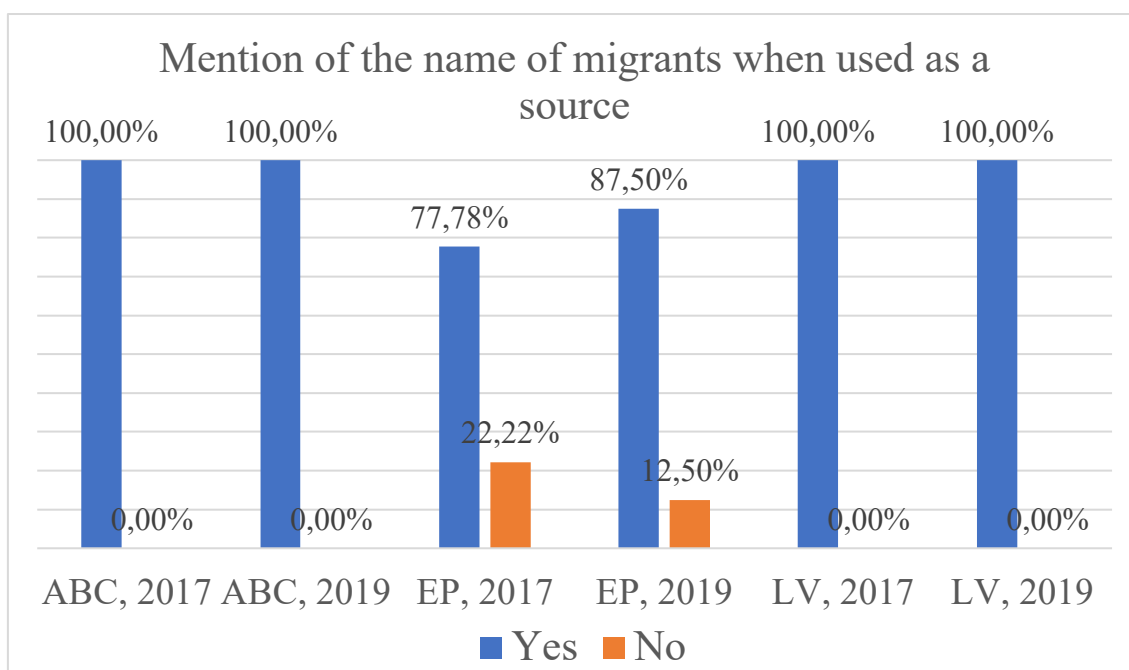


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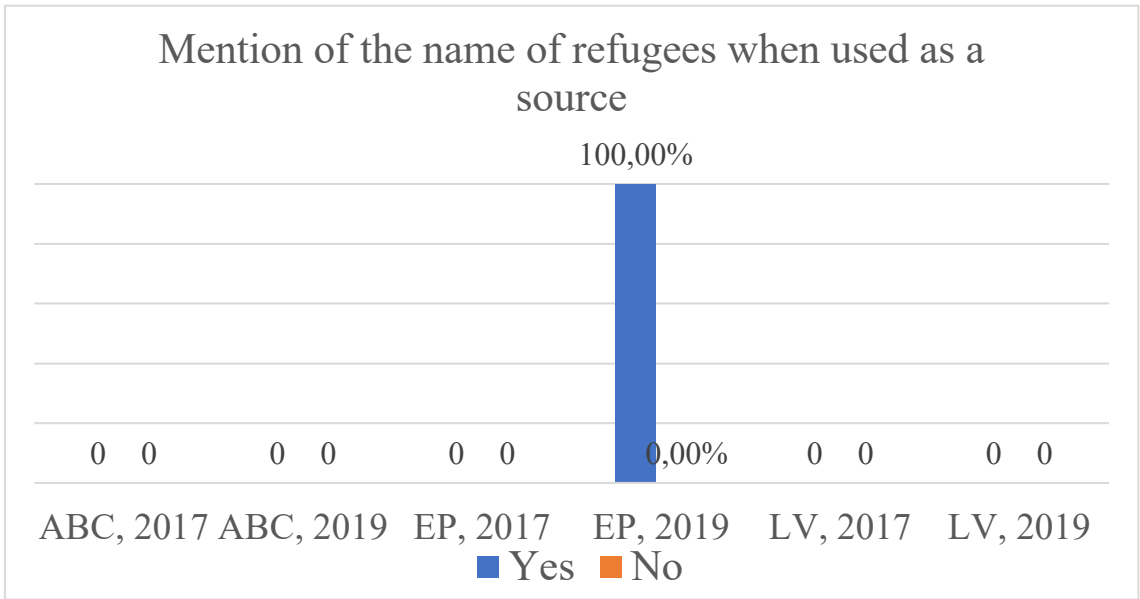


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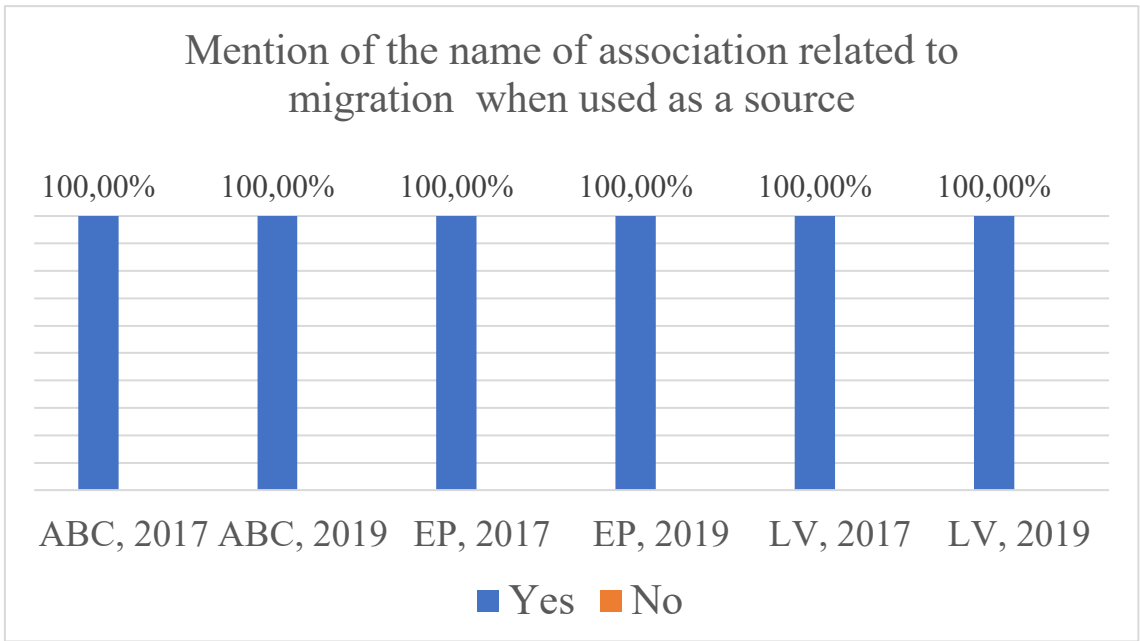


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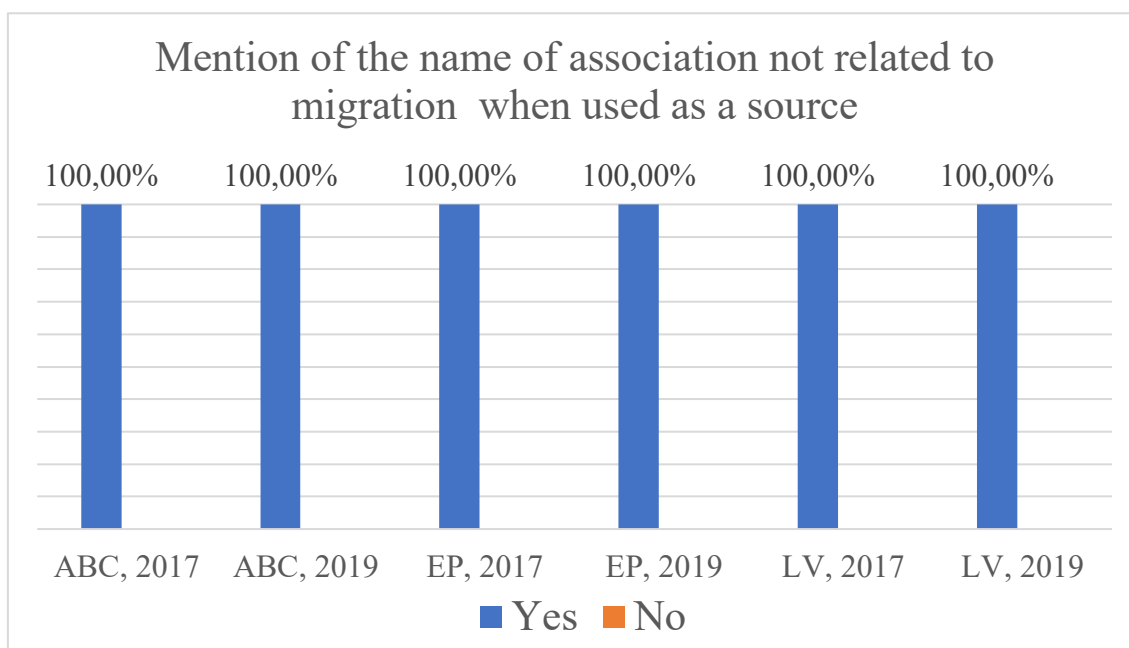


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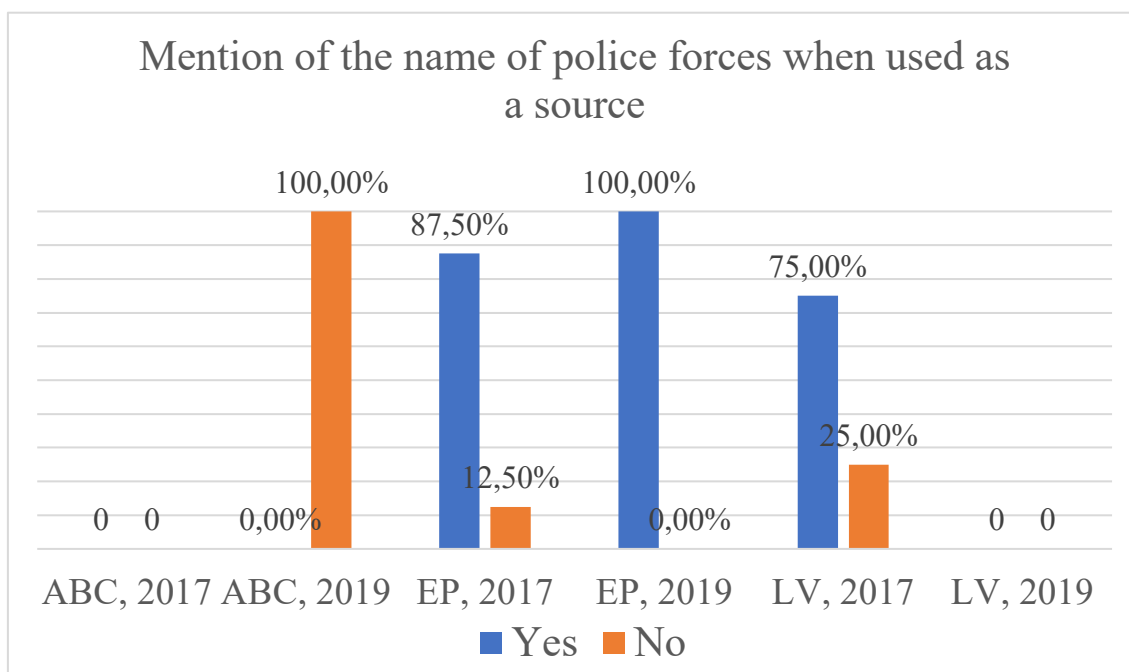


Table 139

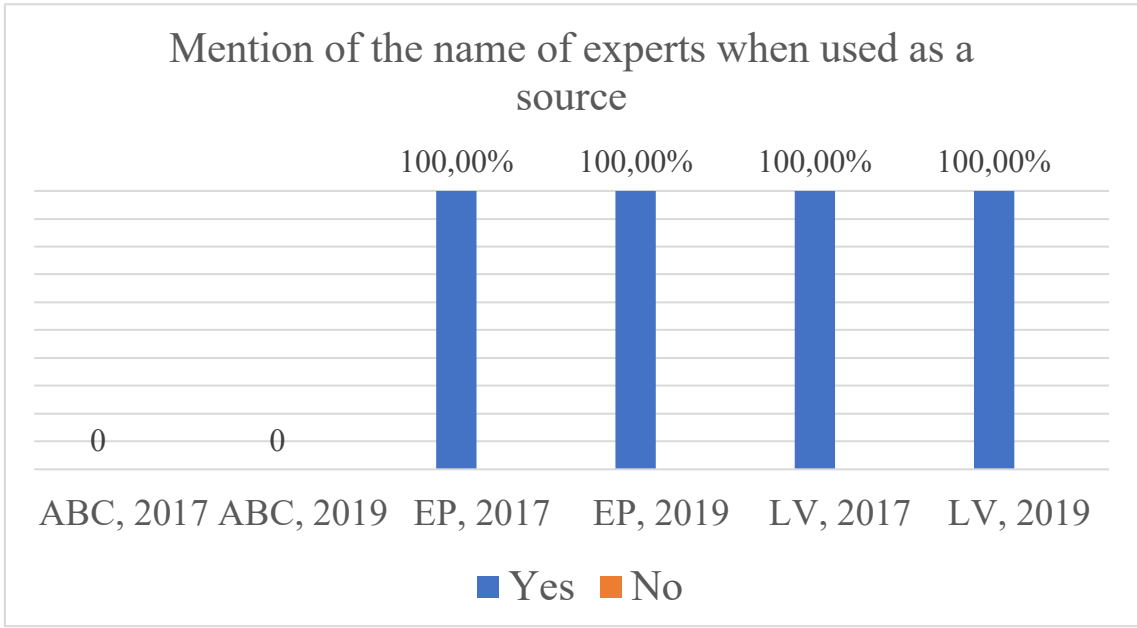


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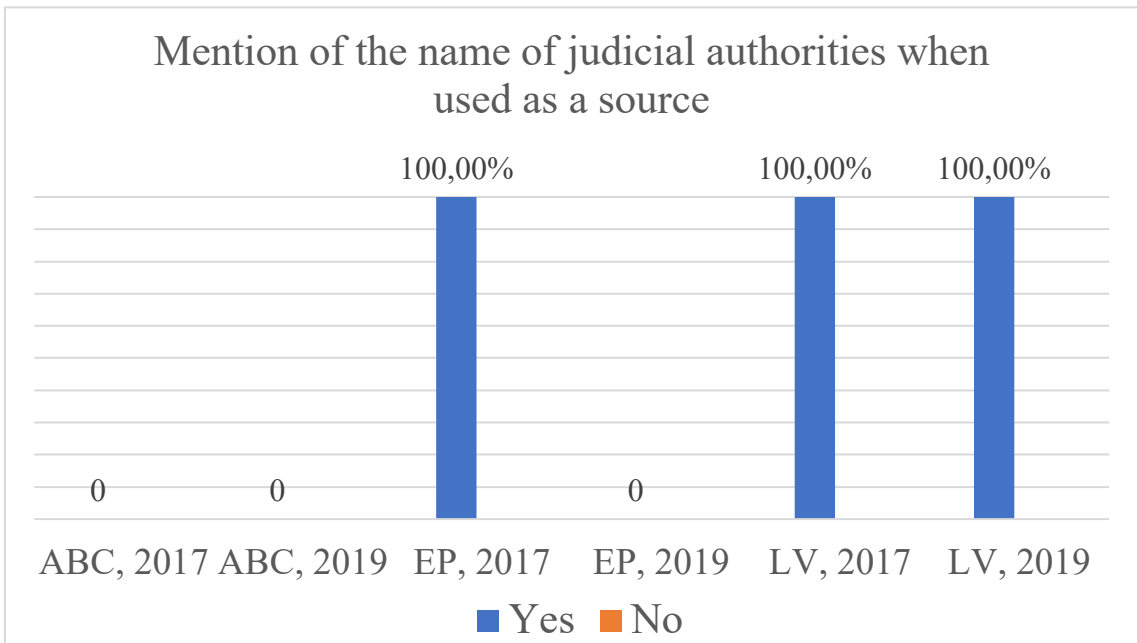


Table 141

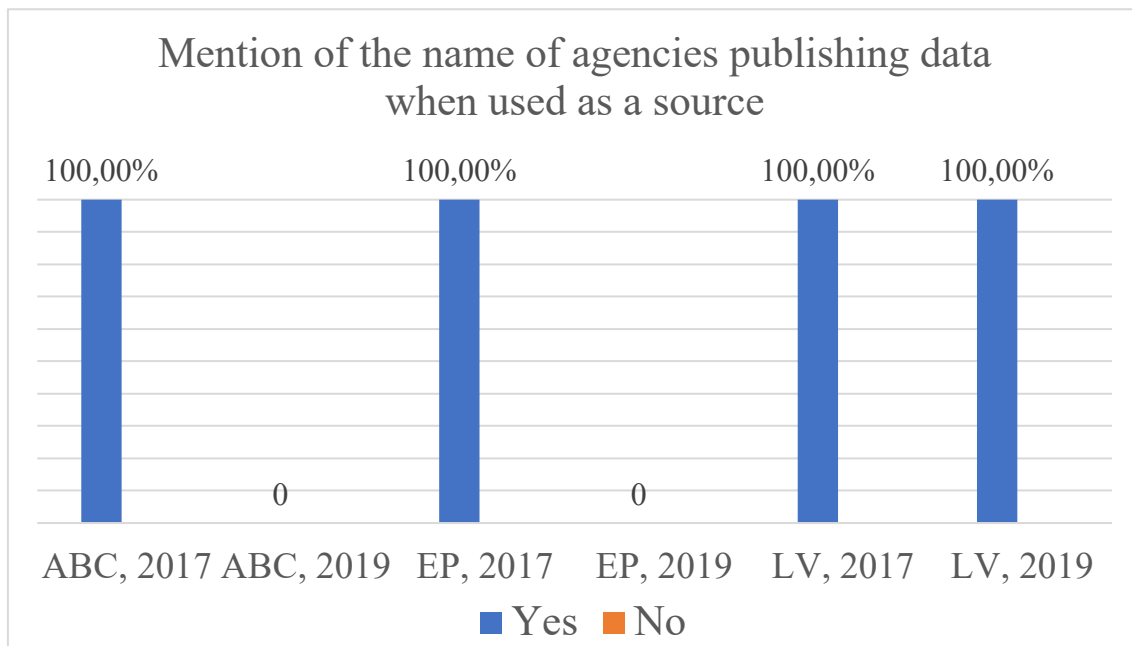


Table 142

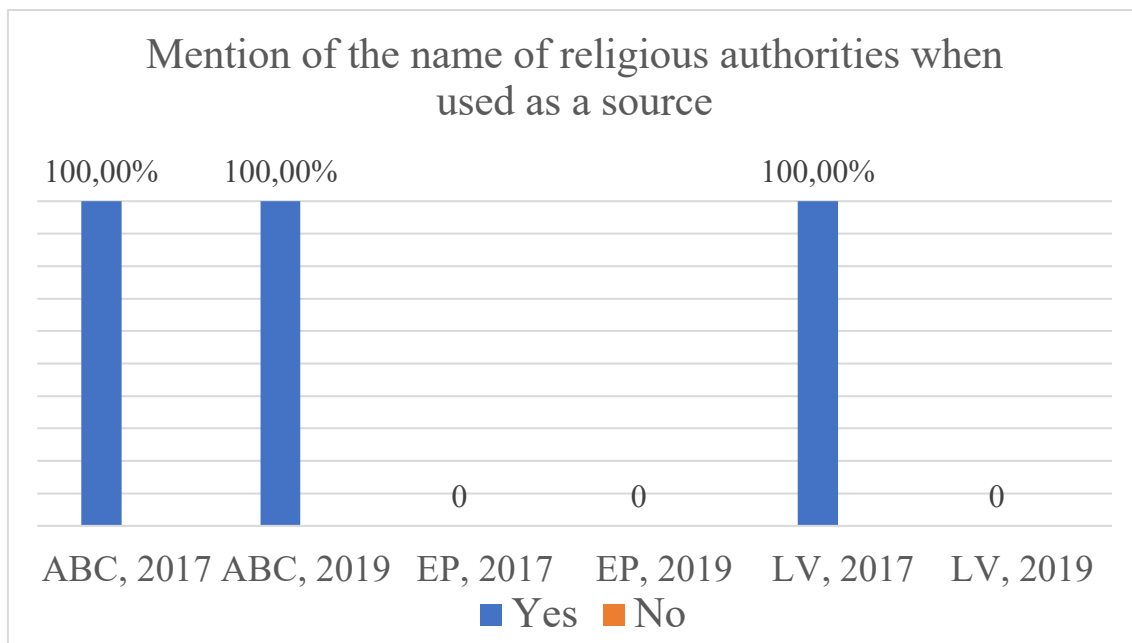
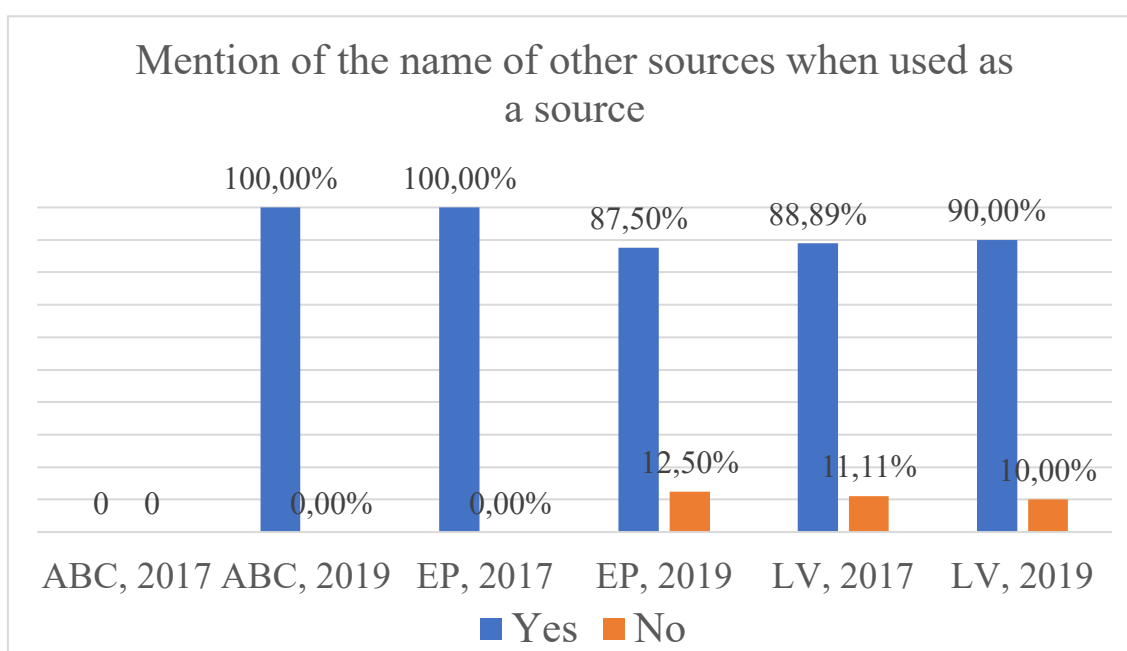


Table 143



There are notable findings in relation to whether the media mentioned the names of their own journalists when they are used as a source in the information about migration. To begin with, one of the most salient results comes from *ABC*, which included the names of the journalists as a source in the vast majority of the occasions in the period of 2017, but in 2019 this number changed drastically, to the point where there were more times when the name of the journalists who acted as a source was not included. Even more outstanding are the results from *La Vanguardia*, which passed from identifying the name of the journalists as a source in two out of three articles in the period of 2017 to a remarkable one out of ten in the period of 2019. Regarding *El País*, this journal kept a high number of identifications of journalist as a source in both periods.

Concerning the identification by the name of members of the ruling party when they are used as a source, all the newspapers analysed, in both periods, included their names.

A similar pattern is found in relation to politicians from the opposition. Every time one of the newspapers used this source, they were identified with their names.

In the case of migrants being used as a source, their names are always included by *ABC* and *La Vanguardia*. The identification of migrants as a source in *El País*, even though it is not total, is high in both periods.

The results about refugees being used as a source are unique since *El País* was the only one that incorporated them, and only in 2019. In this singular case, *El País* identified the refugees used as a source by their names.

The situation was different in relation to migration rights associations since all the newspapers used this source at some point and, in every case, they named the source. The same happened with sources from associations not related to migration, which were also used by every newspaper in both periods and, in every case, the sources from this category were also identified.

Police agents used as a source were not identified in any case by *ABC* in the period of 2019. By contrast, *El País* in the same period always named this source. In the period 2017, both *El País* and *La Vanguardia* identified police forces with their names when they used them as a source.

In both periods, *El País* and *La Vanguardia* always included the name of the experts used as sources. *ABC* did not incorporate information from experts in their articles about migration in either of the periods analysed.

Similarly, *La Vanguardia* always included the name of judicial authority acting as sources on the information. *El País* only used this source in 2017, but they referred to the name in every case. *ABC* did not work with this source in either of the periods.

Regarding the information from agencies publishing data, all the newspapers named the source when they used it, except for *ABC* and *El País* in the period of 2019, which in fact did not use this source.

In the case of religious authorities, *ABC*, the only newspaper which used this source in both periods, identified this source in every case. From the other two, only *La*

Vanguardia used religious authorities as a source, and, as it happened with *ABC*, it also identified the name of the religious authority.

Finally, the category of other sources was also registered. In general, the newspapers analysed tended to identify these sources in almost every case. In the case of *ABC* in December 2019, both sources were identified. The same happened with *El País* in 2017. In 2019 for *El País*, the only unidentified source in this category was a smuggler, which offered information without being named. With *La Vanguardia*, the only anonymous source from 2017 was a terrorist and, in 2019, an unknown citizen.

In the next chapter, the context of these findings will be studied, analysing the patterns and explaining the abrupt changes, linking the agency given to an identified source to the type of frame portrayed in the articles.

3.3.4. Type of information produced by the source

This subsection shows the type of information the sources produce when they participate in the articles analysed. The percentage is calculated in relation to the total amount of contributions in each newspaper in every period. For example, journalists contributed by giving an opinion in 7,14 per cent of the articles in which they are a source of information. One source can participate in the same article with more than one type of information, for instance, by giving details of the incident and at the same time analysing it. The following table shows the results categorised by type of source. Data from this subsection will contribute to answering the research questions about whether journalists prioritise some sources over others, as well as whether migrants are used as a source in the information about themselves and if journalists reproduce arguments from politicians who are trying to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration.

Table 144

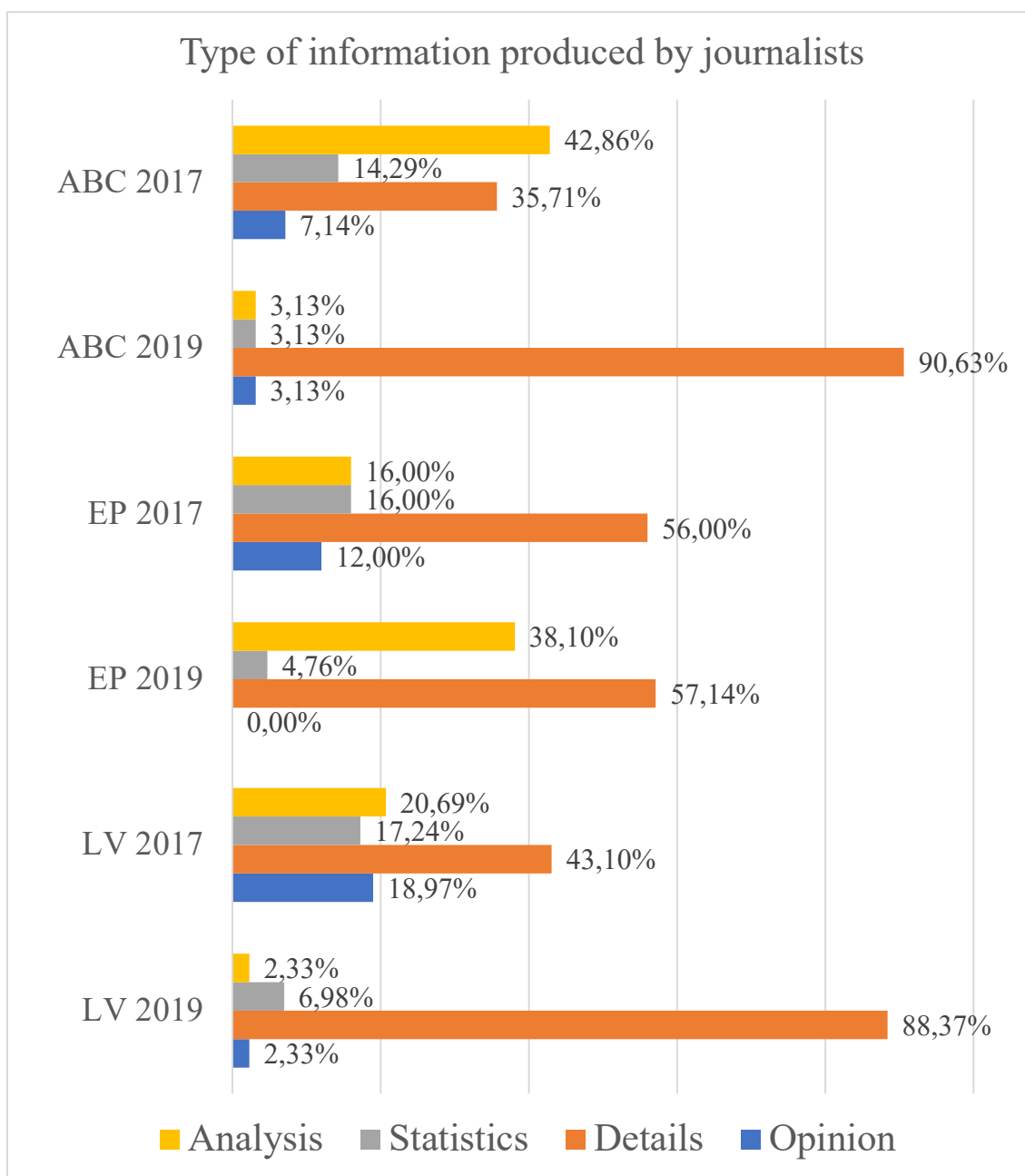


Table 145

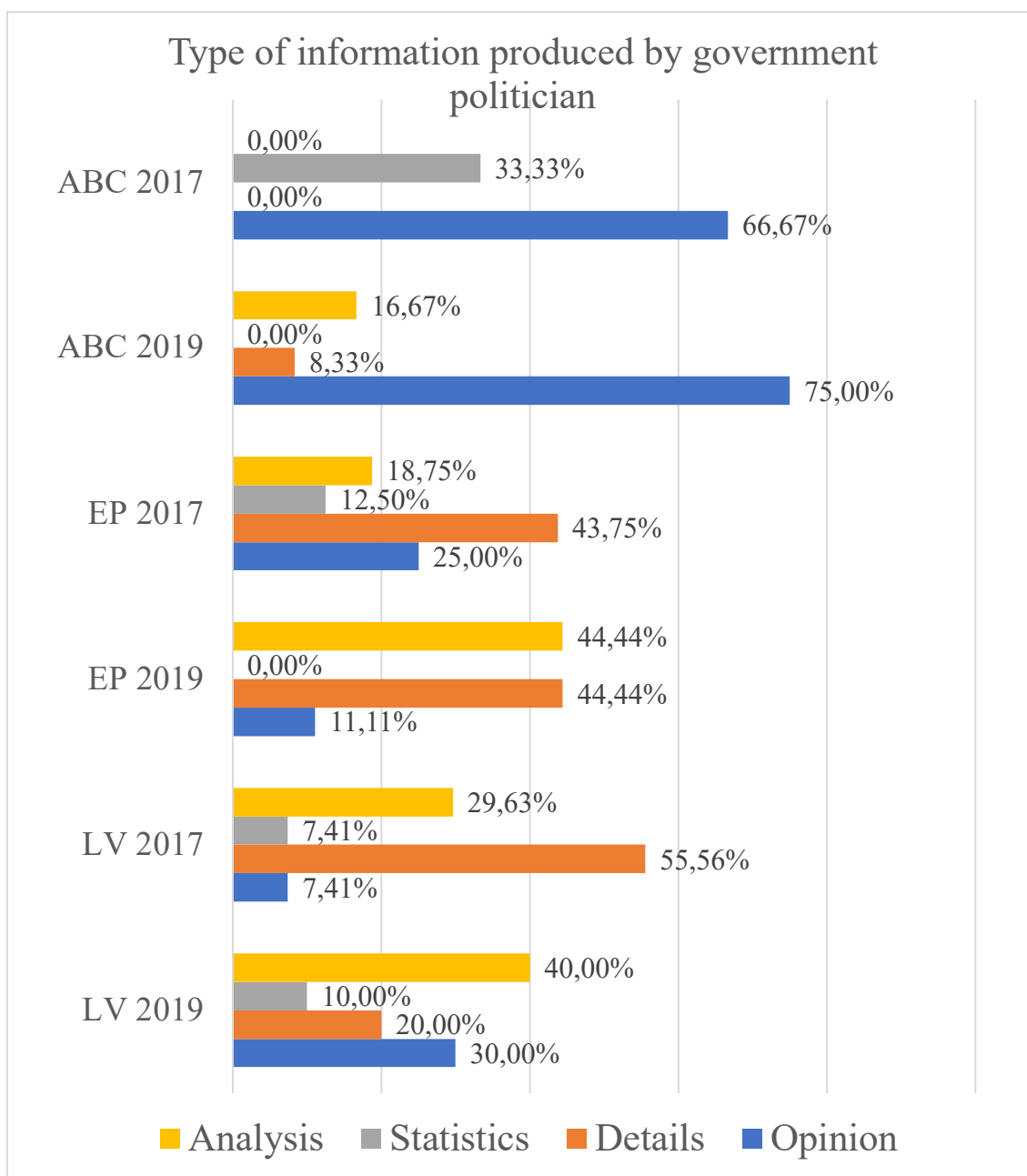


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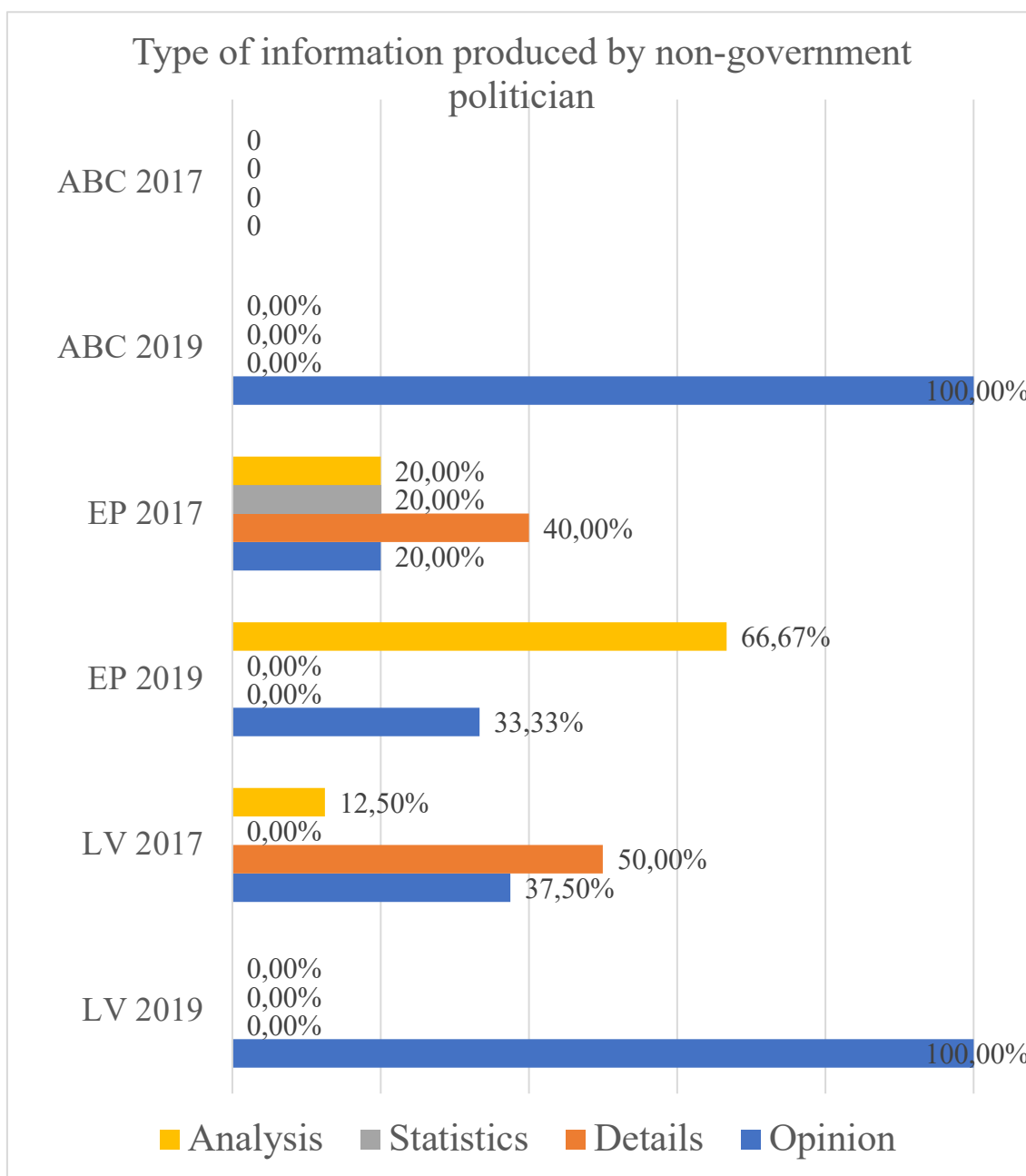


Table 147

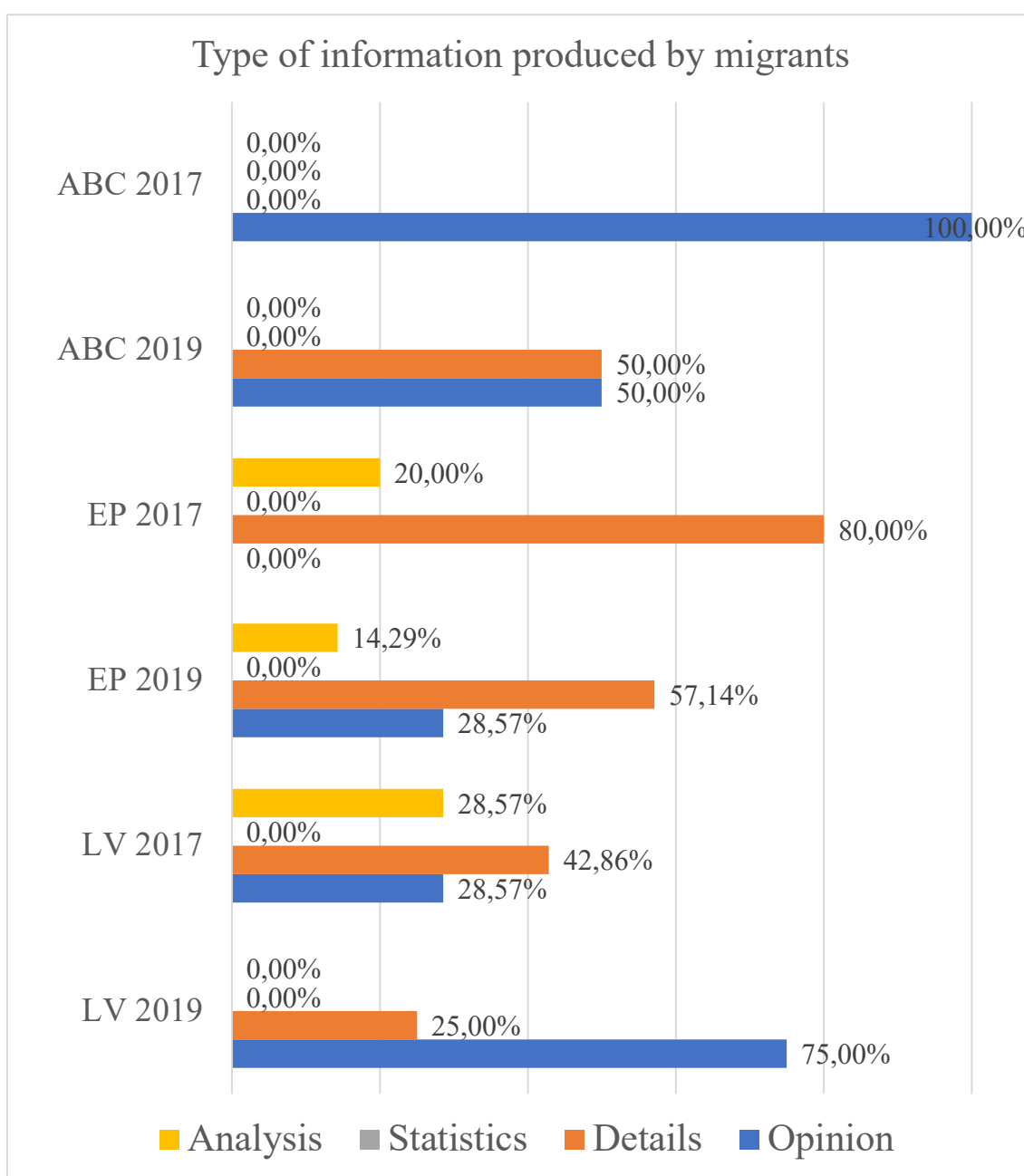


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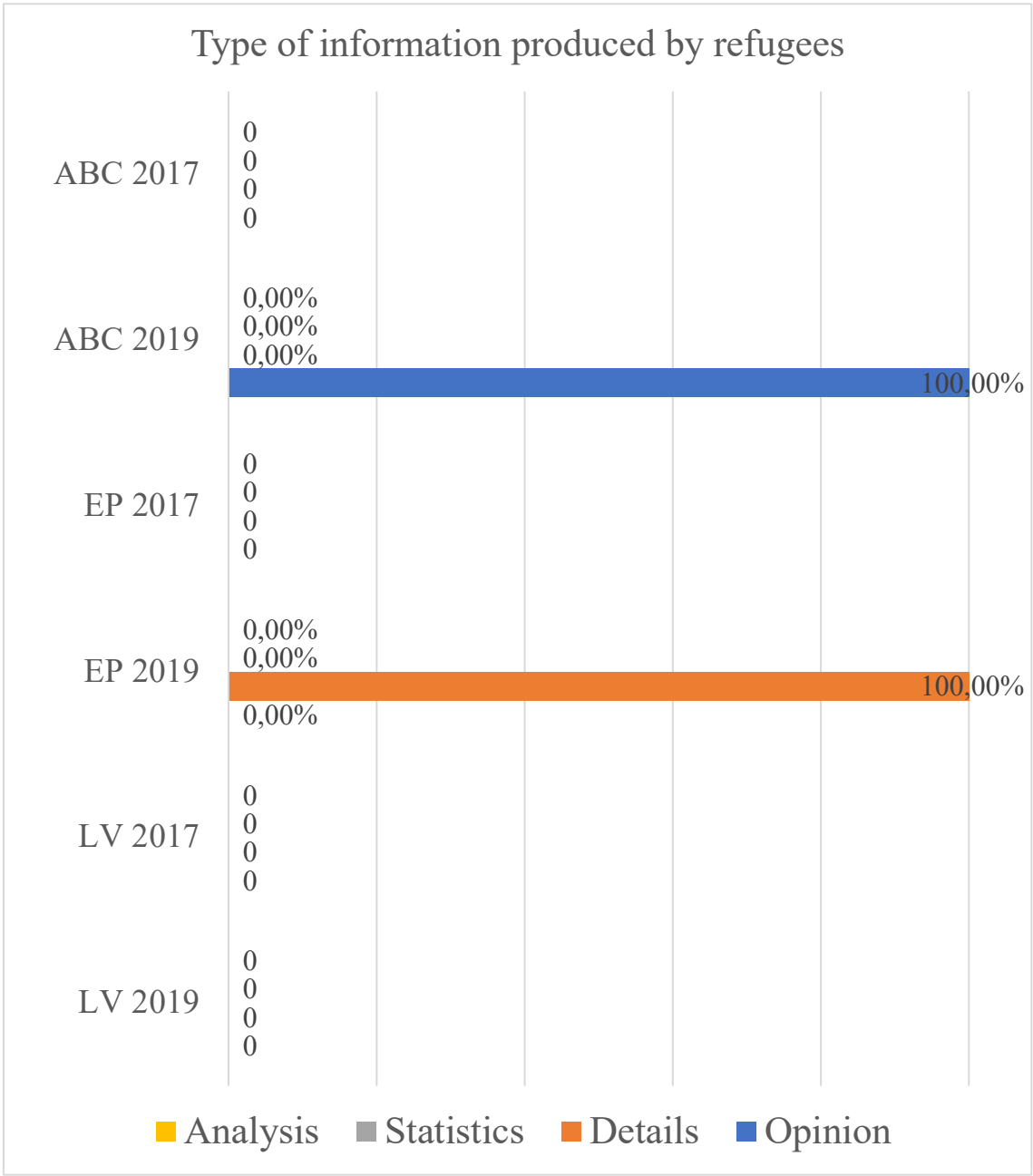


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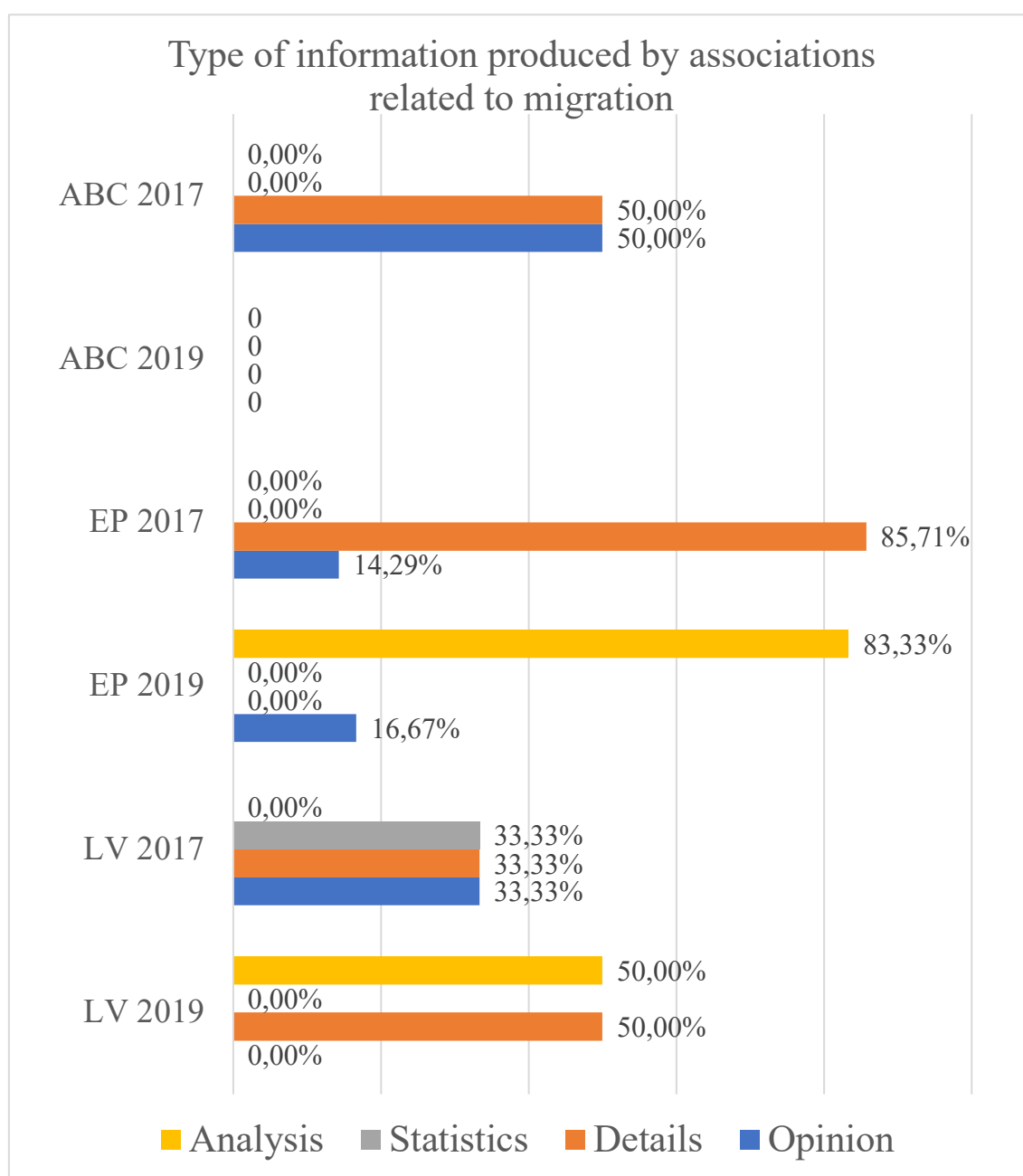


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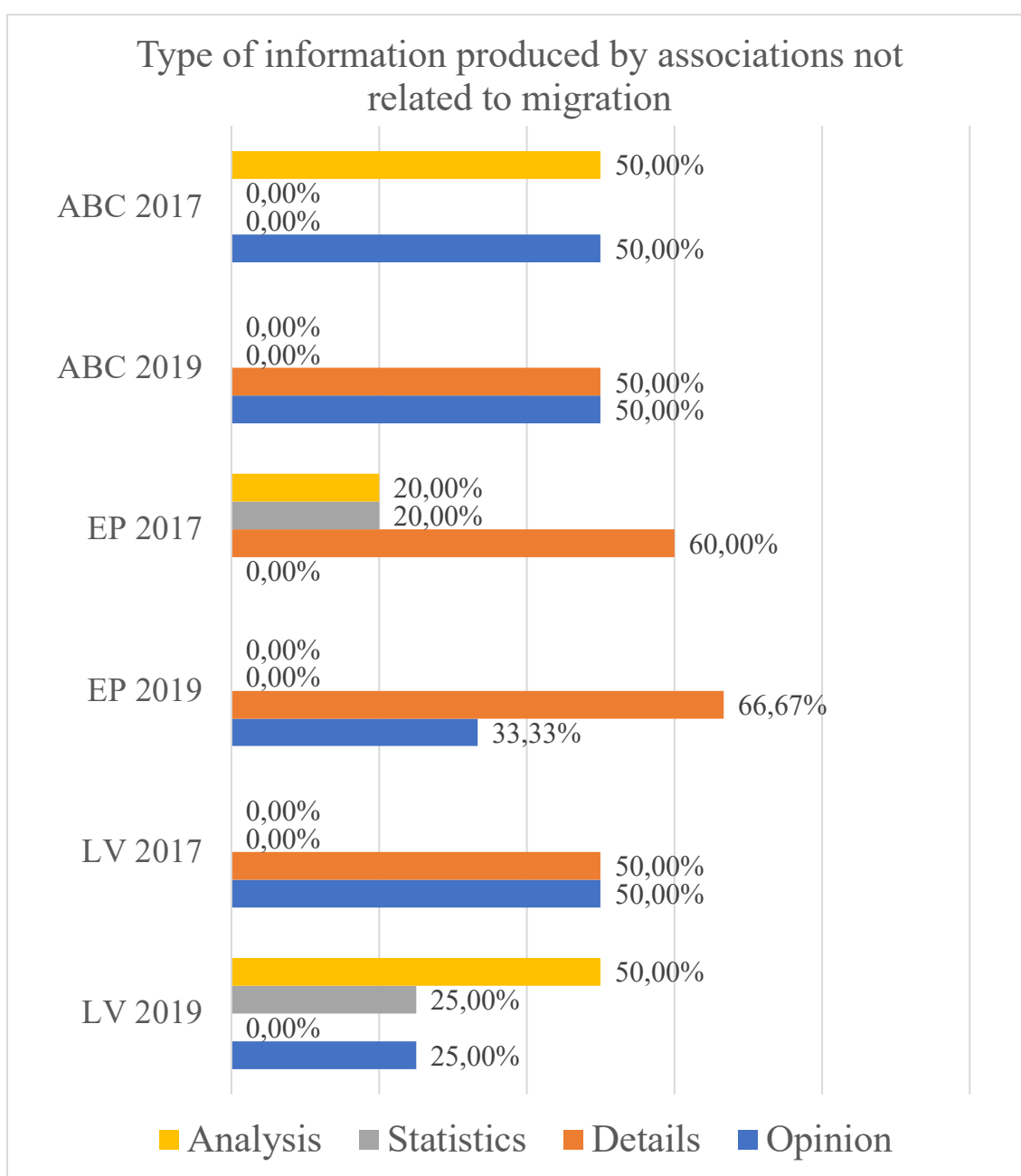


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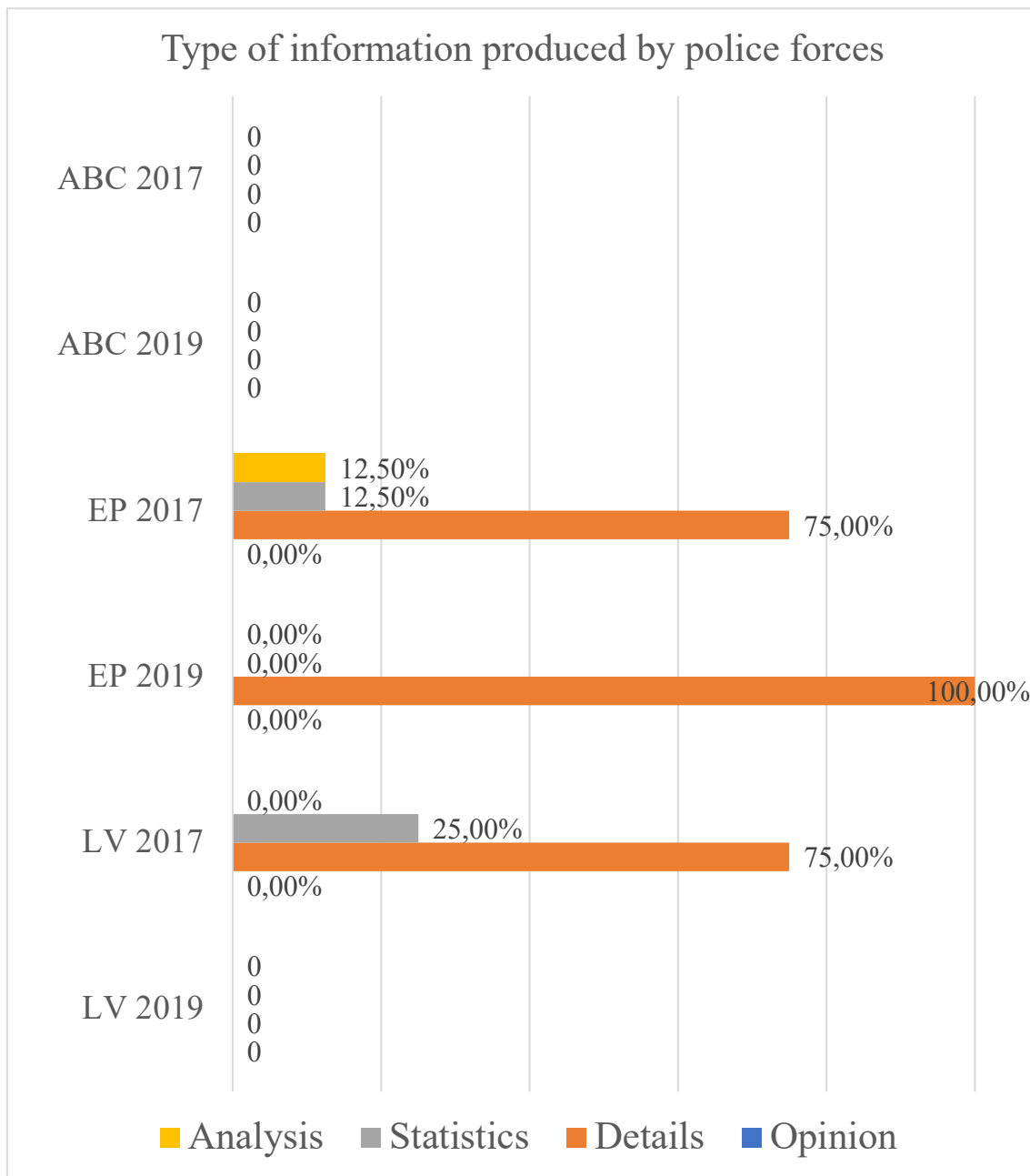


Table 152

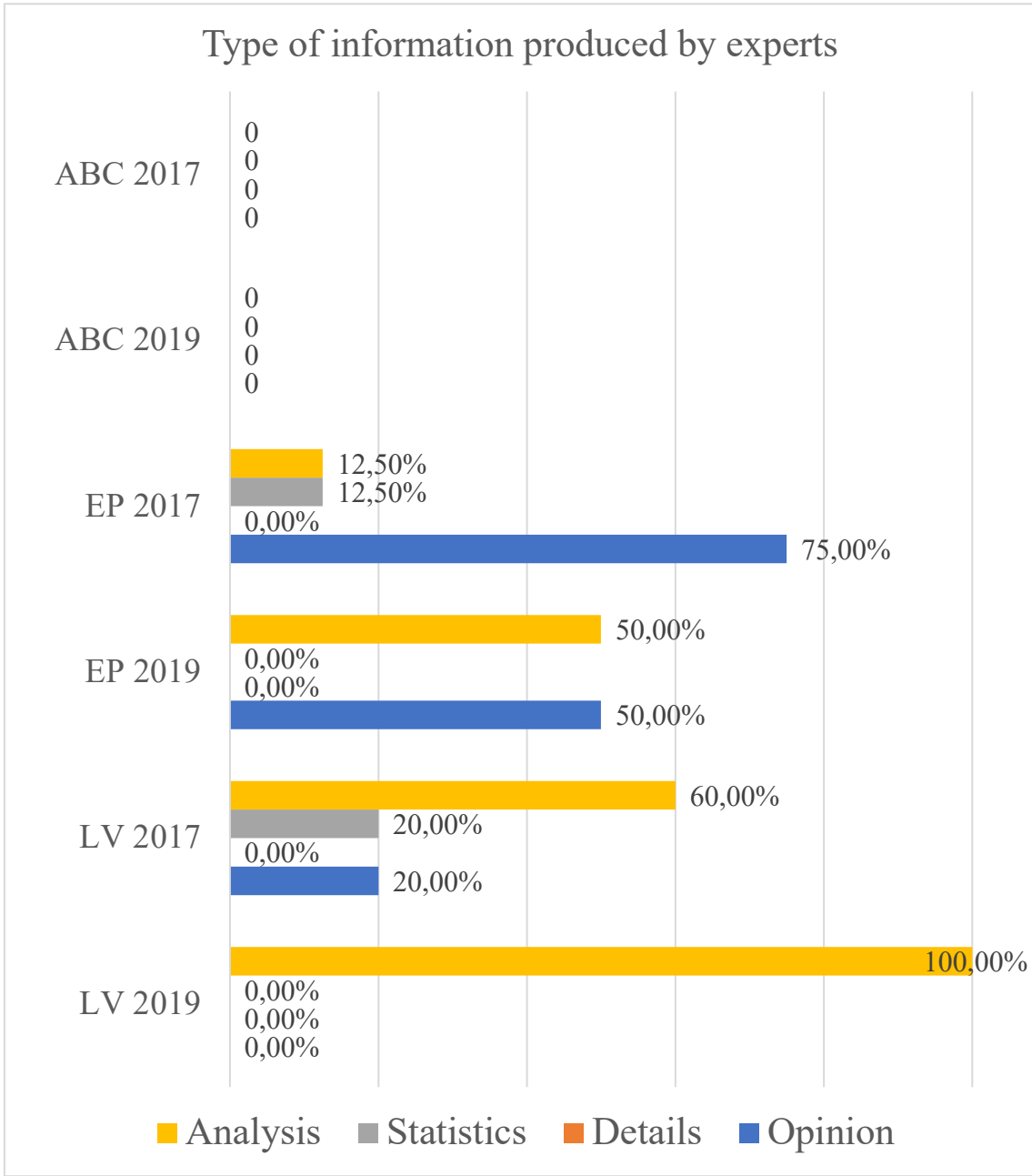


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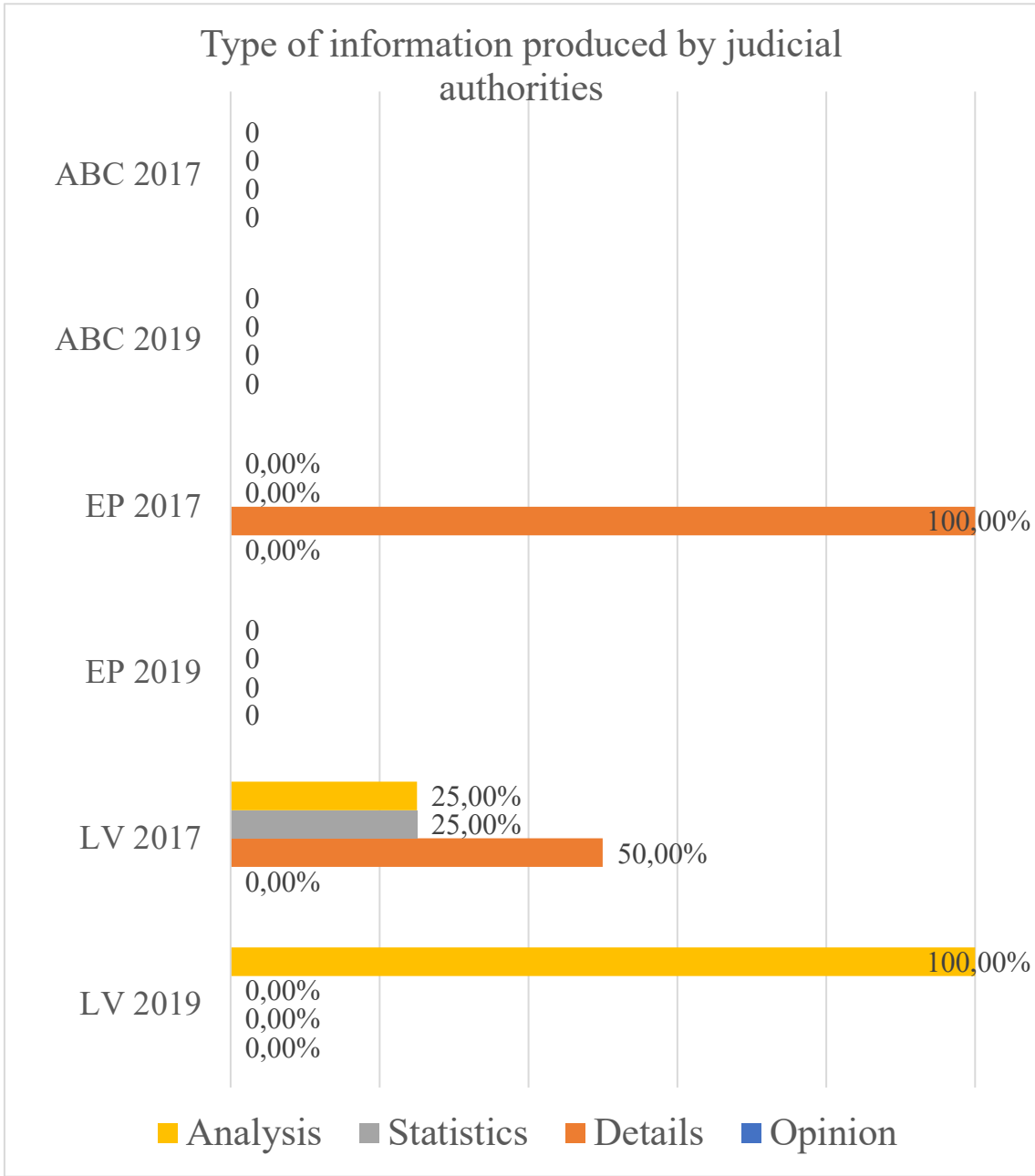


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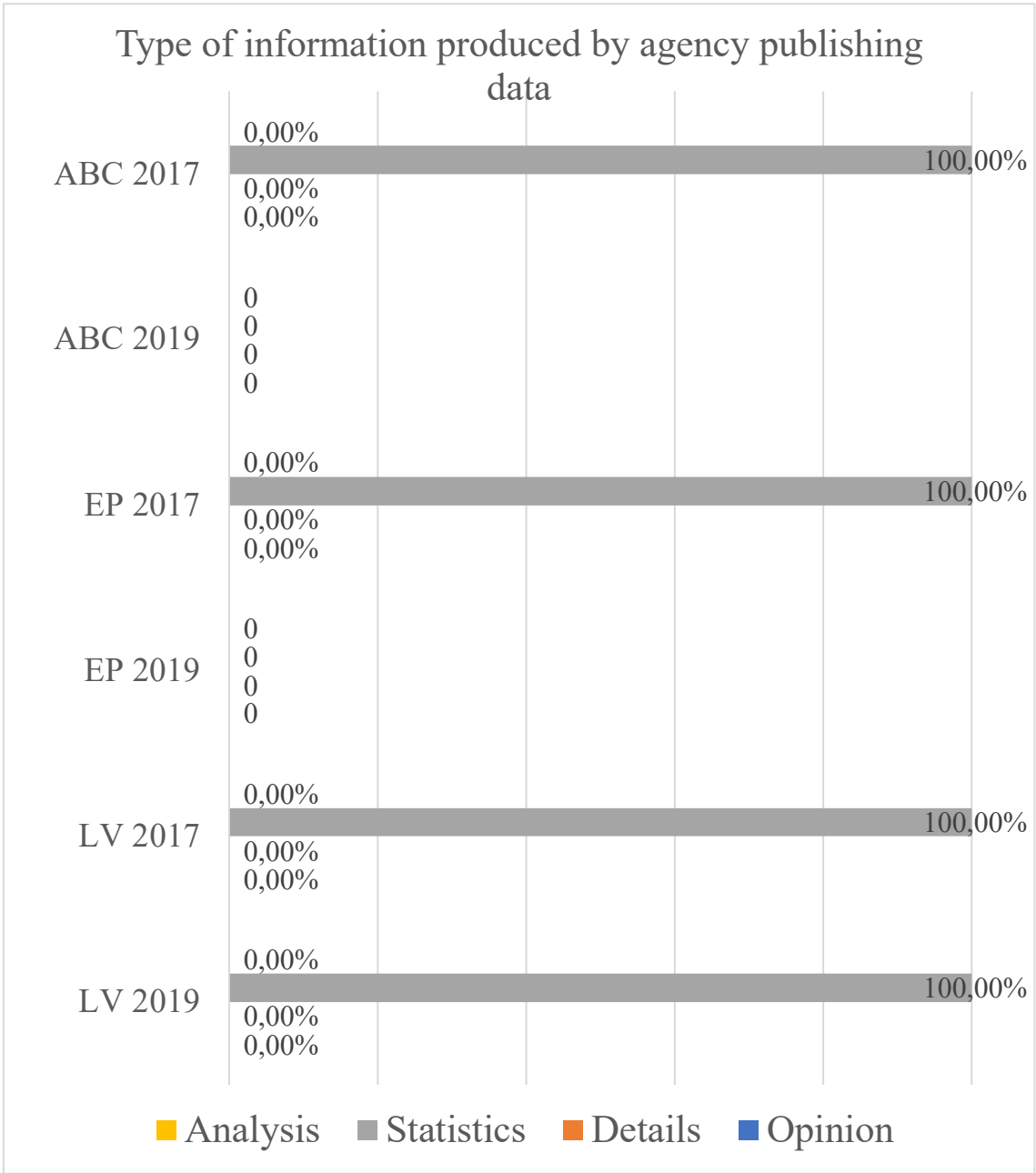


Table 155

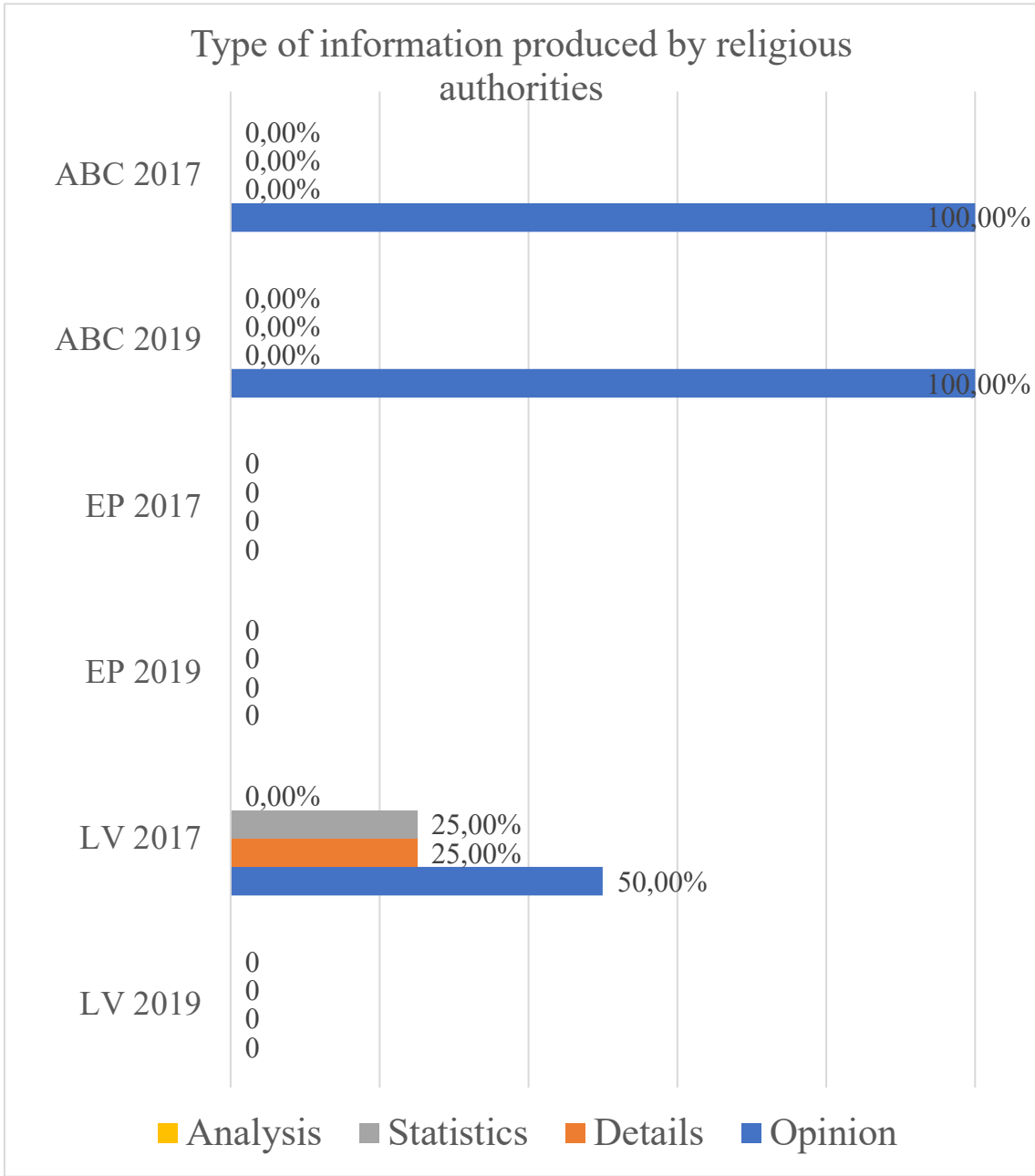


Table 156

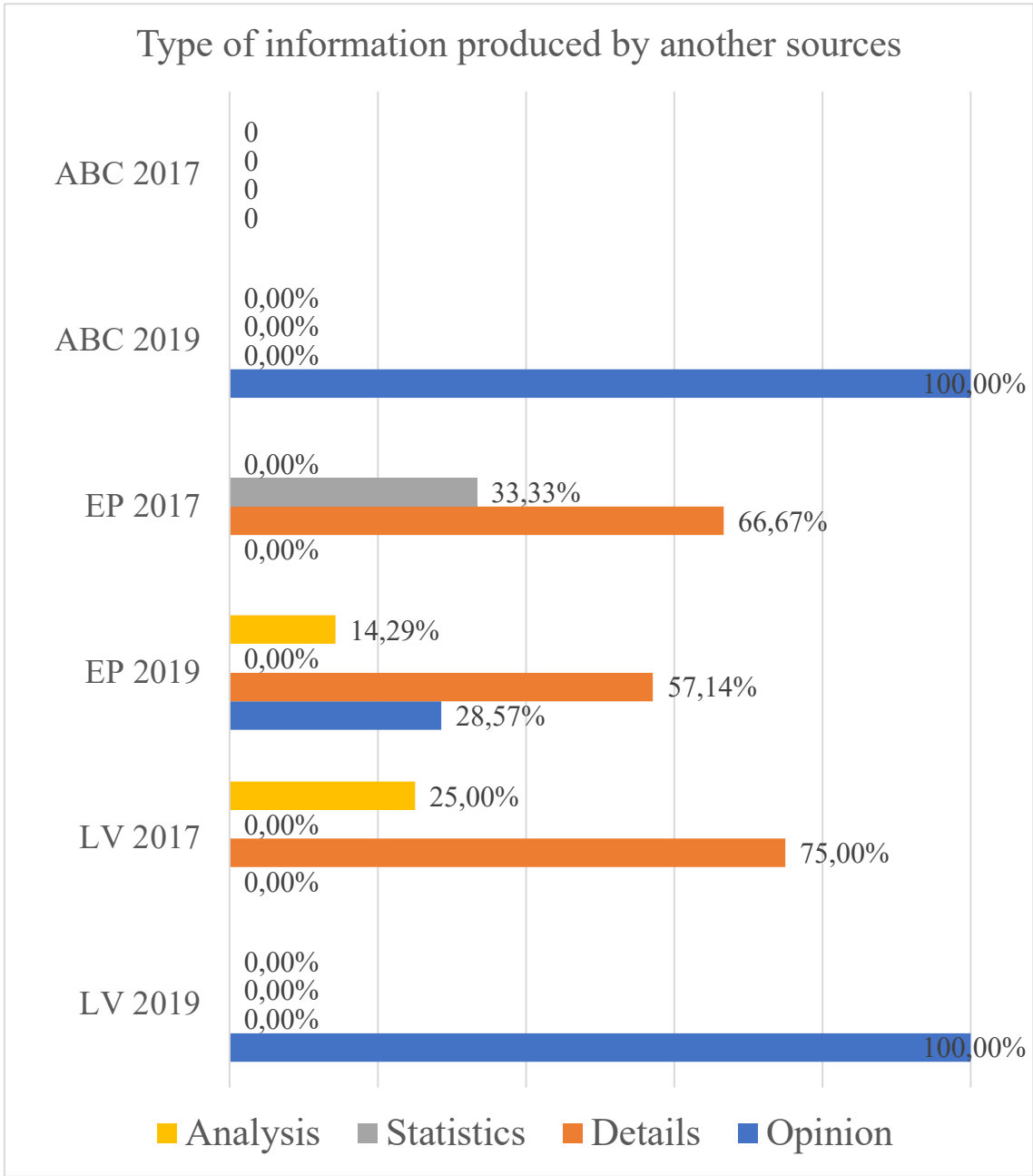
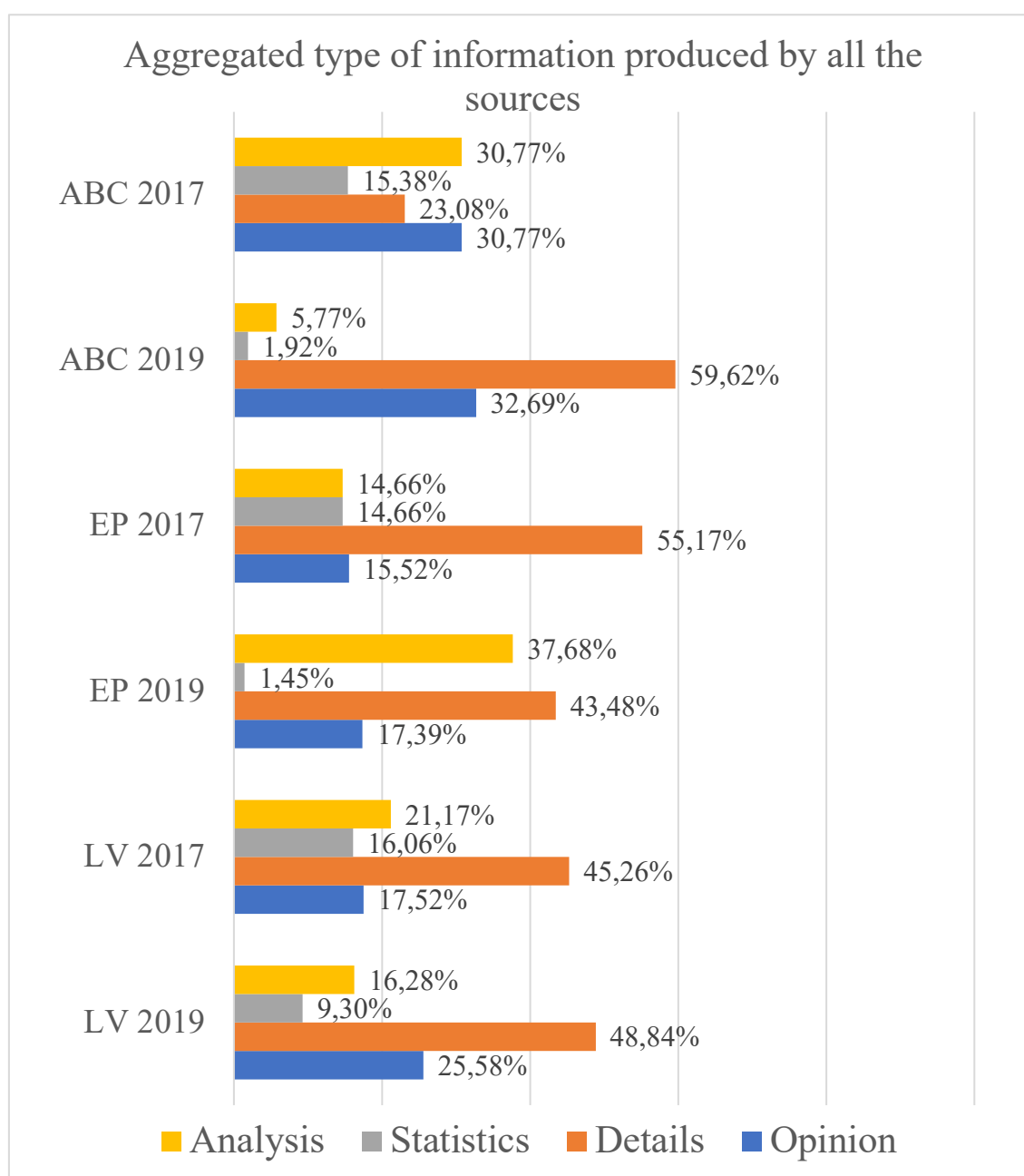


Table 157



The first result to take into account is the aggregated type of information produced by all the sources. This type of data gives a general framework for the kind of information used to inform about migration. In this respect, the sources in *ABC* during the period of 2017 presented more often an opinion and an analysis over the rest of the options. The least frequent type of information used by *ABC* in this period were statistics. In 2019, opinion was still one of the most used forms of expression produced by the sources for *ABC*, alongside analysis. Statistics were, once again, the least used form of information when writing about migration. Regarding *El País*, their sources in 2017 preferred to

inform mainly by giving details about the covering incident. The rest of the options were not popular during this period in *El País*. In 2019, this tendency continued, even though the analysis grew in this period. The sources from *La Vanguardia* also preferred detailing the incident during both periods of 2017 and 2019 when they gave information about a story related to migration.

By sources, journalists participated in the articles by detailing the incidents of the story in most of the cases. This was the case for *ABC*, *El País* and *La Vanguardia* in both periods of study. The least common way of participation for journalists was giving an opinion.

Concerning members of the ruling party as sources, they participated in *ABC* primarily by giving their opinion both in 2017 and 2019. In *El País*, they mainly detailed the incident in both periods, and, in *La Vanguardia*, members of the ruling party tended to give details in 2017 and analysis in 2019.

Politicians from the opposition only participated in giving their opinion in *ABC* in the period of 2019, not participating in 2017. *El País* used them more often for giving details in 2017 and, in 2019, for presenting an analysis. In *La Vanguardia*, they appeared in 2017 mainly to provide details about an incident and, in 2019, they were used only for giving their opinion about the story.

Migrants, when they are used as a source, participated in *ABC* in 2017 exclusively to give an opinion. In 2019, they were not used. In *La Vanguardia*, in both periods, they frequently gave details about the event. In *El País*, migrants were often used as a source to explain details in 2017 and, in 2019, to give their opinion.

As shown in previous subsections, refugees are not often used as sources when writing about migration. They appeared only in the period of 2019 in *ABC*, when they participated in giving an opinion, and in *El País* when they provided details of the incidents.

Associations related to migration rights were used as a source in *ABC* in 2017 to give opinions and details the same number of times. *ABC* did not count with them as a

source in 2019. In 2017, *El País* included them mostly to offer details about the incident and, in 2019, to present an analysis. Associations related to migration rights participated in *La Vanguardia* in 2017, the same number of times to give an opinion, to relate details of the incident and provide statistics. In 2019, they split their contributions between detailing the incident and analysing the information about migration.

Regarding those associations not related to migration used as a source, they participated in giving an opinion as much as analysing in *ABC* in 2017. In 2019, they also offered opinions half of the times and, the other half, detailed incidents. In *El País*, they gave details of the incident in most cases in both periods. *La Vanguardia* included them giving an opinion and detailing the incident the same number of times in 2017 and, in 2019, mostly providing an analysis.

Police forces only participated in both periods in *El País*. In 2017 they mostly offered details about the incident, and this was the only way of providing information in 2019. *La Vanguardia* included them solely in 2017, mostly to give details. *ABC* did not count with police forces as a source in any of the periods.

ABC did not include experts as a source of information in their articles about migration. *El País* gave them space to give their opinion in most cases in 2017 and 2019 when they often provided an analysis. Analysis was also the primary way of including experts by *La Vanguardia* in 2017 and the only way in 2019.

Then again, *ABC* did not include sources related to judicial authorities. These sources participated by giving details in *El País* in 2017 and, in 2019, by offering an opinion and an analysis the same number of times. *La Vanguardia* used them mainly to give details in 2017 and only for analysing in 2019.

Not surprisingly, agencies publishing data participated as sources only to give statistics in *El País* in 2017 and *La Vanguardia* in both periods. They were not considered by *ABC* in any of the periods or by *El País* in 2019.

Religious authorities were only a source in both periods in *ABC*, and they participated exclusively in giving an opinion. *La Vanguardia* also included them in 2017, mostly giving an opinion as well.

Regarding the rest of the sources which were not used enough to have their own categories, *ABC* in 2019 used them in both cases to give opinions. Regarding *El País*, they appeared to detail the incidents in the case of a publishing company and Spanish workers and provide statistics by the Spanish National Bank. In 2019, a Spanish entrepreneur and a smuggler gave their opinion, while an asylum seeker, a Spanish visitor, and students detailed incidents, and the Spanish ombudsman offered an analysis. *La Vanguardia*, in 2017, used the other sources for describing an incident, except for a terrorist and an unknown citizen, who provided an analysis. In 2019, *La Vanguardia* only used other sources to give opinions.

3.3.5. Position of the contribution of sources in relation to their relevance

This subsection shows the position in which each source is situated in the articles, taking into account the relevance of their contributions. The percentage is calculated in relation to the number of contributions made by each particular source in each newspaper during the specific period of study; for instance, during December 2017, in those articles in which *ABC* included journalists as a source, they have the main position 90,91 per cent of the times. The complete table of results can be seen below. The research questions that will benefit from the data extracted in this subsection are whether journalists prioritise some sources over others, if migrants are a source in the information about themselves and if journalists reproduce arguments from politicians trying to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration.

Table 158

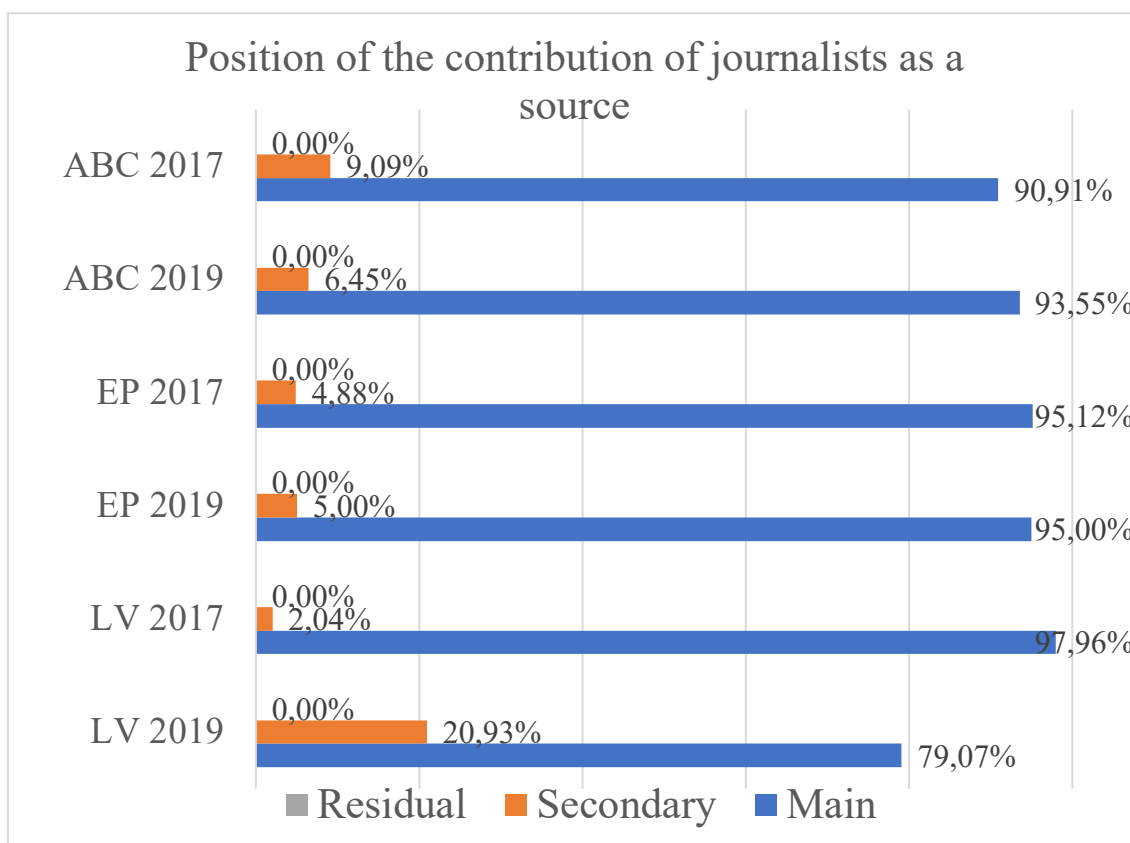


Table 159

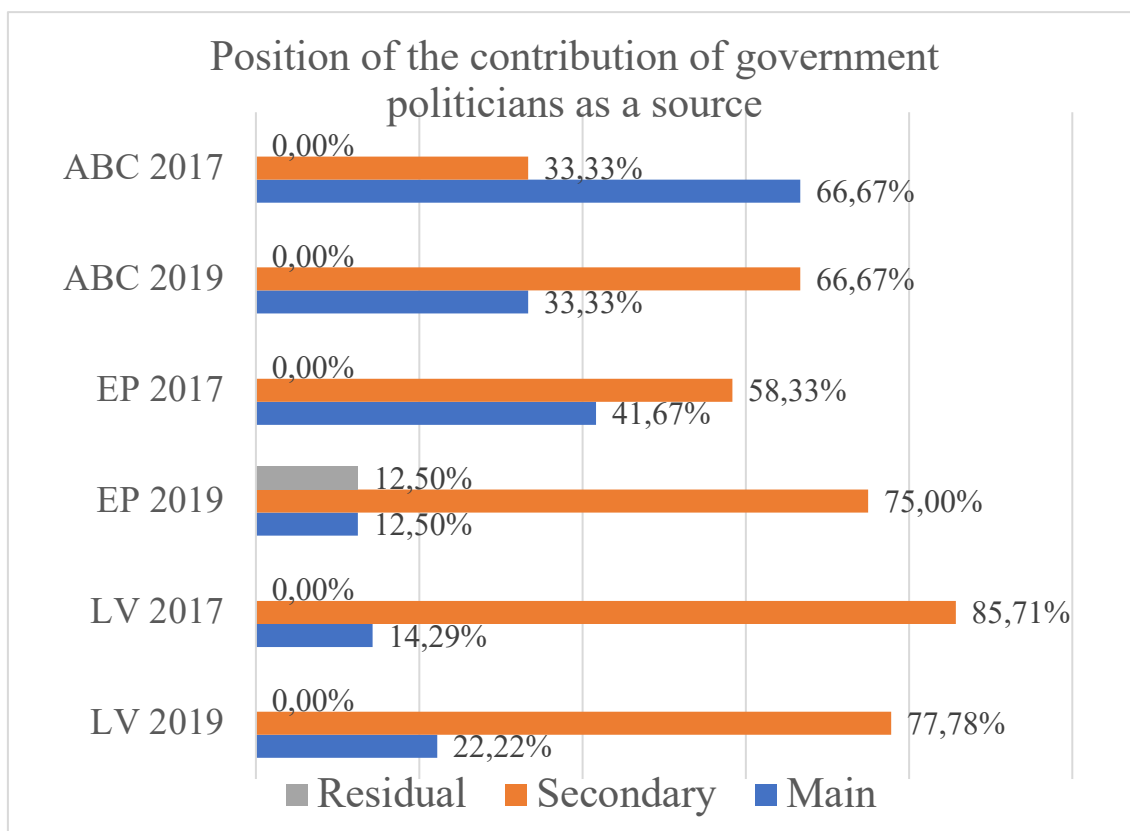


Table 160

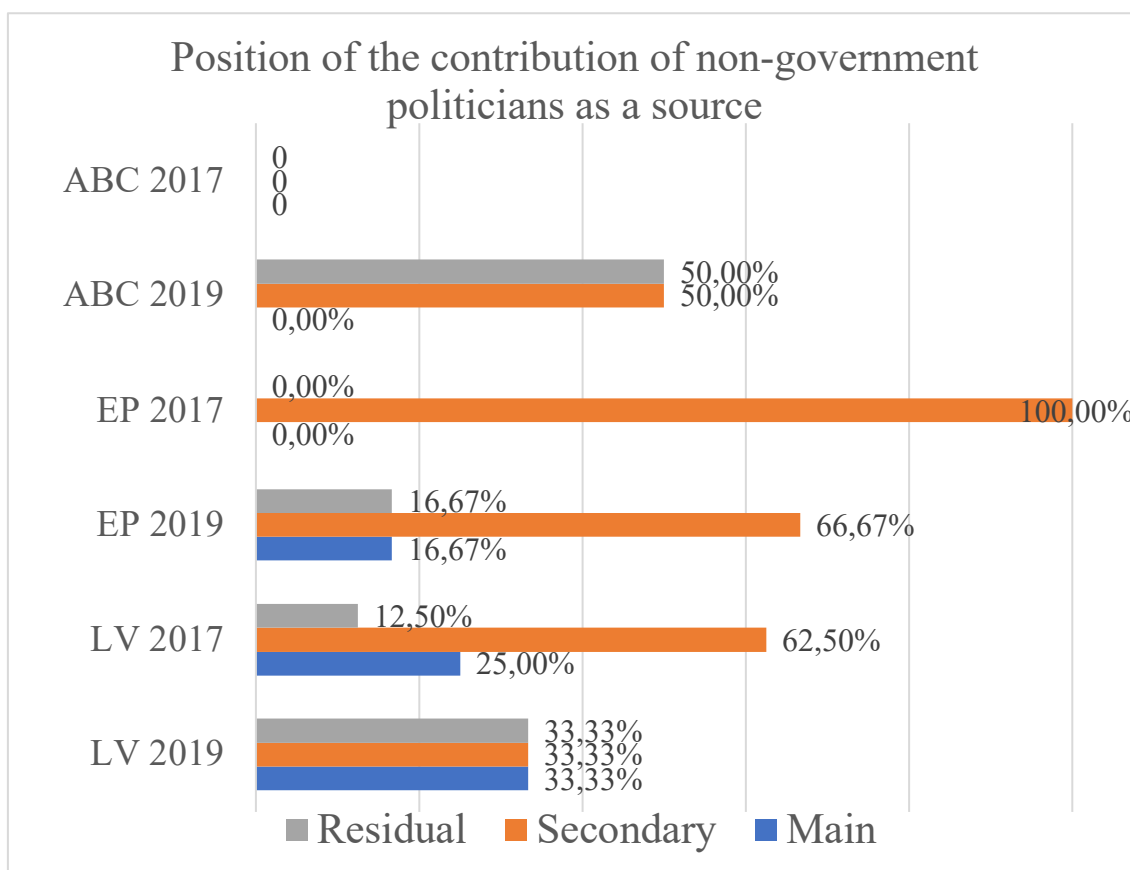


Table 161

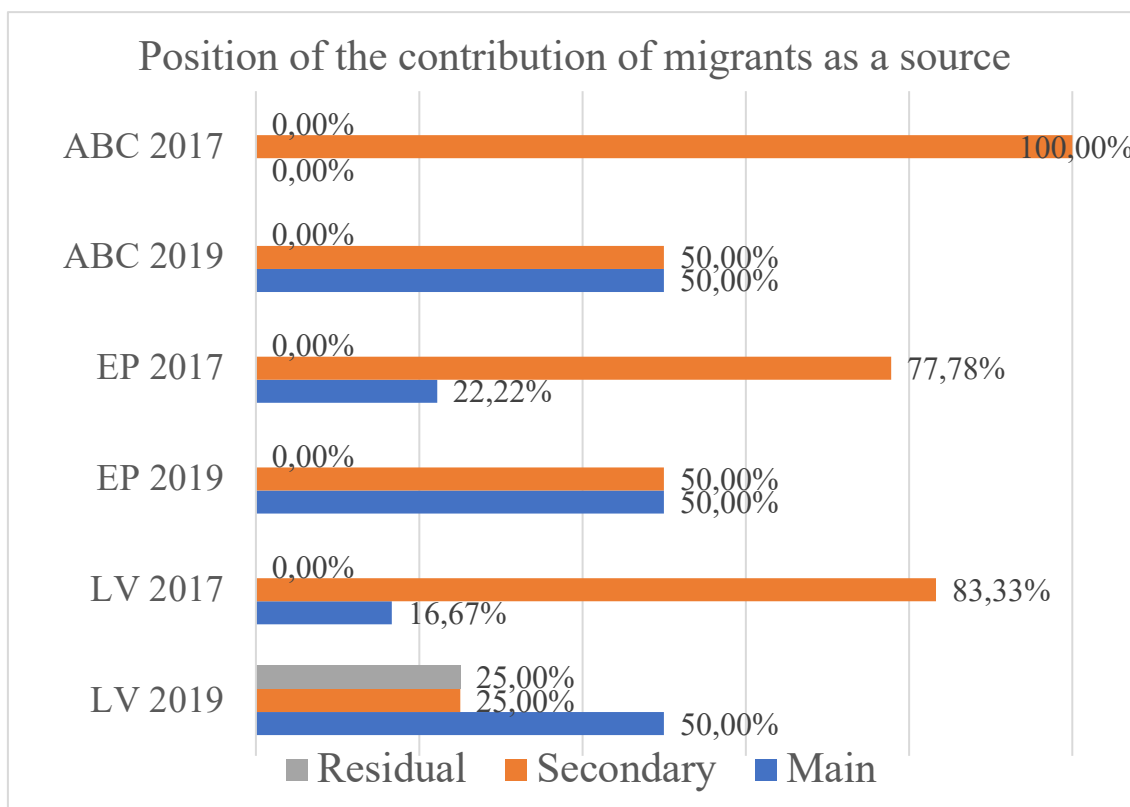


Table 162

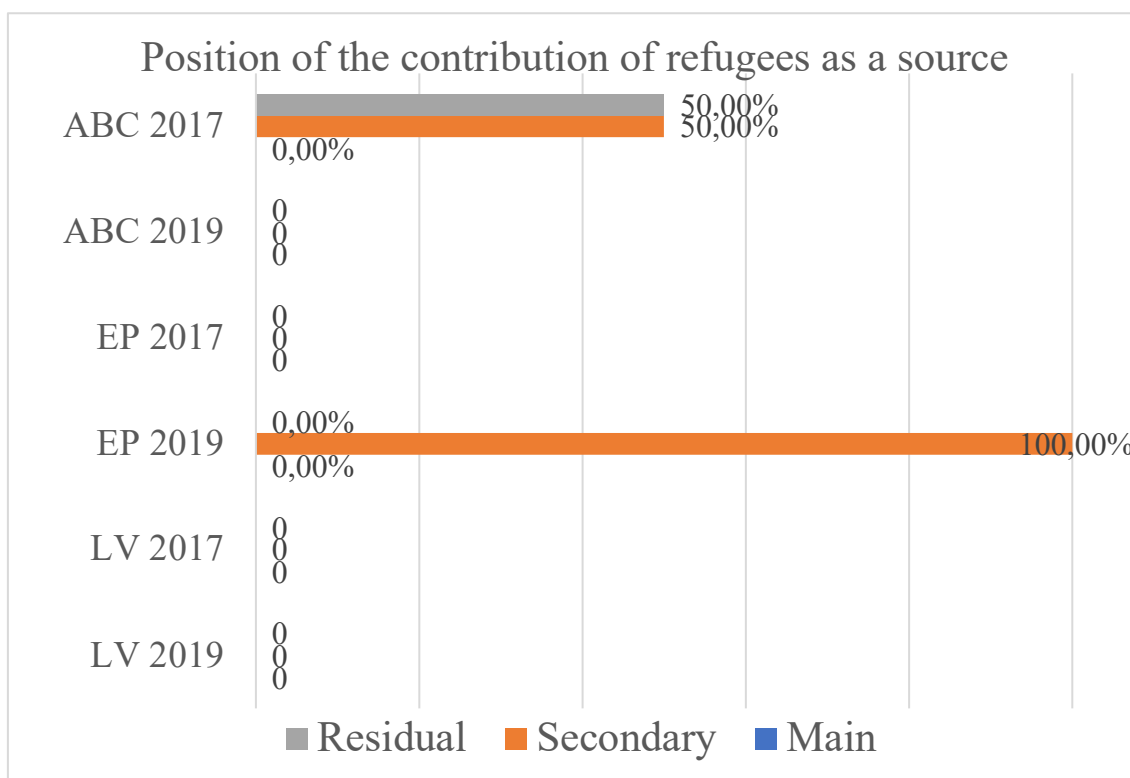


Table 163

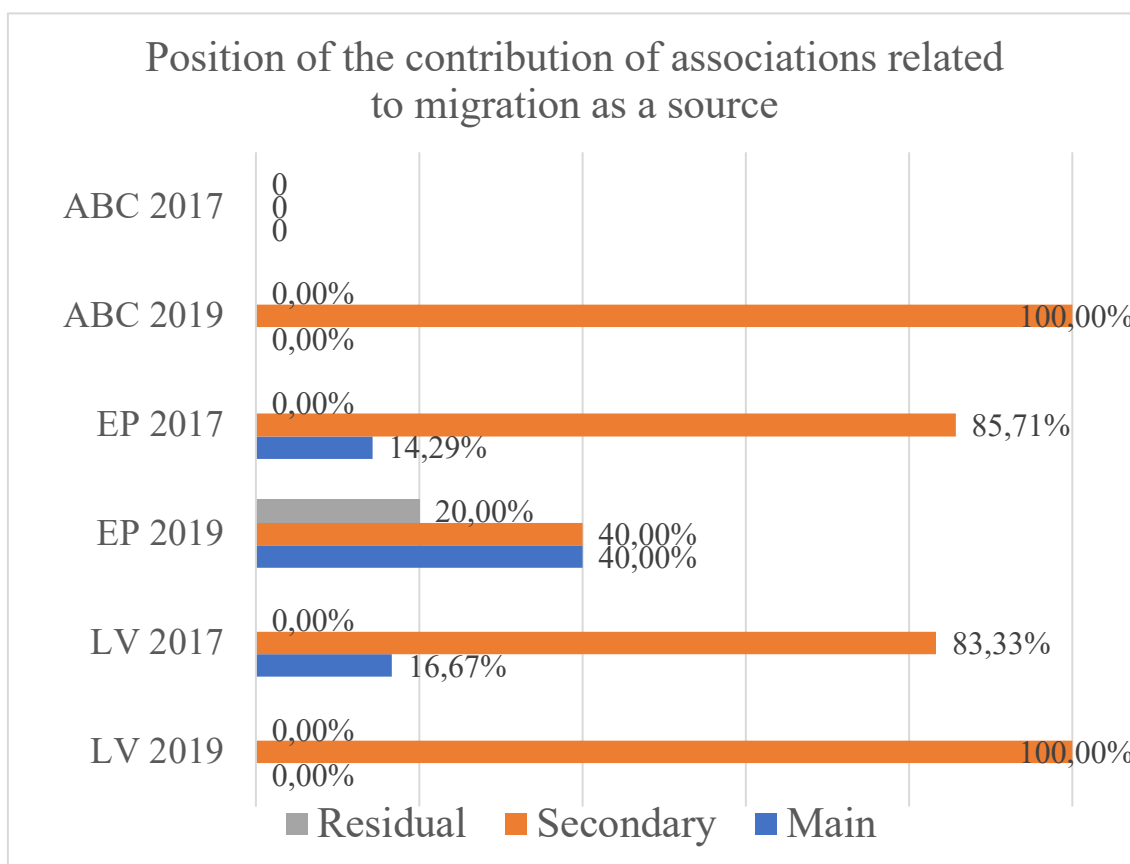


Table 164

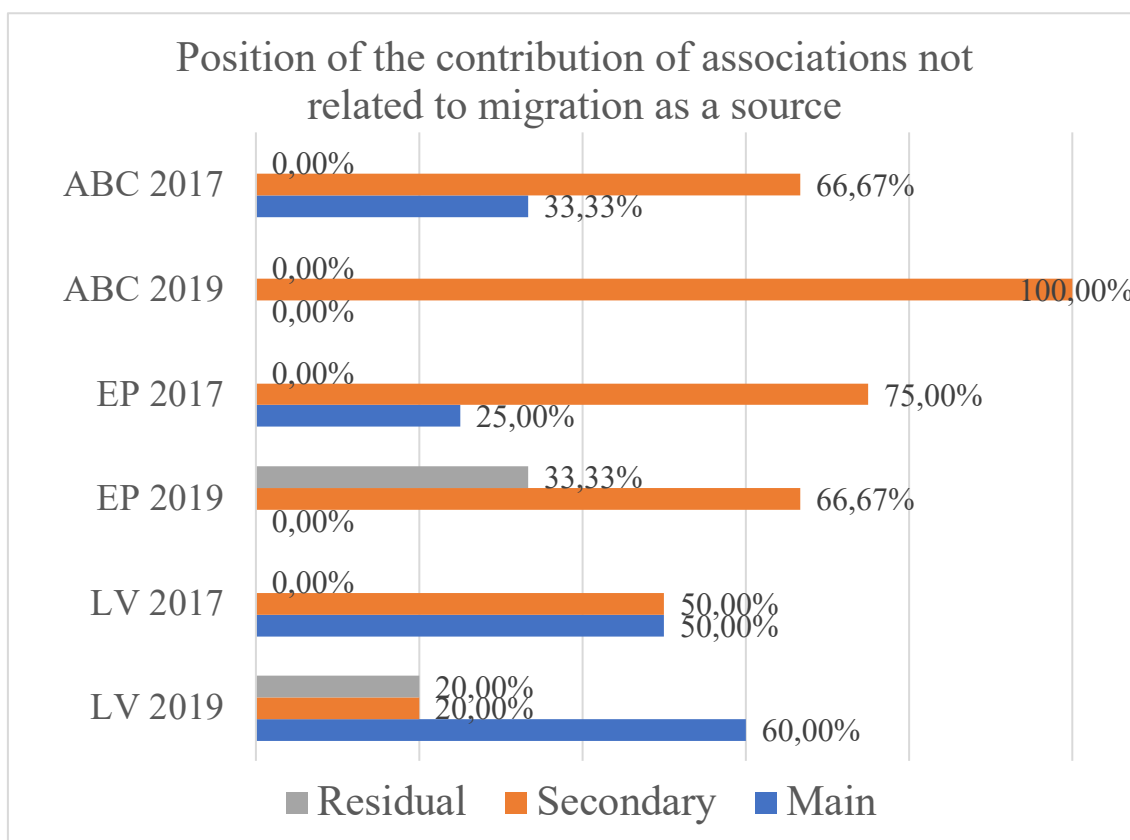


Table 165

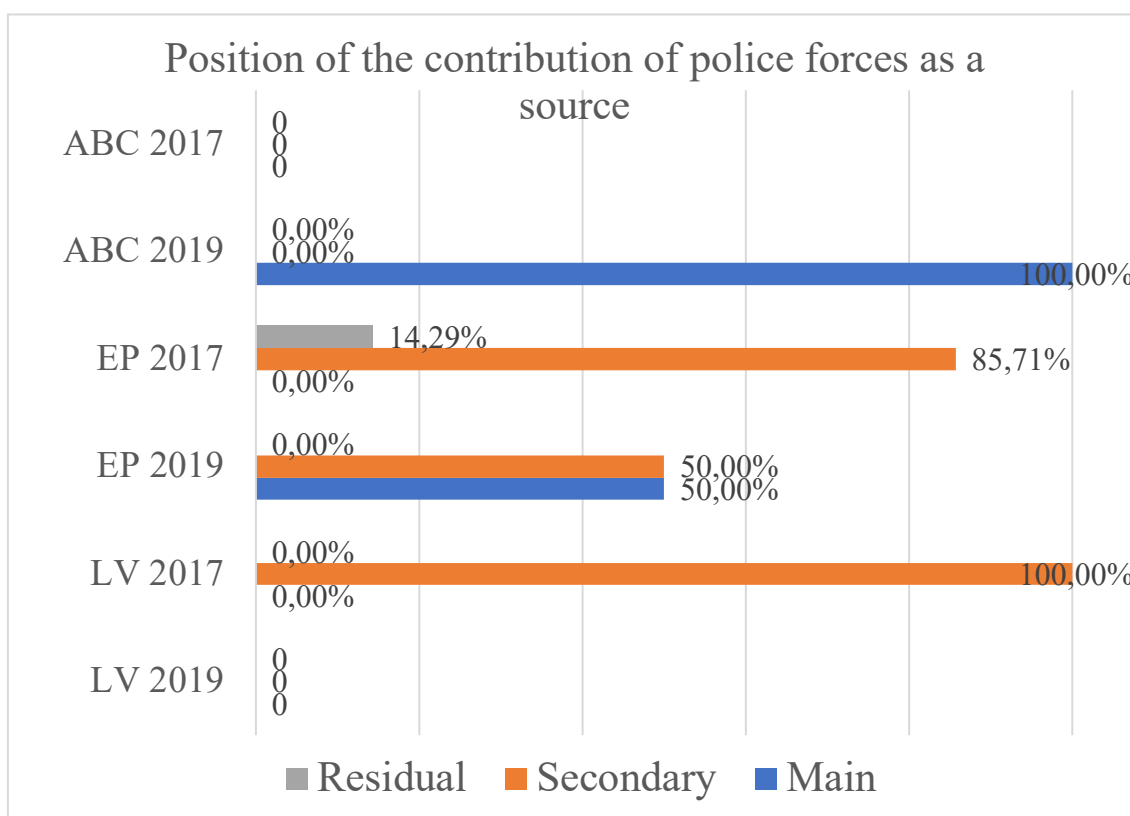


Table 166

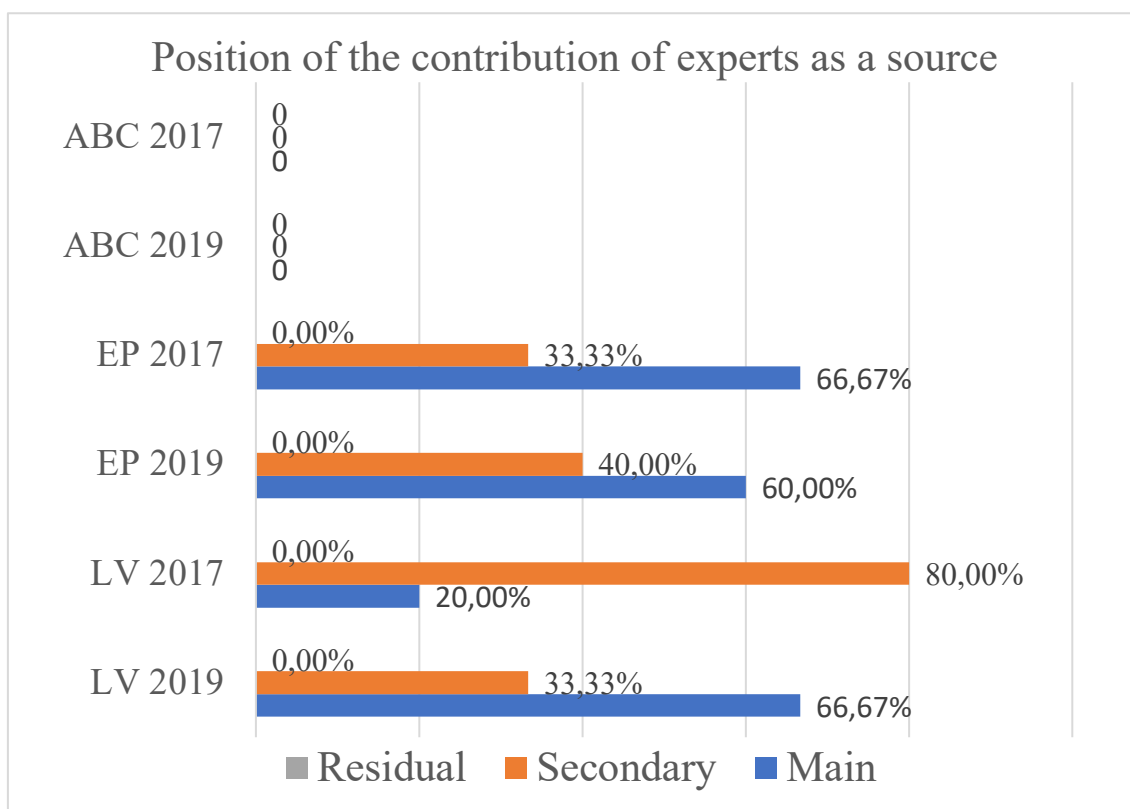


Table 167

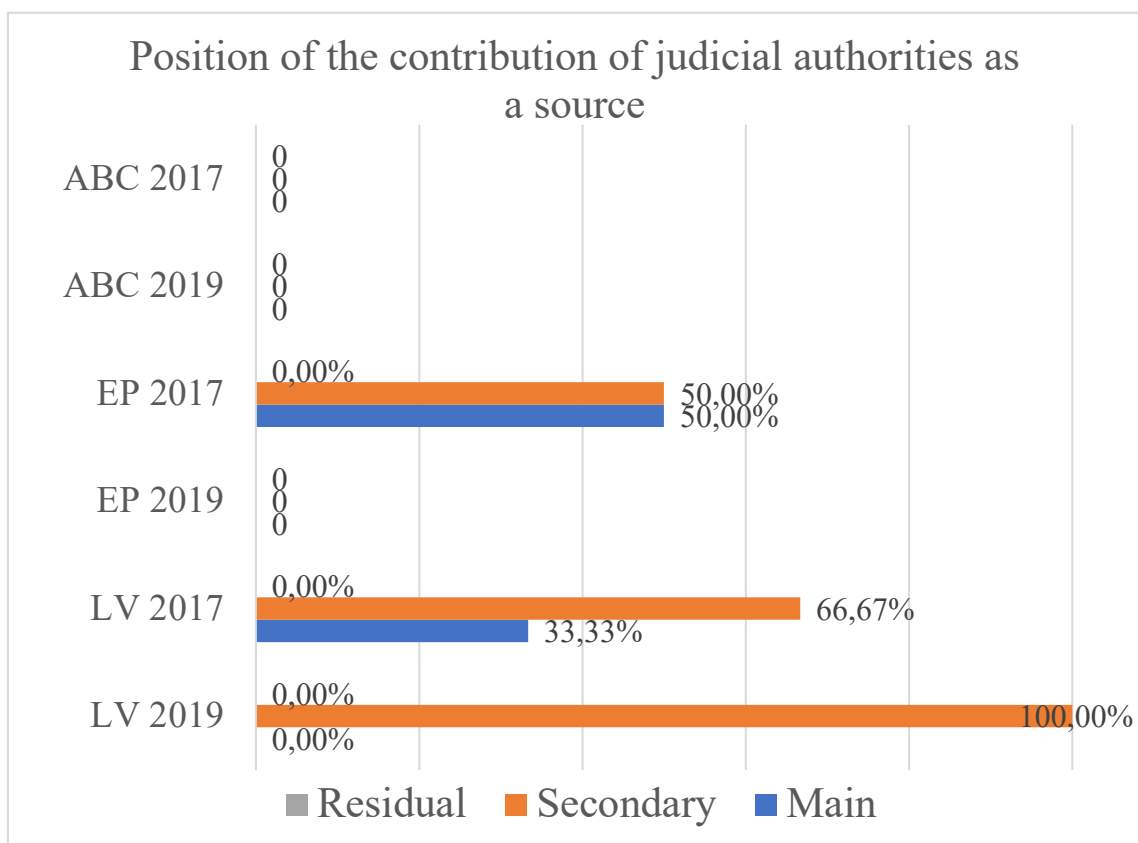


Table 168

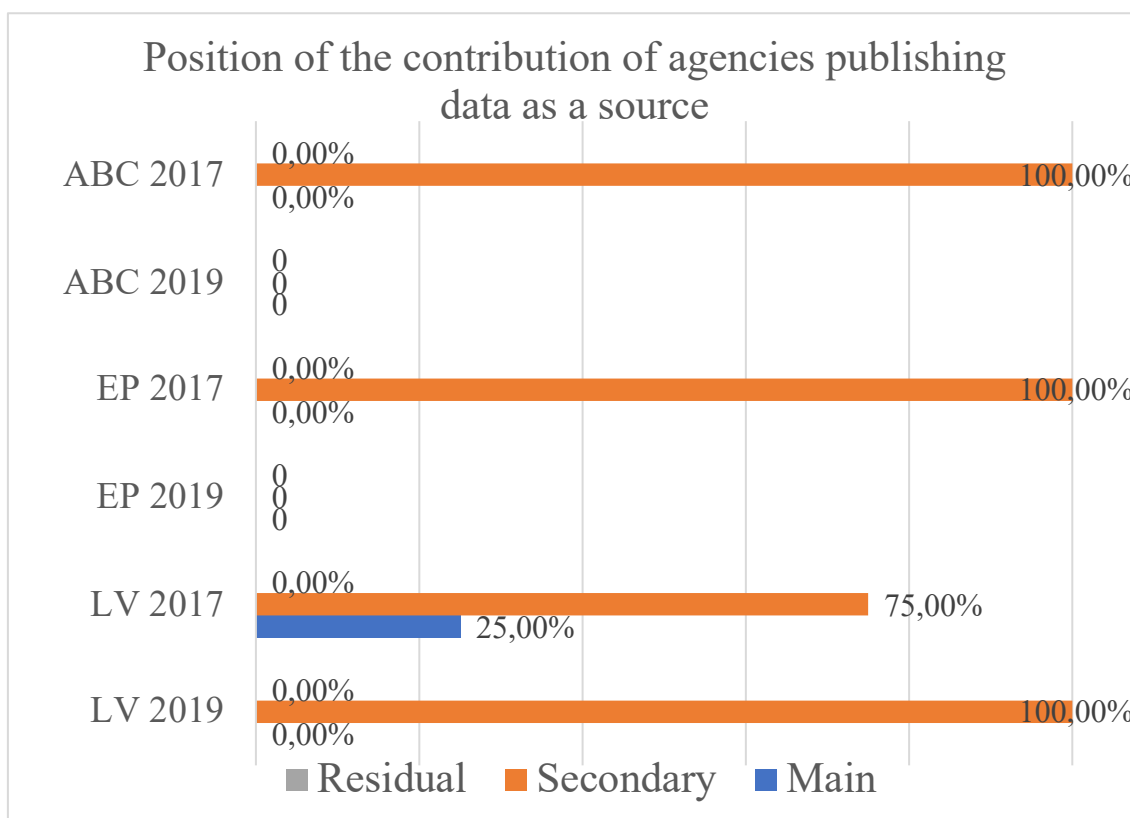


Table 169

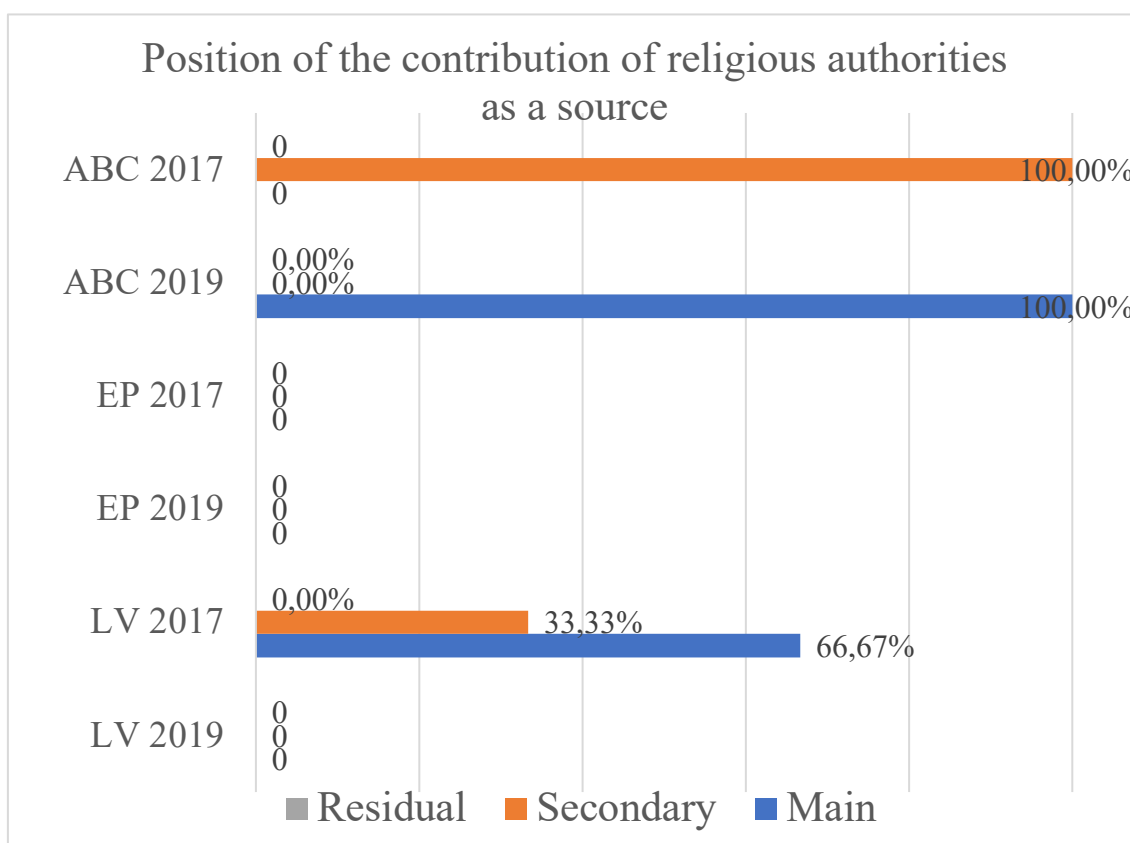
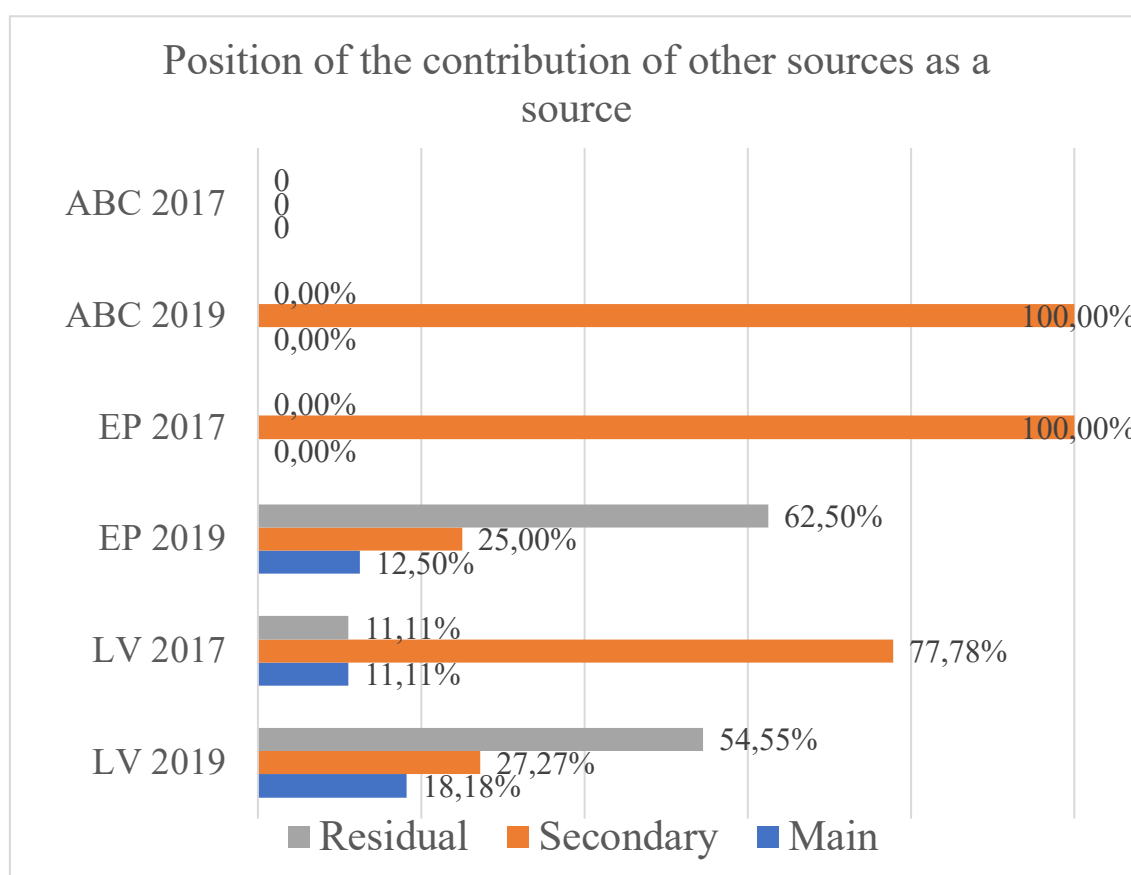


Table 170



As we can see in the table 158, journalists are mostly used as the main source in all the articles they are taken into account as a source. This result is applicable for every newspaper in both periods. *La Vanguardia*, in 2019, showed the lowest percentage in this respect in comparison to *ABC* and *El País*, but it is still very high, with eight out of every ten articles in which journalists are situated as the primary source. In *ABC* and *El País*, the numbers are nine out of every ten. Another consideration is that journalists never have a residual position in any newspapers when used as a source.

The case of members of the ruling party is more varied than journalists. *ABC* situated members of the ruling party more often as the main source in 2017 and a secondary position in 2019. *El País* showed very similar numbers between main and secondary roles in 2017 for this source, but in 2019 the tendency changed, and members of the ruling party had a secondary position most of the times. In *La Vanguardia*, the trend was the opposite, giving them a secondary role most of the times in 2017 and, in 2019, being used more often as the main source.

ABC only used sources from politicians from the opposition in 2019, and they did not give them the main role in any of the cases, situating them in a secondary and residual position in equal terms. *El País* preferred to situate this source in a secondary position in both periods, especially in 2017, when politicians from the opposition were always located in a secondary role. *La Vanguardia* in 2017 had a similar pattern as *El País*, but it changed in 2019 when it placed politicians from the opposition as the primary, secondary and residual source the same number of times.

ABC used migrants only as a secondary source in 2017 and, in 2019, as many times in the main position as in the secondary. The pattern of *El País* and *La Vanguardia* is very similar in 2017, positioning migrants as a secondary source in most of the cases. However, in 2019 they both coincided in using migrants as their main sources one out of every two times. *El País* used them more times than *La Vanguardia* as the secondary source. In this period of 2019, *La Vanguardia* is the only newspaper that used migrants as a residual source.

The case of refugees being used as a source is, as it was shown in previous subsections, scarce and limited to a few articles. It is only possible to find them contributing as a secondary source as many times as a residual source in *ABC* in 2017 and in *El País* in 2019, always appearing as a secondary source.

ABC used associations related to migration only in 2019, and they always appeared as a secondary source. *El País* tended to do the same in 2017, and it had more mixed results in 2019, with as many leading positions as secondary ones in this case. *La Vanguardia* preferred to use this type of associations as a secondary source in both cases.

Police forces were not used as a source by *ABC* in 2017 and by *La Vanguardia* in 2019. They contributed as the main source in *ABC* in 2019 and as the secondary source in *La Vanguardia* in 2017. *El País* used them mainly as a secondary source in 2017 and as the main and secondary source in 2019 as many times.

Experts appeared prominently as the primary source in *El País* in both periods and *La Vanguardia* in 2019. In 2017, *La Vanguardia* preferred to situate them as a secondary source. *ABC* did not use experts as a source on the articles about migration.

Judicial authorities only participated as a source in both periods in *La Vanguardia*. In 2017, they were more often than not a secondary source and, in 2019, they only had a secondary role. They did not participate in *ABC*. In *El País*, they only took part in 2017, appearing as many times as the main source as the secondary source.

Associations not related to migration contributed mostly as a secondary source in *ABC* in 2017 and always with this role in 2019. *La Vanguardia* also took them into account more often as a secondary source. *El País*, by contrast, used them as many times as the main source as the secondary in 2017 and, in 2019, the primary position was prevalent over the others.

Agencies publishing data always had a secondary role as a source in *ABC*, *El País* and *La Vanguardia* in 2017. In 2019, they only appeared in *La Vanguardia* having as a secondary source.

ABC was the only newspaper that used religious authorities in both periods, having a secondary role in 2017 and the main role in 2019. They can also be found in *La Vanguardia* in 2017 when they tended to collaborate as the primary source.

Considering the rest of the sources who did not appear enough times in the articles to reach their own category, *ABC* always situated them with a secondary role. *El País* only gave the main role as a source to an asylum seeker in 2017. *La Vanguardia* gave this main position once to a terrorist in 2017 and a movie director twice in 2019.

3.3.6. Most salient results about sources

The second section of this chapter included information about the type of sources used when communicating about migration. The main findings show journalists are the most common source cited in the articles about migration in every newspaper analysed during both periods of study. By contrast, migrants are used as sources less often than many other actors, such as members from the ruling party, who are the second most used source for every newspaper in both periods. The absence of another type of sources is also representative. For instance, politicians from the opposition are not included as a

source in *ABC* during 2017. Other sources that are often ignored are refugees and experts on migration.

Concerning the identification of the sources by their name, one of the most salient findings of this section is the abrupt change of the tendency shown by *ABC*, which passed from identifying the journalists used as a source on every occasion in 2017 to ignore the name of the journalists in most of the cases in 2019. On the other side, *La Vanguardia* also offered a remarkable finding, identifying the journalists used as a source in most cases in 2017, while doing precisely the opposite in 2019, when ninety per cent of the times journalists remained unnamed when offering information. Another interesting finding that will be analysed in detail in the next chapter is the fact that the three newspapers, in both periods of study, identified the name of the politicians who participated as a source, both from the government and from the opposition. Finally, in this section, we also learned, among other findings, that in those few cases when migrants were used as a source, their names were in general mentioned.

Regarding the type of information produced by the sources, in this section, we learned that *ABC* preferred to include in most of the cases opinions during the period of 2017, a tendency that continues in 2019, even though in the second period the articles containing analysis were also frequent. *El País*, on its part, included more often a description of the details of the incident in both periods, a pattern also shared by *La Vanguardia*. In the case of the information explicitly produced by journalists, the general tendency is to participate in detailing incidents of the story, while their opinion is not frequent in any of the newspapers. Another type of relevant source, members from the ruling party, appeared more often than not detailing an incident in *El País* in both periods and in *La Vanguardia* in 2017. By contrast, *ABC* included members from the ruling party giving their opinion in most of the cases in both periods. As it was seen in this section, migrants were used as a source in a more diverse way among the newspapers.

Concerning the position of the sources in relation to the relevance of their contribution, this section showed, among other findings, that journalists participated in most of the cases as primary sources in *ABC*, *El País* and *La Vanguardia* in both periods of analysis. Another relevant result is that journalists never played a residual role as a source in any of the newspapers and periods. Other sources, such as members from the

ruling party, also had a prominent position as main sources, but not as usual as journalists. Migrants played a secondary role as a source often in *ABC*, *El País* and *La Vanguardia* in the period of 2017, and their relevance regarding their contribution grew in general in the period of 2019.

All these findings need to be explored in-depth to be put into context to understand why the abrupt changes and the constant patterns might have happened. Only by qualitatively analysing the articles it will be possible to fully answer the research questions and reach the objectives developed in the introductory chapter. This work will be done in the next chapter. Before that, the final section of this chapter will deal with the type of frames used to represent migrants from a quantitative approach.

3.4. Topic and frames of the articles

3.4.1. Main topic related to migration

This subsection categorizes the articles in a set of topics developed expressly for the investigation. As always, a detailed description of the categories can be found in the previous methodological chapter.

The following tables show the results. The percentage is calculated in relation to the total amount of articles published by each newspaper in every particular period. For example, in the period of December 2017, *ABC* published articles on the topic of “border control, including rescue operations” 9,09 per cent of the times, which means that almost one out of ten articles about migration had this topic as the main focus during this period in *ABC*. The research questions that will be contributed by the analysis of the data extracted from this subsection are: what frames are journalists using to portray migration and whether journalists reproduce or not arguments from politicians who are trying to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration.

Table 171

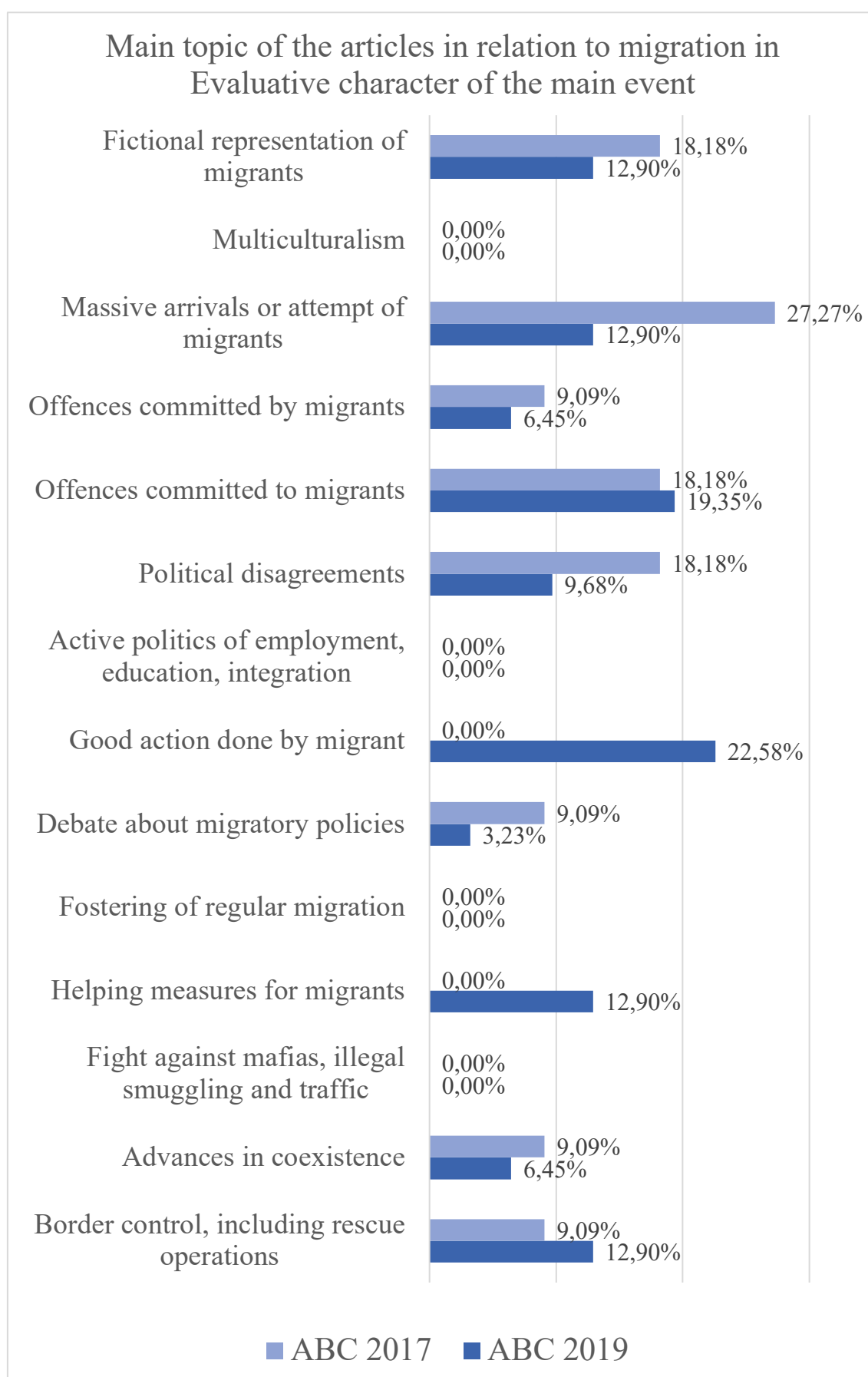


Table 172

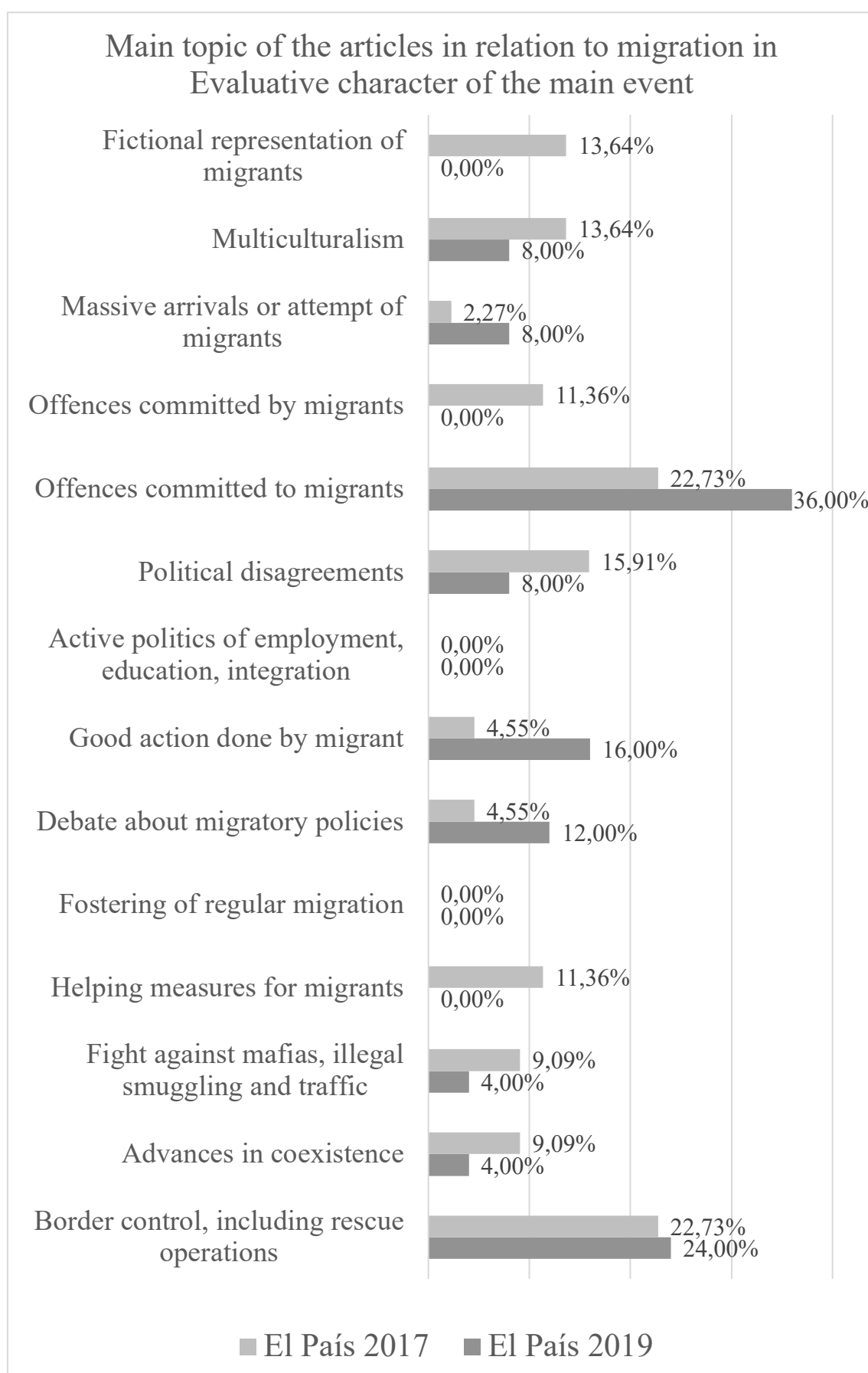
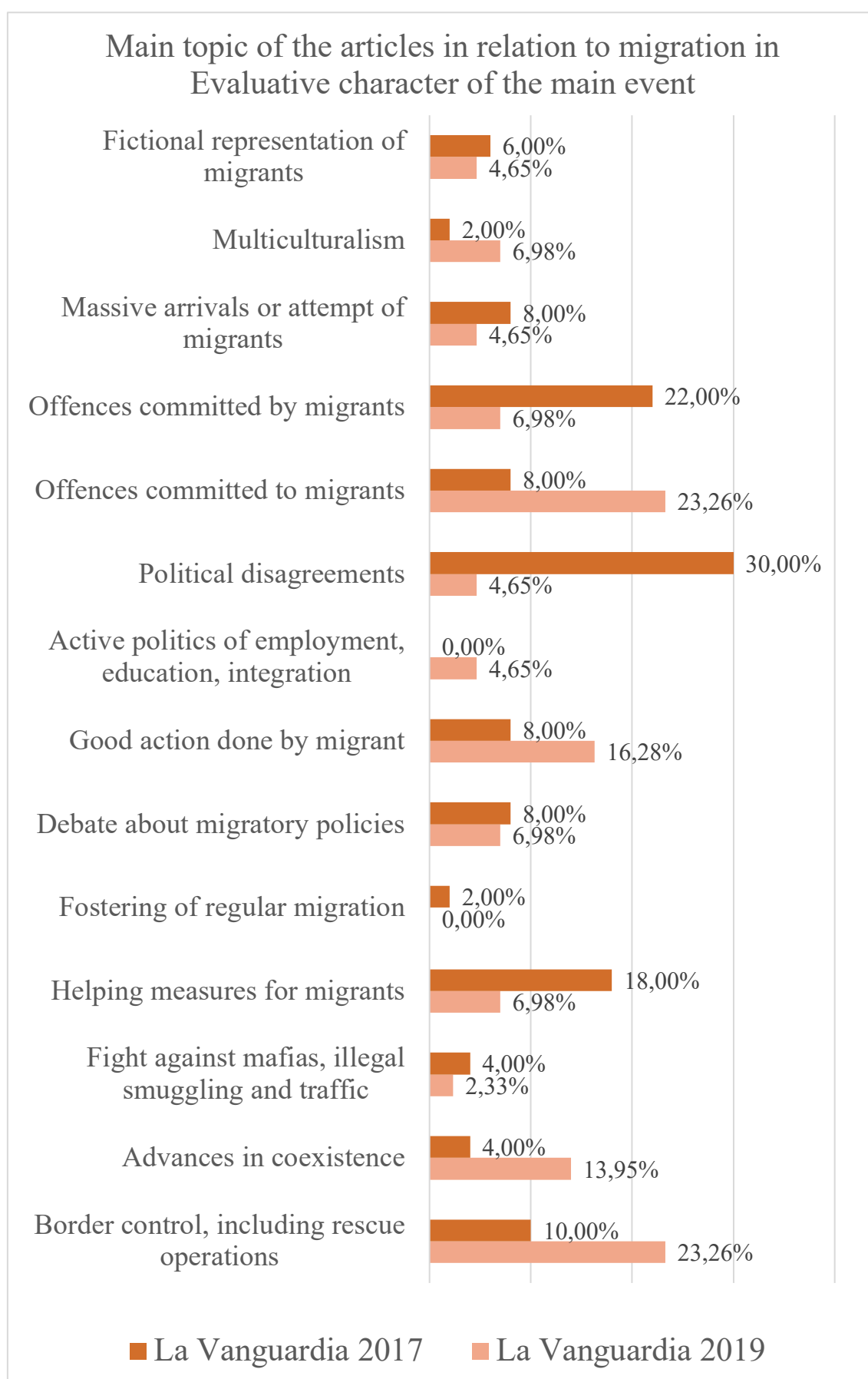


Table 173



As it can be seen, the most frequent topics in *ABC* during December 2017 are two distinctive ones: on one side, articles related to good actions done by migrants and, on the other, stories about massive arrivals or attempts to enter irregularly in Spain by migrants. In contrast, the least selected topics refer to fighting against mafias, illegal smuggling and human traffic, and helping measures for migrants, fostering regular migration, active politics of employment, education, integration, and multiculturalism. *ABC* showed a change from 2017 to 2019, when the favourite topic was good action done by migrants. The least used topics in 2019 were fighting against mafias, illegal smuggling and traffic, fostering regular migration, active politics of employment, education, integration and multiculturalism.

In regards to *El País*, the most common topic selected during December 2017 is border control, including rescue operations. As it happened with *ABC*, fostering regular migration was never used during this period by *El País*. In December 2019, *El País* highlighted one more time those articles about border control, including rescue operations, as their preferred topic among their articles concerning migration. On the other side, *El País* did not publish an article about fostering regular migration and active politics of employment, education, integration, political disagreements, and fictional representations of migrants, which were not used at all by *El País* during December 2019.

In relation to *La Vanguardia* in December 2017, this newspaper published stories predominantly about migration connected with political disagreements, which did not happen in the other newspapers studied. In contrast, *La Vanguardia* never showed any article about active politics of employment, education and integration during this period following the line of their counterparts of *El País* and *ABC*. The preferences in *La Vanguardia* changed two years afterwards, in December 2019, being border control, including rescue operations and offences committed to migrants, the most frequently used topics when writing about migration. The absence of fostering of regular migration continued during this period of 2019, coinciding with 2017.

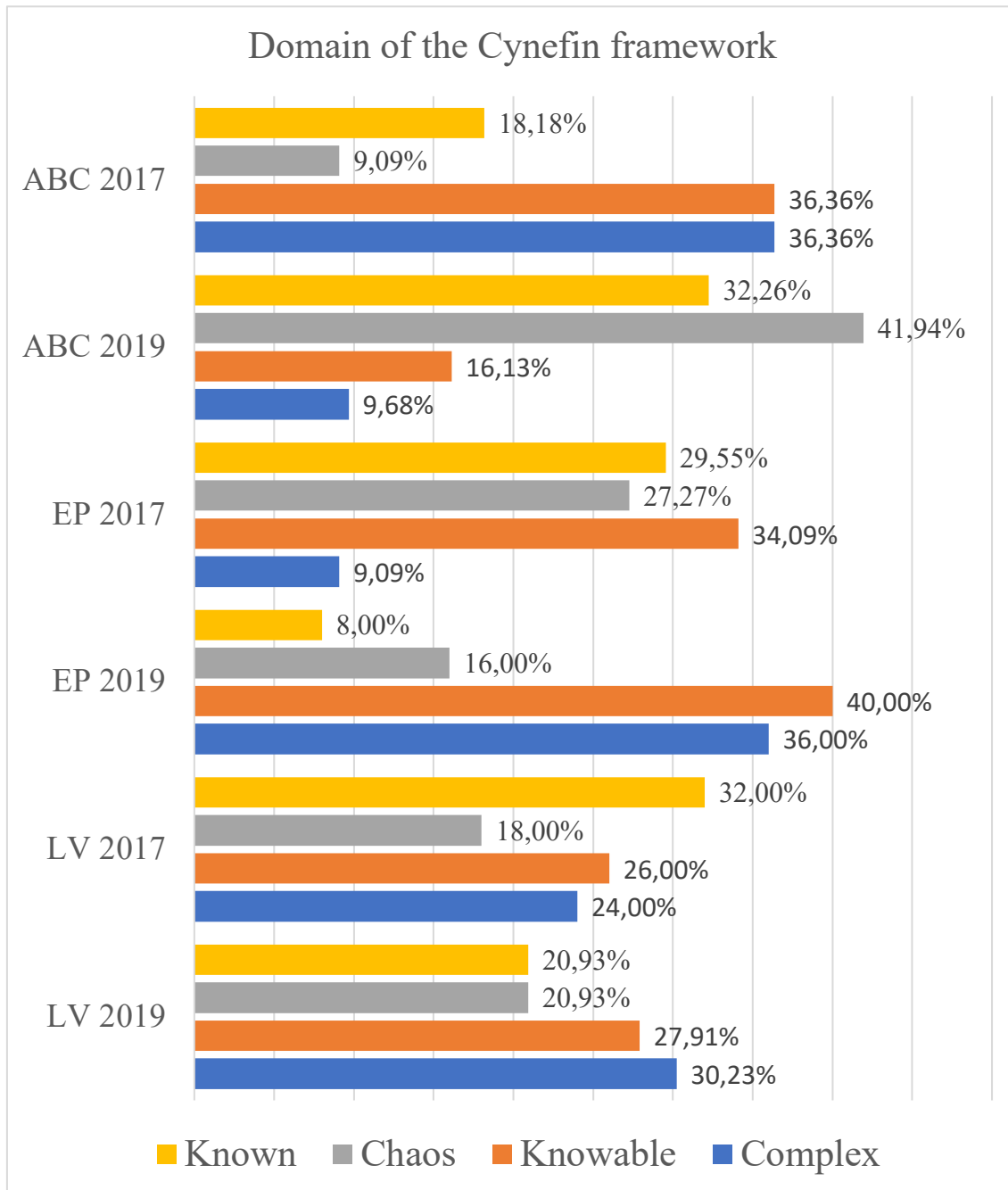
The next chapter will analyse in-depth the content behind these preferences and the qualitative nuances of the topics about migration. First, in the following subsection,

the domain of the Cynefin framework will be studied, which will offer an original contribution to understanding the frame of the articles.

3.4.2. Domain of the Cynefin framework of the information

This subsection shows the results of coding the articles from the corpus, applying the analytical tools of the Cynefin framework to establish the specific frames represented in each article, according to the representation of complex, knowable, chaotic or known frames. The details about how these frames are found in the articles can be seen in the previous methodological chapter. The percentage is calculated with the total amount of articles published by each newspaper during every specific study period. For instance, *ABC* used a complex Cynefin framework in 36,36 per cent of the articles about migration published during December 2017. The answer to the research question regarding what frames journalists are using to portray migration will be expanded by applying this tool.

Table 174



ABC preferred to frame their migration articles under a complex perspective as many times as the knowable frame. Chaos was the least used frame for *ABC* in this period. By contrast, in 2019, the chaos framework was the most used by *ABC*, followed by the known frame. The complex approach was the least used framework two years later, completing the turnaround of frames from 2017 to 2019.

El País, in December 2017, used almost as many times the knowable, chaos and known frameworks, representing a third of the articles for each of them. In December 2019, the trend changed, and the most used frameworks were knowable and complex, which were not as used in the previous period.

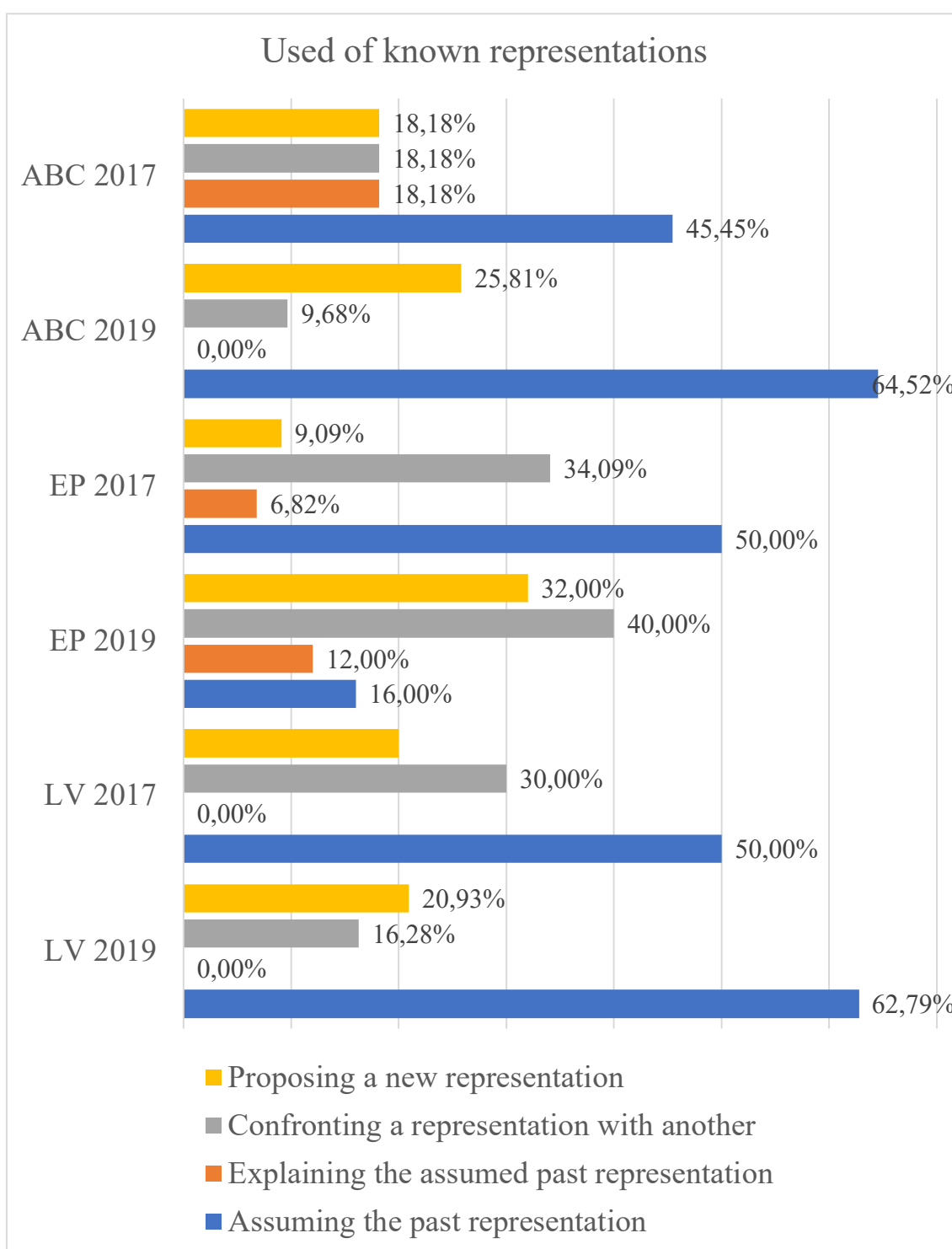
La Vanguardia had a balanced use of frameworks in December 2017, showing similar numbers for the four of them, with a spike in the known perspective. Among the four, the chaos framework was used the least. This trend was constant for *La Vanguardia* in December 2019, showing very similar results for the four frameworks. In this case, the complex frame was used more often than the other three, but not by much difference.

By years and contrasting newspapers, in December 2017, *ABC* used more frequently the complex and knowable frameworks; *El País* used more often than their counterparts the chaos approach, and *La Vanguardia* preferred the known perspective more than their colleagues in *ABC* and *El País*. In December 2019, *El País* favoured the complex and knowable frameworks, and *ABC* chose the chaos and known frameworks over the others more regularly. *La Vanguardia*, in this period, had the most balanced figures within the four frames.

3.4.3. Use of known representations

This subsection shows the incidence of the analysed newspapers using known representations when writing about migration and whether these representations are explained, assumed or confronted. The following table shows the results of this examination. The percentage is calculated by counting the total number of articles analysed in each newspaper in every study period. For instance, *ABC* assumed a past representation of migrants in 45,5 per cent of the articles about migration published in December 2017. This information will contribute to answering the research question concerning the use by media of public memory and historical assumptions that include sensitive aspects about migrants.

Table 175



In December 2017, *ABC* clearly preferred the assumption of the past representation over the other options. Two years later, *ABC* continued using the assumption of the past representation as the preferred way to represent migrants. In this case, there were not articles explaining the assumed past representation.

It is possible to find a similar pattern in *El País* in December 2017, when the assumption was the most used way to represent migrants. However, confronting one representation to another was also popular during this period. In December 2019, articles confronting representations grew even more for *El País*, positioning as its favourite way to introduce the migratory topic.

As it happened with their counterparts in December 2017, *La Vanguardia* also preferred to include an assumption of past representations during this period, never explaining this assumed representation in any article. The pattern continued unchanged in 2019, and the assumption grew even more in the second period, with the consequence that confronting a representation with another decreased in December 2019.

Comparing the three newspapers, the three of them preferred to show an assumed representation of migrants in practically half of the articles they published about migration, representing the higher preference over the other three options, except for *El País* in December 2019. There is also a typical pattern regarding the least favourite option since, in most of the articles, the explanation of the known representation was absent. In December 2019, this tendency continued for *ABC* and *La Vanguardia*, almost mirroring the results of two years earlier. *El País*, however, changed the preferred representation drastically, deciding to use the confrontation of a representation with another as their favourite option when writing about migrants, very close to the proposal of a new representation.

3.4.4. Identification of ethical frames in discussions of immigration controls

In this subsection, there are shown the ethical frames found in the analysis of the corpus, applying a set of analytical tools to deduce the ethical frames from a list that was developed exclusively for this investigation, described in the previous chapter. The results are eleven ethical frames presented in the following table. One article could contain more than one ethical frame, and the percentage is calculated concerning the total number of ethical frames. For instance, *ABC* preferred the ethical frame in 6,67 per cent of the cases over the rest of the ethical frames used in December 2017. The information extracted from the analysis of this subsection will be valuable to complete the answer for the research questions regarding what frames are journalists using to portray migration and

whether journalists reproduce or not arguments from politicians trying to differentiate from the political opponents by the way they treat migration.

Table 176

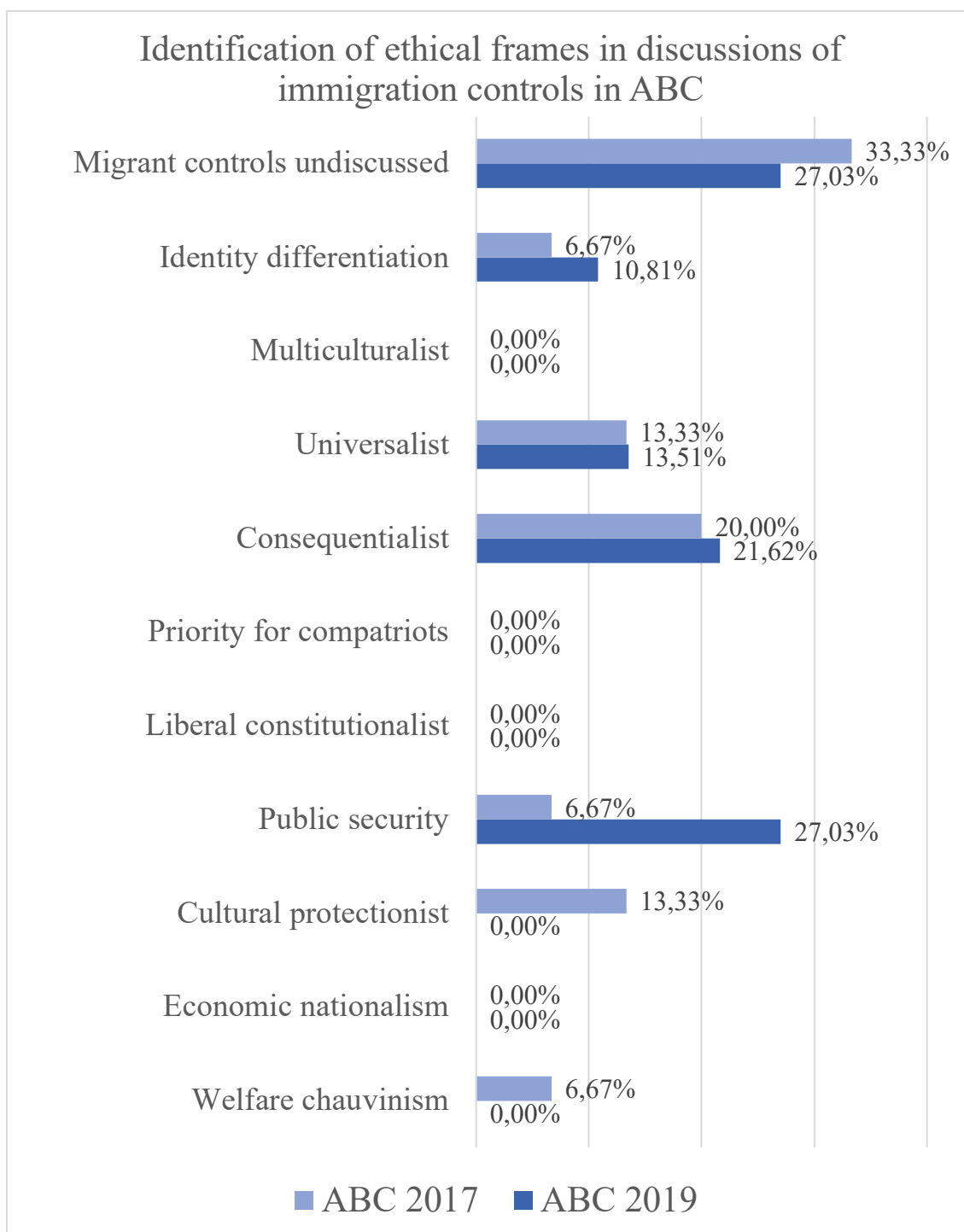


Table 177

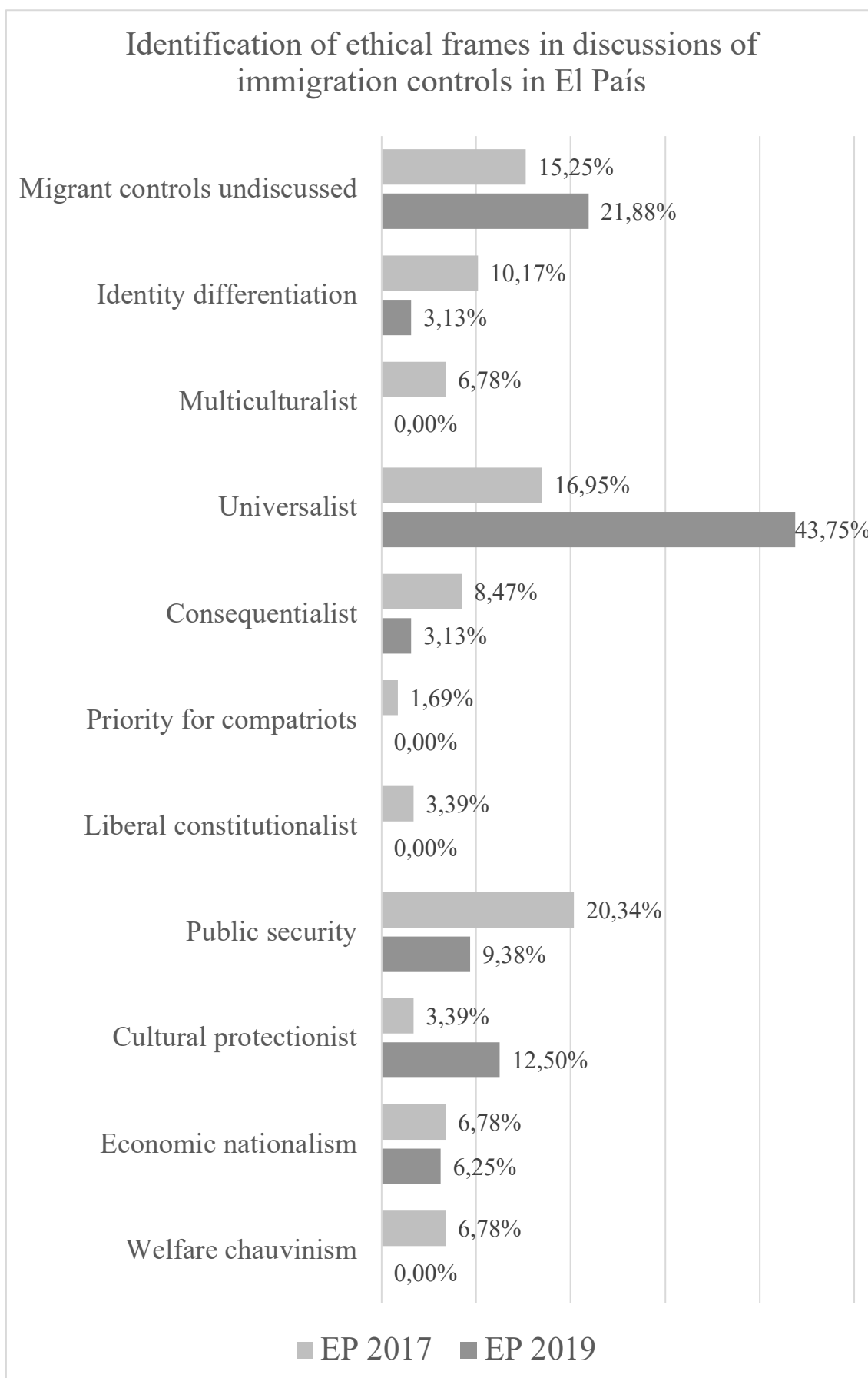
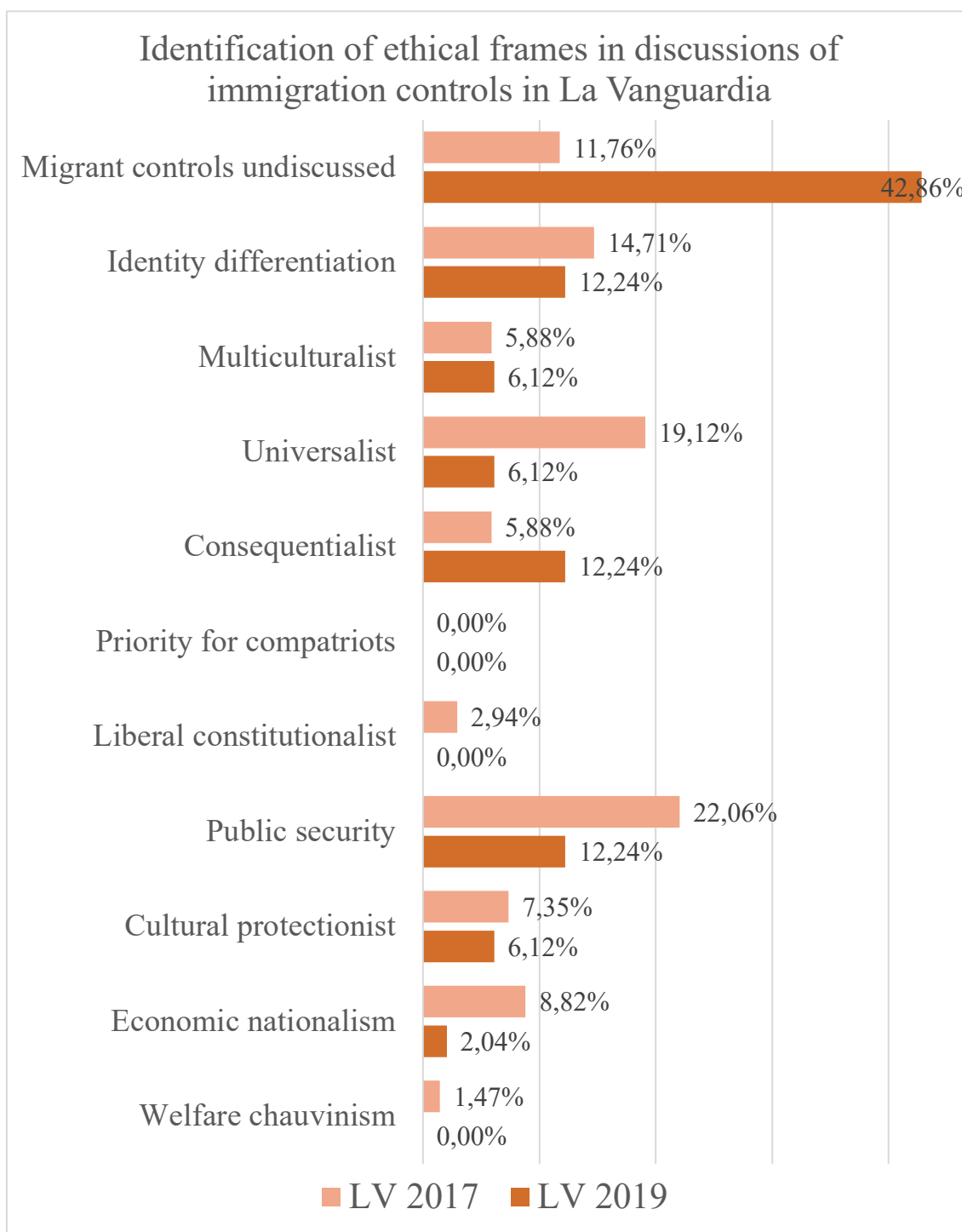


Table 178



Frames related to migration controls were present in two out of every three articles in *ABC* in both periods. Among these, the ethical frame used more often by *ABC* in December 2017 was the consequentialist, followed by the cultural protectionist and the multiculturalist frame. In December 2019, *ABC* preferred public security frames more often, followed by the consequentialist frame.

El País also treated migration controls in most of their ethical frames regarding migration in both periods. In December 2017, the most common ethical frame was public security, followed by the universalist one. In December 2019, the universalist ethical frame was the most used frame by a significant difference.

La Vanguardia published more often ethical frames containing migration controls in December 2017 than any other newspapers. However, in December 2019, this situation changed, and *La Vanguardia* did not refer to migration controls in four out of every ten ethical frames about migration, representing the higher number among their counterparts. Among the articles referring to migration controls, the favourite ethical frame for *La Vanguardia* in December 2017 was public security, closely followed by the universalist frame. Two years later, public security was again among the most used ethical frames, next to the consequentialist ethical frame. The preferences about specific ethical frames over others, and the relation with the type of migration described in the story, will be analysed qualitatively in the next chapter, taking into account qualitative aspects of the discourse of the articles.

3.4.5. Identification of topic frames in discussions about migrants

The present subsection shows the result of the analysis regarding the identification of topic frames in the corpus of investigation. It is possible to learn more information about the procedure to extract these topic frames from the articles and the meaning of the topic frames in the previous methodological chapter. The articles analysed could contain more than one topic frame. Therefore, the percentage in the following table is calculated concerning the total number of topic frames used in each newspaper during every study period. For example, *ABC* picked the topic frame “treatment of migrants as a way to differentiate from another actor” ten per cent of the times in relation to the rest of the topic frames used during December 2017 in the same newspaper. Data from the following table will contribute to answering the research questions regarding what frames journalists are using to portray migration and whether journalists reproduce arguments from politicians trying to differentiate from political opponents by the way they treat migration.

Table 179

Identification of topic frames in discussions about migrants in ABC

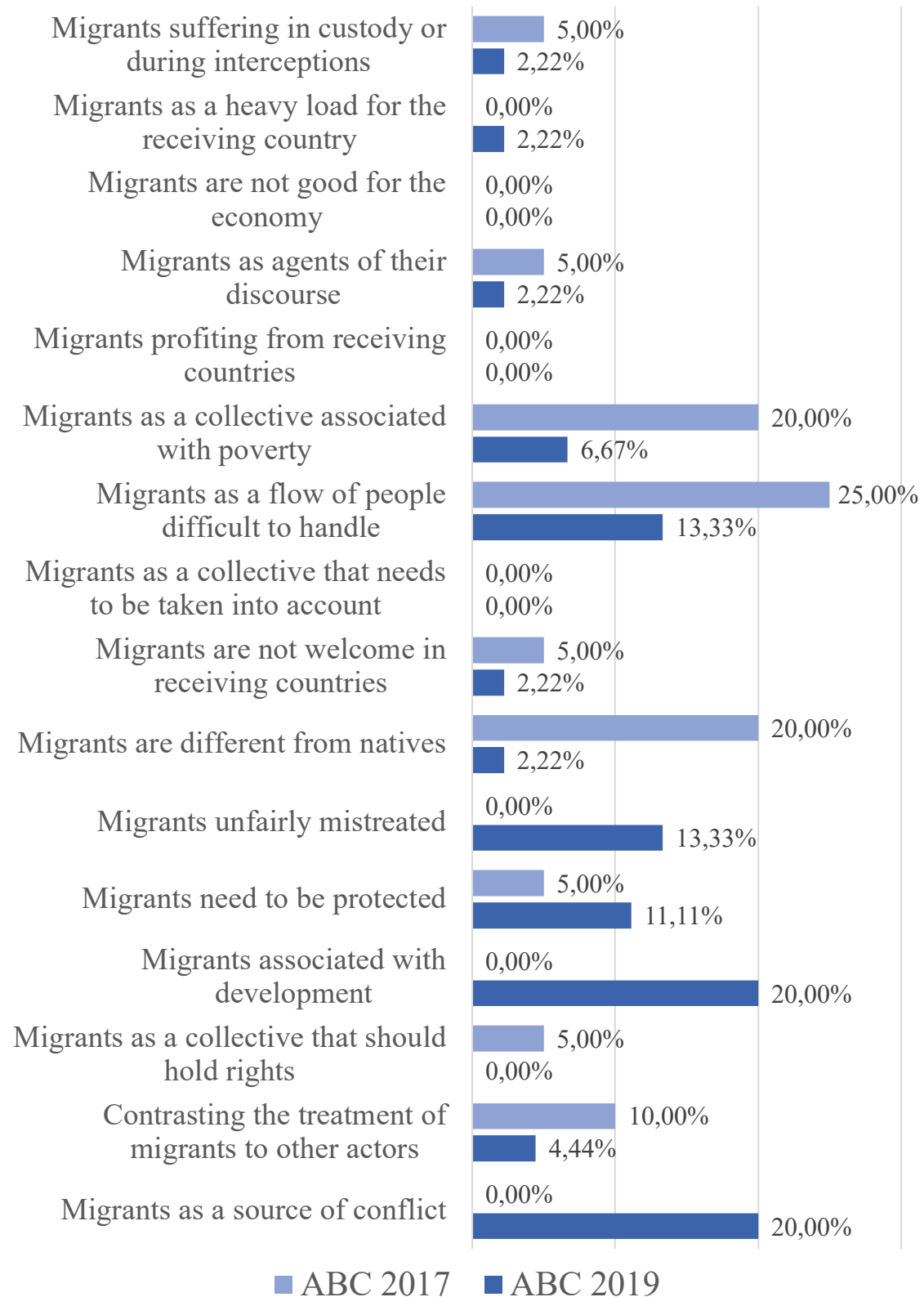


Table 180

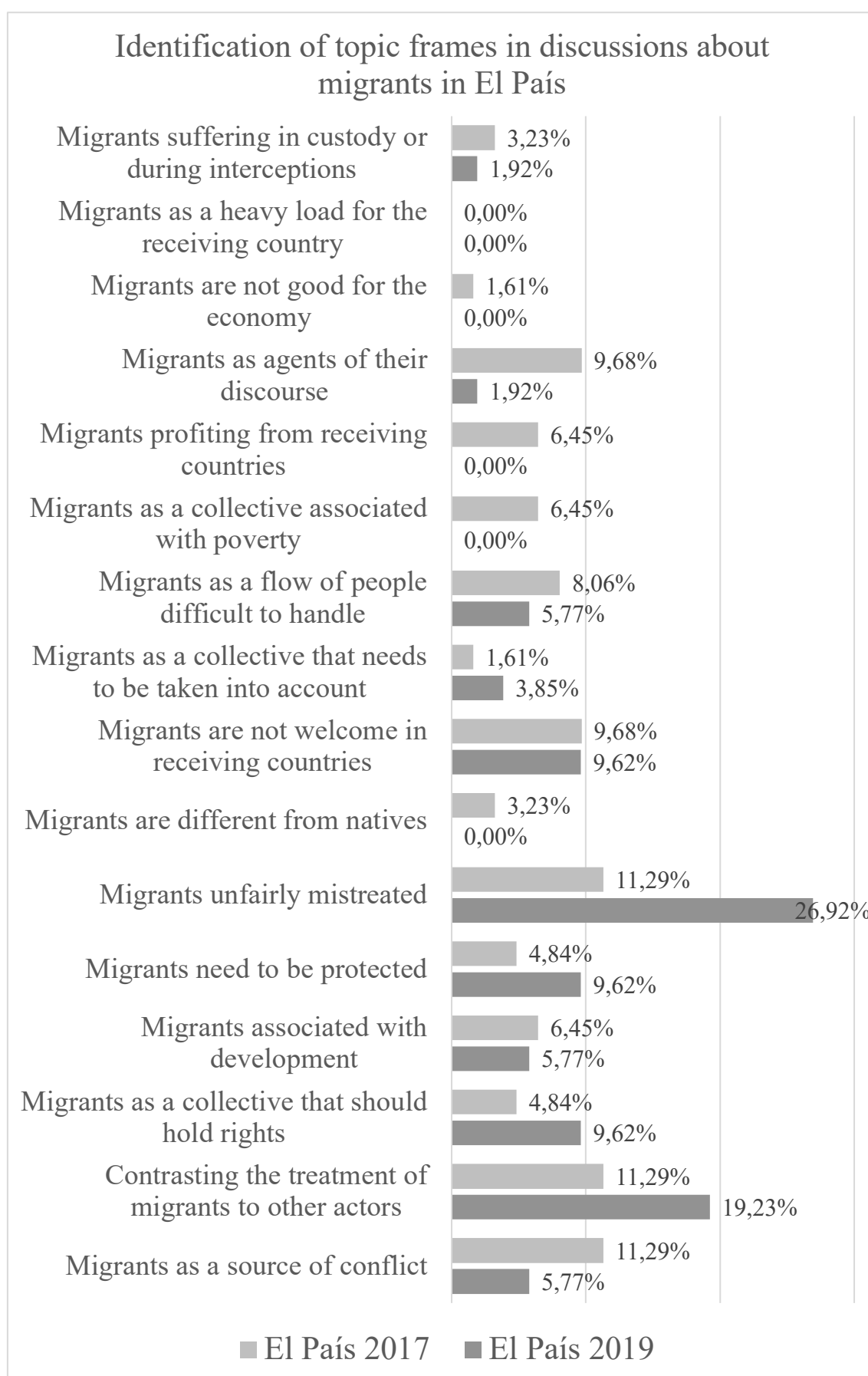
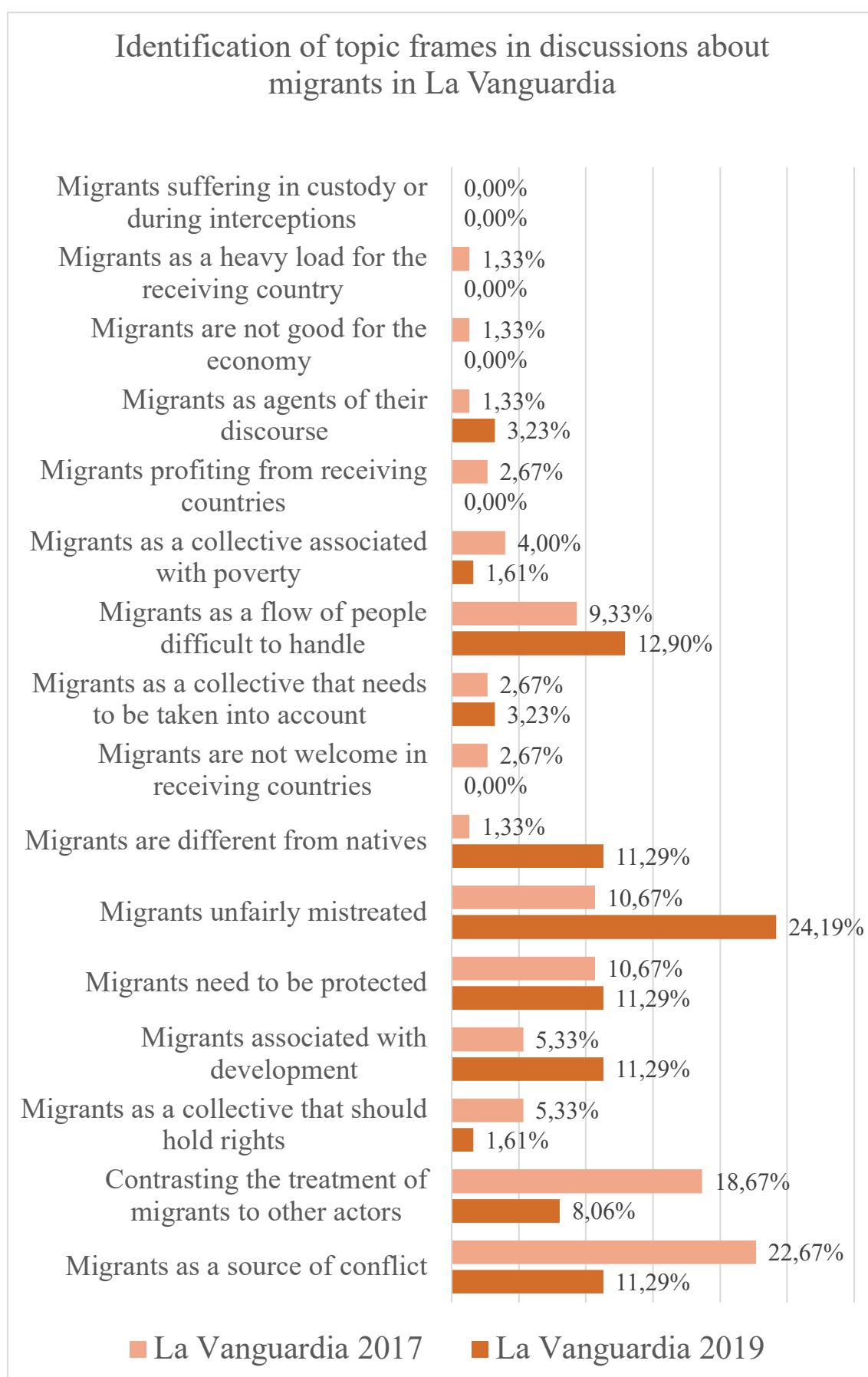


Table 181



First, migrants as a flow of people entering the receiving country were the topic frame most used by *ABC* in December 2017, appearing one time every four frames. The other two topic frames that followed closely were migrants being different from natives and migrants associated with poverty. In December 2019, *ABC* preferred the topic frame of migrants as a source of conflict and migrants related to development, even though migrants as a flow of people entering in the receiving country was still among the most mentioned topic frames.

Regarding *El País*, in December 2017, three topic frames stood over the others, being migrants as a source of conflict, the treatment of migrants as a way to differentiate from another actor and migrants unfairly mistreated. Two years later, the topic frame referring to migrants unfairly mistreated was still the most used, with a more considerable difference than in 2017, followed by the treatment of migrants as a way to differentiate from another actor.

La Vanguardia, in December 2017, favoured the topic frame of migrants as a source of conflict, followed by the treatment of migrants as a way to differentiate from another actor. In December 2019, *La Vanguardia* selected the topic frame of migrants unfairly mistreated as its preferred option, sharing this predilection during this period with *El País*. After this topic, the other two more usual ones during December 2019 were migrants as a source of conflict and migrants being different from natives.

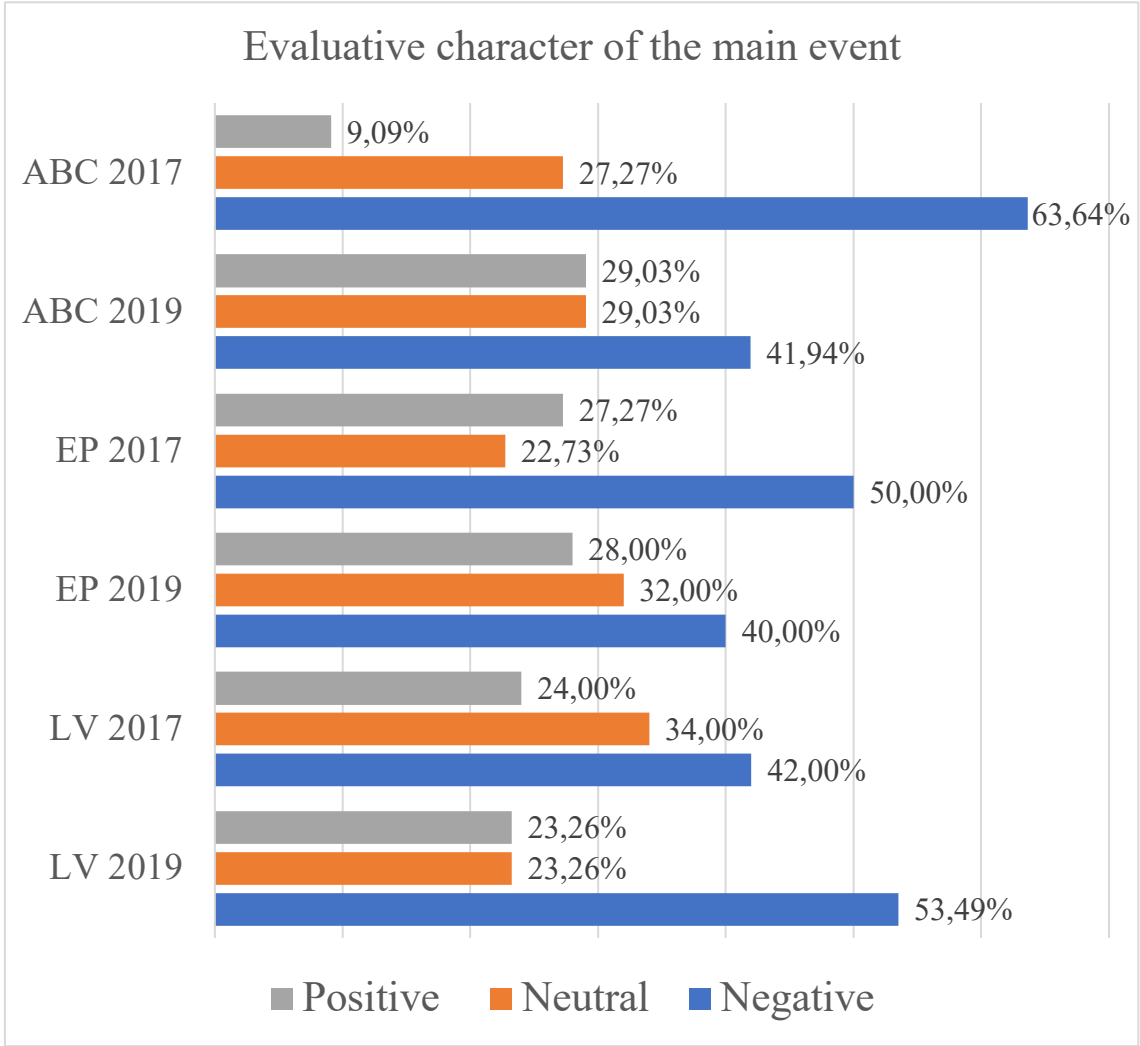
This subsection calls for an additional qualitative investigation, including an analysis of the discourse of specific articles containing the most salient topic frames. This task will be undertaken in the following chapter. Before that, this section will end by presenting the evaluative character of the main event of the corpus articles.

3.4.6. Evaluative character of the main event

The final subsection of this chapter presents the broad evaluative character of the main event of the story, according to parameters previously explained in the methodological chapter. The table below shows the percentages calculated concerning the number of articles about migration published by each newspaper during every specific

period of study. For example, *ABC* presented the main event with a negative perspective 63,64 per cent of the times in December 2017. Finally, the answer to the research question regarding what frames journalists use to portray migration will be attended with the information extracted from the analysis of this subsection.

Table 182



ABC showed a predominant negative evaluation in relation to the main events during December 2017, with two out of three articles putting a negative focus on the reported event. Additionally, the neutral perspective tripled the positive focus during 2017. In December 2019, the situation slightly changed for *ABC*, even though the negative perspective was still the most used since the positive evaluation of the main event grew to match the number of articles with a neutral focus.

In December 2017, *El País* published half of the articles with a negative evaluation of the main event. The rest of the articles were split with a neutral and positive focus, with the positive being more frequent than the neutral by a small margin. Two years later, even though the negative evaluation continued having a dominant role, it decreased ten points, favouring the neutral focus. The positive evaluation was the least used in this period of 2019 for *El País*.

La Vanguardia, in December 2017, published articles about migration with a negative perspective more frequently than those reporting a neutral or positive perspective. In December 2019, this preference for the negative evaluation of the main event grew, surpassing half of the articles, including a negative focus.

The overall results show that all the newspapers analysed in both periods presented a negative perspective regarding the main event in most of the cases. Among the three, *ABC* in December 2017 included the highest number of articles with a negative perspective, with around two out of every three articles including a negative focus. As it can be seen, all the newspapers also decided to have, as their second preference, a neutral focus concerning the main event, except for *El País* in 2017. Once again, the positive approach to the main event showed similar results for all the journals, with around two to three articles with a positive focus for every ten articles about migration, except for *ABC* in 2017, which only published one article with a positive relation to the main event for every ten articles about migration.

3.4.7. Main findings about topic and frames and the need to develop them

The third and last section of the chapter focussed on presenting the topics and frames found after applying quantitative analysis to the corpus of study. As such, the first subsection of this section introduced significant discoveries, such as the tendency of *ABC* to publish articles with the topic of massive arrivals or attempts to enter irregularly in Spain by migrants and, especially, the topic of good actions done by migrants, which was frequently used in both periods of study. *El País* focussed more often in both periods on the subject of border control, including rescue operation, and *La Vanguardia* showed a distinctive habit to predominantly published articles about migration concerning political disagreements in December 2017, a tendency not found in *ABC* or *El País* and, in fact,

not discovered either in *La Vanguardia* in December 2019, when *La Vanguardia* preferred to published more often stories with the topic of border control. In general, all the newspapers ignored the issue of fostering regular migration.

The second subsection of this section showed findings extracted from applying the Cynefin framework of the information. In this category, among other discoveries, it was presented that *ABC* published more articles under the complex and knowable Cynefin frame in December 2017, while in December 2019 was more predominant the chaos frame. *El País* in 2017 had a similar tendency to publish articles under the chaos, knowable and known frames, while in 2019, it was more common the knowable and complex frames. *La Vanguardia* showed a balanced use of the four Cynefin frames in both periods.

The third subsection of this section presented the prevalence of known representations when portraying migrants and whether these representations were clarified, assumed or challenged. The most significant finding in this regard is the common preference by the three newspapers to publish stories, including an assumed representation, lacking an explanation of this representation. Only *El País* in December 2019 broke this tendency, including more articles that confronted an assumed representation about migration with a different one.

The fourth subsection of the section continued by showing the ethical frames found in the articles dealing with migration controls. *ABC* preferred the consequentialist ethical frame in December 2017 and the public security one two years later. *El País* also preferred the public security ethical frame more frequently in December 2017 and the universalist frame in December 2019. Again, *La Vanguardia* also published more articles containing the public security frame in both periods. In general, the ethical frame of public security concerning migration controls was among the most used frames in every newspaper during both periods, representing the most significant finding of this subsection.

This section also identified, in the fifth subsection, the topic frames in discussions about migrants, showing a preference by *ABC* to use a topic frame portraying migration as a flow of people entering the receiving country, especially in December 2017. *El País*

tended more often to use the topic frame of migrants unfairly mistreated, with even a higher frequency in December 2019, a preference shared by *La Vanguardia* in 2019. In 2017, though, *La Vanguardia* published more often articles containing the topic frame of migrants as a source of conflict.

Finally, the last subsection presented the evaluative character of the main event portrayed in the story. In this regard, the main finding was the common tendency among the three newspapers in both periods to publish stories with a negative perspective. This result is especially notable in *ABC* during December 2017 and *La Vanguardia* two years afterwards. On the other side, main events, including a positive evaluation, are generally the least frequent.

All the findings presented in this section regarding the preference of specific topics and frames over others are presented to answer the research questions. However, finding quantitative tendencies and spotting numeric absences in the way migrants are portrayed would not be enough to understand the variations in the trends shown in these results. It will be necessary to put the data of this chapter into context by applying a qualitative analysis over the same corpus of study, as it will be done in the following chapter.

3.5. Considerations regarding the quantitative information presented in the chapter

This chapter has presented the quantitative data collected during the codification of the articles of the corpus. To obtain these results, the research tools specified in the previous methodological chapter were applied by implementing the codebook developed for this investigation.

All data obtained from this codification has been quantitatively analysed and presented in the present chapter in a set of tables in relation to the newspaper and the period of study from which the articles belonged. The results are a comprehensive set of information that can be used to answer the research question of this investigation, and also, they could be used to analyse further the state of how migrants are portrayed in the Spanish media.

The information is presented in three sections according to the information provided about the migrants to whom the information is concerned, the sources of the articles, and the frames selected to present the story. The first section included words used to name migrants, type of migration emphasised, mention about the origin of the migrants, number of migrants to whom the information is related, mention of the name of the migrants and main focus on the picture about migration. The second section showed the results regarding from whom the information originates, the inclusion of the name of the author and whether the author was an identified journalist or a news agency, the mention of the name of each source, the type of information produced by the sources and the position of the contribution of sources in relation to their relevance. The last section shared data extracted concerning the main topic associated with migration, the domain of the Cynefin framework of the information, the use of known representations, the identification of ethical frames in discussions of immigration controls, the identification of topic frames in discussions about migrants and the evaluative character of the main event. The detailed results of each section are available in the body of the text.

Nevertheless, this chapter also explained that quantitative findings, even if they are helpful to get a comprehensive picture of the current state of the portrayal of migrants in the Spanish newspapers, could be misleading if they are not looking into detail, including the discourse and the nuances of the arguments. The objective of the next chapter will be to enrich the data provided in this chapter by taking into account qualitative tools of analysis that will explain subtle dynamics that cannot be unveiled without interpretation. The main focus of the next chapter will be to give a final answer to the research questions, proving the validity of the hypothesis and, finally, fulfilling the research objectives established in the first stages of the investigation.

4. Media representations of migration. The discursive portrayals of migrants

4.1. Enhancing the quantitative results through a qualitative analysis

A language is an archive to where all the experiences, knowledge and beliefs of a community go³. This appreciation was made by Lázaro Carreter, a Spanish linguist, who besides being a member of the Royal Spanish Academy, was a journalist. As such, this author also believed that journalists are the segment of society that influences the most in constructing the language, especially those journalists who write in newspapers because they are attributed more authority⁴. The ultimate goal of this chapter will be to unveil the experiences, knowledge and beliefs that underlines the articles written by journalists, which were analysed in the previous chapter.

An investigation about how migrants are portrayed in the Spanish newspapers could not be complete if the results would focus purely on quantitative data. As it was explained in the first chapter, a quantitative analysis is not able by itself to comprehend the nuances of texts written by journalists, which include historical assumptions implicit in the words, the use of public memories, the attribution and intertextuality of sources, the evaluation of events and the use of rhetorical figures such as metaphors, metonyms, synecdoches, stereotypes, comparisons, similes and other tropes.

To interpret these nuances, the present chapter will consider the most relevant findings of the previous chapter, contrasting them with qualitative analysis of specific articles of the same corpus of study. The objective is to put the results into context, explain unexpected findings, and discover journalistic practices that cannot be uncovered by solely looking at the numbers. As detailed in the second chapter, the methodology will

³ “Una lengua natural es el archivo adonde han ido a parar las experiencias, saberes y creencias de una comunidad” (Lázaro Carreter, 1997: 19)

⁴ “Porque de entre los grupos de hablantes que ejercen un influjo más enérgico en el estado y en el curso de la lengua, destaca el formado por los periodistas, de modo principal si hablan en la radio y en la televisión, o si escriben para ellas: son muchos más los oyentes que los lectores, si bien suele concederse más autoridad en materia de lenguaje a lo que se ve escrito” (Lázaro Carreter, 1997: 21)

apply a discourse-historical approach and textual analysis, adapting the scope to the characteristics of the corpus.

To give coherence to the results and facilitate the comparison between newspapers and periods of study, the chapter is divided into six sections. Each of the sections is dedicated to analysing data from one newspaper during one of the periods: *ABC*, *El País* and *La Vanguardia*, during December of 2017 and 2019. The goal of each section will be to provide a qualitative approach to the answer to the research questions. For that, the same sections will be divided into four equal segments.

The first segment will deal with the portrayal of migrants. It will cover the main research question regarding how migrants are portrayed in the media in a receiving country, in this case, Spain. It will study data extracted from the analysis of the words used to refer to migrants and the mention about the type of collective, origin, name, and number of migrants emphasised in the text. It will also include an analysis of the most relevant findings concerning the pictures accompanying the articles and significant tags used to categorise the stories.

The second segment will cover the use of public memories and implicatures to explore the auxiliary question about the extent of media making use of public memories and historical assumptions that include sensitive aspects about migrants. For that, it will study the use of known representations, both in the body of the texts, the images and the tags.

The third segment will analyse the frames portraying migration. The objective is to qualitatively expand the answer to the auxiliary question about what frames are journalists using to portray migration. To achieve this point, it will be put into context data about the main topic of the article, the domain of the Cynefin framework of the information, the identification of ethical frames in discussions of immigration controls, the identification of topic frames concerning migrants and the evaluative character of the main event.

Lastly, the fourth segment will take into account the treatment of sources to cover the following auxiliary research questions regarding journalists prioritising some sources

over others, migrants as sources in the information about themselves and journalists reproducing arguments from politicians who are trying to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration. The results will include an analysis regarding from whom the information originates, as well in regards of the mention of the name of the source, the type of information produced by each source and the position of the contribution of sources in relation to their relevance.

The most valuable part of this chapter will be the context of the qualitative analysis of significant articles from the corpus. The articles that will be analysed are selected due to their relevance and adequacy to expand the knowledge about how migrants are represented in each newspaper.

4.2. The representation of migration in *ABC* during a context of elections

4.2.1. The portrayal of migrants

The first quantitative aspect that requires qualitative input is that *ABC* only published twelve articles about migration during December 2017, while *El País* published 44 articles and *La Vanguardia* 50 during the same period. All the results are already conditioned by the fact that *ABC* applied agenda-setting by deciding not to pay as much attention to news about migration as their counterparts of *El País* and *La Vanguardia*. However, even though the quantity of attention shown by *ABC* in 2017 is low, it is even more relevant to understand the quality of the attention since readers have fewer options available.

First, we learned that the most frequent term used by *ABC* in this period to refer to migrants is, unsurprisingly, the word “inmigrante”, immigrant. Nevertheless, the word immigrant often appeared with correlated words that add information to the reference. Among the most common ones, *ABC* picked expressions that distinguish internal migration in Spain from migrants who were not born in Spain. We found that “inmigrantes nacidos en el extranjero”⁵ is the favourite combination of words for *ABC*

⁵ "Immigrants born abroad"

when talking about migration, followed by “hijos de inmigrantes nacidos en Italia”⁶, which is another way of pointing out the origin of the migrants.

ABC used more techniques to accentuate the different identity of migrants in contrast to nationals. For example, by writing that they have an Islamic culture (“cultura islámica”) and are part of a particular category (“categoría especial”). Both ways to refer to migrants are found in ABC112 (see image 6 in annex 2), which is especially remarkable regarding the picture included with the text, as explained below. This article informed that a law that would give nationality to sons of migrants in Italy was not approved. *ABC* illustrated the text with a picture, located right after the title, with an overcrowded boat, full of people from presumably Africa and Asia, some of them shirtless, looking confused and in despair. The boat is so crowded that many occupants have to hold to each other to not fall into the water. Most of the people are unrecognisable, and we can only see the back of their heads. All the information from the picture has to be induced by the readers without any other assistance since the picture has no caption and, therefore, we are not able to know when, where, who or any other of the basic journalistic questions, which are also missing in the body of the text. An incongruous point comes from the fact that the law is specifically affecting 600,000 children born in the country to parents who are legally living in the country, so the decision to show a boat of people seemingly arriving irregularly does not match the main character of the information. Therefore, the representation of migrants shown in this article is not linked to the reality described in the text. This story caught the attention of the readers of *ABC* and collected 32 comments, the second most commented article from this period concerning migration, making this representation more influential for the public opinion.

Another noteworthy point from this article is related to the definition of Muslims as a special category of migrants without any further development of this concept. Furthermore, the author of the piece, Ángel Gómez Fuentes, goes a step further in the distinction by explaining the following: “Obviamente, las preocupaciones de los italianos se centran en una categoría especial de inmigrantes: los de cultura islámica”⁷. By opening the sentence with “obviously”, the author appeals to an assumed representation, including

⁶ "Children of immigrants born in Italy"

⁷ “Obviously, the worries of Italians are focused on a special category of immigrants: those of Islamic culture” (ABC112)

an implicature. The author leaves out of the table any other representation about migrants who are Muslims with topics that are not “worrying”, even though it is not explained why Muslims are disturbing. For the author, the connection between Muslim migrants and uneasiness seems natural to the point that it does not need more context and comes as something evident for the journalist.

Another remarkable outcome from the quantitative results is the preference shown by *ABC* to link migrants and refugees in the same articles, positioning “refugiados”, refugees, as the second most common term during this period and the highest in comparison to the rest of the newspapers studied. In most cases, this noun does not come with any correlated word. *ABC* connected migrants and refugees using different techniques. The most straight one is to mention them in the same sentence, by referring to refugees and migrants consecutively, such as in ABC103: “Como ocurriera entonces, Washington asegura que mantendrá su «generosidad» con los refugiados e inmigrantes”⁸.

The connection is also made more subtly, such as in ABC104. In this article, the story of a person who drowned while trying to enter Spain was categorised with the tags “inmigrantes” and “refugiados”. The article is an example of how people whose legal status is unknown are assumed to be migrants by their appearance. The text is a short piece of fewer than 200 words not signed by the author. In the three brief paragraphs, it is explained that a person jumped from a boat at the moment of their approach to the coast of Málaga, which led to this person dying. There are no sources in the information from any of the other 34 people who were in the same boat or by the police agents who were waiting for them at the coast. The circumstances of the death of the person are not explained, and responsibilities are not attributed. There is no information about why the unnamed author of the piece classified the person as a migrant. The reader assumes that the author understands that he is a migrant because he travels by boat, but we do not know anything else about him, just his gender. Most notably, we do not know anything else about the rest of the 34 occupants of the boat, besides that there were six women and one child among them and that “most of them” were Sub-Saharan. There is no apparent journalistic reason not to mention the precise nationality of the occupants of the boat and, as seen in other articles, it seems that the author used the word Sub-Saharan as a simile

⁸ “As it happened then, Washington says it will maintain its 'generosity' with refugees and immigrants” (ABC103)

of “black” because there is no indication that the author knew the concrete nationality of the people. It is not found a reason not to interview the survivors or the agents in charge of the operation. It has to be assumed that *ABC* did not consider this article worthy of investing more resources to develop the story, which did not have a follow up in the following weeks and, therefore, the identity of the person who drowned remained unknown. The text is illustrated with a picture of another incident not related to this one, in which a social worker carries in his arms a black child taken from a rescue ship. The representation in this article about what *ABC* considers to be migrants shows flaws in the journalistic practice, it lacks essential information, and it assumes data without direct attribution. The lack of interest by the author correlated the comment section, which did not collect any message from the readers.

A pattern in this article is also discovered in other pieces: the objectification of migrants by referring to them using words not related to humans, in a clear example of the implementation of the strategy of nomination. This practice is made by inserting human characteristics into objects that are used to referred to migrants. In the case of *ABC103*, this practice is used by categorising the article under “pateras”, a word that refers to precarious boats used by people trying to cross irregularly from Africa into Spain by sea. Nevertheless, there are other instances of personification, such as the word flow, in Spanish “flujo”, a device that is also used to apply the strategy of intensification. This term, related to a stream of water, refers to a group of people trying to enter Spain, and it is one of the favourite expressions for *ABC* when talking about migration. We can find it in *ABC101*, which writes about France being the country in Europe where lives more Muslims, and how migration has a crucial role in this trend. The author explains that by 2050, Europe could be the continent where there would be more Muslims in the world. To illustrate the story, it is selected a picture of a messy market stand, covered in graffiti, with a middle-age woman wearing a veil and carrying a plastic bag in the middle of the image. The mention of “flujo” is found in the last paragraph of the article, in a sentence that is also talking about a “migratory crisis”. The text ends by explaining that the Muslim population could grow by around 12 million in the next few years in Europe, rising to 13 or 14 million if the “flows” grow. There is a repetition of the word “higher” in the text, which shows a fault in the wording of the sentence: “para ascender hasta los 13 o 14

millones si los flujos superiores fuesen ligeramente superiores”⁹. The mistake suggests a lack of attention by the author. The general tone of the article shows a threat towards the traditional conception of the European continent, reinforced by the selection of words such as “flujo” or “crisis migratoria” and other references to migration being unpredictable, such as in the sentence: “peso creciente e imprevisible de la inmigración”¹⁰.

The next article of the corpus of *ABC* in 2017, ABC102, also includes a reference to “flujo” to designate migration, in this case directly in the subtitle of the piece: “Según la Comisión Europea, el trato con Turquía ha reducido el flujo de llegadas un 96 por ciento”¹¹. The approach to this article is interesting since the core of the news is that Spain did not welcome enough refugees as agreed with the European Union, failing to achieve the promised quota. Nonetheless, in fact the frame of the article gives the reader a different approach by describing an overflowing number of people trying to reach Spain, not only by using expressions as “flujo”, but also by selecting a specific video to open the article, situated right after the title. It is a video playing a sequence of a crowded bus at the airport of Madrid opening its doors to release an uncountable number of people, some of them wearing veils, eager to enter the country, waving to the camera while carrying luggage. In the text, this idea is reinforced by using another non-human expression: “oleada humana”, human wave. There is confusion made by the journalist when writing about a migratory problem, “problema migratorio”, mixing the displacement of refugees with the movements of migrants, adding the problematic reference as a negative correlated word to the migratory adjective. The idea underlying the text of ABC102 is that without Turkey and its work to stop refugees, Spain would be flooded with people arriving at the country, as can be seen in the video. It includes in one sentence both the expressions “oleada humana” and “flujo”, writing that the European Union managed to get Turkey to take charge of stopping the human wave fleeing Syria and Iraq: “la Unión logró que Turquía se hiciera cargo de frenar la oleada humana que huía de Siria e Irak, lo que -señala este mes la Comisión Europea- redujo el flujo un 96%”¹². This article was

⁹ “to go up to 13 or 14 million if the higher flows were slightly higher” (ABC101)

¹⁰ “growing and unpredictable weight of immigration” (ABC101)

¹¹ “According to the European Commission, the deal with Turkey has reduced the flow of arrivals by 96 percent” (ABC102)

¹² “The European Union managed to get Turkey to take charge of stopping the human wave fleeing from Syria and Iraq, which, the European Commission pointed out this month, reduced the flow by 96%” (ABC102)

analysed as part of the corpus because it includes a reference to migrants in a way that equalises migrants and refugees, expressing that fifteen European states have participated in the so-called 1: 1 mechanism, resettling one Syrian to the EU for every migrant returned to Turkey. The author of the article does not explain the legal differences in the status of refugees in relation to migrants, neither mentioning the existence of asylum seekers among Syrians, which subtracts agency to these actors. It is an example of the fuzzy line drawn in several articles of this corpus when writing about migrants and refugees, who are often referred to as the same actor.

A similar word to “flujo” is also found in the article ABC103, when talking about forced migratory currents happening worldwide: “corrientes migratorias forzosas que se dan en todo el mundo”¹³. Another example of personification of a term not related to humans is used with the word wheel, “rueda”. It is written twice in the article ABC111. This story is one of the two articles describing the dangerous and demanding trip of Sub-Saharan Africans from their home countries into Europe, explaining that many of them die in their attempt while some smugglers, called “mafias”, are getting rich by facilitating the trip. There are two pictures illustrating the article ABC111, and both of them are distressing. In the first one, an exhausted black person is covered with a blanket from Red Cross while been helped to disembark from a rescue boat. The person looks into the void while being on his knees, and two people wearing white suits are trying to hold him to prevent him from falling. The caption says: “Un inmigrante recibe asistencia tras cruzar el Estrecho en patera”¹⁴. However, as it happened in other instances, it is not clear how the author of the caption knew that the person is a migrant and not a refugee. It is also remarkable the lack of information regarding the place and date of the picture. The other picture illustrating the article ABC111 is taken in the dark, and it shows the back of six shadows, reflected by an early morning light that gives the scene a ghostly atmosphere. The caption reads: “Inmigrantes en la frontera de Argelia y Marrucos”¹⁵. In the caption, Morocco is misspelt, “Marrucos”, showing once again a lack of attention by the person who wrote it. It is not explained why the author knows that all those six shadows are migrants. Moreover, there is no journalistic reason not to be more precise about the location of the picture. A person does not sign the article, appearing only the name of the

¹³ “Forced migration flows that occur around the world” (ABC103)

¹⁴ “An immigrant receives assistance after crossing the Strait in a boat” (ABC111)

¹⁵ “Immigrants on the border of Algeria and Morocco” (ABC111)

newspaper. The article tells the story of Paul, a fictitious name of a generic sub-Saharan immigrant. According to the author, Paul suffered several forms of misery during his trip to Europe, such as being beaten, burned, frozen, robbed and scared, until he managed to arrive in Europe and posted some pictures about his new life on his Facebook account, which according to the journalist is reactivating the “wheel” of migration. It is not clear whether the journalist interviewed a person for this article or created the story using his imagination because there is no attribution to a traceable source, neither any direct speech from a migrant. There is not a reference to any other source, except for an unnamed group of people who “work” with migrants along the trip and whose comment are written without given any name and using a vague third person of the plural: “«Los marroquíes pagan de dos a cuatro mil euros, pero a los subsaharianos les piden mucho menos», cuentan. «Además algunos se apañan solos y se compran barcas entre unos pocos»”¹⁶. The source talks in the plural as it would be more than one people, “they tell”, even though it is a direct quote.

Concerning the collective emphasised, it was found that *ABC* was the keenest to write about minors and refugees when publishing articles about migration among the newspapers analysed in the period of 2017. Minors appeared more frequently in articles depicting migrants and refugees arriving in Spain. Nevertheless, the word “mena”, which will have a constant presence in *ABC* in 2019, is still absent in 2017. This point will be further elaborated on in the following section.

Regarding the country of origin of the migrants to whom the information is concerned, *ABC* showed more articles in which the nationality of those migrants was mentioned and, among the nationalities, people from Cameroon and Syria appeared more often during this period of 2017, even though these nationalities are not especially represented in the Spanish territory (INE, 2019). The rest of the countries of origin mentioned by *ABC* in this period were India, Lebanon, Morocco, Nigeria, Romania and Russia. Among these nationalities, only Morocco and Romania are in the group of most represented nationalities in Spain.

¹⁶ “«Moroccans pay two to four thousand euros, but they ask sub-Saharan Africans much less», they say. «Some of them also get by on their own and buy boats among a few»” (ABC111)

It is noteworthy to mention that whenever *ABC* referred to a broader area of origin of migrants, it was only mentioned Sub-Saharan Africans. In the articles of *ABC* in 2017, Sub-Saharan Africans mostly appeared in a context of attempts to arrive in Spain, associated with terms such as the previously explained “flow”, “wave”, and “wheel”. There are examples of articles, such as ABC104, in which people are referred to as Sub-Saharan Africans as a simile for a black person, without any further confirmation of their real origin by any source, an assumption that might not be accurate.

When talking about a specific religion, the only religious denomination mentioned were Muslims. Regarding Muslims, news focused on the increased number of people from this faith being more present in Europe and being associated in the illustration of ABC101 with a context of disorder, dirt, and chaos.

When referring to the number of migrants involved in the focus of the story, *ABC* directed the attention particularly to the collective actor of migrants with a specific nationality, followed by stories about the collective actor of irregular migrants and particular individuals. A very notable aspect of those stories referring to individuals when writing about migration in *ABC* is that we do not know the actual name of the person who is the focus of the story. The reason for this absence is that the characters are fictional, such as ABC107, ABC108 and ABC111, or the name of the real person is not quoted in the text, such as ABC104, which described how a person drowned trying to reach the Spanish coast. Not including the name of migrants is a common practice by *ABC* in this period, publishing more than seventy per cent of the articles without a mention of the name of the migrants they are writing about.

Regarding the representation of migrants shown in the pictures published to accompany the text, one of the most relevant findings is that *ABC* included a picture in every single article on this topic. Even in those cases when the article did not have more than 200 words. For example, in ABC104, there was a picture occupying as much space as the text. The emphasis of pictures was put in showing migrants arriving at the receiving country, with a third of the pictures having this topic, followed by pictures about migrants being attended by care professionals, migrants trying to enter irregularly in the country and migrants in a context of poverty. In most of the pictures, those migrants shown in the frame are black and are portrayed in an unfavourable context. This is especially evident

in the article ABC110, a gallery of pictures describing the trip of migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa to Andalusia, emphasising the dangers of the route. The article includes eight pictures. In seven of them, migrants are shown in groups in different unfavourable circumstances, such as occupying a crowded boat, around a fire in a dump or lying covered with a blanket looking in despair. The only picture that does not show a group of migrants is depicting the arrival of health workers carrying a black baby from a rescue boat, followed by three people wearing a hygienic white suit. All the captions of these eight pictures described the people shown in the images as migrants. In four of these captions, they are rescued or being attended, “inmigrantes rescatados”, and in the rest of the cases, they are migrants waiting to enter Spain, such as in the picture depicting around 25 black people without shirts, piling up in a boat, one on top of the other, raising their hands to the photographer in the middle of the night. The caption of this picture has a typo, and it reads “Inmigrantes a as afueras de Ceuta”¹⁷. The particle “las” is missing the first letter, which again shows a lack of attention by the person who wrote it. None of the eight pictures of this article is signed, as it happens regularly in several pictures of this corpus. Therefore, it is not clear how the person who wrote the caption knew that these people are indeed migrants or Sub-Saharan Africans. There is a common habit not to include specific nationalities or any other extra information about the people, more than being migrants, which shows a lack of journalistic depth. *ABC* did not include any picture of migrants in a leisure situation or migrants contributing to society.

This segment included a qualitative analysis of the data collected from *ABC* in December 2017 in order to answer the main research question of this investigation. The answer to this question cannot be complete without analysing the auxiliary research questions presented in the following segments.

4.2.2. The use of public memories and assumptions

This section analyses qualitatively the data extracted from the auxiliary question regarding the use by media of public memories and historical assumptions that include sensitive aspects about migrants. By looking at the data shown in the previous chapter, we already know that *ABC* has a clear preference to assume past representations of

¹⁷ “Immigrants on the outskirts of Ceuta” (ABC110)

migration in its articles. In this type of assumed representations, migrants are related to people mainly arriving by sea on a dangerous trip, and they are paying the consequences of travelling irregularly. As such, it is shown naturally that many of them are dying in their attempts, which does not provoke surprise or repulse. Moreover, migrants are seen as a collective, not an individual, and often related to the means of transport they are using to enter into Spain, until the point that there is a transfiguration between humans and objects. As such, we can find the habit of referring to people as “boats” being the subject of the action, which plays a passive role in many cases.

Readers of the articles are expected to understand these assumptions; therefore, the author does not feel the need to elaborate on the information, using a set of images already settled in the common imagination of the public. We can find examples of this practice in articles such as ABC104. In this article, the main event is the death of a person who drowned when jumping from a boat near the coast of Málaga while trying to enter irregularly into Spain. In the body of the article, the subject of the action is a boat, not the group of thirty-five people aboard, as it can be read in the following sentence: “la embarcación, que salió de las costas de Marruecos ayer a las 4 de la madrugada, fue localizada hoy a las 17.27 horas a escasos kilómetros la costa de Maro y sobre las 18.00 horas llegó a la orilla, momento en el que un inmigrante saltó de la embarcación y falleció ahogado”¹⁸.

An additional presupposition shown in this type of frame is the habit of naming people arriving at the country as migrants before knowing their legal status, as has been shown previously in this chapter. The fact that this article barely has 200 words indicates the low relevancy given by *ABC* to the fact that a person died when this person is considered a migrant was trying to enter irregularly into Spain. Furthermore, the fact that there is so little information about the incident, as well as the absence of basic personal information about the dead person, is another indicator of the little consideration given to the story. The article is not signed, and it is illustrated with the picture of another event, which again shows the lack of interest in this event and how the death of a person is seen as irrelevant.

¹⁸ “The boat, which left the coasts of Morocco yesterday at 4 a.m., was located today at 5:27 p.m. a few kilometres from the coast of Morocco and around 6:00 p.m. it reached the shore, at which point an immigrant jumped from the boat and drowned” (ABC104)

Another article including clear assumptions is ABC110, which describes the trip of migrants from Sub-Saharan Africa to Andalusia. Once again, we can see how an object substitutes people as the main character of the action when writing how boats sink, turning the Mediterranean into a “big cemetery”. In this type of sentence, there is no mention of the occupants of the boat. The writer knows the reader will understand that, by referring to boats, the author is indeed talking about those people travelling in the boat by applying a metonymy. However, using an object to refer to a person triggers different representation in the minds of the readers, leading to other journalistic malpractices. For instance, the author of the article extends the vision of migrants as objects by defining places where they wait before trying to enter into Spain with the metaphor of “coladeros”, drains, which are associated with dirty water that is strain through a tight instrument in order to preclude impurities. The fact that the journalist can use these words not related to humans attributed to migrants, without further explanation, shows that implicatures are rooted in the everyday vocabulary of journalists, which in fact is closer to literary figures.

Other examples of the use of metonymies related to boats to name migration are found in the tags of the articles. Tags are situated at the end of the information in *ABC*, and they work as a categorization of the information, playing a double function: first, it makes it easier for search engines, such as Google, to find the information when users look for these specific words; and second, it makes more accessible for the public to continue reading information about the same topic. Clicking on the word from the tag opens a new tab with other articles in the same category. For instance, the article EP104 uses tags such as “inmigrantes” and “refugiados”, but also “pateras” and “barcos”.

As shown earlier, naming migration with terms related to streams of water is a common habit in *ABC*, as it can also be seen in ABC102. For instance, there are two examples of this practice just in one paragraph, when the author of the article writes that the deal with Turkey has reduced the flow of arrivals by 96 per cent, the European Union succeeded in putting Turkey in charge of stopping the human wave fleeing Syria and Iraq. Flow and wave, “flujo” and “oleada”, are used metaphorically, without further explanation. The author expects the readers to understand the meaning behind the aquatic metaphors. Migrants, once again, are shown as a reality not related to humans, difficult to contain, a powerful stream of water. This vocabulary is well spread and read, as shown

by the fact that this piece had 68 comments, way over the average of thirteen comments for *ABC* in this period.

Another example worth noticing is not directly related to the migratory experience, but in which migration plays a role in the article ABC107. The topic of this article covers the last commercial for the popular Christmas Lottery in Spain. An alien with a human body is coming from space and mingling in a traditional Spanish neighbourhood in the commercial. The humans interacting in the scene are mistaking the alien for a migrant because of her weird behaviour. The article does not question how this misunderstanding can be believable, and it continues the narrative of migrants being so different from nationals to the point that they could be confused with aliens. The story is another lost opportunity for *ABC* to use the frame of explaining the assumed representation, which shows low percentages during the whole period of December 2017. The other two frames identified in this analysis, confronting a representation with another, and proposing a new representation, are also used very scarcely throughout the period.

4.2.3. The use of frames to portray migration

This section contains a qualitative analysis of data related to the research question about frames selected by journalists to portray migration. The main topic used more often by *ABC* in December 2017 is massive arrivals of migrants, coping one out of four articles about migration. Among the articles including this topic, we can observe that in most cases, the arrival is made by Sub-Saharan Africans trying to enter into Spain, such as in the articles ABC110 and ABC111, already analysed in this section.

Following the main topic of massive arrivals, there are other topics that frequently appeared in *ABC* during this period: political disagreements, offences committed to migrants, and fictional representation of migrants. There is an example of a positive fictional representation of a migrant in the article ABC108, but the protagonist of the story does not have any relation with Spain. Instead, the positive representation is from a person with Indian roots living in the United States. The topic of racial discrimination is treated in this article, an issue missing in most of the other stories about migration in Spain. Overall, the story of ABC108 is told from an empathetic perspective. Other main topics such as good actions done by migrants or multiculturalism are not included in *ABC*

during this period. The small number of articles published about migration compared with the rest of the newspapers analysed is one of the factors to explain the limited selection of topics made by the journalists of *ABC*.

The information was also analysed through the domain of the Cynefin framework. Regarding *ABC* during December 2017, the most common Cynefin frameworks were complex and knowable stories. In the case of the complex frame, *ABC* showed the highest numbers of use among any other newspaper at any period of analysis. The main characteristic of the complex frame is that cause and effect are only understandable in retrospect, demanding an adaptative system to respond to unexpected situations. An example of a complex framework is shown in ABC102. This article explains how the European Union is trying to solve the “migratory problem” of refugees, as explained in the text, by establishing a quota of refugees who has to be received by each of the European members, and how Spain did not reach the minimum established. A problem is also related to a complex situation that is not solved.

The other Cynefin framework used more often in *ABC* in this period is the knowable frame. These stories include a cause and effect that can be understood over time and space. They tend to have an analytical and reductionist perspective. In this field, two articles are especially interesting because of the type of representation of migration shown in their text. First, the article ABC101 explains that France is now the country in Europe where there live more Muslims than anywhere else in Europe, and how Europe will be by 2050 the continent with the highest number of Muslims. The author of the articles explains that one of the two reasons for the increase of the Muslim population in Europe is the growing and unpredictable weight of immigration. The words picked to refer to this tendency, “unpredictable” and “weight”, induced a negative tone in the meaning, linking Muslim migration to instability and burden. The whole article underlies a sense of threat towards the European culture as long as Muslim migrants are still coming to the continent. The other reason for the growth of the Muslim population in Europe is also worth noticing: just the higher birth rate. The author does not compare the higher birth rate of different groups of the population. Therefore, the reader has to understand that he refers to the higher birth rate of Muslims in opposition to other religions, which is setting a difference between Muslims and what it is understood to be Christians, even though this religion is not mentioned in the article.

Another article from the knowable Cynefin framework that is indicating a difference between migrants and Spaniards is ABC013. This article explains how the number of abortions decreased in Spain in recent years. One of the reasons given by *ABC* for the rate decreased is the lower number of migrant populations living in Spain recently, making a direct association between migrants and abortions, and illustrating the article with a picture of a pregnant white woman embracing her bare stomach.

Concerning the identification of ethical frames in discussions of immigration controls, *ABC* preferred to use a consequentialist frame in most of its stories during this period. This type of ethical frame sees migration as an asset in relation to global welfare. By opposite, migrants are seen as unnecessary if they do not contribute to the welfare of the receiving country. For instance, the articles ABC110 and ABC111 describe the trip of Sub-Saharan Africans from their countries to Spain. The journalistic techniques used in both of them are different. ABC110 emphasises the illustrations, showing eight pictures of migrants in different stages of their journey towards Spain. ABC111 is a narration of a singular fictional character and his efforts to survive travelling from Africa into Spain. Both articles have a common ethical framework, which is the futility of a dangerous journey, highlighting the suffering and putting migrants in a passive role in regards to their agency.

The results of *ABC* in the period of 2017 are also interesting for the missing frames that do not appear in the articles. For instance, the ethical frame of multiculturalism is absent. This type of frame sees migration as a need to culturally improve the society of the receiving country, benefitting from new forms of national identity.

Another set of frames analysed during the previous chapter are topic frames. Quantitatively, we learned that *ABC* published more often articles with the topic of migrants as a flow of people challenging to handle. One out of four articles shows this perspective. For instance, the above mentioned ABC110 and ABC112 used this frame to narrate the story. The rest of the articles framing migration as a flow of people are also related to Spain and the European Union. Groups of migrants going to places other than Europe are not portrayed under this frame, such as the articles dealing with migration into the United States, ABC103 and ABC108.

The other two topic frames that appeared more often in *ABC* during December 2017 include migrants being different from natives and migrants as a collective associated with poverty. About migrants being different, the articles of *ABC* explained that migrants have a higher rate of birth than Spaniards (ABC101), they are Muslims (ABC101 and ABC112), they can be confused with aliens (ABC107), and Muslim women have abortions more often (ABC113). The line between what is considered migrant and what is considered national is not well explained in the articles, and it shows oversimplifications. For instance, the article ABC113 relates the decrease of abortions in Spain with factors such as the decrease of the migrant population in Spain. It is not further developed to what type of migrants the author referred to. Relevant demographic information about migrants having abortions is missing, making a generalisation that automatically associates abortions with migrants.

The other topic frame which is frequent in *ABC* is migrants as a collective associated with poverty. The articles from this field are once again focussing on migration trying to come to Europe and more often to Spain, or already living in Europe, such as ABC105. This article tells the story of Eugeni, a Russian person who came to Europe to work but is now homeless and sleeping in the streets of Madrid. In other articles, the relationship between poverty and migration is more subtle but still clear, such as in ABC101. This article relates the increase of Muslims living in Spain to the presence of migration and, to illustrate the story, it shows a picture of a Muslim woman carrying a bag in the corner of a dirty market, full of garbage and graffiti. The picture does not have a caption, and the context of the illustration is not explained in the body of the text, so the reasoning for picking an unfavourable image about Muslims that links them to poverty remains unknown.

The evaluative character of the main event in the articles of *ABC* was also analysed. The result for *ABC* in 2017 is enlightening: it is the newspaper that published more often negative articles about migrants among their counterparts and, consequently, the one with the smallest percentage of positive articles about migration. Not even one out of ten articles dealing with migration showcased a positive event, and the percentage of negative stories is over sixty per cent. Regarding the only positive article found in this period of 2017, ABC108, the main event portrayed in the story shows migration as a

contributor to society, either economically, socially or culturally. However, it did not inform about migration in Spain, but about a person with Indian roots who lives in the United States, and it writes about a fictional character. By contrast, all the articles containing a main negative event are about migration coming into the European Union and, in most cases, into Spain. For instance, ABC104 tells a short story of a migrant who died after jumping from his boat while being rescued, ABC105 describes the lives of homeless people in Madrid, and ABC111 illustrates the miseries that migrants suffer travelling from Africa to Western Europe.

4.2.4. The treatment of sources

The final segment of this section about *ABC* in the period of study of December 2017 offers a qualitative input to the answer of the research questions regarding whether journalists prioritise some sources over others, whether migrants are used as a source in the information about themselves, and whether journalists reproduce arguments from politicians who are trying to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration.

Firstly, in relation to the first two questions, we learned that *ABC* used journalists as its primary source of information by an overwhelming margin. In fact, all the articles of *ABC* in this period have the input of at least one journalist. Migrants, the protagonists of the story, are only used as sources in less than ten per cent of the articles. This is the same percentage as religious authorities, also used in one out of ten articles.

The qualitative explanation for the absence of migration as a source is not defined in the articles, and it is linked to journalistic practices of *ABC* to avoid contacting migrants to get their comments, even in cases when it would have been relevant in order to collect essential information about the story. For instance, the article ABC104 briefly describes, in less than 200 words, the incident of a man who died after jumping from a boat meters away from the Spanish coast. In the same boat, other 34 people were found alive by Sea Rescue. The article is written with the information taken from a news agency, and there is no input from *ABC* itself. It is not explained why the journalist who wrote the information did not consider it necessary to interview any of the survivors since most of them were adults, except one. Having the perspective from the people inside the boat

would have given a relevant viewpoint of the incident. Moreover, it would have added information about a situation in which a man lost his life, and it would have granted agency to the migrants by being able to express their feelings, situating the story emotionally closer to the reader. The group of people who travelled in the boat are not untraceable: according to the information, police officers attended the migrants when they finally arrived at the beach and, as such, it would have been possible for the journalist to know their whereabouts. The reason for not contacting the migrants to include their comments, either directly or indirectly, is not journalistic, and it must be related to a lack of interest by the editors of *ABC*.

ABC only included one article during this period in which a migrant was a source of information. It is the case of article ABC105. The migrant selected for this purpose is a homeless person living in the streets of Madrid. The author of this piece describes the life of homeless people living in the streets of Madrid. This article includes the only direct quote from a migrant in the whole corpus of *ABC* during the period of December 2017. The migrant selected to participate is described as a homeless person who sleeps on a bench. The only personal information we know about him is his name, Eugeni. However, there is a mention to the sign he uses to ask for money: “Perdido trabajo. Perdido casa. Todo. Por favor, ayúdame”¹⁹. The text quoted from the sign of Eugeni contains syntactic problems, such as the absence of articles. Eugeni explains to the journalist how some neighbours are giving him food and clothes to survive and looking for a simple job. Therefore, the only migrant with an agency in *ABC* in this period appears to be a homeless person without proper knowledge of Spanish. His identification is also lacking in depth since there is only a reference to his first name, Eugeni, which is also situating him in a secondary role. Other migrants reflected in the story have even less agency, such as the case of “gipsy Romanian women”, as called by the journalist in the following sentence. “Bajo el paso elevado, en la calle de Bailén, varias gitanas rumanas han montado su «dormitorio». Son otro perfil”²⁰. In this short sentence, the journalist describes how “gipsy Romanian women” use an underground passage as a “bedroom”, with quotes in the original. The author also suggests that these women have “another profile”, applying quotation marks as it would be a rhetorical figure. However, the author does not clarify

¹⁹ “Lost job. Lost home. Everything. Please help” (ABC105)

²⁰ “Under the overpass, in Bailén street, several Romanian gypsies have set up their 'bedroom'. They are another profile” (ABC105)

what he means by this definition. Is he implying they are sex workers by using an obscure euphemism? It is not clear because the journalist did not interview these women and, as such, they do not have the option to show their view, subtracting their agency and leaving them as a mysterious character in a story about homeless people, in an obvious example of how the issue of intertextuality is put into practice in the text. Notably, other sources of the story who are not migrants are identified with their full names, such as the journalist who writes the story, and a social worker, who is quoted at the end of the article.

The type of information produced by each source is conditioned by the fact that migrants are used as a source only in one article. Journalists, who are present in all the articles as a source, are more often used to analyse the situation and to give details about the incident. Furthermore, one of the most evident results about the importance given to journalists as a source of their own articles is that they have the primary position in nine out of ten articles. This means that, in most cases, journalists have a preponderant role as a source in the story, and their information appears in a preferent place, such as the title, the summary and the first paragraph. In any case, it is worthy to remind that journalists, as producers of the information, work as gatekeepers of the published articles and the sources used in the story. As such, even in those articles which would not use information from journalists, it has to be taken into account that they have been in charge of selecting the sources that appear in the story, and the comments are included or excluded by the application of the issue of intertextuality.

The previous consideration links with the last research question developed in the investigation about whether journalists reproduce arguments from politicians trying to differentiate from their political opponents by how they treat migration. The first criterion studied to answer this question quantitatively was how often politicians appear as a source in the articles. We learned that they did it in almost a third of the stories, which means they are in the top two sources for *ABC* in this period, close to associations not related to migration. It is relevant to remind that this period was politically characterised by the organisation of elections in Catalonia at the end of the month of study.

One of the most significant results from *ABC* is that the only type of politicians used as a source during this period are those belonging to the party in power, leaving politicians from the opposition out as a source. The range of politicians in power giving

comments is not restricted to Spain, giving space to comments from the President of the United States, Donald Trump (ABC103) and Matteo Salvini (ABC112), head of the far-right party 'Liga Norte', who was a member of the European Parliament at the time of the publication of this story. In *ABC*, both politicians are included given direct comments against the arrival of immigration.

We also know that politicians are mentioned with their complete names when used as a source, in contrast to how migrants were referred to. Another difference is that the position of the contribution of politicians is situated in a preponderant place in two-thirds of the articles, which situates them as the second most important source for *ABC* during this period, only after journalists, which is the highest percentage among all the newspapers studied in both periods. In this case, the politicians that are given a most preponderant role are, once again, Donald Trump and Matteo Salvini making anti-migration comments. Salvini is quoted contradicting Pope Francis, asking him to welcome migrants in the Vatican City instead of Italy.

The comments of Salvini are a suitable example of the ethical frame of identity differentiation. This type of ethical frame is used by politicians to differentiate themselves from other parties in relation to how they perceive immigration controls. In the case of the article of Matteo Salvini (ABC112), the Italian politician is clearly using his rejection of migration as a way to characterise his political movement, which is reflected by the journalist in the article when writing that Matteo Salvini, leader of Liga Norte, responded to the Pope: “«Si quiere ius soli, lo aplique en el Vaticano»”²¹. Salvini is directly quoted giving this comment, giving him an agency that is not shown to migrants in the whole period. There is no comment from migrants in this article either, even though the information is about them.

This type of ethical frame is related to the topic frame of contrasting the treatment of migrants to other actors, in which the position of politicians is also highlighted as a way to characterise their views. We can find an example of this frame in ABC103, in which the United States Ambassador to the United Nations, Nikki Haley, expressed that immigration decisions should be made by Americans and only Americans: “La

²¹ “«If you want ius soli, apply it in the Vatican»” (ABC112)

embajadora de Estados Unidos ante la ONU, Nikki Haley, recalcó que las decisiones sobre inmigración «deben tomarlas los americanos y sólo los americanos»²². Once again, the quote is expressed as a direct speech, and there is a lack of comments from migrants, giving space exclusively to politicians in power.

There is a pattern by *ABC* in the coverage of articles about migration extended throughout the whole period of study of 2017: to exclude migrants as a source, focus on stories that set an unfavourable light on migrants, and include sources from politicians belonging to the party in power. The responsibility of the appearance of this type of arguments, even when they are made by politicians or any other actor with self-agency, is from the journalists and editors who chose to include this type of comments in the articles without counterbalancing with other sources, such as migrants themselves, who overall were left out in the stories about migration in *ABC* during the period of December 2017.

4.3. The representation of migration in *ABC* during a period without elections

4.3.1. The portrayal of migrants

The first result analysed in order to answer the main research question regarding how migrants are portrayed in the media in Spain is the type of words used to refer to migrants. In the case of *ABC* during the period of 2019, we learned that the most common word to refer to immigrants is, unsurprisingly, the noun “inmigrante”. However, this quantitative result tells us little about the representation of migrants in the news if there is no surrounding context.

Analysing the context of the articles shows us that there is a tendency to relate people who look like Africans with migrants, even though there is no information to prove this relation. This oversimplified deduction is realised even in cases where there is absolutely no information about the person besides the colour of his or her skin. For example, the article ABC206 informs about an anonymous hero who rescued a disabled person from a firing apartment by climbing the façade of the building. The rescuer, after

²² “The United States Ambassador to the UN, Nikki Haley, stressed that immigration decisions «should be made by Americans and only Americans»” (ABC103)

finishing his heroically act, left the place without talking to anybody. The only evidence for assuming that he is a migrant is a picture in which we can see a black person wearing colourful clothes while taking the body of the disabled person in his back from the window, surrounded by smoke. With this little information, the hero is called “inmigrante” six times in the article, including the title, the caption of the picture and the opening words of the text: “Un inmigrante se ha convertido en «héroe anónimo» en Denia (Alicante) al salvar la vida a un hombre enfermo con movilidad reducida a quien rescató cuando se quedó encerrado y casi inconsciente al incendiarse su casa, el pasado jueves”²³. The author of the article quoted witnesses who believed the person might be from Senegal or Morocco, specifying two distant countries without stating how they knew this information. Neighbours who witnessed the rescue would like to thank the person for his action, but according to the journalist, nobody knows where he is.

Following the analysis of the term “inmigrante”, it is revelatory that correlated words accompany this word in half of the occasions in *ABC* during this period. This extra set of words close to the noun adds meaning and expands the reference, facilitating the implementation of the issue of discourses. There is a tendency to highlight words related to the age of the migrant, most specifically to show that migrants are young and children. As such, we can find numerous examples in which the focus is put in the short age of the migrant, such as in “joven inmigrante” (in ABC206, ABC207, ABC219), “menor inmigrante” (in ABC204), “inmigrantes y niños recién llegados” (ABC223), “menor inmigrante” (ABC204), “menores inmigrantes llegados en patera” (ABC227), “menores inmigrantes no acompañados” (ABC227), “menores no acompañados” (ABC215, ABC227), “niños inmigrantes” (ABC215), “chicos inmigrantes” (ABC223)²⁴.

These are correlated words that link the term immigrant to another word related to the young age of the person. Additionally, *ABC* is often referring to the young age of migrants without using the term migrant, to the point that “menor” and “niño” are in the top four most common words used to refer to migration. In the case of “menor”, this term

²³ “An immigrant has become an 'anonymous hero' in Denia (Alicante) by saving the life of a sick man with reduced mobility whom he rescued when he was locked up and almost unconscious when his house caught fire last Thursday” (ABC206)

²⁴ “young immigrant” (in ABC206, ABC207, ABC219), “immigrant minor” (in ABC204), “immigrants and recently arrived children” (ABC223), “immigrant minor” (ABC204), “immigrant minors arrived in patera” (ABC227), “unaccompanied immigrant minors” (ABC227), “unaccompanied minors” (ABC215, ABC227), “immigrant children” (ABC215), “immigrant children” (ABC223).

is related very often with the object “patera”, which is the fragile boat used for people trying to navigate from Africa into Spain. We can find different variations of this use: “niños menores en pateras” (ABC226, ABC227), “pateras con menores” (ABC226, ABC227), “menores inmigrantes llegados en patera” (ABC227), “pateras con menores no acompañados” (ABC227)²⁵. As it can be seen in these examples, in some cases, the word “pateras” is used as a subject that directly affects the action, leaving the minors as a passive agent overpowered by the object “patera”.

An example of this use can be found in ABC226. The topic of this article explains that the regional Government of Andalusia expressed that the arrival of unaccompanied migrants is a problem and therefore asked for more financing from the Spanish Government. A coalition of a conservative party, Partido Popular, and a centre-right party, Ciudadanos, was in charge of the Government of Andalusia. A coalition of a progressive party, PSOE and party in the left, Unidas-Podemos, was in charge of the Government of Spain at the time of the publication of this article. The request for more financing was expressed by a high ranked member of the Government of Andalusia, who states that the emergency situation continues to occur because boats arrive with minors every day. Highlighting this comment, *ABC* is making a clear connexion between underage migrants, fragile boats and a situation of emergency. However, as shown in the text, the emergency is not that children are risking their lives to arrive in Europe, but that there are arriving by hundreds. The politician refers to the situation as a problem and it takes the chance to say that this is not a problem only for Andalusia but for the whole of Spain: “la consejera ha resaltado que el miércoles, 25 de diciembre, llegó «una patera con 18 niños» y ha asegurado que «es un problema, que no es de Andalucía sino de España, aunque Andalucía sea la frontera sur por donde llegan tantos menores»”²⁶. The sentence emphasises the action on “pateras”, an object, instead of the children using the boat, subtracting agency from humans to give it to an object.

Another example of the use of “patera” as the main subject of the action when writing about children is found in the article ABC227. In this case, there are several

²⁵ “minor children in boats” (ABC226, ABC227), “boats with minors” (ABC226, ABC227), “immigrant minors arrived in boats” (ABC227), “boats with unaccompanied minors” (ABC227).

²⁶ “The counsellor stressed that on Wednesday, December 25, a boat with 18 children arrived "and assured that" it is a problem, which is not from Andalusia but from Spain, although Andalusia is the southern border where so many minors arrive»” (ABC226)

instances in which the agency of the action is put in the object rather than the human, such as in “la llegada de pateras con menores no acompañados es incesante”, “llegó «una patera con 18 niños»”, and “la situación de emergencia sigue ocurriendo porque cada día llegan pateras con menores”²⁷. The fact that the main action is carried by an object leaves children to have a passive role in the story as cargo. By selecting these words, the author is leaving out of the frame the story of children crossing the sea in a precarious boat, and it focussed on an object, boats, which do not call for sympathy since they are inanimate. These two articles, ABC226 and ABC227, have many points in common, including the term “mena” in their title, the most essential part of the piece. The title of ABC226 reads “La Junta de Andalucía urge a Pedro Sánchez a convocar una reunión sobre los Mena”²⁸, and ABC227 is titled “El Gobierno de Sánchez niega otros 25 millones a Andalucía para financiar la atención a los mena”²⁹. In both cases, *ABC* picked one of its most common ways to refer to migration in this period, the word “mena”, situated in the top six in the list of words to refer to migrants.

The term “mena”, which was not used in 2017, plays an important role in *ABC* during this period of 2019. It is a newly created word made from the acronym “menor extranjero no acompañado”, an unaccompanied foreign minor. The construction “mena” is so new that it is not yet included in the Spanish dictionary two years later, in 2021. By referring to children with this word, *ABC* is associating all the foreign children who arrived irregularly and are living without their parents or tutors into a uniform collective, lacking informative depth and personal context.

Articles containing the term “mena” in *ABC* show an image of a threatening entity that is generating problems not only to Andalusia but to the rest of Spain (ABC226), applying a strategy of predication. By reading about “menas” in *ABC*, we learned that they arrive “incessantly” (ABC227) into Spain; therefore, they are overcrowding the reception centres and, if the centres overflow, they become a focus of problems for all minors involved, as quoted in ABC205: “Si los centros se desbordan esos centros se convierten en un foco y un problema para todos los menores, para los que tienen peores conductas

²⁷ “The arrival of boats with unaccompanied minors is incessant”, “it arrived «a boat with 18 children»”, and “the emergency situation continues to occur because boats with minors arrive every day” (ABC227)

²⁸ “The Government of Andalusia urges Pedro Sánchez to call a meeting on the Mena” (ABC226)

²⁹ “The Government of Sánchez denies another 25 million to Andalusia to finance the attention to the mena” (ABC227)

pero también para los que no tienen ninguna maldad”³⁰. ABC205 is accompanied by a picture of two teenagers exiting a reception centre. In the image, both teenagers wear black clothes, and their faces are partially covered, by a hoody in one case and by a dark scarf in the other. One of them has a plaster covering his arm, and the other is wearing only one glove. Their faces are pixelated and, overall, the picture reflects discomfort, showing the dirty entrance of the reception centre. The two teenagers were photographed unknowingly, their eyes looking in other direction different than the photographer, subtracting them the option to pose for the picture and therefore unable to appear in a more favourable pose of their choice. The article ABC205 impacted the readers since it is the most commented article of the period, collecting 73 comments.

Nevertheless, *ABC* published two articles that challenged the negative view about “menas”. One of them is ABC215. It consists of an interview with Mar Ahumada, the general director of Migration Policies of the Government of Andalusia, belonging to Ciudadanos, a political party that positions itself in the centre-right of the political spectrum. At the beginning of the article, the journalist directly expresses that this politician wants to demolish myths and clarify the reality of those who come to Andalusia providing data, not hoaxes. Ahumada ensures that the majority of immigrants arrive in Spain by plane, not by boat. Furthermore, she states that “menas” are children who are easier to see playing ball than getting into trouble. The politician says there is no interest by the media in showing an image of “menas” playing, but instead, these children, as she points out, are often shown covered by a hoody in small gangs. She explains that most of the migrants do not come from Africa, as shown by the media, but from the European Union, and the press always focuses on the boats, “pateras”, which makes the public believe immigrants only arrive by sea and have a specific colour when this is not true. This article, in which a positive frame about migration is clearly stated, did not attract much attention, as shown by the fact that collected three comments, in contrast to the 73 comments collected by the article showing a picture of hooded “menas” looking like members of a gang. Circumstantially, the common theme of the three comments of the article of Ahumada is to attack migration. The most liked comment points out that public money should not be spent in “menas” and that “this woman” should not believe that the Government of Andalusia is an NGO.

³⁰ “If the centres overflow, these centres become a focus and a problem for all minors, for those who have the worst behaviours but also for those who do not have any evil” (ABC205)

The other article not following the generally negative tone about “menas” is ABC223. In this case, the article challenges the view of “menas” as a uniform and threatening entity by including particular stories of migrants who arrived in Spain as unaccompanied minors, escaping from poverty, and now carved out a future in Spain by studying and working. The article shows a close-up picture of three migrants smiling. They are referred by their names, which is not usual. This article is a clear example of how much depth a story can get when the journalist considers the comments of people directly involved in migration. Unfortunately, once again, this article did not attract as much attention as some of the negative ones, as shown by the comment section, where there is only one message, and it reads “Y porque no labran su futuro luchando en su país por mejorarlo y desarrollarlo?”³¹. The italics are added to highlight a word with an orthographical mistake: it should be written “por qué”. The comment is liked eight times, and it does not have any dislike.

Besides the term “mena”, *ABC* very often focused on minors in their articles of December 2019. We can find that “menor”, “niño” and “joven”³² are also in the top ten of words picked to refer to migration. The word “niño” follows a similar pattern than “menor” and “mena”, as it is often associated with being alone and the term “pateras” and being alone, as seen in the following combinations: “niños que llegaron en patera” (ABC223), “niño que llegó solo” (ABC223), “niños solos” (ABC215), “niños menores en pateras” (ABC226), “patera con 18 niños” (ABC226, ABC227)³³.

The term “patera” is often used as a correlated word not only with “niños”, but with “menas”, “menores” and in general with migrants. The stories writing about “pateras” are associated with irregular migration. Another common link in the stories about “pateras” is the lack of sources other than the official ones and the short length of the text in many cases. For instance, ABC219 tells in less than 200 words the rescue of an immigrant who wanted to get to Cadiz riding a float. There is no information about the rescued person, which is assumed to be a migrant, without giving a reason to prove it.

³¹ “And why not carve out their future fighting in their country to improve and develop it?” (ABC223)

³² Minor, child and young.

³³ “children who arrived in boat” (ABC223), “boy who arrived alone” (ABC223), “children alone” (ABC215), “minor children in boats” (ABC226), “boat with 18 children” (ABC226, ABC227)

The only personal information stated is that he is from the Maghreb, a statement that it might be assumed by the colour of his skin.

The other notable relation between migrants and travelling by sea is death, as found as a correlated word with different terms, such as “cadáver de un hombre flotando”. In fact, *ABC* in 2019 had the highest rate of mentions to “cadáver” among all the newspapers. One of the examples containing this word is ABC225, a one-time article about the finding of a body floating near the beach of Ceuta, a Spanish city situated in the north of Africa. This article fulfils all the requirements of a deficient coverage: the information is not signed by a journalist of *ABC*, but by an agency; it is written in less than 200 words; there are no sources of the information; the picture, without a caption, shows the back of a police agent in front of a Spanish flag. The author of the article assumes that the floating body, in an advanced state of decomposition, belonged to a male migrant from the Maghreb or the Sub-Saharan area, which means that it is assumed that the deceased is not European. It is not clear why the author guessed that the person was a migrant, besides the fact that his body was floating at sea. Once again, we can find a non-empathetic message in the comment section: “SI SE HUBIERA QUEDADO A TRABAJAR PARA LEVANTAR SU PAÍS...”³⁴. The capital letters are from the original. The story was published on Christmas day, and it did not have a follow up in the period of study, leaving the details about who he is or how he died unknown for the reader.

There is another instance of an article dealing with the death of a migrant that follows the pattern of poor journalism shown in ABC225. It is the case of ABC214. This is the story of an employer arrested for abandoning at the entrance of a hospital the body of an immigrant who died while picking fruit for him without having a contract. As it happened in the previous example, in this one, the article is also written in less than 200 words. Essential information about the dead person is missing. The only data we know about the migrant is that he has African origins, later specified as North-African. The number of sources is limited to police forces, but there is no news about the workmate who was with him when the employer abandoned the body or from any other person from the little village where the incident took place. The article contains orthographical mistakes and typos. For instance, there is an orthographical accent missing in the first

³⁴ “If he had started to work to raise his country...” The original is written in capital letters (ABC225)

paragraph of the information: “El arrestado, propietario de una explotación agraria, abandono presuntamente el cadáver de un empleado en el centro de salud del municipio jiennense de Pozo Alcón”. In the last paragraph, two words have been accidentally written together: “El cuerpo de seguridad del Estado activóentonces el protocolo de accidentes laborales y comunicó los hechos a la Inspección de Trabajo de Jaén”. And in the last sentence, there is another typographical error, writting “n” instead of “ñ” in the word “acompañada”: “Una inspectora se trasladó hasta Pozo Alcón, donde acompañada por la Guardia Civil, se personó en la finca agraria para la elaboración de su informe”. The inclusion of three obvious mistakes, which are easy to spot by any reader or an automatic checker, shows that the author of the article, Javier López, as well as the possible proof-readers and supervisors of the story, did not pay enough attention to the writing or less probably, he ignores basic orthographical rules.

The picture accompanying the article also shows deficiencies. It is not professionally taken, as it can be appreciated by the fact that the frame is not straight and cut. Moreover, the content of the image has little connection with the incident, showing the entrance of the headquarters of Guardia Civil in Jaén, a different location than the one from the story, the village of Pozo Alcón. The incident happened two days before the publication of the story, so there was time to send a photographer to the location of the incident if there would have been interesting for the editors of *ABC*. The same incident was also covered by *El País* and *La Vanguardia*, which dedicated in the same period more space in the case of *La Vanguardia*, publishing seven articles about the incident, and more resources in *El País*, publishing a detailed and well-sourced narration of the incident, as it will be seen in the following sections regarding each newspaper, which represents an example of how different newspapers apply the strategy of perspectivization

The other article writing about this incident, ABC222, also lacks basic information about the deceased, showing the same journalistic shortages as ABC214. In the case of ABC222, sources from migrants are also missing. Instead, there are only presented sources from the police and local politicians. In fact, the city hall of the village where the person died was given a prominent role in ABC222. The reaction from the city hall to the death of this migrant was to expel other migrants who were looking for a job in the village: “El Ayuntamiento ha informado en su página de Facebook de que gestiona la adquisición de billetes de autobús «para la salida de nuestro pueblo de personas inmigrantes que se

encontraban en el municipio sin trabajo y sin recursos»³⁵. As can be seen in the quote, the comment was not made directly to the author of the article but found on the Facebook page of the city hall, as well as the comment about the village not been a host municipality. According to the city hall, other measures will be to hire more police agents to improve security and promote peace of mind for neighbours.

It is noteworthy to state that other newspapers, such as *El País*, had access to the name and personal information about the migrant, which shows us that the information was available at the time of the publication of this article by *ABC*, but the editors of *ABC* did not decide to provide it to its readers. The picture accompanying this article is very similar to the one selected in ABC214, again showing the same façade of the headquarters of Guardia Civil in Jaén. This picture is not sourced either, and, as it happened with the previous one, it lacks professionalism, in this case, because it is blurry.

Another point in common between the two articles about this incident is that ABC222, as it happened with ABC214, also reproduces typographic errors. For example, there are incoherencies in the quotation marks: “A los que el Consistorio ha recalcado que Pozo Alcón «no es ningún municipio de acogida, ni lo ha sido nunca””. The quote is opened with « and closed with ”. The next paragraph contains another obvious typographic error: “El objetivo, ha aclaado el Ayuntamiento, es mejorar la seguridad y propiciar la tranquilidad de los vecinos”. This sentence contains a typo in the word “aclaado”, which should be “aclarado”. Again, another mistake is found in the next paragraph, in this case by writting an incoherence word instead of the correct one: “Hasta tanto se lleve a cabo la selección, el Ayuntamiento ha asegurado que la seguridad está garantizada con la presencia de la Guardia Civil” (the italics are added). The author wrote “tanto” when it should have been written “cuando” or “que”. In the next paragraph, there is an orthographical accent missing in the following sentence: “Y también por el caso del inmigrante del municipio de Orcera apuñalado presuntamente por el agricultor que le contrato” (the italics are added). Again, these mistakes are not professionally common and they have to be attributed to a lack of attention by the author of a piece of information of less than 500 words.

³⁵ “The City Council has reported on its Facebook page that it manages the acquisition of bus tickets "for the departure from our town of immigrants who were in the municipality without work and without resources" (ABC222)

Another group of correlated words frequently used in *ABC* are those regarding the illegal or irregular status of the migrant. The term illegal is controversial. Some media, such as the news agency AP, have stopped using the term “illegal immigrant” and asked in its stylebook to “not describe people as violating immigration laws without attribution” (Colford, 2013). We can find it in *ABC*19 during this period in different variations: “inmigrante ilegal” (ABC201, ABC210), “inmigrante «ilegal de nacionalidad yemení»” (ABC229), “inmigrante ilegal argentino” (ABC201) and with the term “inmigración” in “inmigración ilegal” (ABC209). The term illegal immigration is also used interchangeably with the term irregular migrant, as in ABC232. In this article, it is also used the rhetorical figure of synecdoche by transforming the adjective “irregular” into a noun to describe the whole collective, as can be appreciated in the following extract of the text: “Esa cifra aumentó en 2018, cuando se alcanzaron los 1.300 irregulares que arribaron a Canarias”³⁶. The word “irregular” does not exist as a noun in the dictionary of Real Academia Española, the organism in charge of sanctioning the correct use of the Spanish language.

ABC used more often the term “ilegal” than “irregular”. Nevertheless, both terms, illegal and irregular, are interchangeable by *ABC* when used with correlated words “sin papeles”³⁷, applying another trope, in this case, a metaphor. The word “paper” refers to the documentation that a person should have to be allowed to live in a country. By writing the metaphor “sin papeles”, the author uses an implicature that considers a historical assumed representation of this term. The readers do not feel the need to elaborate on the terminology “sin papeles”, because he expects readers to make use of their historical knowledge about this term in order to understand that the author does not talk literally about a person who has no papers, but about a migrant who does not have the permits to live in Spain. It is possible to find the use of this metaphor in several different combinations throughout the corpus of *ABC* in this period: “héroe «sin papeles» de Senegal” (ABC207, ABC208), “el senegalés que salvó a un hombre de las llamas quiere «papeles» para ser camionero” (ABC209), “héroe anónimo sin papeles” (ABC211),

³⁶ “This figure increased in 2018, when 1,300 irregular people arrived in the Canary Islands” (ABC232)

³⁷ Without papers.

“inmigrante sin papeles” (ABC218), “jornaleros sin papeles” (ABC222), “temporeros sin papeles” (ABC222)³⁸.

There is an interesting finding concerning the use of “papers” in *ABC*. In three articles about Gorgui, the migrant who risked his life to save a disabled person from a fire, the reference to papers is written between a particular form of a symbol, the double angular brackets, «», unusual in the standard Spanish writing. It can be found in “héroe «sin papeles» de Senegal” (ABC207, ABC208) and “el senegalés que salvó a un hombre de las llamas quiere «papeles» para ser camionero” (ABC209). This type of device is used to implement the strategy of perspectivization. The use of the double angular brackets in these cases is not linked to a quote from a source, but it is a rhetorical tool that suggests the authors are aware of the special condition of this reference. By using the double angular brackets, the authors try to distance themselves from the accountability of selecting this word in relation to Gorgui, but they are still using it instead of writing a more elaborate and accurate description of his legal status. By contrast, in those other articles in which migrants appear as an unidentifiable entity, the authors do not feel the need to distance themselves from the use of «sin papeles» in a metaphorical way: “inmigrante sin papeles” (ABC218), “jornaleros sin papeles” (ABC222), “temporeros sin papeles” (ABC222) appear without the double angular brackets, showing an inconsistency in the application of the term.

Another relevant aspect studied in order to unveil how migrants are represented in *ABC* during the period of December 2019 is the type of collective emphasised. During this period, the most salient quantitative result shows that *ABC* left completely out stories about refugees when writing about migration. In 2019, it was the only newspaper that did not mention refugees in the whole period, and it represents a notable change from 2017 when a third of the articles mentioned refugees in the text. This is explained by the fact that *ABC* assumed that all people who look like Africans must be migrants, leaving out the option to be refugees or asylum seekers. This practice can be found in articles such as ABC206 when describing Gorgui as a “inmigrante «héroe anónimo»”, before knowing

³⁸ hero “«without papers» from Senegal” (ABC207, ABC208), “the Senegalese who saved a man from the flames wants «papers» to be a truck driver” (ABC209), “anonymous hero without papers” (ABC211), “immigrant without papers” (ABC218), “day laborers without papers” (ABC222), “seasonal workers without papers” (ABC222)

any personal information about him. Another example is found in ABC219 when describing a person rescued from the sea as “joven inmigrante magrebí”, without confirmation about his legal status, or in ABC225, in which the finding of a floating body of a man suggests that he was a non-European migrant: “Los primeros indicios apuntan a que puede ser un inmigrante magrebí o subsahariano”³⁹. All these articles have in common the absence of personal information about the supposed migrant, and the assumption that they must be a migrant because they look African, ruling out the possibility for them to be refugees and asylum seekers, and without taking into consideration another type of label not related to their legal status in the country, which is an example of how *ABC* applied the issue of assumptions.

Regarding the origin of the migrant, *ABC* in this period of 2019 is the only newspaper that did not mention the specific religion of migrants. Moreover, it did not mention specific ethnicities, focusing on distinguishing the specific nationality in most cases and, in the second term, the specific region. Concerning nationality, a quarter of the mentions are about Moroccans. Most of the mentions to Moroccans come from the story about the worker whose body was abandoned by his employer after dying while picking fruit. Another noteworthy mentioned to Moroccans, as part of a long list of other nationalities, in the article ABC220. This article shows a successful story of a semi-private school in Spain by explaining how students from Spain, Latin America, Morocco, the Philippines and Bangladesh are successfully studying in this centre, using them as an argument to subvert the idea semi-private schools are only for the elite class.

Regarding the other nationality that appears more often in *ABC* during this period, people from Senegal, there is a reason that explains why this nationality is more represented in this period than other nationalities which are more common in Spain, such as Romanians, who do not appear at all in this period of *ABC*. The reason behind the multiple appearances of Senegalese migration is the story of Gorgui, the person who heroically saved a disabled person from his burning apartment after climbing the building. The coverage of this event represents a clear example of how the same story can gain in-depth when the newspaper decides to invest time and effort into the reporting. During the period of December 2019, *ABC* published five articles about this incident. The first one,

³⁹ “The first indications suggest that it may be a North African or sub-Saharan immigrant” (ABC225)

ABC206, is an example of inadequate coverage: the story has less than 350 words, it lacks essential critical information, even though it was published three days after the incident. There are no sources of information, and the protagonist is not identified, up to the point that the journalist expresses that he could be from Senegal or Morocco. As explained before, the article assumes that this person is a migrant without giving any reason to prove it, and the only direct piece of information from the day of the incident is a picture of the rescuer carrying the disabled person on his back while climbing out from the balcony of the victim. The picture is not professionally taken, and the author seems to be a bystander. The article is signed with initials and not a complete name, which situates the story in a secondary position in the scale of relevance.

The next article related to this story, ABC207, is published six days after the incident. It advances in the depth of the story. However, the main part of the information is extracted from an already published article by a regional newspaper, as quoted in the text. This would explain why the author of the article in *ABC* did not want to sign with his/her full name and only included his/her initials, J. L. F. This time, the hero is identified with his name, Gorgui Lamine, his nationality, Senegalese. It includes personal information about his life: Gorgui works as a street vendor, he has a wife and a daughter, and he lives in Spain without a permit. The picture accompanying the article is a close up of Gorgui and the person rescued by him, who is hugging him from his wheelchair with visible burns on his face. Both are smiling. Nevertheless, there is still one crucial source missing in the article: Gorgui. There are direct quotes from the rescued person and local politicians, but not from Gorgui. Journalistic standards cannot justify the absence of comments, and it must be related to a lack of interest by *ABC* to contact him. The following article about the story, ABC208, is published the same day as the previous one and has many similarities with it: it does not include comments from Gorgui, and it is not signed, applying devices that lead to the implementation of the strategy of mitigation. It attracted the attention of the readers, who left twenty comments.

Finally, eight days after the incident, the article ABC209 includes, for the first time, direct comments from Gorgui: “No pensé demasiado. Solo se me vino a la cabeza: le puedo ayudar, así que le ayudo”⁴⁰. The article also deepens in the personal story of

⁴⁰ “I didn't think too much. It just popped into my head: I can help him, so I help him” (ABC209)

Gorgui, explaining that he has a daughter, who is seven months older, and that the reason why he did not want to remain in the place after saving the disabled person was that he was afraid of the police questioning his legal status in the country. He explains he wishes to quit selling in the street to start driving a truck and, in general, the article explains in-depth the story of a person to whom readers can easily empathised. There are even comments from national politicians calling for the regularisation of Gorgui, given his exceptional act. However, it seems that *ABC* did not invest its own resources in the elaboration of this story, since the article is just signed by name *ABC*, and inside of the text, the article quotes the news agency EFE as the receiver of the comments by Gorgui.

Finally, the last article covering this event is ABC211. It is again published the same day as the previous one. It is an update on the story of Gorgui in which *ABC* informs the Government is going to regularise his legal status, quoting the Minister of Interior, because of the exceptional circumstances surrounding the incident. Once again, it seems that *ABC* is reproducing the information published from the press agency EFE, as a journalist does not sign the article and inside of the article, EFE is quoted as the recipient of the comments of the Minister.

In total, *ABC* published five stories about Gorgui that did not seem to be produced by its own journalists. The improvement in the coverage of the story over time, then, cannot be attributed to the active decision of the editors of *ABC*, but to the first producers of the information, which are other newspapers and news agencies, used by *ABC* as their main sources.

ABC is the newspaper that focussed most often on mentioning broad areas of origin of migrants among the three journals studied. As seen in the previous chapter, in the period of 2019, *ABC* focussed mainly on African regions, coping eight out of ten regional mentions. The remaining mentions focussed on Latin-Americans and migrants from other regions of the European Union, who are, in fact, some of the most common nationalities living in Spain. This shows a discrepancy between the type of nationalities living in Spain and the ones appearing in *ABC* in this period, with a clear tendency by *ABC* to focus on stories about migration from Africa. The other distinction of *ABC* in this period in relation to their counterpart journals is that, in the period of 2019, there were no

mentions to the religion of the migrants, which represents a significant change concerning *ABC* in 2017.

Regarding the number of migrants represented in the articles of *ABC* in this period, there was a clear tendency to show stories of specific individuals, with two out of three articles telling the story of a single migrant. The reason behind this number comes from the coverage of two radically different events: on one side, the colourful story of Gorgui, the hero who saved a disabled person and his dog from fire by climbing a building, which had a coverage of five articles (ABC206, ABC207, ABC208, ABC209, ABC211). On the other side, stories about migrants who died in pitiful circumstances, such as the person who died while picking fruit and whose body was abandoned by his employer at the entrance of a hospital, which was covered in two articles (ABC214, ABC222), the person who died after somebody set on fire the precarious shack where he was sleeping, narrated in two articles (ABC221, ABC224), and the story of Mahamadou, who was stabbed by his employer while picking fruit (ABC230).

All these stories report about a single migrant, as it happened in two out of three articles published in *ABC* during this period. In most of these articles, the migrants remained unknown. Only in one out of four articles we learned the name of the migrant, such as Mahamadou Coulibaly or Gorgui Lamine. In most of the articles, three out of four, the name of the migrant remained unknown, including notable incidents such as the person who died while picking fruit, even though his identity was known, as proven by the publication of his name by *El País* during the same period. The two articles of *ABC* about the death of this person, ABC214, ABC222, are an example of poor journalistic coverage, including very little information about the deceased and basic orthographical mistakes.

Another case of a migrant who died dramatically and whose name remained unstated is the person who was killed after somebody set on fire the camp where he was sleeping. This story was covered twice in this period, in ABC221 and ABC224. Both articles show journalistic faults in the treatment of the information. Both are very short stories, around 200 words each. Neither of them is signed with a name, just the initials S.A., which is subtracting the ownership of the article to an unknown journalist that did not want to sign or was not allowed to do so, presumably because both pieces seem to

reproduce the information published by Europa Press, a press agency, in ABC221, and Guardia Civil, in ABC224. In the case of ABC224, the style of writing reminds to the one used by police officials when describing an event: “Los hechos tuvieron lugar el sábado 14 de diciembre sobre la una de la madrugada momento en el que se inició un fuego en un asentamiento chabolista de Palos de la Frontera, en el que falleció un joven marroquí que no pudo salir a tiempo de la chabola donde se iniciaron las llamas”⁴¹. The vocabulary and the construction of the sentences are not common in journalism, which suggests that the information was copied directly from the report written by Guardia Civil. Other deficiencies in covering the event are the lack of sources, Guardia Civil being the only source in both articles, as well as the lack of information about the person who died in this incident. The absence of information about this person cannot be related to a non-identification of the body since both articles stated that the person was a 23 years old man from Morocco, and he was working as a seasonal worker in agricultural labours. There is no journalistic reason to justify the absence of other sources that could be approachable, such as other residents of the camp set on fire. Not including the name seems arbitrary and most related to a lack of interest by the editors of *ABC* in investing more resources in covering the story. The lack of original production was already studied in other prominent events about migration during this period, such as the story of Gorgui. In fact, more than half of the articles about migration are not signed with the name of a journalist.

In this section, it has been provided qualitative information in order to answer the main research question. However, to fully answer this question, it is necessary to consider the information extracted from the analysis of the auxiliary questions, which will be studied in the following segments, starting with the examination of the use of public memories when describing migration.

4.3.2. The use of public memories and assumptions

This section will add a qualitative input to the answer of the question regarding the use by media of public memories and historical assumptions that include sensitive aspects about migrants. The question has been answered quantitatively in the previous

⁴¹ “The events took place on Saturday, December 14, at around one in the morning, when a fire started in a shanty town in Palos de la Frontera, in which a young Moroccan died who could not get out of the shack where the flames started” (ABC224)

chapter, showing that *ABC* clearly leaned towards assuming a past representation in which people arriving in Spain from developing countries are considered to be migrants facing a dangerous trip and, therefore, often dying.

Articles about migrants drowning written by *ABC* are presented to the reader as a natural consequence. The trip itself is seen as the main event of the story, to the point that people lose their human denominations in favour of the mean of transport carrying them, in a rhetorical exercise of object personification, which leads to the implementation of the strategies of nomination and predication. As such, terms as “pateras”, boats, are used as the active noun of the action, such as in the sentence “la llegada de pateras con menores no acompañados es incesante”⁴² (ABC226).

Another assumption that is particular from *ABC* in this period is the newly created noun of “mena”, used to apply the issue of representation. This term, which refers to children and teenagers who arrive irregularly in Spain without their parents or legal tutors, is a clear example of how a journalist is appealing to an already constructed assumption that requires the collaboration of the reader to be understood. The result is an oversimplified way to refer to people as the entity “menas”, a non-existent noun made of an acronym, associated with gangs, social exploits and criminality. That is the image shown in the articles ABC226 and ABC227. Both of them have the same topic: the regional Government of Andalusia complains to the Spanish Government about cutting funds to take care of “menas”. The newly defined term is already so rooted in the public memory that *ABC* used it in the title of both articles without further explanation: “La Junta de Andalucía urge a Pedro Sánchez a convocar una reunión sobre los Mena”⁴³ (ABC226) and “El Gobierno de Sánchez niega otros 25 millones a Andalucía para financiar la atención a los mena”⁴⁴ (ABC227). The article ABC227 is illustrated with a picture that summons the essence of what is considered “mena”. In the picture, we can see many young teenagers with dark skin, some of them with their heads covered, being attended by a care professional. Even though the article ABC227 was published at the end of 2019, the picture selected was taken in 2007, which shows the impersonality

⁴² “The arrival of boats with unaccompanied minors is incessant” (ABC226)

⁴³ “The Junta de Andalucía urges Pedro Sánchez to call a meeting on the Mena” (ABC226)

⁴⁴ “The Government of Sánchez denies another 25 million to Andalusia to finance the attention to the mena” (ABC227)

embedded in the term “mena”. However, as we have already studied, two articles clearly fight against the stereotype of “mena” during this period in *ABC*, ABC215 and ABC223, which did not attract as much attention as the ones portraying the already historical assumption of “menas” as a threatening entity.

Another assumption shown in *ABC* describes migrants in Spain as playing a vulnerable role in society. This is exemplified in ABC218. The article describes how a person pretended to be a migrant “without papers” to swindle the victim. This image of migrants in Spain contrasts with a minority of articles in which a person with migratory origins has money. The case of ABC228 is paradoxical: the protagonist is Kylian Mbappé, one of the highest-paid football players in the world. The article explains that his father is a migrant from Cameroon and his mother has Algerian roots. The footballer, who was born in France and therefore had French nationality, is referred to as “the French” by the author four times. This type of deference is not found in other cases when the son of migrants is not wealthy, in clear contrast with the treatment received in other articles, such as ABC112, from the previous period, narrating how a law in Italy that would give nationality to sons of migrants has not been approved because “immigration raises fear”.

4.3.3. The use of frames to portray migration

This subsection puts into context the quantitative results extracted from data regarding the research question about what frames journalists use to portray migration by including a qualitative analysis of the information shown in the previous chapter.

The first characteristic studied is the main topic of the article concerning migration. In the period of December 2019, we learned that *ABC* focused mainly on two main topics that appeared more often than any other one: good actions carried out by a migrant and offences committed to migrants. In relation to good actions performed by migrants, this topic is clearly influenced by the story of Gorgui, the person who saved a disabled person and his dog from fire by climbing into a burning house. The heroic act called for the attention of the Ministry of Interior, who asked for the grant of Spanish citizenship for Gorgui. Nevertheless, we also learned that the articles covering the story presented journalistic deficiencies. There is another mention of a different heroic act

accomplished by a migrant who confronted a terrorist in London. In the article, the person is called “Polish migrant” at one point and later “Londoner citizen of Polish origin”, continuing the trend to accept migrants into the receiving country when they display a heroic action. The last story with this topic is related to Mbappé, the multimillionaire football player whose migrant origins are barely mentioned in the text.

About offences committed to migrants, *ABC* published different articles in which migrants are maltreated, abandoned or dead by the negligence of the administration. We can find the story of a child who died of fever, unattended while being in custody in the United States (ABC204), as well as an article about a migrant who died while picking fruit and whose body was abandoned at the entrance of a hospital (ABC214, ABC230), a migrant who died after somebody set on fire the shanty camp where he was sleeping (ABC221, ABC224) and a migrant who was stabbed by his employer while picking fruit (ABC230). In contrast to the successful stories, there is no mention of granting nationality to any of the survivors of these incidents and their foreign nationality is clearly stated.

These articles with offences committed to migrants have another characteristic in common. All of them are framed under a chaos framework under the Cynefin perspective. The chaos frame is applied when a story does not show a cause-and-effect relation, pondering a crisis response by enacting tools. Most of the stories of *ABC* in this period, almost half of them, were categorized under this chaos frame, a ratio higher than any other newspaper studied at any period. Besides the articles already mentioned, other stories containing a chaos frame depicted terrorist attacks in Great Britain and Saudi Arabia (ABC203, ABC229), a rescued immigrant who wanted to get to Cadiz riding a float (ABC219), a body of a dead person, assumed to be a migrant, who appeared floating near the coast of Ceuta (ABC225), the massive arrival of underage migrants without their parents (ABC226, ABC227), and massive arrivals of migrants to Canary Islands (ABC232). All of these articles have a common underlying topic of relating migration to disorder, confusion, disarray, alarm and panic.

In relation to the ethical frames related to immigration controls identified in *ABC* during this period, the most common one was public security, which experienced a significant rise from 2017. The ethical frame regarding public security is used when an article justifies, directly or indirectly, migration controls to manage a public threat for the

stability of the society. An example of this type of articles can be found in ABC222, describing the reaction of the city hall of the village where a migrant died while picking fruit without a contract and whose body was abandoned by his employer. The response of the city hall to the incident was to publish a statement warning other migrants that the village was not a “hosting municipality” and hiring more local police so the neighbours would feel safer. Other articles showing a clear unwelcoming message towards migrations are the ones narrating the complaint of the Government of Andalusia about the abundance of unaccompanied foreign minors (ABC226 and ABC227), making the situation difficult to handle and requesting the national government for more funds to deal with the “emergency”.

The second most used ethical frame in this period of 2019 for *ABC* was also the second most used in the period of 2017 by the same newspaper, the consequentialist frame. This type of frame evaluates migration under the prism of utilitarianism concerning the welfare of the majority. Some of the articles exemplifying this ethical frame are the ones presenting migrants performing heroic acts, such as the rescue of a disabled person from a fire by a migrant (ABC206, ABC207, ABC208, ABC209, ABC211) or the reaction from a migrant against a terrorist in London (ABC203).

Regarding the identification of topic frames in discussions about migrants, there is a dichotomy in the most common frames found in this period, being migrants as a source of conflict, and migrants associated with development, the two most common frames selected by *ABC* during this period of 2019 when writing about migrants. The story about unaccompanied foreigner minors had a clear impact on the representation of migration as a source of conflict. The story of Gorgui and his heroic act, on the other side, also influenced the results. Nevertheless, it is relevant to remind that the journalistic coverage of the story of Gorgui lacked the direct involvement of *ABC* in the construction of the story, reproducing the information already published by news agencies. By contrast, the stories regarding “menas” showed an apparent involvement of *ABC*, activating resources to interview politicians and unaccompanied foreigner minors personally.

When studying the broader evaluative character of the main event, we learned that articles with a positive representation of migration grew in 2019 in relation to 2017, when

they were merely ten per cent of the total. In 2019 the number raised to almost thirty per cent, thanks to stories such as the one from Gorgui or the Polish migrant confronting a terrorist in London (ABC203). In this last article, the story contains a direct quote of the mayor of London, Sadiq Khan, expressing that one of the best things of his city is the diversity, including the citizens of the European Union, in a statement in the middle of the aftermath of the results of Brexit. Nevertheless, the tendency in *ABC* is consistent with the rest of the newspapers studied, as it will be shown in the following section, and most of the articles published during this period of 2019 contained a negative perspective of the event about migration, with stories such as the abundance of unaccompanied foreign minors having a clear impact in the results.

4.3.4. The treatment of sources

The current section will add a qualitative perspective to the answer to the questions regarding whether journalists prioritise some sources over others and if migrants are a source of information about themselves. First, it is imperative to show the type of sources used in the articles about migration. We already know that, quantitatively, journalists were used in every article of this period as a source of information and, in most cases, as the main source. This result of 2019 is coincident with the one from 2017. Another similar finding is the low incidence of migrants as a source of information in migration stories. In the period of 2019, it was lower than in 2017, not reaching even seven per cent of the total.

The prevalence of journalists over migrants as a source has a visible impact on the perspective of the information. In the three articles in which migrants are included as a source, it is possible to find a more personal view about migrants. For instance, we learned that Gorgui, the person who saved a disabled person from a burning apartment, wishes to be a truck driver to improve the lives of his wife and his young daughter (ABC209). We also learned that teenagers with foreign roots could also be brilliant students in school (ABC220), and even “menas”, who are often represented as an unidentified gang, are presented as successful children when including interviews with particular children. The three stories, including migration as a source, are an exception in the covering of *ABC* in this period. It is more common to find stories where migrants are not taken into account as part of the information, even in cases when it would have been possible and necessary

according to deontological reasons, such as the article about a migrant who was stabbed by his employer while working for him (ABC231). In this case, comments from the migrant are missing even though the migrant appears in the picture of the article, and it seems possible to be contacted by the journalist since the picture suggests that he is not trying to hide his identity.

Another example of an article that would have required a deeper journalistic covering is the case of a child who died of fever while being in custody by the border patrol in the United States. *ABC* reproduced the information of a news agency, EFE, and it limited the coverage to embedding a video of the agonizing child who died on the concrete of the cell after vomiting and stumbling around the small jail-alike room. The only input of *ABC* in this article was to add tags for the story, being the following: “Estados Unidos”, “Guatemala”, “Inmigración ilegal”, “Gripe”⁴⁵. It is supposed that *ABC* included the tag “flu” because the child died of this disease. In any case, there is not a journalistic reason to categorize this event in the same section of other common “flu” stories since the child died because of the negligence of the supervisors. Moreover, the categorization of illegal migration raises concerns since the legal status of the child is not clear in the information.

Other sources, such as religious authorities, were not taken into account in this period. The Catholic Pope appeared only once in a short piece, denouncing the injustice made to those rejected and die at sea (ABC217).

Mentioning the name of the source is another way to show the investment of the newspaper in the reported story and the importance given to the source. *ABC* published 13 signed articles containing the name of the journalist who wrote the piece. The rest of the 31 were not signed (for instance, ABC208, ABC209 and ABC211, about Gorgui), or they were signed by news agencies such as EFE (for example, ABC204, about the child who died in custody in the US) or EP (as in ABC205, about unaccompanied foreign minors) or they were signed with initials (ABC206, ABC207, ABC218, ABC219, ABC221, ABC224, ABC226, ABC227). All the articles lacking a full signature have in common that they are shorter than the average. Moreover, they have news agencies as

⁴⁵ “United States”, “Guatemala”, “Illegal immigration”, “Flu”.

one of the primary sources, when not as the only one, reproducing the information already written by an agency. The input of *ABC* in these cases was limited to selecting the picture and the tags of the story.

For instance, ABC219, which is the story about the rescue of a person who was trying to cross the Strait of Gibraltar just wearing a float. This article is signed by S.A. It has less than 200 words, and it is quoted that the information is taken from EFE, a news agency. The image selected to illustrate the piece is not from this incident, but from a previous rescue of migrants in the Strait, according to the caption, in an undated time. The attribution of the picture is not given to the photographer but *ABC*. The tags selected for this story are Cádiz, Algeciras, Ceuta, Cádiz (Provincia), Inmigrantes, Inmigración, Pateras. The selection of the word “pateras” as a tag reaffirms the already described relation of this type of boat with the assumed idea of irregular migration, even in this story in which there were no “pateras” involved, but a float.

Another noteworthy example of the scarce contribution that *ABC* puts in elaborating particular articles related to migration is ABC229. The article covers an incident in which a man is sentenced to the death penalty for stabbing Spanish actors during a performance in Saudi Arabia. The source of this article is EFE, a Spanish news agency, which is already quoting a local Saudi newspaper. Therefore, the information available for the reader in this article has been filtered three times by different outlets. Two of them, EFE and *ABC*, did not have direct contact with the sources, and it is not possible to know how reliable the Saudi newspaper is. The Saudi newspaper designated the responsibility of the attack as an “illegal migrant” from Yemen, and *ABC* reproduced this designation, translating the issue of representation created by the Saudi newspaper. The article is particularly short, less than 400 words, and it is illustrated with a picture that is not related to the incident, showing a group of people with Arab traits into a cell with bars. The author of the picture is not stated, and it lacks a caption. The information is descriptive, and there is a lack of analysis. This result fits with the general type of information produced by journalists as a source in this period by *ABC*, which is mainly non-analytical. In more than ninety per cent of articles, the information offers details about the incident without further analysis or opinion. The statistics in this period are also scarce.

The last question to be taken into account in this section is whether journalists are reproducing arguments from politicians trying to differentiate from their political opponents by treating migration. To begin with the answer, it is relevant to notice that *ABC* was consistent in both periods of 2017 and 2019 in regards to the use of sources from the government, who were present in a third of the articles and, in every case, the name of the governmental source was stated. Politicians from the opposition, by contrast, were merely used in the period of 2019 and totally absent in 2017. A particularity of the intervention of members from the ruling party as a source is that they gave their opinion in 75 per cent of the cases, a similar percentage to the previous period. As a result, the most common opinion published in *ABC* was given by politicians from the ruling party. Members from the ruling party are often used as the primary source and, in most cases, quoted instead of migrants, even in cases where the information from migrants could be more relevant for the story than the one provided by the politicians, as seen, for instance, in ABC231. This article presents the story of an immigrant shelter that has accommodated 1100 temporary workers since the beginning of the season. In this article, we can find comments from the counsellor for social policies and the territorial delegate for equality, both from the conservative ruling party in Andalusia. Both politicians prayed on the excellent state of the facilities and an “increasingly personalized and humane” treatment that migrants receive in this facility. There are no comments, though, from any of the 1,100 temporary workers who used the facility and the only chance to see them is in the blurry picture accompanying the article, in which there is a long shot of a person leaving the venue while another person is entering. By doing this, *ABC* is implementing a strategy of intensification of politicians and mitigation of migrants. The caption of the picture is not describing the image but states that the immigrant service centre opened on November 22. The picture is not, once again, signed by a person but by *ABC*.

Regarding the particular scope of the research question about politicians trying to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration, we learned in the analysis of the ethical frames in discussions of immigration controls that arguments about identity differentiation were similar from 2017 to 2019, as well as the topic frame of contrasting the treatment of migrants to other actors. It is relevant to remember that December 2017 was a politically turbulent month, with the regional elections in Catalonia being extraordinarily called. Therefore, the results do not show a tight correlation between elections and the use of this type of frames, including arguments treating migration with

the political purpose of differentiating one party from the antagonist. In this case of 2019, the growth of the identity differentiation frame is related to the debate about “menas”, and the articles published reproducing arguments of the regional Government of Andalusia, from the conservative party, denouncing the national government, from the progressive party, for not giving enough resources to Andalusia to deal with the “problem” of the “menas”, as seen in ABC226 and ABC227. In any case, the fact that government sources have a remarkable influence on the information of *ABC* in both periods of 2017 and 2019 is not because of the politicians, but due to the editors and journalists of *ABC* who decided to favour the interventions of politicians over other type of sources, specifically migrants, who played a residual role as a producer of the information in articles about migration in *ABC*.

4.4. The representation of migration in *El País* during a context of elections

4.4.1. The portrayal of migrants

This section will focus on how migrants are portrayed in the media in a receiving country, in this case, Spain. We already know from the previous section that the most common way to refer to migration is the word “inmigrante”. However, an analysis of the content of the articles of *El País* in this period of 2017 reveals that “inmigrante” is often accompanied by other correlated words, which are modifying the meaning of the main concept. For instance, in many cases, *El País* used words that transform migrants into passive actor. For instance, migrants are often related to rescues, death and conflict, as in the designations “rescued migrants”, “drown migrants” and “jailed migrants”. This practice situates the main character of the story in a subordinate position and diminishes their agency, applying the issue of discourses.

An example of this practice is found in EP114. This article is titled “Un muerto y 113 rescatados en tres pateras en las costas andaluzas”⁴⁶. Even from the start, in the title, there is no mention of the active role of the migrant, who is directly dead or rescued, without any other correlated word. The text is not signed and contains barely 350 words, a significantly small piece of information. The reference to “patera” is also present in the

⁴⁶ “One dead and 113 rescued in three boats on the Andalusian coast” (EP114)

title. “Pateras” is the word in Spanish to refer to the flimsy dinghy that migrants, asylum seekers and refugees often take to try to cross the sea from Africa to Spain. It was initially a boat for fishers. However, nowadays, it is only known by the general public concerning migration. The use of “patera” activates the assumed representation, which will be studied later in this chapter. By adding the word “pateras”, the reader understands that the occupants of the boats are not Europeans, and, per se, the reader is not surprised by the short length of the article, even though there is a dead person involved.

The content of the article shows more enlightening journalistic practices concerning this topic. For example, in the sentence “A lo largo de esta mañana han sido localizadas tres embarcaciones, dos de las cuales fueron interceptadas a unas cinco millas al oeste de la isla de Alborán”⁴⁷, we can observe how the story does not focus on the people, but on the boats. The word “embarcación” is used to refer to the assumed occupants of the boat in an exercise of personification of an object and, therefore a subtraction of the agency of migrants. Moreover, the boats were not rescued, as it would happen in a situation when a person is drowning, but intercepted, even though one of the boats was sinking: “Una de ellas [las pateras] estaba a la deriva y semihundida y con algunos de sus ocupantes”⁴⁸. This is an example of how *El País* implements the strategy of nomination.

The word “interceptar” is more often related to crime in Spanish, generally to drug smuggling. The journalist insists in this practice later in the text by adding “Con la interceptación de una tercera embarcación”⁴⁹. Migrants in this article are constantly shown as a passive actor and referred to by an object which is actually doing the main action: “Dos de las pateras transportaban a un total de 69 personas, 15 de ellas mujeres”⁵⁰, as if the boats would have decision power.

It is also noteworthy how the fact that somebody died is presented late in the text, following an approach that is not common to basic practices of Journalism, in which the most relevant part of the information must be situated in the first part of the story. In this

⁴⁷ “Throughout this morning three boats have been located, two of which were intercepted about five miles west of the island of Alboran” (EP114)

⁴⁸ “One of them [the boats] was adrift and semi-sunk and with some of its occupants” (EP114)

⁴⁹ “With the interception of a third vessel” (EP114)

⁵⁰ “Two of the boats carried a total of 69 people, 15 of them women” (EP114)

case, it is seen how *El País* applied the strategy of argumentation, by writing about the death of an occupant of the boat after it has informed about the interceptions of the boats, at the end of a very long sentence: “Otro inmigrante más presentaba un mal estado de salud en el momento del rescate, por lo que se le practicaron maniobras de reanimación cardiopulmonar para tratar de mantenerlo con vida aunque, finalmente, falleció”⁵¹. The way of describing the facts is closer to a police record than to a journalistic piece (“finalmente, falleció”). A journalistic piece of information would have taken into account primarily that a person died, and this information would have occupied the main focus of the story, presenting it early in the body of the text, preferably in the first paragraph. It is especially noteworthy the fact that we do not know anything about the person who died. We can assume that he might be a man because of the masculine form in the sentence “uno de los ocupantes”, but the information does not cover who he was, such as his name, age or origin. Neither is explained why he died, limiting the reason to a “bad health state”, subtracting the attribution of responsibilities for his death.

The practice of personification of objects when referring to migration is common in *El País*, applying a strategy of nomination. For example, *El País* used this technique again in EP109, when saying that “Salvamento Marítimo ha auxiliado a tres pateras, a bordo de una viajaban ocho menores”⁵². Again, it is not possible to “help” a boat in a literal way. The journalist uses an assumed metonymy, expecting that the reader will understand the figurative meaning of the word “patera” in this context, combining the implementation of the strategy of nomination with the issue of assumptions. Writing about objects instead of referring to people may have a direct impact on the way the reader approaches the story, as we have seen in the first chapter. It is presumably more difficult to empathize with migrants if readers are presented with stories about boats full of unnamed people as the main character of the story. In fact, as it was shown, most of the articles published by *El País* during this period lacked any reference to the name of any migrant in their content.

The passive role attributed to migrants is also common for *El País* during this period, and it is a way to apply the issue of representation. We can find this way of

⁵¹ “Another immigrant was in poor health at the time of the rescue, so cardiopulmonary resuscitation maneuvers were performed to try to keep him alive, although he eventually died” (EP114)

⁵² “Maritime Rescue has assisted three boats, eight minors were traveling aboard one” (EP109)

representing migrants in the articles shown already, but there are many other instances of this practice in other articles from the same period. For example, the article EP138 is titled “Hallado muerto un inmigrante en la cárcel de Archidona”⁵³. The story is presented using the passive voice and without a subject: somebody, an unknown person or entity, has found a dead migrant inside a jail. Once in the first paragraph, we learn that on the 20th of November, hundreds of migrants were temporarily located in a jail which was working as a provisional facility for foreigners. The journalist then tells that, in the morning of the 29th of December, one of these migrants was found dead in his cell. Police think that it could have been a suicide by hanging himself. The only information about this person given by the journalist is that he was 36 years old. Later in the text, we deduce that he was from Algeria by reading the following sentence: “En la cárcel han llegado a estar internados hasta 600 inmigrantes de origen argelino tras la llegada masiva a las costas de Murcia y Almería a finales de noviembre”⁵⁴. By looking at the date of the article, we deduce that the person spent more than a month in jail waiting for his situation to be cleared until he committed suicide in his cell, where he was sleeping alone. This information was not directly stated in the article. Moreover, in the story, we do not learn anything else about the main character of the news. The fact that the age of this person is known indicates that he was identified at the time of the writing of the article. Nevertheless, the main actor of the story remains unknown, playing a passive role. He is found already dead and without more context about why he killed himself. We do not know the living conditions in a facility that was designed for people who committed a crime and were judged and sentenced for that. We are not told the psychological or physical problems that this person could have had and why nobody noticed that he might be in a distressful situation that would put his life at risk; therefore, his suicide was not prevented. The situation of the people, more than 600 Algerians, who were still locked in this jail, remained undisclosed in this article. The limited number of sources used in the story indicates the low importance that the newspaper gave to the incident and the decision to tagged this article as “conflictos sociales”, social conflicts, which is an example of exacerbating the issue of difference.

⁵³ “Found dead an immigrant in Archidona prison” (EP138)

⁵⁴ “Up to 600 immigrants of Algerian origin have been interned in prison after the massive arrival on the coasts of Murcia and Almería at the end of November” (EP138)

Another challenging word to refer to migrants is a non-concrete noun: “flujo”, flow. This word represents a stream of people arriving uncontrollably to the country, in a metaphor that links migration to an inanimate natural phenomenon that represents an imminent threat, which proves the implementation of the issue of discourses and the strategy of nomination. In this period, it has been used on several occasions in relation to migration. For instance, in EP103, the journalist writes “flujo global de inmigrantes”⁵⁵ when informing Donald Trump’s decision to leave an agreement of the United Nations about migration. It is noteworthy that the election of words is made by the author, Pablo de Llano, and not by Donald Trump. The journalist also falls into the imprecise practice to write in the same sentence about migrants and refugees without any distinction by using the designation “movimientos migratorios y de refugiados”⁵⁶. The article EP106 also makes a reference to migration flows, by quoting the National Bank of Spain: “las cuatro mayores economías europeas continentales (Alemania, España, Francia e Italia) ‘acapararían el mayor flujo de inmigrantes entre los países desarrollados’”⁵⁷, relating migratory flows with massive arrivals of migrants and, therefore, representing a clear example of how the issue of speech functions is implemented. Other articles in which we can find references to flows are EP107, “inevitabilidad de los flujos migratorios”⁵⁸, and EP145, “los flujos en los países de origen”⁵⁹.

The article EP145 explains the position of the French President Emmanuel Macron, and it is paradigmatic in the profusion of similes related to struggles and the use of historical assumptions to simplify the text. It is a long article of more than 1200 words written by a prominent journalist of *El País*, Marc Bassets, the correspondent of *El País* in France. The use of historical assumptions can be found when the author writes about the refugee “crisis” of 2014 without explaining the context. Bassets expects readers will know the reference and will understand the circumstances of the so-called crisis. The wording escalates in the tags, where the article is categorized as “conflict”. Moreover, the most memorable way to represent migrants is contained in this article by using the noun “miseria”, misery, quoting Macron: “Yo no puedo dar papeles a todas las personas que

⁵⁵ “global flow of immigrants” (EP103)

⁵⁶ “migratory and refugee movements” (EP103)

⁵⁷ “The four largest continental European economies (Germany, Spain, France and Italy) would account for the largest flow of immigrants among developed countries” (EP106)

⁵⁸ “inevitability of migratory flows” (EP107)

⁵⁹ “flows in countries of origin” (EP145)

no tienen’, dijo recientemente el presidente. ‘No podemos acoger toda la miseria del mundo, como decía Michel Rocard’, añadió, citando una frase célebre de quien fue primer ministro socialista en los años ochenta, y uno de los mentores de Macron”⁶⁰. After that, the author explains that Macron wants to control the flows, in reference to stopping migration from arriving to France: “Prevé un mayor control de los flujos en los países de origen y una política de ayuda al desarrollo más eficaz; una mejora de la acogida a los recién llegados”⁶¹. The term “flujos” is still used one more time in this article by an expert on migration: “las necesidades de mano de obra determinarían los flujos de inmigrantes”⁶². This article is also an example of how the strategy of perspectivization is implemented since we can find direct speeches in quotation marks from politicians, but there are no direct or indirect comments from migrants.

Another term linked to imminent threats related to nature is the word “avalancha”, avalanche, used as a hyperbole to refer to many migrants arriving in Spain in a short period of time. This hyperbole is found in the article EP129, linking “economic migration” and asylum seekers: “Las estadísticas lo confirman: a la migración económica se ha sumado la avalancha de solicitudes de asilo procedentes de Latinoamérica”⁶³. There is no definition made by the author about what is considered to be “economic migration” and what type of migrants qualified to be considered economical. There is no explanation neither about what the reader should understand by a migrant who is not economical. As the previous one shown above, this article also writes about the “refugee crisis”, but the year selected for the refugee crisis is not 2014, as it happened in the previous article, but in 2015. Furthermore, there is no further explanation about what this crisis is about, besides including the noun refugees in it. The only context for the reference to a “refugee crisis” is another simile related to armed conflicts, a word associated with an explosion: “el estallido de la crisis de los refugiados de 2015”⁶⁴.

⁶⁰ “‘I cannot give papers to all the people who don’t have them”, the President said recently. ‘We cannot take in all the misery in the world, as Michel Rocard used to say’, he added, citing a famous phrase from the former socialist prime minister in the eighties, and one of Macron’s mentors” (EP145)

⁶¹ “It provides for a greater control of flows in the countries of origin and a more effective development aid policy; an improvement in the reception of newcomers” (EP145)

⁶² “Labour needs would determine the flow of immigrants” (EP145)

⁶³ “The statistics confirm it: economic migration has been joined by the avalanche of asylum applications from Latin America” (EP129)

⁶⁴ “The explosion of the refugee crisis of 2015”

Concerning another typical way to refer to migrants by *El País* during this period, we could see in the previous chapter that this newspaper often used the term “inmigración”, which is more general than “inmigrante”, and it refers to a concept rather than a person, in another example of the implementation of the strategy of perspectivization. In addition to that, the most common correlated word with “inmigración” is “irregular”, with the outer inferences of this term. The interchangeable use of “irregular” and “ilegal” concerning migration and the connotation that these words might have, is a topic of debate in this chapter.

The correlated word “ilegal” is not, in fact, common in *El País*, even though it is possible to find it in a few articles such as EP124. This article is an opinion piece against the politics of Donald Trump. In the text, the journalist writes about how Trump is favouring the wealthy population by cutting their taxes and, further in the article, is trying to highlight how Trump is putting pressure on migrants. However, it is noteworthy that the writer decides to use the word illegal to refer to migration: “Hasta ahora Trump ha dicho mucho y hecho poco. Ciertamente les ha fastidiado la vida a los inmigrantes ilegales, a los dreamers y a los que aspiraban a establecerse legalmente en Estados Unidos o reunificarse con los familiares que ya están allí”⁶⁵. The writer is mirroring the favourite term used by Trump when talking about migrants who enter into the US without permits, “illegal”, as we can see in the article EP125, which quotes directly the Trump administration: “Aseguraremos nuestra frontera con la construcción de un muro. La inmigración ilegal crea problemas económicos, daña a los trabajadores americanos, presenta riesgos para la seguridad pública y enriquece a los traficantes de personas y otras bandas”⁶⁶. The same article contrasted the used of “illegal migration” by the Trump administration with the Obama administration, stating that the presidency of Barack Obama did not use the words “inmigración ilegal” in their official records.

The next topic of analysis in this section is the type of collective emphasized. In this period, *El País* put the focus on immigrants rather than refugees or asylum seekers.

⁶⁵ “So far Trump has said a lot and done little. It is true that he has screwed up the lives of illegal immigrants, dreamers and those who aspired to settle legally in the United States or reunite with relatives who are already there” (EP124)

⁶⁶ “We will secure our border with the construction of a wall. Illegal immigration creates economic problems, harms American workers, poses risks to public safety, and enriches human traffickers and other gangs” (EP125)

The analysis of the content of the corpus shows that journalists are assuming that people arriving in Spain are migrants and not refugees or asylum seekers, even when there is no proof to sustain this claim. *El País* often labelled people as migrants without further consideration of their legal status. For instance, the article EP112 is clear on this sense because it includes several pictures of Rohingya children playing with objects taken from the garbage (see images 7, 8 and 9 in annex 2). The text states these children are playing in a refugee camp but, even though they are living in this place, they are still considered migrants: “El niño migratorio rohingya Mohammad Shahed, de 4 años, sostiene una batería con la que estaba jugando en el campo de refugiados de Thankhali en Cox’s Bazar”⁶⁷. The Rohingya people were forcefully displaced from their native countries. Given the circumstances, it seems more accurate and objectively correct to refer to this child as a refugee rather than a migrant. This practice is another instance of the implementation of the issue of discourses and the strategy of nomination.

The habit of referring to people as migrants by default without knowing the legal status or intentions to apply for a refugee visa is a common practice in *El País*. It can also be found when referred to minors, as seen in the previous example or in the article EP130, which tells the story of a child from Morocco who got caught by police trying to enter into Spain hidden under a bus, in a hidden spot that put his life in danger. The opening word of the article is “Inmigración”. This word also appears in the tags. The malpractice to identify migrants with people who could be refugees or asylum seekers is addressed by the newspaper in EP145: “dos conceptos —inmigrantes y refugiados— distintos pero que con frecuencia se confunden y engloban en las mismas políticas. La gran diferencia es que los refugiados tienen derecho a una protección legal”⁶⁸. In this case, the journalist criticizes the misuse of this term by French President Emmanuel Macron, but it does not address cases when journalists are not making the distinction, which tends to be the general custom in most of the articles. Moreover, the journalist says that the biggest difference between immigrants and refugees is that refugees have the right to legal protection, which is inaccurate. Immigrants also have legal protection in the country where they reside, even if they do it without a permit. The author, when writing about

⁶⁷ “Rohingya migrant boy Mohammad Shahed, 4, holds a battery he was playing with in Thankhali refugee camp in Cox’s Bazar” (EP112)

⁶⁸ “two concepts —immigrants and refugees— different but often confused and encompassed in the same policies. The big difference is that refugees have the right to legal protection” (EP145)

“immigrants”, is referring to “migrants who entered irregularly in the country”, using a diluted expression linked to the strategy of mitigation. However, migrants who enter irregularly in the country also have the right to legal protection, as explained in this publication by the Council of Europe: “irregular migration is not a criminal act, and irregular migrants also enjoy certain rights under international law, which need to be respected” (Commissioner for Human Rights, 2020: 1). The Council of Europe also published in a report titled “Lives saved. Rights protected”, that “for those people who do not seek international protection, member states should still ensure individual identification and provide an opportunity to put forward reasons why they should not be returned, in order to meet their obligations with regard to the prohibition of collective expulsion” (Commissioner for Human Rights, 2019: 35).

Another relevant way to refer to migrants in *El País* is related to children, the terms “menor” and “niño”, both in masculine, feminine, singular and plural. These words are in the top ten of most frequent ways to name migrants, and together they will be the fourth most frequent way to refer to migration, so they have an essential role in the strategy of nomination in *El País*. The correlated words linked to children refer to the country of origin, the most common one being Sub-Saharan children, in the over-elaborate expression “niño menor de origen subsahariano”⁶⁹, as seen in EP108. This article, written by a news agency, describes how a child from Guinea tried to enter Melilla hidden inside the dashboard of a car, and he showed symptoms of disorientation when apprehended. The only source of information is the Spanish law enforcement agency Guardia Civil. The pictures of the article show the child still inside the dashboard, half-naked and with his face blurred. There is no information about what happened with the child after he was apprehended and the child was not interviewed for the article. Therefore, we do not have information about his motivations to risk his life trying to cross the border. The newspaper applied the issue of intertextuality by excluding his voice and including the one from Guardia Civil as the primary provider of information.

Most of the articles including immigrant children have negative attributions included in the main topic of the event. For instance, EP130 describes a similar incident to EP108, in which a minor was discovered hiding under a bus, trying to enter the port of

⁶⁹ “minor child of sub-Saharan origin” (EP108)

Tarifa. The child was almost trapped in a small space, and he had difficulties getting out of the spot. All the sequence of his attempt to get out from under the bus was filmed by the National Police of Spain, the only source of information. There is no information about what will happen with the child in the near future, and there are no comments from him. Again, we do not have personal information about the child that would help us understand why he is risking his life trying to enter into Spain.

Other articles including children are also distressing, and they, as well, lack essential information about the children involved in the event in the implementation of the issue of social events related to this actor. We can find more stories including underage migrants in EP109, about three boats with migrants trying to arrive in Spain, which were “rescued” during one night. Other examples are EP112, telling the story of Rohingya children playing with the garbage on a refugee camp, and EP138, the story of a jail used to imprison 600 people from Algeria who tried to enter Spain irregularly, including seven under age Algerians.

Regarding the origin of the migrant, there are some considerations to point out. The first one is the relation between the most mentioned nationalities and the reality. The most common nationality mentioned in *El País* during this period is Morocco, which matches the numbers from the most common nationality among foreigners living in Spain (INE:2019). However, the second group of the population by country living in Spain, Romanians, is not as often represented, showing a case of a strategy of mitigation. The numbers are even more mismatched if we look into the specific region of migrants quoted in the articles. In this case, the most common region specified in the articles is, by far, Sub-Saharan Africa. It seems the “Sub-Saharan origin” has been used as an assumption by journalists based on the colour of the skin of the person, in a clear example of the application of the issue of assumptions. In many cases, the only information provided about migrants is that they are Sub-Saharans, without further data by any other personal identification, besides showing a picture of black people in a boat, as it happened, for instance, in the article EP114: “Salvamento Marítimo ha rescatado en las inmediaciones de la isla de Alborán a 113 personas de origen subsahariano que viajaban en tres pateras”⁷⁰. The high number of articles published about Sub-Saharans does not match the

⁷⁰ “Maritime Rescue has rescued 113 people of sub-Saharan origin who were traveling in three boats in the vicinity of the island of Alboran” (EP114)

representation by this population in Spain since there is not any single country from this part of the world among the first 15 nationalities living in Spain (INE, 2019). *El País*, therefore, is applying a strategy of intensification on this origin by overrepresenting them in the articles about migration and therefore influencing the general discourse about migration.

Another relevant point linked to overrepresentation is that Muslims are the only religion mentioned when talking about migration in Spain. This is a common practice by all the newspapers studied. The situation is intensified because there is a tendency to link Islam to terrorism, in an example of implementation of the issue of difference. This happened, for instance, in the article EP127: “El atacante era un inmigrante uzbeko, Sayfullo Saipov, que actuó en nombre de ISIS”⁷¹. The same migrant is referred to as a native from California in the headline of the article, but his roots from Uzbekistan are mentioned in the body of the text, linked to the noun “migrant” and preceding the fact that he was acting on behalf of ISIS.

The debate about the nationality of migrants and whether they are considered foreigners or Spaniards is raised in the article EP104. This is a well-covered story about the identity of people whose parents arrive in Spain as migrants and a paradigmatic and yet rare example of how migrants can benefit positively from the issue of representation when they are included as a source. This article gives space to people born in Spain whose parents came from China decades ago. In this case, we can find the declaration of one of the sources, Quan Zhou, who explains that people in the street were calling her “Chinese” as an insult: “Me miraban de forma extraña, me perseguían por la calle o me decían china, pero con asco”⁷². We can read that, when asked, people who are born in Spain from migrants do not consider themselves foreigners, even though media tend to refer to them like that. This is a very relevant point that it can be found, for example, in the following comment: “Yi Yi Zhang, un camarero de 22 años, confiesa sentirse más español que chino, aunque los demás no lo consideren como tal”⁷³. Another source from this article gives a clear vision about this debate: “Los medios dan una visión muy simplista de la

⁷¹ “The attacker was an Uzbek immigrant, Sayfullo Saipov, who acted on behalf of ISIS” (EP127)

⁷² “They looked at me strangely, chased me down the street or called me Chinese, but with disgust” (EP104)

⁷³ “Yi Yi Zhang, a 22-year-old waiter, confesses that he feels more Spanish than Chinese, although others do not consider him as such” (EP104)

comunidad asiática’, añade la periodista Susana Ye”⁷⁴. This article, one of the few examples in which sources from the migrant community are given space to express themselves, shows that there are migrants and descendants of migrants who do not want to be referred to by the nationality of their parents or as migrants. Media should be aware of this reality in order to match the representation of migrants in the articles with the self-representation that migrants have about themselves, following the advice of another source: “Susana Ye añade: ‘Es hora de que nos dejen de ver como a una masa uniforme y nos empiecen a ver como individuos’”⁷⁵.

With this point, in this subsection, we have answered qualitatively the question regarding how migrants are portrayed in the media in a receiving country, in this case, Spain, which was set as the main question of the investigation. However, the answer to this question cannot be fully completed without addressing the auxiliary questions. The following section will continue this task.

4.4.2. The use of public memories and assumptions

This section will consider the auxiliary question about the extent to which *El País* used public memories and historical assumptions to represent migrants. As we saw in the previous section, the assumptions made by journalists when writing news are closely related to the election of words to refer to migrants. An example is the term “patera”, which is often a substitute for “people from Africa trying to enter irregularly in Spain by boat who often die in the attempt”. Readers understand this convention because they remember other instances in which this concept has been used, proving that the issue of assumptions is well established by media in this field. As a result, there is a public memory of the word “patera” that readers associate in their minds with pictures, videos and texts from other news published in the past. The journalist does need to elaborate more in order to be understood, which is saving space, time and effort. However, this representation directly affects the oversimplification of a reality related to humans risking their lives.

⁷⁴ ““The media give a very simplistic view of the Asian community’, adds journalist Susana Ye” (EP104)

⁷⁵ “Susana Ye adds: ‘it is time for them to stop seeing us as a uniform mass and begin to see us as individuals’” (EP104)

In the quantitative section of this investigation, it was shown how often journalists work with any kind of assumption linked to the past representation. We learned that *El País*, during the period of December 2017, decided to assume the past representation more often than not. For instance, the article EP109 repeats a pattern that we have already studied previously in other articles from *El País*, using the term “patera” as a metonymy to refer to the occupants of a boat. The subtitle of the story already introduces this rhetorical construction, by saying “Salvamento Marítimo ha auxiliado a tres pateras, a bordo de una viajaban ocho menores”⁷⁶. One more time, we can read how Sea Rescue is helping three boats, and we have to understand the assumption, using our public memory, that they are helping people inside the boats. The title of the article does not use the word “pateras”, but it is falling under another assumption, to call people trying to enter by boat irregularly into Spain by the name “migrant” before knowing for sure whether they are refugees or asylum seekers: “Rescatados 100 inmigrantes en tres pateras en el Estrecho”⁷⁷. The journalist is appealing to the public memory of the readers to imagine these travellers as migrants and not refugees, which triggers a different reaction towards the arrival of these people, and is using the passive voice to do so, subtracting their agency.

The first sentence in the article EP109 proposes another assumption: “Otra madrugada aciaga en el Estrecho de Gibraltar en un 2017 que será recordado por el fuerte incremento de la llegada de pateras a España”⁷⁸. The journalist assumes that the previous night was mournful in the Strait of Gibraltar because there have been three boats arriving irregularly into Spain. There is no mention in the whole article about the number of deaths provoked by this risky way of travelling, so the reader is fed with the assumption that the night was mournful because many boats were arriving in Spain in a “complicated” year, which is going to be remembered for the increased in the arrival of “pateras”: “Este año 2017 está siendo especialmente complicado tanto en el Estrecho como el Mar de Alborán”⁷⁹.

⁷⁶ “Maritime Rescue has assisted three boats, eight minors were traveling aboard one” (EP109)

⁷⁷ “Rescued 100 immigrants in three boats in the Strait” (EP109)

⁷⁸ “Another dark morning in the Strait of Gibraltar in 2017 that will be remembered for the strong increase in the arrival of boats to Spain” (EP109)

⁷⁹ “This year 2017 is being especially complicated both in the Strait and the Alboran Sea” (EP109)

The pattern of assuming a simplified representation of migrants is typical throughout the period. Examples of articles proposing a different representation are not usual. An exemption to this pattern is presented by the article EP144, titled “Tomar conciencia”⁸⁰. The source of this article is a philosopher, Adela Cortina, who writes about the social construction of migrants. She points out that the assumed representation of migration is linked to poverty. For her, refugees and immigrants are treated with hostility, but not because they are foreigners, but because they are poor: “Los refugiados e inmigrantes son tratados con hostilidad, pero no por ser extranjeros, sino por ser pobres”⁸¹. Other foreigners, such as tourists coming to Spain, are well received because they have money. The author tries to include a new word in the dictionary, “aporafobia”, referring to the action of despising poverty. The philosopher considers that if an unhealthy social construction is set without being recognized, it functions as an ideology that secretly exercises its domination. By that, this author points out one of the most problematic consequences of assuming the representation of migrants in the articles without further context or explanation.

Another article, EP136, is a suitable example of providing context to the representation about people using “pateras” to travel into Spain by sea. The author reminds that, in the 1950s, Latin America received “pateras” full of “illegal immigrants” from Canary Islands, a region of Spain, and other risky Spanish sailors: “En los años cincuenta, América Latina recibía pateras llenas de “inmigrantes ilegales” canarios y otros arriesgados navegantes españoles”⁸².

4.4.3. The use of frames to portray migration

Using particular words or appealing to a public memory are two ways to frame a story. In this subsection, the quantitative results about framing will be matched with a qualitative analysis of selected articles in order to further our answer for the secondary research question about what frames journalists are using to portray migration.

⁸⁰ “Become aware” (EP144)

⁸¹ Refugees and immigrants are treated with hostility, but not because they are foreigners, but because they are poor (EP144)

⁸² In the 1950s, Latin America received boats full of “illegal immigrants” from the Canary Islands and other risky Spanish sailors” (EP136)

Regarding the main topic related to migration, in the previous chapter, we found out that one of the most common topics for *El País* in December 2017 was related to border control and rescue operations. We discovered a series of very similar articles about this topic, as we can see by reading the titles of numerous stories. For instance, “Rescatados 100 inmigrantes en tres pateras en el Estrecho” (EP109), “Un muerto y 113 rescatados en tres pateras en las costas andaluzas” (EP114), “Rescatados en aguas de Melilla 21 inmigrantes obligados a saltar al mar” (EP126), “Rescatado en Tarifa un menor marroquí que viajaba en los bajos de un autobús” (EP130)⁸³. All these titles have a very similar style of writing, in which a passive voice is opening the sentence, leaving the migrants as recipients of the action performed by an unidentified entity, applying the issue of representation. In addition to the similarities shown in the titles, all these articles have other aspects in common: they are short stories, often without a signature, reproducing information from agencies and with a minimal number of sources. Moreover, they never quote migrants taking part in the incident, setting a strategy of perspectivization.

Another recurrent topic shown in the articles is the one concerning wrongdoing committed to migrants. In this case, a specific story has a special impact in the quantitative results of the period: the incident surrounding the temporary detention of 600 people coming from Algeria, who were put in a jail while waiting for their situation to be cleared. The story is one of the few examples in which there is a follow up about the original report. In one month, *El País* published three articles about this incident: EP113, EP138, EP143, in what is an example of the construction of the issue of a social event. The interest in this story grew over time. The story started by informing about a judge investigating whether the authorities provided false data in order to detain immigrants in a jail that was named as a detention centre (EP113). This is the only story about this topic published by *La Vanguardia* (LV137). *ABC* did not publish an article about this event. The following article about this incident published by *El País* informed about the person who committed suicide after being detained for a month in this jail (EP138). *ABC* did not report the suicide, neither by *La Vanguardia* during the period of study. Finally, *El País* published the article EP143, including information from one of the inmates of the jail, denouncing the living conditions in the jail and how they felt constantly humiliated:

⁸³ “Rescued 100 immigrants in three boats in the Strait” (EP109), “Rescued one dead and 113 in three boats on the Andalusian coast” (EP114), “Rescued in the waters of Melilla 21 immigrants forced to jump into the sea” (EP126), “Rescued in Tarifa a Moroccan minor who was traveling on the underside of a bus” (EP130)

“Cuando me registran, me desnudan y me menosprecian”, “en cuanto a la ducha, a veces sale fría y a veces caliente”, “es una humillación constante”⁸⁴. This last article is one of the few stories that included the perspective of a migrant or an asylum seeker who are, in fact, the main character of the story. Migrants are more often ignored as sources, excluding them from the implementation in the issue of intertextuality. It is relevant to notice that *El País* invested resources, both money and time, in covering this story: all the three articles are signed by journalists and not by news agencies, and the inclusion of different sources, including migrants, indicates that *El País* wanted to cover this event correctly. The public responded to the articles by paying attention to them, as it can be noticed by the fact that the three articles collected messages from readers in the comment section, specially EP143, which is the article showing a better coverage and which also collected the most comments among the three of them, 116, opening a public debate about this topic. As it has been seen, *ABC* did not cover this event. The results of *La Vanguardia*, which will be analysed later in this chapter, only shown one article about the hundreds of Algerians being put in jail without a trial, but it did not inform about the suicide or included further details.

Regarding the domain of the Cynefin framework of the information, *El País* was keener to publish knowable stories during this period. An example of this type of story is EP135, about Spaniards with Chinese roots trying to fight back the stereotypes about Chinese migration. This story shows the characteristics of a knowable frame, in which the causes and effects are separated over time and space, studied analytically and with a sense of planning a scenario to propose a solution. To do so, the article EP135 included comments from several sons of Chinese people who arrived in Spain decades ago. The remarks were given directly to the journalist of *El País*, who left most of the space for quoting their arguments, providing them agency to offer a view about their experiences growing up as sons of Chinese migrants. This is a positive example of representation, which is not common. Thanks to this practice, in this article, we learned more about the self-representation of these young people, who do not consider themselves migrants or Chinese. The article, which also contains a request from one of these Spaniards to stop seeing migration as a uniform mass, received more attention than most of the other

⁸⁴ “When they search me, they undress me and they look down on me”, “regarding the shower, sometimes it comes out cold and sometimes hot”, “it is a constant humiliation” (EP143)

articles published in this period. This is clear by the number of messages collected in the comment section, 189, in contrast to the average of 26 comments.

Concerning ethical frames, *El País* preferred the ethical frame of public security as its top choice among other options, which is linked to the construction of the issue of difference. This type of frame is characterized by justifying migrant controls in order to keep the stability of the society. In some cases, this type of ethical frames is evident in the content of the articles, such as in EP141, in which the president of the United States, Donald Trump, argues that “dreamers” (undocumented immigrants who came to the United States as children) should not be allowed in the country. In other cases, the public security ethical frame is more indirect, like in EP127. This article mentions that a terrorist is a migrant, highlighting this aspect from his background as the main characteristic of his persona, even though in another part of the text is written that the terrorist is from California. Insisting on the terrorist being a migrant, it echoes with the ethical frame of public security, in which migrants are related with instability represent a problem that needs to be controlled, and therefore applying a strategy of predication.

Regarding the identification of topic frames in discussions about migrants, *El País* used three frames more often than others: migrants as a source of conflict, contrasting the treatment of migrants to other actors and migrants unfairly mistreated. The first frame, migrants as a source of conflict, is related to the ethical frame of border control and, again, to the issue of difference. This type of frame includes stories of migrants as criminals, terrorists, or people who are overcrowding the social services of the receiving country.

The second frame, contrasting the treatment of migrants to other actors, is used when actors use how they react to migration as an aspect that differentiates them from an antagonist actor. It is related to political actors, and it could have been used more often during this time because there were elections in the near future. For example, the article EP120 shows how one political party favours letting all the migrants access the public health system of Spain, while the opposite party is against it. Finally, the topic frame of migrants unfairly mistreated is closely related to the ethical frame of offences committed to migrants and, as we saw earlier, the story about the Archidona jail has a significant impact on this result.

Finally, regarding frames, it is relevant to look at the general framework shown in the articles and whether there is a positive, negative or neutral character regarding the main event of the story. For example, the article EP117 proposes a positive evaluation of migration when writing about a migrant having a successful career in American television. Another instance of this perspective is the article EP133, in which books from African authors are well-considered. The article EP106 is even more interesting since it explains that migration will increase by two in Spain, France and Italy in the next thirty years, pointing out that this will be good news for the economy of these countries because it will support the retirement system. Unfortunately, there are more stories with a negative perspective during this period. A representative example is EP109, in which the fact that many migrants are arriving in Spain from Africa by boat is related to concepts such as complications and desolation and not as an economic opportunity. The great influence and significant impact among the readers that this type of representation has is visible in the fact that this article collected 271 messages in the comment section, an unusually high number.

4.4.4. The treatment of sources

In order to answer the auxiliary research questions about whether journalists are prioritising some sources over others, and if migrants are being used as a source in the information about themselves, it is relevant to mention that, ultimately, journalists are in charge of selecting the sources that will appear in the articles. Even in those articles in which there are presented a wide variety of sources, we have to consider that those sources are only represented in the way chosen by the journalist. As such, journalists are the main responsible agent of the way migrants are defined, as well as the frame depicted in the article. However, during the analysis of the content for this section, it was noticed that in those cases when there were included other sources different than migrants and politicians, the frame often was more benign towards migration. Migrants were frequently described with more positive words in articles that included a variety of sources. Nevertheless, *El País* preferred in most of the cases to include journalists as the primary source and ignore migrants in favour of other sources, such as politicians, applying a strategy of perspectivization.

One of the reasons for the high number of journalists being used as a source is the fact that, in many cases, there is no mention about who produced the information in the first case. In other cases, very often concerning incidents in which so-called migrants had to be rescued from the sea, the article quotes information produced by news agencies as the sole source. For example, the article EP109, about a man arrested in Melilla because he was carrying a child on the dashboard of his car, trying to smuggle him from Morocco into Spain, is directly signed by “Agencias”, news agencies, as the author.

In those cases when there were more variety of sources and migrants are included as a source of information, which are a minority in *El País*, we can find examples such as EP104. This article writes about internal migration in China, and it includes quotes from people who emigrated from rural China to Beijing. However, this practice is not common, as shown in the previous chapter, since only one out of five articles in *El País* counted migrants among their sources during this period.

In general, migrants are ignored as sources, but the reason does not seem to be because they are not accessible. For instance, the article EP126, which informs about the rescue of 21 migrants left stranded at sea after being forced by smugglers to jump from the boat near the Spanish city of Melilla. This article counts with journalists and politicians from different parties as sources, but there is no information from the migrants themselves, who are, in fact, the main actor of the story. The location of all these migrants is described in the article: two of them are at a hospital after being reanimated and almost lost their lives because of hypothermia. The location of the rest, nineteen people, is also known: they are in a centre for a temporary stay of immigrants, which means that the journalist knew where to find them if he wished. The identity of the journalist who wrote the article is not known either, since it is signed by “Agencias”. The pattern of not counting with migrants even when it was possible to contact them is recurrent in all the articles regarding rescues at sea analysed during this period in *El País*.

Unsurprisingly, articles show more depth when sources such as migrants or experts are included as sources, as we learned when analysed the article EP142, about the social construction of migration in relation to poverty and how this creates rejection by the public. Unfortunately, experts are included as a source in less than fourteen per cent of the articles. On top of that, the treatment that sources are given within the articles is

also a point of analysis to understand the relevance granted to the sources. For instance, the fact that a source is quoted without being named is situating this source in a secondary role in relation to an identified source. In this sense, it is noteworthy that *El País* always identified sources when they are politicians, but over twenty per cent of the times, migrants were not named when used as a source. Another interesting point is the one regarding the non-identification of the journalists; it is the highest among the rest of the sources. The fact that journalists are the most common source of information, but at the same time, they are not identified, talks about the low importance given to articles regarding migration. Looking at the type of information produced by each source also tells us a relevant aspect about the subordinate position given to migrants by *El País* during this period: migrants are never quoted giving opinions, in contrast to politicians, which often appear to offer their opinion. This practice is a clear illustration of the strategy of perspectivization. Finally, even when migrants are used as a source, they are relegated to having a secondary role concerning the relevance of their contribution in almost eight out of ten articles, in contrast with journalists, which hold the main position in most of the articles, and government politicians, who show this role in almost half of the articles in which they appear as a source.

The last point analysed in this section is the qualitative influence that politicians, both from the government and the opposition, have in selecting frames, especially regarding two specific frames: one, identity differentiation and two contrasting the treatment of migrants of one actor in opposition to another. This aspect is especially relevant, taking into consideration that the period of December 2017 was politically characterised by the celebration of the regional elections in Catalonia, in contrast to the other period of study of 2019, when there was no election in Spain in the near future.

About the question regarding whether journalists reproduce or not arguments from politicians who are trying to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration, we saw that *El País* counted heavily with politicians during the period of study of 2017. Politicians were often used as a source; they were always identified, and, in many cases, they play the leading role in the description of the story. The frame of identity differentiation was used three times more often in 2017, a month with political elections, than in 2019. The authors of the articles gave politicians an essential role in the construction of this frame, which consists of reproducing arguments from ruling

politicians with a particular approach to migration that differentiates from the opposition party. In this case, it is common to find articles about migratory solutions proposed by the president of the United States, Donald Trump, such as EP110, EP125, EP140, EP141. The point of view of the journalist tends to be critical towards the vision of Trump in migration controls. For example, in EP110, titled “Trump usa el atentado de Nueva York para atacar a los migrantes”⁸⁵, the author openly criticises how Trump is trying to use a terrorist attack to appeal to tightening of immigration laws and the end of family reunification. *El País* gave prominent coverage to this article that counterbalanced the position of Trump towards migration by publishing an unusually long article, more than 1100 words, written directly from Washington by a prominent journalist of *El País*, Jan Martínez Ahrens, who was named director of the newspaper for America three years later. The resources put into the article were effective in as much the news received much attention in the comment section, accumulating 271 messages, the highest number in the whole period, opening a public debate about the topic. In other news that did not focus on Trump, journalists of *El País* tended to be more moderate concerning criticising the way politicians frame migrants. For instance, in the article EP145, the following quote from Emmanuel Macron, President of France, “No podemos acoger toda la miseria del mundo”⁸⁶, did not directly counter-argument from the author of the article as it happened with arguments of Trump.

In the other frame related to politicians, contrasting the treatment of migrants to other actors, migration is used with a political purpose by politicians who want to make a distinction from their opponents. In this case, in a counter-intuitive way, the results show that this frame was used more often in 2019, a period without political elections, than in 2017, when the Catalan elections took place. Some examples from this period are not related to Spanish politicians but news about other countries, such as Chile. The article EP111 shows two opposite political positions towards migration. On one side, it gives space to the former president of Chile: “En Chile hoy tenemos aproximadamente unos 500.000 inmigrantes, una cifra pequeña comparada con los ciudadanos chilenos que viven en Argentina o los migrantes en otros países del mundo”⁸⁷. Afterwards, it quotes another

⁸⁵ “Trump uses the New York bombing to attack migrants” (EP110)

⁸⁶ “We can't take in all the misery in the world” (EP145)

⁸⁷ “In Chile today we have approximately 500,000 immigrants, a small number compared to Chilean citizens living in Argentina or migrants in other countries of the world” (EP111)

candidate from a different party: “Pero le vamos a cerrar las puertas a los que vienen a causarnos daño. A los que vienen a traer delincuencia, narcotráfico, bandas organizadas y trata de personas”⁸⁸. However, there is space to include the candidate from another party: “Conviene ser empático. Por cada chileno que sale a estudiar o a trabajar entra un extranjero”⁸⁹. The variety of sources and the differences in the political positions enriched the article and provided readers with the option to select the argument that better suits their political views.

In any case, as we have seen during this section, the influence of politicians over the articles in *El País* is conditioned to the will of journalists and editors, who act as gatekeepers of the topics and sources, and set the agenda of the articles that will appear in the newspaper. Ultimately, journalists hold the sole responsibility of how migrants are defined. An example of this power is shown in EP128. This article writes about a Spanish director who is working in the United States. He has successfully released a movie in Hollywood. In the article, the Spaniard is not identified as a migrant, even though he is living and working abroad.

4.5. The representation of migration in *El País* during a period without elections

4.5.1. The portrayal of migrants

As in previous cases in this chapter, the following section will include a qualitative analysis of the main research question regarding how migrants are portrayed in the media in a receiving country, in this case, Spain.

Quantitatively, we learned that the most common way to refer to migrants in *El País* during this period was by mentioning their names directly, a good practice that was more common in 2019 than in 2017. Analysing the content of the articles qualitatively, it is relevant to mention that this result is affected by the fact that, when a journalist is using the name of a migrant inside of the text, in many cases, this name is repeated several

⁸⁸ “But we are going to close the doors to those who come to harm us. To those who come to bring crime, drug trafficking, organized gangs and human trafficking” (EP111)

⁸⁹ “It pays to be empathetic. For every Chilean who goes out to study or work, a foreigner enters” (EP111)

times. For instance, the article EP219, about Andrew Yang, one of the 2020 Democratic contenders to the elections in the United States, used a direct reference to the name of this person ten times throughout the text. This practice creates an overrepresentation in the result regarding migrants referred by their names. In fact, names of migrants are present in less than half of the articles of this period.

The other most common way to refer to migrants, which is included in almost all the articles, is directly the word “inmigrante”. This is not surprising, considering that the automatic search selected only those articles in which the word “inmigrante” was used. In this case, the remarkable aspect of the results comes by looking into the correlated words linked to “inmigrante”. Examining them, it is possible to discover that “irregulares” is one of the favourite correlated words. “Irregular” is present not only close to “inmigrantes”, but also many times in “inmigración irregular” and other combinations. For instance, “en situación regular e irregular” (EP203), “inmigrante irregular de Bangladés, Afganistán y Pakistán” (EP216), “inmigrantes en situación irregular” (EP218), “personas extranjeras en situación irregular” (EP203), “trabajadores en situación irregular” (EP218)⁹⁰.

The correlated word “irregular” plays an essential role during this period in *El País* as a defining status for migrants, differentiating them clearly from the “rightful migrants” who do have documentation to live in the country, applying a strategy of nomination to create an issue of social events related to “irregular migrants”. Another correlated word associated with “irregular” is “indocumentado”, undocumented. This reference is also linked to the nationality, for example in “inmigrante indocumentado de Bangladés, Afganistán y Pakistán” (EP215)⁹¹. The word “irregular” is not innocuous, and it triggers representations and assumptions in the reader, since it is very often related to having committed a crime, as exposed by one of the experts quoted in *El País* in the article EP205: “Según el derecho internacional, entrar de manera irregular en un país no es un delito, en todo caso es una falta administrativa. Y así debería ser tratado”⁹². *El País*

⁹⁰ “In a regular and irregular situation” (EP203), “irregular immigrant from Bangladesh, Afghanistan and Pakistan” (EP216), “immigrants in an irregular situation” (EP218), “foreign persons in an irregular situation” (EP203), “workers in an irregular situation irregular” (EP218).

⁹¹ “undocumented immigrant from Bangladesh, Afghanistan and Pakistan” (EP215)

⁹² “According to international law, entering a country irregularly is not a crime, in any case it is an administrative offense. And so it should be treated” (EP205)

did not apply this criterion when writing about irregular migration, which seems to be an oversimplification of the status of the migrant, even in cases when it is not clear if the person is a migrant living “irregularly” in the country. For instance, the main focus of the mentioned article EP205 is about detention camps for refugees. The journalist clearly positioned the tone of the story, showing how unethical is the treatment refugees suffer in detention camps settled in Greece or Australia. Surprisingly, the article is tagged under “inmigración irregular”, even though the main focus of the story are refugees.

Concerning the habit of calling migrants with the abstract hyperbolic personification of a flow, we can find that, even though this metaphor was not frequent in this period, *El País* is the only newspaper of the three analysed that referred to migrants in both periods as a flow. In 2019, we can find it in EP222 in “flujos migratorios”, migratory flows. Referring to migrants as a hyperbolic abstraction can also be found with other terms. For example, in EP208, the author writes about “reto migratorio mundial”, global migration challenge, setting a strategy of predication.

The selection of words implies a position for the producer of the information, and how migrants are described shows whether the journalist sees the arrival of migrants as something problematic for the receiving countries (“flujos”, “retos”) or as traumatic experiences for the migrant. In this last position, we can find the article EP204, in which migrants are tagged as “victims” by the newspaper. One of the sources of this article, a representative of a NGO in favour of migration rights, defines the detention centre where migrants have to wait to their situation to be cleared as “jaulas”, cages: “Necesitamos medidas de inmediato para que los niños reciban la atención vital que se merecen y asegurar que no mueran más niños en jaulas”⁹³.

How words can be an indicator for the political position of the writers is sometimes explicitly noticed by the journalist, such as in the article EP208. This opinion piece, titled “La humanidad inmigrante”, the immigrant humanity, is written by Sami Naïr, a French specialist on migration with Algerian roots. In the text, Naïr quotes the term “invasores”, invaders, in quotation marks, to point out how xenophobic parties are defining migrants in order to win political rewards: “A las víctimas de la hambruna, de la

⁹³ “We need immediate action to ensure that children receive the vital care they deserve and ensure that no more children die in cages” (EP204)

desesperanza, cabe añadir las otras decenas de miles de muertos de estos últimos años, los anónimos que huyen, que reaparecen como “invasores” a los ojos de nuestros partidos xenófobos, que hacen de su destino trágico el plato político cotidiano, incentivando la furia, el miedo, el racismo, el odio”⁹⁴. By positioning migrants as victims of the situation and putting into quotation marks the criticised way to call migrants “invasores”, the expert is teaching the reader the importance of the selection of words to define migrants as a way to situate an actor politically, and it is showing how journalists apply devices from the strategy of perspectivization.

Regarding another characterisation of migrants, *El País* continued in 2019 the trend seen in 2017: most of the stories have migrants as their main focus, leaving refugees, and especially asylum seekers, in a secondary position. This is, as explained before, an expected result since the investigation started by selecting those articles including the word “inmigrante”. This is not expected, and it was discovered by qualitatively analysing the discourse of the articles, is how often journalists use the term migrant as a wildcard in cases when it is not clear whether people are migrants, refugees or asylum seekers. It seems that, by default, people arriving from less developed countries are directly considered migrants, even when they are coming from areas of conflict. For instance, EP216 refers broadly to irregular migrants coming from Bangladesh, Afghanistan and Pakistan, assuming these people are migrants without considering that they might be asylum seekers. Moreover, they are classified as “irregulars” without further explanation about the context of these people. In this sense, the oversimplification plays in favour of succinctness, but it creates inaccurate representations.

About the nationality of migrants registered in the articles, *El País* included a reference to the country of origin of the migrants more often than their counterparts in *ABC* and *La Vanguardia* in any of the two periods of study. In particular, people from Afghanistan and Bangladesh are the most mentioned nationality in the articles of *El País* in 2019. This representation does not match the Spanish reality since people from Afghanistan and Bangladesh are not among the most common migrant nationalities in Spain, not even included in the fifteen most common ones (INE: 2019). The

⁹⁴ “To the victims of famine, of despair, we must add the other tens of thousands of deaths in recent years, the anonymous who flee, who reappear as “invaders” in the eyes of our xenophobic parties, who make from their tragic fate the daily political plate, encouraging anger, fear, racism, hatred” (EP208)

overrepresentation of these two nationalities comes from the fact that a particular story was widely covered by *El País* during this period, regarding a law passed in India that gives nationality to migrants, except if they are Muslims, which triggered violent demonstrations in India. It is noteworthy that this news was published in five different articles during a week (EP214, EP215, EP126, EP217, EP220), showing a straightforward construction of the issue of social events. It is the incident that attracted the most detailed coverage for *El País* in this period, with follow-up articles, a variety of sources and different perspectives, such as the story of young female students who saved a demonstrator from being hit by police members during the protests. The position of *El País* is clear, leaning towards a sympathetically view of the demonstrator, as it can be appreciated in the articles titled “Sectarismo en la India” (EP220) and “El coraje de unas estudiantes indias que protegen de la policía a un compañero: ‘India no será dividida’” (EP217)⁹⁵. The way *El País* covered the story is an example of good practice. By contrast, it shows how little interest it was paid to other events that happened in Spain about migration during the same period, such as the story of a businessman who was detained after abandoning the body of a migrant who was working without a contract for him. This story was published in two articles, EP213, EP218. Particularly, EP213 is a short piece without the variety of sources as rich as the ones included in the story covered from India.

Continuing with the coverage of nationalities, Moroccans, the most common nationality of migrants in Spain, made it to the third most mentioned nationality in *El País* in this period. Three articles were mentioning Moroccans during this time, and all of them have a problematic scope in their perspective: the first is about a Moroccan whose dead body was abandoned by his contractor, EP218. The other article about this story, EP213, did not mention the nationality of the person. EP221 explained the incident when a group of young Moroccans were denied to be served in a fast-food restaurant in a Catalan city. It is significant the pre-title of the article, the word “Racismo”, racism, positioning the frame of the story. Finally, in the third article mentioning people from Morocco, EP222, it was found that the only reference to a Moroccan is located in the caption of the picture selected to illustrate an article about migratory policies, which does not mention Moroccans directly in the body of the text. The picture, signed just with the initials R.G., is especially interesting for the investigation because of its assumptions. The

⁹⁵ “Sectarianism in India” (EP220) and “The courage of some Indian students who protect a colleague from the police: ‘India will not be divided’” (EP217)

caption of the picture reads: “Una inmigrante marroquí pasea por Talayuela (Cáceres), el pasado viernes”⁹⁶. The image shows two women wearing Western clothes, presumably Spaniards, casually walking towards the photographer in a street of Spain. In the same frame, a woman wearing a long veil walks in the other direction, with her back towards the photographer. The picture shows how one of the Spanish women looks suspiciously at the Moroccan woman, with squinted eyes and tight fists. The contrast of the clothes worn by the women is especially notable, as it is also evident the fact that we can see the face of the Spaniards and only the back of the Moroccan. As mentioned, the caption of the picture indicates that a Moroccan migrant is walking by the street. The fact that the caption only mentions one of the three people of the photograph and that the reader must assume that the Moroccan is the one with the veil is left to the understanding of the person looking at the image, triggering assumed representations studied in this chapter. Nevertheless, there is no reason to think that one of the other two women wearing Western clothes could not be from Morocco or that the woman with the veil could be born in Spain. In fact, we do not know whether the photographer asked the person wearing the veil where she was from or simply assumed her nationality by the clothes she was wearing. Since the text does not mention anything about the context of the picture, all the interpretations are once again left to the readers to be made and their trust on the journalist, photographer or editor who wrote the caption without quoting the source.

In relation to the second-largest group of foreign residents by nationality living in Spain, Romanians (INE: 2019), there were no results for this group. Looking at the broader regions mentioned in the articles, *El País* focussed predominantly on African migration in two out of three articles in which the region was mentioned. The other was related to Latin America, and there are no more mentions about any other origin. One of the articles focussing on African migration is the story of a person who died while picking fruit in a field and whose body was abandoned by the employer who hired him irregularly. As mentioned earlier, this story was covered in two articles. The first one is EP213, a short story with basic details written soon after the incident. The only information about the person who died is his nationality and age. Most of the times, this type of stories remains as single articles without a follow-up, as it happened in EP204 or EP224. However, this incident was an exception. *El País* implemented resources to improve the

⁹⁶ “A Moroccan immigrant walks through Talayuela (Cáceres), last Friday” (EP222)

coverage of the story in a follow-up article, EP218, published one week later, in which there were presented more details about the incident. The article is an example of a good research story. It has over 1000 words, and it is signed with the name of the journalist, it is written in the area where the incident happened, the information is not reproduced from news agencies but originally produced, it includes the name of the migrant in the title of the article, “El último jornal de Said Aballa”⁹⁷, which is not common to do so and, even less common, it includes a picture of the migrant in a leisure situation, looking healthy and non-threatening. Finally, the variety of sources is wide, as it includes journalists, politicians from different parties, associations working for the rights of migrants and, most significantly, a family member of the victim. The story shows depth, and it gives context about the life of Said Aballa, providing the reader with a face to look at and a story to relate. The article collected 25 messages in the comment section, prompting a public debate. It is noticeable to mention that *El País* is the only newspaper among the three analysed that included the name of the dead migrant. Neither *ABC* nor *La Vanguardia* mentioned the name of Said Aballa.

Concerning the religion mentioned in the corpus of articles studied during this period in *El País*, it is found, one more time, that Islam is the only religion associated with migration in those articles in which the faith of the migrant is mentioned. This is a typical pattern among all the newspapers in both periods. In this period, the results were influenced by the extensive coverage of the story about the law in India that gave Indian nationality to migrants except if they were Muslims, which provoked violent demonstrations. Regarding the ethnic, *El País* referred to Kurds, Rohingyas and Uyghurs during this period, but the coverage was minimal, reduced to the article EP205. This story presents a debate about detention camps for refugees as being unethical and illegal

The next point of consideration is the number of migrants to whom the information is related. The most common mentions in 2019 are similar to those shown two years earlier, with some variations. The most notable result is the fact that *El País* focused on stories about individuals, which represents a positive trend towards the representation of migrants as human beings and not anonymous collectives. However, the numbers of articles about migration as a collective actor and as a collective actor in terms

⁹⁷ “The last day of Said Aballa” (EP218)

of religion are the second most common ones in *El País* during this period. EP210 is an example of an article in which migration is represented as a collective actor but, in this case, with positive traits. It quotes a report written by the regional government of Madrid, in which it highlights a series of positive results about almost a million migrants living in Madrid: seventy-two per cent of them have a job, and only less than two per cent of them receive unemployment benefits. *El País* echoes the purpose of the report, which is to destroy myths about migrants benefitting from the receiving country without contributing, constructing the issue of evaluation. Another article writing about migration as a collective actor and providing a positive perspective about migration is EP206, exposing how social networks spread misinformation.

The other group that was most represented in *El País* in this period, the collective in terms of irregularity, is found to be more often related to stories that emphasise different problems, in another instance, applying the issue of difference. For example, EP205 writes about unethical detention camps and EP208 about migrants who are not humanly treated when trying to reach the European Union. Moreover, in this particular period, a group experienced an evident rise in the attention shown by *El País*, who is the collective actor in terms of religion. As specified before, the story about the discriminatory Indian law towards Muslim migrants influenced the results since five articles were about the event.

One of the last aspects analysed to understand how *El País* represented migrants is whether the names of the migrants are included or not in the text. *El País* showed the highest number of identification of migrants participating in the articles, especially in 2019. However, the results show that, in most of the cases, migrants remained unnamed. As it happened in previous cases, it seems that, in many articles, the option to not include the name was determined by a decision rather than by the lack of information. For instance, stories such as EP213 could have included the name of the migrant if the author would have wanted. The reason not to mention the name of migrants does not seem to be based on journalistic rules since identifying the main character of the story is one of the most relevant aspects when reporting about incidents related to specific people. If the reason for not including names of migrants is to preserve their privacy, stories such as EP204 should not have mentioned the name of the migrant as they did. The article EP204 is especially paradigmatic since the person involved is a minor who died of fever in a

facility in the United States while being in custody by the authorities. In this case, the subtitle of the story includes the full name of the person: “Las imágenes de la cámara de seguridad muestran las últimas horas de Carlos Hernández, de 16 años, y ponen en duda la versión de la policía sobre su muerte”⁹⁸. The first paragraph gives even more details about the teenager, starting the story by mentioning his name: “Carlos Gregorio Hernández Vásquez era un inmigrante guatemalteco que cruzó la frontera entre México y Estados Unidos a través del río Grande cerca de Weslaco, Texas, el pasado 13 de mayo. Estaba solo cuando fue detenido y enviado a un centro de detención temporal en McAllen. Seis días después, una enfermera le midió una fiebre de 39,4 y le diagnosticó gripe”⁹⁹. The rest of the article is a description of the video embedded at the beginning of the body of the text, in which the last hours of Carlos staggering around the cell are shown to the viewer from the perspective of a security camera. The last scene shows his cellmate, another teenager, discovering his dead body. In this case, it is not stated who has permitted to mention the name of Carlos in the text. The article references an NGO as the source of the video, but it does not count with any other source of information, limiting the article to reproducing what the NGO said and the cold description of the video that we can already see without the need to read the text.

Knowing the information extracted from the article EP204, preserving the identity to protect the privacy of the migrants does not seem to be a coherent reason by *El País* to not including the name of migrants in the articles. EP213 is another example of this practice. In this article, the name of the person is not stated, and it is referred as “inmigrante” and “fallecido”¹⁰⁰. There is no information about any of the other migrants involved in the incident, not even their names, and there are only references to “temporeros”, “inmigrantes” and “ciudadanos sin papeles”¹⁰¹. The journalist explains that the deceased is from Morocco and 31 years old, so we know the person was identified. Another relevant aspect found in the content is, in fact, and absence: it is not stated when the person died. All these devices are instruments to implement the strategy of mitigation

⁹⁸ “The security camera images show the last hours of Carlos Hernández, 16, and cast doubt on the police version of his death” (EP204)

⁹⁹ “Carlos Gregorio Hernández Vásquez was a Guatemalan immigrant who crossed the border between Mexico and the United States across the Rio Grande near Weslaco, Texas, on May 13. He was alone when he was detained and sent to a temporary detention center in McAllen. Six days later, a nurse measured a fever of 39.4 and diagnosed him with the flu” (EP204)

¹⁰⁰ “immigrant” and “deceased”

¹⁰¹ “seasonal workers”, “immigrants” and “citizens without papers”

and perspectivization. As readers, we only know that the event happened on an undefined day of the past, supposedly not a long time ago, but without the certainty of the precise date. The reason for not including the name of the migrant is not stated. In this case, there are no other sources besides the journalist and the police.

The images selected to accompany the article are another aspect studied in regards to how migrants are represented. In *El País*, during the 2019 period, most of the articles have a picture illustrating the story. The most common topic for the images was a demonstration in favour of the rights of migrants. In this case, the story about the Indian law discriminating against Muslim migrants has a clear influence on the result, since all the pictures with this topic were related to this particular story from India. The other group of most frequent pictures has a positive frame in its scope: migrants commenting on the information, migrants in a leisure situation and migrants contributing to society. Among this last topic, it is especially favourable the image of the article EP209. The caption of this picture reads: “El senegalés Gorgui Lamine Sow y el hombre al que salvó Alex Caudeli, este martes, frente a la casa incendiada”¹⁰². The picture is signed with the complete name of the photographer, indicating that *El País* took it. Just in this caption, we can find positive journalistic habits worthy of detail: the name of the migrant is included, which brings the story closer to the reader thanks to the personification of the subject. Moreover, the fact that the name of the photographer is also stated and that she was working on an assignment for *El País* shows the importance that the newspaper gave to this story since it is not just reproducing the picture received by news agencies or freelancers. The picture itself is idyllic: we can see Gorgui wearing a shirt with the Superman logo, hugging and smiling at the person who was rescued from the fire by him. This person is sitting in a wheelchair looking back to Gorgui, with the wounds of the fire still present in bandages. The picture is a unique example of an image that sends a positive perspective to the reader about migration in a context not related to conflict or border crossings. The article got 568 comments, and it was the most commented story among all the articles studied, which shows that this type of news is attractive to readers and worthy for the newspaper to spend the resources to produce them.

¹⁰² “The Senegalese Gorgui Lamine Sow and the man who was saved by him, Alex Caudeli, this Tuesday, in front of the burned house” (EP209)

The use of tags to classify the articles has also been studied. In relation to *El País*, tags are located at the end of the story, linking articles with the exact keywords. It was discovered that there are articles that set a positive view towards migration in the content of the text but that are tagged using negative words related to conflicts. For instance, the article EP225, titled “La República y el velo”¹⁰³, is a story written by an expert in feminism, Bouchera Azzouz. The author invites the reader to think about the construction of migration and religion, stating her own views about her identity: “Soy francesa, feminista y, casualmente, musulmana”¹⁰⁴. At the end of this reflexive article, one of the tags used to categorise the story is “Problemas sociales”¹⁰⁵. However, the content of the article does not refer to any problem, so the tag has been selected by applying an implicature that relates social problems to either being French, feminist or Muslim.

The disconnection between the story and the tags concerning articles about migration is visible in other pieces, such as EP222. This article has a positive frame about migration, denouncing the practice relating migration to a threat. It can be read in the sentence: “Reforzando esta mirada basada en la seguridad que convierte la inmigración en amenaza se intenta hacer política migratoria desde la frontera”¹⁰⁶. It is noteworthy how the author of the piece, Gemma Pinyol-Jiménez, a migration expert, used the term “personas”, persons, to refer to migrants. However, the tags used the word “pateras” as one of the terms to classify the story. Moreover, “guerra” is also used as a tag. Neither “pateras” nor “guerra” appear in the text, so the criteria to select these two tags to classify the story are not related to the content of the article but to an assumed presumption of the editor who selected those words. This selection is especially striking since the author of the text directly denounce how specific language that exacerbates conflict has been permeating public debate. The editor picked “guerra” and “pateras” as tags for the article, using terms denounced by the expert.

In this first subsection, it has been addressed the main research question about how migrants are portrayed in *El País* during December of 2019. However, to fully cover

¹⁰³ “La República y el velo” (EP225)

¹⁰⁴ “I am French, feminist and, coincidentally, Muslim” (EP225)

¹⁰⁵ “Social problems” (EP225)

¹⁰⁶ “Reinforcing this view based on security that makes immigration a threat, an attempt is made to make immigration policy from the border” (EP222)

this answer, it is necessary to complement the results with the analysis of the auxiliary research questions shown in the following segments. The results will gain depth and complexity by including qualitative findings extracted from the study of the articles.

4.5.2. The use of public memories and assumptions

The first complementary research question addressed in this subsection studies to what extent, in representing migrants, media use public memories and historical assumptions that include sensitive aspects about migrants. The central aspect considered concerning the use of public memories and assumptions in the articles of *El País* during December 2019 is the appeal to known representations.

The quantitative data showed that *El País* included more often than not stories in which there is a confrontation among two or more migrant representations. The result differs from 2017 when there was an assumption of the past representation in most cases. The frame of confronting a representation with another consists of confronting the view of migration by one actor with another, providing readers with different views about migration. *El País* often published articles including two representations during the period of 2019. For instance, the article EP206, titled “Cuando el bulo eres tú. Nuestra falta de criterio alimenta las ‘fake news’”¹⁰⁷, is a reflection of the influence of social media in the rise of far-right parties. As stated in the text, these parties consider migrants as a collective coming to Spain to live from the benefits of the State. The journalist defines this position as xenophobic and explains how the information shared on social media is spreading a false image about migration.

The other frame that grew significantly from 2017 to 2019 proposed a new representation of migration, with a third of the articles depicting it. This frame counterbalances the assumed representation that often aligns migrants with conflict, offering to the reader instead of a positive image about migration, portraying them as individuals and providing details about their contribution to society. We can find an example of this use in the article EP210. The article, titled “Solo el 1,7% de los inmigrantes cobra ayudas sociales”¹⁰⁸, explains that most migrants living in Madrid do

¹⁰⁷ “When the hoax is you. Our lack of judgment feeds the ‘fake news’” (EP206)

¹⁰⁸ “Only 1.7% of immigrants receive social benefits” (EP210)

not get economic benefits from the State, quoting the results of a research made by a public institute, pointing out that migrants pay taxes. The article directly tries to deny hoaxes providing data, for example, by explaining that one of the most widespread hoaxes is that immigrants collapse public health. This is a positive example of implementing the strategy of predication. The survey quoted by *El País* reveals that only 7 per cent of migrants living in Madrid have visited the emergency room in the last year, and less than 8 per cent visited a specialist.

It is seen, then, that during December 2019, a month without any national or regional elections in Spain in the near future, *El País* used more often than in 2017 frames that showed a positive image about migration and tried to avoid simplistic assumptions that were common in their articles in December 2017, when the regional elections in Catalonia were about to happen.

4.5.3. The use of frames to portray migration

This segment will address the issue regarding what frames are journalists using to portray migration by adding a qualitative approach to the answer. In the previous chapter, we learned that *El País* showed similar results in 2017 and 2019 regarding the main topic of the article concerning migration. Notably, *El País* included stories that mainly focussed on two topics: offences committed to migrants, appearing in one out of three articles during the last period, and border control, finding this emphasis in one out of four articles during 2019. Both topics appeared more often in the articles in 2019 than two years earlier.

The main topic of the article sets the general tone of the story. About the topic of offences committed to migrants, this set of articles includes stories dealing with news about wrongdoings done against migrants, intentionally or unintentionally, by any actor. There is a wide range of stories framed under the general topic of offences committed to migrants. In this field, most of the articles studied have a national perspective regarding the offences being committed to migrants trying to reach Spain and the European Union. Except for EP204, which explains the story of a teenager who died while being in custody by the US Government, the rest of the stories show a line of responsibility towards the well-being of migrants in Spain or Europe, applying a strategy of predication in a positive

way towards the migration. In this respect, we can find articles criticising the authorities for not attending rightfully to all the migrants, such as EP203, titled “Cómo se incumple el derecho a la sanidad universal en Madrid”¹⁰⁹. This article, signed by a journalist of *El País*, gives space to a platform condemning that some migrants who are not registered in the public health system are denied access to treatment, even in severe cases. The journalist positions this behaviour from the administration as wrongdoing by reproducing the arguments from an NGO. This is visible in the following extract: “Esta ‘vulneración de derechos’ es lo que denuncia la plataforma Yo sí Sanidad Universal, que ha elaborado un informe y está preparando acciones legales contra la exclusión sanitaria de la población inmigrante”¹¹⁰. Moreover, the piece closes with a clear statement from the Ombudsman supporting the access of all migrants to health care. In a specific box of text that closes the article, the arguments from the Ombudsman are well highlighted with the title in capital letters: “EL DEFENSOR DEL PUEBLO RECUERDA ‘EL DERECHO CONSTITUCIONAL A LA PROTECCIÓN DE LA SALUD’”¹¹¹.

The responsibility showed regarding articles relating to offences committed to migrants is not limited to the Spanish administration. *El País* also published articles in which raise awareness about the responsibility that media have over the well-being of migrants and how some news are trying to harm on purpose the image of migration, as seen in the article EP212. This article, published by a writer who is a regular collaborator with *El País*, explains that the worst part of fake news is that a third of them aim to damage the image of migration. The awareness about self-responsibility is less evident in the other topic that appears more often during this period: border control. In this case, most of the articles are related to international events, with migration from and to third countries not related to the EU. The story of the Indian law giving nationality to those migrants who are not Muslims is published five times during a week. Other stories that happened in Spain had less coverage, such as the one about the migrant who died and whose body was abandoned by his employee at the hospital entrance. This story happened in the same time frame as the one about the Indian law, appearing both for the first time

¹⁰⁹ “How the right to universal health care is violated in Madrid” (EP204)

¹¹⁰ “This ‘violation of rights’ is what the platform Yo sí Sanidad Universal denounces, which has prepared a report and is preparing legal actions against the exclusion of the immigrant population from health” (EP203)

¹¹¹ “THE OMBUDSMAN REMEMBERING ‘THE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT TO THE PROTECTION OF HEALTH’” (EP203) (the capital letters are from the original)

on the 16th of December. However, the Indian law received coverage of five articles, and the abandoned migrant by a Spanish employee had only two. One of these two articles about the Spanish incident, EP213, is especially poor in details and sources and the other, EP218, is very well covered. This is another instance of how *El País* applied the issue of social events differently, depending on the subject.

The article EP224, titled “Desmantelan una red que introdujo a un millar de inmigrantes en Barcelona en 2019”¹¹², deals with the fight against human smuggling and it also shows a border control perspective, telling the news about the detention of a network who was smuggling migrants from Italy to Spain by bus. In this case, the article is also showing a lack of depth, with barely 350 words, no name in the signature section, just the acronym of what it could be a news agency, and a picture of a road with a truck not related to the story as an illustration of the article. There are no comments from any of the smuggled people.

The corpus articles are also classified attending to the domain of the Cynefin framework of the information, which provides more information about the complexity of the context surrounding news. The most common Cynefin framework in 2019 for *El País* was the same as the top choice in 2017, the knowable frame. In this type of framework, news show scenarios that can be planned by analysing the cause and effects of the events. An example of this type of article is EP206, in which there is a correlation between fake news and negative attitudes towards migration. By understanding the problem and finding its cause, it is possible to plan a response to counterbalance the undesirable effects of the situation. The second most common Cynefin framework applied in this period is the complex frame, which represents a significant variation in relation to 2017 when this frame was the least used of the period. The particularity of this frame is the randomness of the causes, which are only understandable retrospectively and are challenging to manage. In this type of article, the events show uncertainty that provokes unrest in the reader. For instance, EP205 has debated the situation of the detention camps for refugees. The article explains that the world is filled with spaces of exception without the most basic guarantees, in which human beings fleeing horror or misery have fewer rights than

¹¹² “Dismantling of a network that introduced a thousand immigrants to Barcelona in 2019”

a prisoner who has committed a crime. The author does not propose a solution to a situation compared to Auschwitz.

Concerning the identification of ethical frames in discussions about immigration controls, the most common frame in this period is the universalist perspective, taking over almost half of the articles published during this period of 2019. This ethical frame has a positive perception of migration since it is rooted in human rights as the cornerstone to evaluating immigration controls. The fact that the universalist frame influenced the results of *El País* in 2019 is highly conditioned by the comprehensive coverage of the law passed in India banning Muslim migrants from regularising their status because of their creed. *El País* clearly positioned the editorial line against this decision established by the Indian government and set a favourable light regarding the demonstrations organised against the law by part of the population in India, including stories such as EP217. This article writes about the courage of a group of Indian female students who protected a classmate from the police, including comments from the students themselves and a picture of their intervention, protecting a person lying on the street from what seems to be armed policemen. These demonstrators are defined as heroes by the journalist. “Otra de las heroínas del vídeo, Farsana de 22 años, explica el motivo de su reacción, que resume el sentir de las protestas que se multiplican por *El País*: ‘Queremos salvar nuestra Constitución. Esta ley es contraria a nuestra Constitución y contraria a los indios musulmanes’”¹¹³. This story has an impact on the results of the identification of topic frames in discussions about migrants, as seen by the fact that the topic frame of migrants unfairly mistreated was the most frequent choice of the period, appearing in one out of four articles, which is more than double than in 2017.

The second choice regarding topic frames in December 2019 was also extensive two years earlier, and it is the topic frame of contrasting the treatment of migrants to other actors. In this type of articles, migrants are an instrument used with the purpose of differentiating a political party from another. We can find an example in EP207, in which politicians from different parties blame each other for failing to help refugees living in the streets of Madrid. Once again, the story about the law in India banning Muslim

¹¹³ “Another heroine in the video, 22-year-old Farsana, explains the reason for her reaction, which sums up the sentiment of the protests that are multiplying throughout the country: ‘We want to save our Constitution. This law is contrary to our Constitution and contrary to Muslim Indians’” (EP217)

migrants is also an essential factor in the results. *El País* shows the Indian government using religion to exclude migrants that are not part of the national identity set by the authorities, applying the issue of evaluation.

Finally, it has been considered whether the main event described in the article has a positive, neutral or negative connotation concerning migration, in what is related to the strategy of predication. *El País* showed a similar pattern in both periods, being the negative perspective the most frequent. As an exception, there is an article showing an extraordinarily positive perception, EP209. As explained above in this section, this article tells the story of Gorgui Lamine Sow, a person from Senegal working irregularly as a street vendor in Spain, who saved the life of a disabled person from fire, risking his own life in the action. However, this type of positive stories set in Spain are not common, and it is more frequent to find positive stories about migrants living in countries other than Spain. For example, EP219 informs about Andrew Yang, whose parents were migrants and ran to be a candidate for the US presidency, or EP211, explaining the story of Sundar Pichai, born in India and chosen as the new CEO of Google. The difference between the stories of Gorgui, Andrew and Sundar is that, while the positive action of Gorgui comes from risking his life in a casual event, the merit shown in Andrew and Sundar does not come from a random incident, but by their constant contribution to the society of the receiving country through excelling in their work. Another interesting point about these stories is how Gorgui is identified several times as a migrant, while the references to the migrant background of Andrew and Sundar are not as frequent, and they are not defined by being migrants. Regarding Sundar, the term migrant is not among the tags used to classify the story, and Andrew is defined as an entrepreneur. This is a clear example of how the strategy of nomination can intermingle with the strategy of perspectivization. In the case of Gorgui, the title is already setting the tone by writing that he does not have documentation to live in Spain legally: “Gorgui, el héroe sin papeles que salvó del fuego a un discapacitado”¹¹⁴.

4.5.4. The treatment of sources

¹¹⁴ “Gorgui, the undocumented hero who saved a disabled man from the fire” (EP209)

In this subsection, a qualitative approach will be added to the answer regarding whether journalists prioritise some sources over others and if migrants are included as a source in the information about themselves. In regards to the type of the origin of the source, in both periods of study, journalists are the main source of information by a wide margin and identified with their whole name, playing a key role in the implementation of the issue of intertextuality.

Politicians are also recurrently used as sources, and they appear almost twice as much as migrants do. Migration experts are not as common as politicians, even though it is noticed that in those articles when experts are quoted, the frame proposed is not the same as the ones normally used when journalists and politicians are the main sources. For instance, the author of the article EP225 is Bouchera Azzouz, a French expert on migration with Moroccan parents. This expert explains directly how people in their situation do not consider themselves migrants but citizens: “Hace ya mucho tiempo que no somos inmigrantes, sino ciudadanos y ciudadanas”¹¹⁵. In contrast, we can find the article EP221, about a group of young people who were denied services at a fast-food restaurant in Catalonia. The article explains that the city has a high percentage of population of immigrant origin, assuming that these young people were also part of that population and indicating that they were Moroccans even in the title, “La Generalitat expedienta en Girona a un Pans & Company por negar la entrada a un grupo de marroquíes”¹¹⁶, even though one of them explicitly said that he was born in Catalonia.

Another relevant aspect indicating the importance of the sources is whether the source is identified or not, which defines the strategy of perspectivization. In most of the cases of *El País* in the period of 2019, journalists were identified with their names when participating as a source in the information. Regarding politicians, they were always identified in every single case. Migrants, when used as a source, also had a high percentage of identification. However, it was found that in some cases, such as the quoted article EP221, the source considered as a migrant by the author remained unnamed, even though one of them participated with a direct comment in the article. As it happened in the previous period, it is not clear why the name is not included since there is no apparent

¹¹⁵ “For a long time already we are not migrants, but citizens” (EP225)

¹¹⁶ “The Generalitat files in Girona a Pans & Company for denying entry to a group of Moroccans” (EP221)

journalistic reason not to do so. It has to be deduced that the journalist did not consider it relevant to identify the migrant as an essential part of the information.

The type of information produced by each source is also an indicator of the status given to different sources. Sources participating with an opinion or an analysis are given more space to propose a frame than those limited to the description of details or statistics. In this sense, the situation of migrants as a source improved from 2017 to 2019 in *El País* since they participated with an opinion in almost one out of three interventions in the second period, in contrast to none in the first. The opposite happened with journalists, whose opinions were not included in 2019 and were used mostly to detail and analyze the events. However, it has to be reminded that journalists are the gatekeepers of the information and decide what type of opinions from migrants are included in the text.

Another important role played by the journalist is to decide the position of the contribution of each source, since it will have a smaller impact in the story if a source is included as a secondary or residual source, in which case their contribution will be overpowered by the intervention of the main source. In this case, it can be seen again how the contributions of journalists are used as the main source in almost all the cases studied in 2019. By contrast, migrants play a secondary role in one out of two stories in which they are included as sources, so they have a double disadvantage given that they are used less often and as a secondary source. An example of this treatment can be found in the story of Said Aballa, the person who died while picking fruit and whose body was abandoned by his employer at the entrance of a hospital. As we saw, there are two articles about this story. In the first one, EP213, there are no contributions from any migrant in the information, but only a journalist, who plays the primary role as a source, and a politician, included with a secondary role. In the second story, EP218, there is an inclusion of a source related to the deceased migrant, the brother-in-law of the victim. However, he plays a secondary role, and his contribution is limited to a short input in a paragraph of the text, expressing that the family is suffering, asking for the case to be investigated and the employer to help with the costs of repatriation of the body. There are no comments from other migrants who were also living in the same village with Said Aballa and no information about possible co-workers of Said who were in the field at the moment of his death. This is a clear example of implementing the strategy of mitigation with the issue of a social event. As it happened in the previous period, journalists played

a preponderant role as a source in the information, normalizing a pattern that seems to be extraordinary at first sight: the fact that the main characters of the story, migrants, are not the main source of information in the articles about themselves.

Another aspect studied in this section is the role of politicians in the articles about migration. This is made by answering how journalists reproduce arguments from politicians who are trying to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration. This question is especially relevant, considering that in 2017 there was an electoral context in Catalonia, in contrast to 2019, when there were no elections organized in the near future. We learned that politicians played an essential role as a source in both periods. However, we can find a different pattern from 2017 to 2019. While in 2017, politicians from the opposition appeared only in a few articles, in 2019, their contribution was much closer to those from members from the ruling party, and they were also used as the main source almost as many times in both cases. This could mean that *El País* grants more relevance to politicians from the opposition in those articles related to migration in a period without an electoral context.

Concerning those frames strongly linked to politicians, the frame of identity differentiation is dropping substantially in 2019. During December of 2019, a month without elections in Spain, very few articles showed politicians using the treatment of migration controls as a factor to differentiate from a political opponent. One of the articles, EP223, is studying this phenomenon, setting the light on how some politicians try to frame migrants to be beneficial for their political interest because it is mobilizing the vote in their favour. The author of the article, Montserrat Domínguez, a prominent journalist in *El País*, is very critical of this habit, explaining that nationalist and populist politicians are using migration as a scapegoat, criticizing news that are reproducing these views.

4.6. The representation of migration in *La Vanguardia* during a context of elections

4.6.1. The portrayal of migrants

The first segment of this section will add a qualitative analysis to the answer of the main research question of the investigation, regarding how migrants are portrayed in the media in a receiving country, in this case, Spain. We learned that *La Vanguardia*, during the period of December 2017, was not different from their counterparts in using the noun “inmigrante” as the favourite way to refer to migrants. This result, if examined exclusively through a quantitative lens, does not provide all the information about their implications. It is only when qualitatively examining the discourse of the articles when it is discovered the nuances of the data, as is going to be shown below.

First, the frequent use of the noun “inmigrante” in *La Vanguardia* is partly explained by the fact that, in some cases, the migratory aspect of the main subject of the information is emphasised over any other aspects of their personal characteristics, in a strategy of intensification. This is particularly notable in articles such as LV145. In this article, we learned that a person intentionally drove over people in New York, killing five tourists. The first thing we read about the killer is that he is a migrant from Uzbekistan belonging to ISIS: “Un inmigrante uzbeko perteneciente al EI arrolla en Nueva York a varias personas y causa 8 muertos”¹¹⁷. In fact, we know little else about him. Associating terrorism with migration over any other characteristic of the terrorist is a pattern that will appear in other articles of *La Vanguardia* during this period. This point will be studied in the segment about assuming representations of migration later on in this section. The fact that we know that the terrorist is a migrant, but not his profession or any other attribute of his personality or mental health, is leaving readers with the only direct association made by the journalist, terrorism and migration. This is an essential instrument in the implementation of the issue of difference by *La Vanguardia*.

Another noteworthy result about *La Vanguardia* is the correlated word used with the noun “inmigrante”, expanding the description of the reference and helping to build a strategy of predication and the issue of discourses. The most common correlated words are related to the origin of the migrant, followed by references to their legal status. As such, the construction “irregulares” is among the most common correlated words for “inmigrantes”. We can find it in other combinations such as “inmigracion irregular”, “el

¹¹⁷ “An Uzbek immigrant belonging to IS runs over several people in New York and causes 8 deaths” (LV145)

problema de la inmigración irregular” and just as “irregulares”¹¹⁸, accentuating the issue of difference towards migration.

The expression “el problema de la inmigración irregular” appears in the headline of the article LV139 in the following sentence containing an orthographic mistake: “El problema de la inmigración irregular se amplia a Argelia y Túnez”. Besides the fact that “amplia” should have been written “amplía”, the title contains a subjective judgement, linking irregular migration to a problem, an argument that is not developed in the text. The author of the article is not a journalist from *La Vanguardia* but a news agency called EFE. *La Vanguardia* just reproduced the information written by this agency.

There is another particularity with the correlated word “irregular”, which can be found as a noun itself in the word “irregulares”, such as in LV138. By referring to “irregulares” instead of “inmigrantes irregulares”, the journalist is applying the rhetorical figure of synecdoche, in which a part of something is designating the whole, again applying a strategy of nomination. The term “irregulares” does not exist as a noun in the dictionary of Real Academia Española. By simply referring to “irregulares” as a noun, the author of the article assumes readers will understand the meaning of this synecdoche, activating preconceptions already built in the common knowledge of the receivers. This simplification saves time and effort to the journalist, but it lacks informative depth, and it is not correct from a linguistic point of view. The term is used in the subtitle of the piece: “España, la nueva puerta de entrada a Europa para los inmigrantes. Es el único país europeo donde crece la llegada de irregulares por mar”¹¹⁹.

Concerning the term “irregular”, we can also find the term “ilegal”, which are closely related in the articles analysed, up to the point that in many cases, they are used interchangeably, as it can be seen in the same LV138. In this article, the author writes: “Por lo que respecta a las vías de inmigración ilegal que salían de Libia, el nuevo Gobierno italiano ha cambiado de política”¹²⁰. As explained in previous sections of this chapter, there is a debate about the suitability of the term “ilegal” to refer to people.

¹¹⁸ “irregular immigration”, “the problem of irregular immigration” and “irregular”

¹¹⁹ “Spain, the new gateway to Europe for immigrants. It is the only European country where the arrival of irregular people is growing”

¹²⁰ “Regarding illegal immigration routes out of Libya, the new Italian government has changed its policy” (LV138)

Several media outlets have banned the term “illegal immigrant”. For example, Associated Press, NBC and the American *ABC* banned the use of “illegal immigrant” in their articles, and they generally recommend “undocumented” instead, although Associated Press prefers “living in the country without legal permission” (Toobin: 2015). The recommendation by Associated Press is to use the term “illegal” when writing about action, not people (Colford: 2013). Another requirement of the Associated Press when writing about this topic is to “specify wherever possible how someone entered the country illegally and from where. Crossed the border? Overstayed a visa? What nationality?” (Colford: 2013). Additionally, Cecilia Malmström, the European Commissioner for Home Affairs at the time, clearly sanctioned the use of “illegal” when referring to migration: “And let me be clear about my vocabulary too: illegal immigrants do not exist. People may come to the EU and might be required to use irregular ways...but no human being is illegal” (Picum, 2014: 1).

Mirroring the construction of “irregulares” to refer to irregular immigration, it is also possible to find the construction of “ilegales” in relation to “illegal immigration” in this period of *La Vanguardia*. However, the difference is that the journalist decided to write the term between quotation marks, distancing himself from the source who used this term, in this case somebody from the Trump administration: “En su comunicado solicitó más medios para asegurar las fronteras y la rápida deportación de los ‘ilegales’”¹²¹. The journalist, then, is indirectly recognising the extraordinary character of the term, an acknowledgement that was not made when writing about “irregulares”. This is an example of how the strategy of perspectivization is applied.

Besides the synecdoche “irregulares”, *La Vanguardia* used other rhetorical figures not related to humans. Specifically, *La Vanguardia* in the period of 2017 is the newspaper that used more often the term “flujo”, flow, when referring to migration in comparison to any other newspaper analysed in both periods. We can find it in different variations: “flujo migratorio”¹²², both in singular (in LV101 and LV112) and plural, “flujos migratorios”¹²³ (in LV106). We can also find it twice as “flujo de llegada”¹²⁴ (in LV138, the same article

¹²¹ “In his statement, he requested more means to secure the borders and the rapid deportation of the ‘ilegals’” (LV102)

¹²² “migratory flow”

¹²³ “migratory flows”

¹²⁴ “flow of arrival”

that used “irregulares), in “flujo de migración regular”¹²⁵ (in LV101), as well in the intensified version “intenso flujo de refugiados” (again in LV101) and in the hyperbolic “flujo interminable de inmigrantes”¹²⁶ (LV103). This type of references to an entity that is “intense” and “endless” are devices to apply the strategy of intensification with the issue of difference and discourses.

The article LV101 uses more variants of “flujo”. This is a piece of information describing that the Muslim population in Europe could triple by 2050. The author of the article, Anna Buj, explains that there will be three times more Muslims in Europe in 2050. She links this forecast to the arrival of migrants and refugees. There is no proper distinction between migrants and refugees, and they are both associated with Muslims, another challenging simplification related to the issue of representation, which will be studied in this segment. The article is headed by the sentence “El reto de la integración”¹²⁷, a topic that is not developed in the text, assuming that it will be a challenge for Muslims to integrate into Europe. The subtitle develops in the thesis of the migration as a flow: “Bajo el flujo migratorio actual representaría el 14% del total, según un estudio”¹²⁸. The article also shows other non-human metaphors related to nature and, more specifically, to water, such as “ola de inmigración”¹²⁹. It is noteworthy to highlight that this article is a production of *La Vanguardia*, a long piece of almost 950 words, one of the longest of the period, occupying a full page in the printed edition and published in the digital version as well. In the article, *La Vanguardia* does not reproduce information sent by news agencies. However, it invests resources of its own newsroom to produce a complex piece of information that mixed regular migrants (“flujo de migración regular”), unlabelled migrants (“flujo migratorio”, “ola de inmigración”), refugees (“flujo de refugiados”) and Muslims (“inmigración musulmana”) without a clear distinction among them, by using terms related to an unstoppable flow of water.

The term “wave” is not exclusive to the article LV101. It can be also found in LV126, which is titled “A la greña por la inmigración”¹³⁰. “Greña” is an informal way to

¹²⁵ “regular migration flow”

¹²⁶ “endless flow of immigrants”

¹²⁷ “The challenge of integration”

¹²⁸ “Under the current migratory flow it would represent 14% of the total, according to a study” (LV101)

¹²⁹ “immigration wave”

¹³⁰ “At a fight over immigration”

refer to a conflict. In this case, the “problem” are not Muslims coming into Europe in the next three decades, but the twenty million potential immigrants that Africa has, who are economical, according to Spanish diplomatic sources quoted by *La Vanguardia* without giving a name, setting a strategy of perspectivization: “los veinte millones potenciales de inmigrantes que tiene África, que son económicos”¹³¹. The author of the article, Beatriz Navarro, uses the term “wave” to refer to the arrival of refugees into Europe in 2015, and the journalist continues the aquatic personification by stating that refugees now arrive drop by drop: “El auténtico reto no son los refugiados, que pasada la ola del 2015 llegan con cuentagotas”¹³². This is a straightforward use of metonyms to apply the strategy of nomination. The author goes on to reproduce the statement of the head of the Austrian Government when expressing that migrants are a burden, which has to be shared by all the European Union: “Europa existe porque compartimos entre todos los beneficios pero también las cargas”¹³³. Once again, as it happened with LV101, this article LV126 is also a highly elaborated text, written by a journalist of *La Vanguardia*, even longer than the previous one, almost 1100 words, in which the editors decided to locate resources, including its correspondent in Brussels, as the author of the piece. This decision shows the importance of the information published on the third page of the printed journal and in the digital edition.

The used of unstoppable metaphors to refer to migration-related to nature can be found in more articles, such as LV125, in which migrants are “en el ojo del huracán”, in the eye of the hurricane, and in LV137, titled “Una fuente de conflictos”, migrants as a source of conflicts, in another instance of the implementation of the issue of difference. “Fuente” in Spanish can be easily related to water, and the article shows twice a hyperbolic metaphor, the more dramatic “avalancha”, avalanche, when writing about the high number of people trying to enter into Spain irregularly by boat. The term “avalancha” does not normally refer to humans. We can find two meanings in the dictionary when looking at “avalancha”: a large mass of snow that falls from the mountains with violence and noise and a large mass of matter that falls off a slope (RAE: 2019). The author of the piece, Adolfo S. Ruiz, uses the term in a figurative sense. The journalist uses another literary figure, a metonymy when writing twice the expression

¹³¹ “The twenty million potential immigrants that Africa has, which are economic” (LV126)

¹³² “The real challenge is not the refugees, who after the wave of 2015 arrive with drop by drop” (LV126)

¹³³ “Europe exists because we share all the benefits but also the burdens” (LV126)

“avalancha de pateras que se lanzaron al mar”¹³⁴. By referring to the avalanche of boats thrown into the sea, the author uses a metaphor for “avalanche”, and a “metonymy” for boats since the journalist refers to the people travelling in the boat, not to the boats. Nevertheless, the sentence has another rhetorical figure, a personification of boats, an object carrying the action of the verb. The author expects readers to understand these rhetorical figures taken from literary techniques in an exercise of implicatures well studied in this investigation.

In the article LV137, it is also used an overextended synecdoche in relation to papers, starting with creating the neologism “simpapeles”. We can find references to “papeles”, papers, concerning migration in several articles: LV124, LV135, LV137, LV140, LV141, LV142, LV144. Papers are used as a metaphor to refer to the documents that a person needs to regularly reside in a country. It can be found in *La Vanguardia* in different combinations: “simpapeles” (LV137, LV141), “sin papeles” (between quotation marks are in the original LV135), “con papeles” (LV142, with quotation marks in the original), “emigrantes que nunca han tenido papeles” (LV140), “inmigrantes sin papeles” (LV142, again with quotation marks in the original), “personas sin papeles” (LV144)¹³⁵. As it happened with the nouns “irregulares” and “ilegales”, the noun “simpapeles” does not exist in the Spanish dictionary in any of the variants used by *La Vanguardia*. The fact that *La Vanguardia* is using the term in some cases between quotation marks denotes that some of the journalists of this newspaper are aware that the reference is not formal and are trying to distance themselves from the authorship of the mention, in a strategy of perspectivization that, in any case, is using the term. Nevertheless, it does not seem to be precise enough for the editors of *La Vanguardia* whether or not this term should be used as a proper way to name migrants because “sin papeles” is also used in direct quotations. It calls for a harmonisation of the term, which in English could be translated to “undocumented”, even though the Spanish version is even more simplified since it already exists the term “indocumentado”. The designation “indocumentado” is also found in *La Vanguardia* in the articles LV102 and LV112. The debate about the accuracy of labelling migrants with lax terms has been analysed

¹³⁴ “avalanche of boats that thrown into the sea”

¹³⁵ “withoutpapers” (LV137, LV141), “without papers” (LV135), “with papers” (LV142), “emigrants who have never had papers” (LV140), “immigrants 'without papers'”(LV142), “people without papers” (LV144)

previously in the chapter. In addition to the discussion, it can be mentioned an article of Los Angeles Times about the term “undocumented”. This article explains that the term “undocumented” has been rejected by some media because “people may have documents, just not the right ones” and expresses that it is “lazy to label people. It’s better to describe them” (Chang & Gerber, 2013: 1). The consequences of using this type of non-human attributes to migration have been studied in this work, as can be seen in the first chapter of the investigation.

The article LV138 is an example of the incoherence shown by *La Vanguardia* in this period when trying to describe migration: the journalist, once again Adolfo S. Ruiz, analysed in a lengthy article of almost 1000 words the routes of migration from Africa to Europe, which is considered a “tragedy” in the title of the piece. The author used a wide array of terms to refer to migrants. As such, we can find several references to “inmigrantes”, but also to “inmigrantes irregulares”¹³⁶, “corriente migratoria”¹³⁷, using an aquatic metaphor found twice in the text, as well as “el flujo de llegada” and “el flujo de llegadas”¹³⁸, aquatic metaphors as well. We can also find “fenómeno migratorio”¹³⁹, the disputed “inmigración ilegal”¹⁴⁰ and the simplified neologism “irregulares”¹⁴¹, as well as other references to the origin of the migrants, such as “magrebíes”¹⁴², “inmigrantes subsaharianos”¹⁴³ and the countries of origin, such as “inmigrantes de Siria”¹⁴⁴, even though many Syrians might be in fact refugees or asylum seekers since they are coming from a country in war at the time of the publication of the article. There are also “inmigrantes de Irán”¹⁴⁵ and “inmigrantes de Afganistán”¹⁴⁶, another two countries whose nationals might wish to apply for asylum when arriving into the European Union. There are also references to their age when calling them “jóvenes”¹⁴⁷. Finally, they are called “personas”¹⁴⁸ on several occasions, finishing with the polyhedric nominalisation of

¹³⁶ “irregular immigrants”

¹³⁷ “migratory stream”

¹³⁸ “the flow of arrival”, “The flow of arrivals”

¹³⁹ “migratory phenomenon”

¹⁴⁰ “illegal immigration”

¹⁴¹ “irregulars”

¹⁴² “from Maghreb”

¹⁴³ “sub-Saharan immigrants”

¹⁴⁴ “immigrants from Syria”

¹⁴⁵ “immigrants from Iran”

¹⁴⁶ “immigrants from Afghanistan”

¹⁴⁷ “young boys”

¹⁴⁸ “persons”

migrants in this article. By contrast, the story is illustrated with three pictures which are very similar between each other: they only have one type of migrant representation in a particular context: the three of them show black people wrapped in emergency blankets after or during a sea rescue in the middle of the night, all of them looking confused, scared and abandoned. Given that the article mentioned people from North Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, Algeria, Afghanistan, Morocco, Syria and Iran, it is not justifiable, from a journalistic point of view, to choose only pictures of black people in a distressful situation.

To close with the analysis of the correlated words linked to the term “inmigrante”, there is still another expression that stood out for its relation with animals instead of humans. It is the case of the word “gateras”, which in English is translated as cat holes, the small opening that some doors have in order to let cats entering in the house: “a lo largo de 2017 se ha constatado un aumento y un desplazamiento de esas mafias y esos flujos a Túnez y Argelia, que se han convertido de nuevo en gateras para la inmigración irregular en el Mediterráneo”¹⁴⁹ (LV139). There is no journalistic justification for using a simile related to animals in this context. The same sentence also used the personification of a natural disaster to refer to migrants with the word “flujos”, flown, already analysed in this segment. The particularity of the use of “flujos” in this text is the inclusion of the demonstrative “esos flujos”, those flows. This demonstrative implies distance from the reader, in opposition to “estos”, these, which would feel emotionally or physically closer to readers, in another instance of the application of the strategy of perspectivization and the issue of discourse.

Continuing with the most common terms used to refer to migration in *La Vanguardia*, it is noteworthy to point out how often migrants were referred to as Muslims. In this period, the references of *La Vanguardia* to Muslims in articles about migration are in the top four terms used to define migrants. The ratio seems even higher if compared to the rest of the newspapers analysed. *ABC* did not publish an article about Muslims and migration, and *El País* showed limited references. Among the correlated words chosen to go with Muslims, the most remarkable is the construction “musulmanes catalanes”¹⁵⁰.

¹⁴⁹ “Throughout 2017 there has been an increase and a displacement of these mafias and those flows to Tunisia and Algeria, which have once again become cat-holes for irregular immigration in the Mediterranean” (LV139)

¹⁵⁰ “Catalan Muslims”

This allusion can be found in LV127, an article titled “Informe sobre la inmigración en Catalunya”¹⁵¹. There is an incongruity between the body of the article, which is just under 100 characters, and the title. The title makes a reference to a report about immigration in Catalonia, but the text does not mention immigration at all, and it starts by saying “LOS MUSULMANES catalanes son más que una comunidad, muchas comunidades diversas, un grupo heterogéneo, unido por otros factores al margen de la religión, pero todavía tienen pocas voces en el mundo de la política”¹⁵², the capital letters are from the original. The title of the article refers to immigrants and the body of the article to Muslims, assuming that all Muslims in Catalonia are migrants and vice versa, which is an example of how the issue of assumptions is implemented in *La Vanguardia*.

Other articles of *La Vanguardia* used a different criterion, not considering migrants to those who are nationals of the receiving country, regardless of the religion of the person, but only when they are successful. For instance, an article from 2020 about Zinedine Zidane, the football manager at the time of the football club Real Madrid. Twice in the article, including the subtitle, Zidane is referred to as “French”, because he is a French citizen, born in France of Algerian parents. The same article states that Zidane is Muslim. Zidane is not considered a migrant at any point in the article, as it happened with the “Catalan Muslims” of the article LV127 who were defined as migrants even though some of them also have Spanish citizenship and were born in Spain.

Islam is the only creed mentioned when reporting about religion and migration in *La Vanguardia*. Particularly, there are eight articles about Muslims and migration published during this period by *La Vanguardia*. All of them show a problematic view about Muslims, relating them to being in Europe in a high number (LV101 and LV127), about creating differences among political parties (LV104, LV106, LV148) and about terrorist attacks in which the focus was put on the perpetrators being migrants and Muslims (LV119, LV121). There is only one article that has a positive representation of migration, and it is also the only one having a Muslim as the source of information, LV151. At the beginning of the article, the journalist explains that many voices were raised against the terrorist attacks committed in August of 2017 in Las Ramblas of

¹⁵¹ “Report on immigration in Catalonia” (LV127)

¹⁵² “Catalan MUSLIMS are more than a community, many diverse communities, a heterogeneous group, united by factors other than religion, but they still have few voices in the world of politics” (LV127)

Barcelona and Cambrils, a village of Catalonia. In total, 18 people were killed in two attacks claimed by the Islamic State. According to the journalist, among the voices who denounced the atrocity, there was a special one, whose face remained in the retina of the Catalans, that of Míriam Hatibi. Two years later, Míriam published a book about her life experience which is quoted in this article. There is an extract of the book reproduced in the text. It is one of the few occasions when a person with a migrant background is left so much length to reflect on her own representation. Given the exceptionality of the case and the valuable content of the excerpt, it will be reproduced in full: “Se dice que ‘la gente es el espejo en que nos miramos’. Si me miro en mi propio espejo, soy Míriam Hatibi, soy de Barcelona, ilerdense, española, catalana, marroquí y musulmana. Si me miro en el espejo de mucha gente soy Míriam, inmigrante de segunda generación, como si la condición de inmigrante se pudiera heredar. Nuestros padres vinieron a ganarse la vida, sin hacer ruido. Los hijos de inmigrantes somos activos y reivindicativos. Siempre he dicho que si fuera un hombre blanco tendría mucho más tiempo libre, porque no tendría que estar justificándome siempre. Pero también sé que si no hablo hablarán por mí, y ya he visto cómo va cuando se habla por mí. Por eso he decidido tomar la palabra”¹⁵³ (LV151). This representation is diametrically opposed to the one shown in most of the articles analysed in the corpus. First, Míriam does not even consider herself a migrant because she does not acknowledge that being a migrant can be inherited. As we have seen in this section and before in this chapter, the criterium of Míriam is not predominantly followed by the journalists writing about migrants in *ABC*, *El País* and *La Vanguardia*.

The last term extracted from the top ten of the most common ways to refer to migration is “refugiados”, which often appears in *La Vanguardia*, more frequently than other references such as foreigners. The term refugees is included in this list even though migrants and refugees do not have the same legal status, according to several sources such as the United Nations, already quoted in this chapter. Nevertheless, the term is incorporated in the list because, in many cases, it is used as an interchangeable way to refer to migrants by media. There is confusion when referring to migrants and refugees.

¹⁵³ “It is said that ‘people are the mirror in which we look at ourselves’. If I look at myself in my own mirror, I am Míriam Hatibi, I am from Barcelona, from Lleida, Spanish, Catalan, Moroccan and Muslim. If I look at myself in the mirror of many people, I am Míriam, a second-generation immigrant, as if immigrant status could be inherited. Our parents came to earn a living, quietly. The children of immigrants are active and vindictive. I’ve always said that if I were a white man I’d have a lot more free time, because I wouldn’t have to always justify myself. But I also know that if I don’t speak they will speak for me, and I have already seen how it goes when they speak for me. That is why I have decided to speak” (LV151)

As it has been analysed in this subsection, there are times when people arriving irregularly into Europe are considered migrants, even though there could be refugees or asylum seekers, as seen in LV138. However, there are also cases when the term refugees are used as a synonym of migrants, creating confusion about the meaning of both nouns. For instance, LV112. The author of this article writes: “El número de inmigrantes indocumentados y refugiados que llegaron este año a España a través de la ruta del Mediterráneo occidental se situó en casi 20.000 personas”¹⁵⁴. However, when stating how many of them died while trying to arrive in this route, the author only mentions migrants and does not make any reference to refugees, even though the author is still writing about the same group of people: “En la travesía a través del Mediterráneo occidental murieron en lo que va de año 206 inmigrantes”¹⁵⁵. The author does not make a distinction between migrants and asylum seekers, which in fact is not made in any article of *La Vanguardia* during this period. It is not journalistically justifiable to not mention refugees in the number of people who died while trying to cross the Mediterranean into Spain. In any case, the articles of *La Vanguardia* during this period focused on most of the cases in migration and mentions to refugees are not as common as in *ABC* and *El País* during the same period. *La Vanguardia* also published fewer articles about minor immigrants than its counterparts, and it followed the general trend among all the newspapers to barely mention asylum seekers.

In relation to the origin of the migrants mentioned in the articles, *La Vanguardia* is the newspaper that, most often, did not refer to any origin of migrants in comparison to the rest of newspapers analysed in any of the two periods. A third of the articles published by *La Vanguardia* in this period was about migration in a broad sense of the word, a result that can be explained by the abuse of abstract terms such as “migration flows” and “immigrant wave” or other generic forms such as “irregulars”. This type of expressions gives little details about the characteristics of the people taking part in the migratory process described in the information. For instance, LV135, an article debating whether everybody in Spain, regardless of their legal status, should be treated by the public health system. The author of the article is not named, and the article is signed by “redacción y agencias”, newsroom and news agencies. The subtitle of the article

¹⁵⁴ “The number of undocumented immigrants and refugees who arrived in Spain this year via the western Mediterranean route stood at almost 20,000 people” (LV112)

¹⁵⁵ “In the crossing through the western Mediterranean, 206 immigrants have died so far this year” (LV112)

announces: “La Generalitat Valenciana mantendrá la atención a los “sin papeles” en todo el sistema público de sanidad”¹⁵⁶. There is no information about the characteristics of these “sin papeles”. Moreover, it is not clear why the author of the article decided to put the reference between quotation marks, since there is no attribution of the quote to a source inside the text. Contrary, if the journalist is quoting Generalitat Valenciana when writing about “sin papeles”, the quote is wrongly transcribed, since in the text, the president of Generalitat Valenciana uses another way to refer to migrants, the noun “personas”. Later in the text, the journalist quotes sources from Generalitat Valenciana again, but again the term used is not “sin papeles”, but “citizens”. The use by the author of the article of the metonymy “sin papeles” between quotation marks in the subtitle is not justifiable since it is not quoting a source of information. There is no reason to use the quotation marks unless the journalist considered the expression was not adequate, in which case it should not have been used in the first place. As a result of this method, the unnamed author of the subtitle is trying to distance himself/herself from the responsibility of using this expression, which is not deontologically correct.

Another third of the articles mentioned the nationality of the migrants, which is the lowest frequency of mentions to any nationality for any of the newspaper analysed in both of the periods. Among those articles, there is not any nationality that stands among the others. For instance, Moroccans are the most common nationality among foreigners living in Spain (INE: 2017). Nevertheless, less than a tenth of the articles mentioning the nationality are about Moroccans. Romanians are the second most common nationality during this period (INE: 2017). However, they are not mentioned in *La Vanguardia*. This is another method of applying the strategy of mitigation and the issue of representation.

When broadening the scope and mentioning the region of origin of migrants instead of the nationality, most of the times, migrants are categorised as being from Africa, either from the whole African continent, from North Africa and especially from Sub-Saharan Africa. The term “subsahariano” is often used as a simile for a black person by journalists since the only trait of the origin known by the author of the article is a picture in which the colour of the skin of the person is seen, as it can be appreciated in LV138 (see image 8 in annex 2). In this article, there are no mentions about any specific

¹⁵⁶ “The Generalitat Valenciana will maintain care for the “undocumented” throughout the public health system” (LV135)

Sub-Saharan African country, but three pictures show black people to illustrate an article that opens with the sentence “La pinza se cierra sobre los inmigrantes subsaharianos”¹⁵⁷. Moreover, in this sentence there is another metaphorical expression regarding closing a clamp, which is a tool to grasp an object and used in relation to migration in this article.

In relation to the number of migrants mentioned in the articles, *La Vanguardia* overwhelmingly preferred to write about the collective actor of immigration. Once again, the use of metaphorical constructions related to flows of water as a way to define migration have a notable influence in this result. In the article LV103, titled “Inmigración: verdades incómodas”¹⁵⁸, the author, Robert Skidelsky, expresses that migration is not as good for the economy as some economic experts say: “La teoría económica estándar nos dice que la inmigración neta, al igual que el libre comercio, beneficia a la población nativa con cierto retraso (...) Sin embargo, un estudio reciente del economista de la Universidad de Cambridge Robert Rowthorn ha demostrado que este argumento está lleno de agujeros”¹⁵⁹. The author writes about migration in general terms, without any distinction, using expressions as “inmigración masiva” or “inmigración irrestricta”¹⁶⁰. The closest to any specification made by the author is a reference to “inmigrantes nacidos en el exterior”¹⁶¹, which seems redundant, and “trabajadores jóvenes importados”¹⁶², which is using a term, “importados”, normally applied for objects and not for people. These techniques accentuate the issue of difference.

The absence of articles about families or recognisable groups in *La Vanguardia* during this whole period is also remarkable, in line with the results of *ABC*. Seen these results, it is not surprising to find out that *La Vanguardia* has the lowest ratio of mentions to names of migrants in this period. This is also in line with the type of pictures selected to illustrate the articles about migration: in most cases, more than a third, the editors of *La Vanguardia* did not add any picture to the article. Again, this is the lowest percentage in this period compared to the other two newspapers analysed. In the rest of the cases

¹⁵⁷ “The clamp closes on sub-Saharan immigrants” (LV138)

¹⁵⁸ “Immigration: uncomfortable truths” (LV103)

¹⁵⁹ “Standard economic theory tells us that net immigration, like free trade, benefits the native population with some delay... However, a recent study by Cambridge University economist Robert Rowthorn has shown that this plot is full of holes” (LV103)

¹⁶⁰ “mass immigration” or “unrestricted immigration”

¹⁶¹ “foreign-born immigrants”

¹⁶² “imported young workers”

when there were pictures published in *La Vanguardia*, the most common actor represented in the image were not migrants but politicians and other non-migrant subjects. The most common politician in the pictures is Donald Trump, the then president of the United States (LV105, LV129).

This segment has put into context how migrants are represented in *La Vanguardia* during the period of December 2017. Nevertheless, the answer to this question cannot be complete without paying attention to the complementary questions, as it will be done in the following segments.

4.6.2. The use of public memories and assumptions

This segment will add a qualitative approach to the answer of the auxiliary research question regarding the use of public memories and historical assumptions that include sensitive aspects about migrants in representing migration, in relation to the results of *La Vanguardia* extracted from the analysis of the corpus of December 2017.

First, it is noteworthy that half of the articles of *La Vanguardia* published assumptions about migration, working with already built historical views about migrants to simplify the description of the migratory phenomenon. One of the most remarkable results in this respect is that *La Vanguardia*, contrary to *ABC* and *El País* in the same period, did not publish an article explaining these assumptions. As such, the articles show an assumption without further elaborating into the context, providing a vision of migrants related to conflict, poverty, and massive arrivals, implementing the issue of difference by emphasising the issue of assumptions. Instances of this approach are found in articles such as LV146, in which the foreign population of Spain is associated with immigrants, and those with low-skilled workers, without providing consistent evidence for this claim. The article LV108 relates migration with problems for society by quoting a publicist who says that one of the biggest problems of the society is the integration of migrants, without further explanation. In some of the articles, the assumption is even more embedded in the historical representation of migration linked to poverty, such as in LV107. The topic of this article does not have anything to do with migration but with the system to recycle garbage. However, to illustrate the article, the editors of *La Vanguardia* selected an image of a black person surrounded by old shopping carts full of trash in a posture that reflects

desperation or tiredness. There is no information to support the claim that this person is a migrant, besides the caption of the picture, that reads “Un inmigrante descansa tras haber recogido en sus carros todo tipo de metales en Paseo de Gràcia. de Barcelona”¹⁶³. There is a typographic error in the caption, adding a dot before the last two words of the sentence. There is no explanation about how they know this person is a migrant. If the journalist knew he is a migrant, there is no justification for excluding more personal information about him or excluding him as a source in the article, which did not happen. The only information we know about this person is that he is tired, he is a migrant, and he searches through the garbage.

The other half of the articles of *La Vanguardia* in this period have a more constructive vision about migration concerning the assumptions shown in the text, and a third of the stories confronted the negative assumption. For instance, the article LV102 presents the approach of Donald Trump towards migration, in which the then-president of the United States relates migrants to criminals. The journalist, in this case, distances himself from the position of Trump by clearly quoting the comments of the American president and by using introductory sentences with a subtle critique to Trump: “La Administración Trump, al margen de la legalidad de una resolución, aprovechó la ocasión para llevar el agua a su molino”¹⁶⁴. Contradicting Trump seems to be a pattern for *La Vanguardia* in this period. For example, the article LV114 explains that migrants are not well treated in the United States because, among other things, Trump keeps insulting them. In the article LV120, the journalist refutes Trump, who said that border controls should be enacted because there are terrorists among Muslims. In this case, the author of the article, Francesc Peirón, distances himself from Trump by not defining the terrorist as a migrant in any of his explanations. The article LV121 is even more direct in its confrontation with the vision of Trump about migration by titling the article “El presidente de EE.UU. utiliza al suicida del metro contra los inmigrantes”¹⁶⁵. As it can be seen, all these articles have in common a confrontation of the assumption of migrants who are outside of Spain. The confrontation with the assumption of immigrants in Spain is more limited than reports about immigrants outside Spain. In any case, these articles

¹⁶³ “An immigrant rests after having collected all kinds of metal in his carts in Paseo de Gràcia in Barcelona” (LV107)

¹⁶⁴ “The Trump Administration, regardless of the legality of a resolution, took the opportunity to bring water to its mill” (LV102)

¹⁶⁵ “The US president uses the subway suicide bomber against immigrants” (LV121)

confront an assumed representation by suggesting it is not the right one, but they fall short of proposing a more positive representation of migration.

Only a fifth of the articles of *La Vanguardia* proposes a more positive representing of migrants, free from pejorative and simplistic assumptions. These articles have something in common: most of them use multiple sources. For instance, the article LV109 has five different sources, including a migrant. Titled “¿Donald Trump? No, gracias”, the article tells a story of successful migrants in the United States by informing of the prizes awarded to cultural personalities in the United States, including a Cuban migrant. This type of articles, however, are a minority in *La Vanguardia*.

4.6.3. The use of frames to portray migration

This segment will take into consideration the question regarding what type of frames are journalists using to portray migration by adding a qualitative input to the data extracted from analysing *La Vanguardia* during December 2017.

Firstly, we learned that *La Vanguardia* preferred to write about political disagreements in articles regarding migration. The frequency of this topic is remarkable, coping a third of the stories, a number way higher than the one shown by any newspaper. These articles display arguments from different political parties confronting their visions about the convenience of migration. Around forty per cent of the articles on this topic are about migration in terms of foreign policy, either in regards to the United States, as in LV102, or general trends on a global scale as in, for instance, LV103. The rest, almost sixty per cent, are about Spanish political disagreements. More in detail, in this group, we can find two main topics: migrants in Catalonia in relation to the regional elections, and a debate about the access to all migrants, including those who do not have the permit to live in Spain, to the public health care. These two topics are interrelated in LV140. This article presented how the government of Catalonia, in favour of the independence from Spain, announced that it would not apply the law approved by the Constitutional Court rejecting to attend migrants without a permit to live in Spain. The language used by the author of the article suggests that the Catalan Government is doing right in not applying the rule, by opening the article stating: “La exclusion del derecho de asistencia sanitaria que supuso el real decreto del 2012 se corrigió en Catalunya vía instrucciones meses

después”¹⁶⁶. Using the verb “to correct”, the author suggests that the Catalan government is fixing something wrong. This an example of the implementation of the strategy of predication.

Most of these articles about political disagreements in Spain regarding migration are situated under the Cynefin approach of known frames. This frame focuses on legitimising what is considered the best practice, showing events as something that can be predictable. The most significant percentage of articles in this period, a third of them, contain this frame. However, other frameworks showing a more complex reality are still present quite often in *La Vanguardia*, mainly when Catalan politicians are not part of the information. This is especially notable when looking into the results of the preferred ethical frames of *La Vanguardia* in this period. In this aspect, the most frequent frame found is the one regarding public security.

The public security frame is found in articles justifying some kind of migration control by posing migrants as a threat to the stability of the society, and it is, therefore, linked to the issue of difference. This is often made by including specific terms and expressions related to the linguistic field of fighting, conflict and battles. Some of these expressions might be subtle, and others more obvious. In the group of the subtle ones, we can find LV137. This article deals with the case of 500 people from Algeria who entered irregularly into Spain and were kept in jail instead of a detention centre while their situation was clear. This incident was also covered by *El País*, with three articles, and *ABC* did not cover it. In the case of *La Vanguardia*, there is only one article about this incident. *La Vanguardia* did not report about the person who committed suicide inside a cell after waiting for more than a month to solve his situation. The article of *La Vanguardia* was published previously to this incident, and it focussed in what is shown as deficient management of the situation by the Ministry of Interior. The journalist decided to frame this article under a chaotic Cynefin framework and a public security ethical frame by using terms such as conflicts, problems, protests and riots, all of them written in a very prominent position, such as the title, “Una fuente de conflictos”¹⁶⁷, the

¹⁶⁶ “The exclusion of the right to healthcare provided by the royal decree of 2012 was corrected in Catalonia via instructions months later” (LV140)

¹⁶⁷ “A source of conflict”

opening of the text, “Protestas, motines, expulsiones, investigaciones judiciales...”¹⁶⁸ (the three dots are included in the original); and the pretitle, “Problemas y protestas por el internamiento de 500 simpapeles en la cárcel de Archidona”¹⁶⁹, which is also including the disputed term “simpapeles”. Other words less related to conflict, such as “manifestación”, demonstration, is not used. The author continues to apply metaphors that relate migration with an imminent threat, in this case in relation to large bodies of water, such as “avalanche”, avalanche, or “desbordar”, overflow: “La avalancha de pateras que se lanzaron al mar de Alborán y llegaron al puerto de Cartagena, hace ahora algo más de un mes, desbordó al Gobierno”¹⁷⁰.

The special attention of *La Vanguardia* for the “massive arrivals” of migrants is also patent in LV112. This article takes as a reference a report of the International Organization of Migration, expressing the number of people who died while trying to cross the Mediterranean to reach Europe and the number of people who attempted this trip. *La Vanguardia* focuses on the number of attempts, dedicating most of the text to expand on this point. It is not until the end of the text, in the last sentence, when it is written that migrants died while attempting to arrive, but not mentioning refugees. The picture in the articles shows a confused group of black people covered by blankets in the middle of the night in a Spanish port.

In other articles, the relationship between migration and conflict is more obvious. For instance, terrorists are often portrayed as migrants as the most prominent characteristic of their personal descriptions. We can see this practice, for example, in LV116, where the only information we have about two terrorists is that one of them has Bangladeshi origins and the other is a migrant from Uzbekistan. There are no personal details about their profession, studies, or how long they have lived in the United States. The source of the article is a news agency. In the article LV119, we can also see the practice to reduce the description of a terrorist to just being a migrant. In this case, the author of LV119 writes that the suspected terrorist is a Bangladeshi immigrant with sympathies for Islamic extremism, but the author does not give more details about him.

¹⁶⁸ “Protestas, motines, expulsiones, investigaciones judiciales...”

¹⁶⁹ “Problems and protests over the internment of 500 undocumented people in the Archidona prison”

¹⁷⁰ “The avalanche of boats that launched into the Alboran Sea and arrived at the port of Cartagena, a little over a month ago now, overwhelmed the Government” (LV137)

This is an argument also used by Donald Trump, as expressed by a journalist in LV129, writing that Trump equated immigration and terrorism. This is the only frame presented in the article since the single source used to write the piece is Donald Trump, and there were no counterarguments to balance the proposed vision of linking migration to terrorism. LV150 showed a similar pattern, one more time, when the only characteristic we know about a person who set on fire a club, killing 87 people, is that he is a migrant from Cuba.

After examining all these samples, it does not come as a surprise to find out that the most frequent topic frame used by *La Vanguardia* in this period in discussions about migration is the frame of migrants as a source of conflict. As it has been studied, this type of frame is presented by using certain terms more related to armed conflicts, applying vocabulary that could be found in a report of a battle, such as expressions like “asalto masivo”, massive assault, and “repeler”, to repel. This type of terms can be found in the title of LV111: “Sólo un inmigrante de 200 entra en Ceuta en un intento de salto masivo”¹⁷¹. In the text, migrants are repelled by an armed force from two countries. “Las Fuerzas de Seguridad españolas y marroquíes repelieron a primera hora de la mañana de ayer un intento de salto en grupo protagonizado por unos 200 inmigrantes de origen subsahariano”¹⁷². Overall, the frame of the article gives the impression to be narrating a battle in a siege city.

4.6.4. The treatment of sources

This segment will add a qualitative approach to the questions regarding the prioritisation of some sources over others by journalists and whether migrants are sources in the articles about migration in *La Vanguardia* during December 2017. For that, first, it will be examined from whom the information originates. Three aspects are noteworthy for *La Vanguardia* in this respect. First, *La Vanguardia* predominantly uses journalists as the primary source of the article, with a clear dependency on information produced by news agencies, reproducing already written material with little input from *La Vanguardia*. Second, the participation of migrants as a source in articles about migration is notably

¹⁷¹ “Only one immigrant out of 200 enters Ceuta in a massive jump attempt” (LV111)

¹⁷² “The Spanish and Moroccan Security Forces repelled early yesterday morning a group jump attempt carried out by some 200 immigrants of sub-Saharan origin” (LV111)

low. Third, politicians have an important role in participating as a source, an aspect that will be studied at the end of this segment.

The effects of using news agencies as the sole source of information can be seen in LV116. EFE, a Spanish news agency, signs this article, and the text can be found with very little changes, when not identically written, in many other publications, such as *El Economista* (EFE, 2017a), *Canarias 7* (Europa Press, 2017). *La Opinión de Murcia* (EFE & Europa Press, 2017) *Cadena Ser* (2017), *El Confidencial* (EC, 2017), *Diario de Ferrol* (Santiago, 2017) and *Libertad FM* (EFE, 2017b), among others. Some of the publications changed a few words to adapt the language to their localisms. For example, *Canarias 7* writes “Un ataque terrorista en la principal estación de guaguas de Nueva York dejó este lunes cuatro heridos”¹⁷³, the italics have been added to emphasized the word “guaguas”, a Canarian term to refer to buses. *La Vanguardia* published this first sentence with the word for “bus” used in Peninsular Spain as “Un ataque terrorista en la principal estación de autobuses de Nueva York dejó hoy cuatro heridos”, the same opening sentence that can be found in other publications such as *Cadena Ser*.

Regarding the low participation of migration as a source in the information, there is no journalistic reason to ignore them. The few articles containing migrants as a source in *La Vanguardia* offer a more positive view about migration, such as in LV151. This is the already analysed article quoting the book of Míriam Hatibi. In most of the articles, though, comments from migrants are missing, even in those cases when it would have been relevant to include their comments, and it would have been possible to contact the migrants involved in the story. For instance, LV117 is also written by the news agency EFE. This article informs about the reopening of a temporary reception centre for migrants. The article quotes the coordinator of the reception centre, who talks about the well-functioning of the facility. However, even though up to 120 people could be living in this venue, nobody was asked for their opinion about the place. This is another example of how the strategy of mitigation can be applied. A similar situation happened with the inauguration of the first “home of the migrant” in the Canary Islands, as shown in LV132, a very short story of barely 200 words written by a news agency. This article included sources from the Government but not from any migrant. Another example of this practice

¹⁷³ “A terrorist attack at the main bus station in New York left four injured on Monday” (Europa Press, 2017)

is found in LV111, an article about the attempt of a “massive assault” by 200 migrants that included sources from the Government and a news agency as the author of the piece, but not from any of the 200 migrants. Among all these people, one of them managed to enter into Spain, but readers do not know anything about this person or about the state of the two hundred that were “repelled”, in another instance, of implementing the issue of representation by absence. The story would have gained informative depth if any of these migrants had offered their vision of the events. However, the length of the article, less than 300 words, limited the possibilities to make a complete work, and it decreased the relevance of this article, also appreciated by the non-existence of picture illustrating the text.

Another sign of consideration towards the sources would be to include their name. In the case of *La Vanguardia* in this period, journalists writing the articles were not identified in almost half of the cases, resulting from using news agencies as the primary source of information. Traditionally, news agencies share their articles without mentioning the journalist who wrote them, and the signature refers solely to the name of the agency for commercial purposes.

Finally, the last question analysed in this segment is directly related to politicians as a source, studying whether journalists reproduce arguments from politicians trying to differentiate from their political opponents by treating migration. The most significant result in this regard is that *La Vanguardia* in this period of December of 2017 is the newspaper that used governmental sources most frequently compared to any of the other newspapers analysed in both periods, and they played an essential role in describing the events. It has to be taken into account that governmental sources include those parties in the Catalan government. Moreover, *La Vanguardia*, in this period, is also the newspaper that used more frequently the ethical frame of political identity differentiation and the topic frame of contrasting the treatment of migrants to other political actors.

In this period, we can find two types of events with this frame. The first group is international, showing how Donald Trump positions himself as a politician who sees migration as a threat for the United States and a problem that must be stopped, as found in LV105 and LV106. Even though there are some attempts to refute the language used by Trump, as in LV104, in which the journalist asks for common sense, in general, most

of the articles informing about this topic have a non-interventionist point of view. The authors, who in many cases are news agencies, just reproduced the arguments of Trump without including other sources that might be more in favour of migration. In some instances, the journalist used the same type of generalisation and wrong definitions about migration produced by Trump, as in the article LV106, such as mixing refugees and migrants in the same sentence, when writing “Niños refugiados rohinyá, la última crisis migratoria, tras huir de Birmania a Bangladesh”¹⁷⁴, or referring to “flujos migratorios”, migratory flows, as studied at the beginning of this section.

The second event that gathered an important number of articles framing migration as an element of political identity differentiation is related to the Catalan elections. There are multiple examples to quote in this respect, starting with the most commented article of the period, LV147, which attracted 330 messages in the comment section. The author of the article, Francesc-Marc Álvaro, presented one of the clearest examples of use of migration to define a party against another actor, by writing that: “Contra la visión franquista del inmigrante como herramienta de colonización, el catalanismo adopta una idea constructiva: el inmigrante es un catalán más, porque ‘es catalán quien vive y trabaja en Catalunya, y quiere serlo’, síntesis pujoliana que nos habla de una identidad inclusiva y abierta. El nuevo independentismo mantiene esta idea”¹⁷⁵. The author also used the assumption of linking the current political parties that do not wish the independence of Catalonia with the Francoist dictatorship, which ended in 1975. The author also considered internal migration from that time as a tool of colonisation by the dictatorship to Catalonia. The author quoted an aphorism to support his argument, “es catalán quien vive y trabaja en Catalunya, y quiere serlo”¹⁷⁶. By writing this aphorism, the author assumed readers would know how to link the reference to a previous historical context. The picture illustrating the article depicted a queue of more than thirty white people in the street, well dressed and wearing fashionable clothes, waiting for something that is not unveiled since the picture does not have a caption. The white people presented in this picture differ from the black people in a situation of despair most frequently presented in

¹⁷⁴ “Rohingya refugee children, the latest migration crisis, after fleeing Burma to Bangladesh” (LV106)

¹⁷⁵ “Against Franco's vision of the immigrant as a tool for colonization, Catalanism adopts a constructive idea: the immigrant is another Catalan, because ‘Catalans are those who live and work in Catalonia and who want to be Catalans’, a Pujolian synthesis that speaks to us of an inclusive and open identity. The new independence movement maintains this idea” (LV147)

¹⁷⁶ “Catalans are those who live and work in Catalonia and who want to be Catalans” (LV147)

La Vanguardia when writing about migration. Readers might understand by the picture that the author of the article refers to internal migration and not to immigration from other countries. There is another pictured at the top of the article presenting the face of the author, accompanying his name.

Besides this article, other ones presented this image of pro-independence Catalan parties welcoming migrants as a differentiator element, such as LV130. The article quoted Jordi Cuixart commenting from the jail, where he was expecting trial for organising the non-approved referendum of independence months earlier. Cuixart explained that migration is a structural element: “Un país que sólo tiene un orgullo: su hecho migratorio como elemento estructural”¹⁷⁷. There are other more subtle examples of this frame, as in LV127, in which the author explained that a pro-independence Catalan party is giving voice to migrants in Catalonia by including a Muslim as a candidate in their party. This article was previously analysed because of the generalisation made by considering all Muslims in Catalonia as migrants. The frame can be also found in LV128, accusing the candidate of the conservative party Partido Popular, contrary to the independence of Catalonia, of using migration to blame for the problems of the society in the past and now using independentists with the same purpose: “señalando a los inmigrantes, satisfacía el resentimiento de los que no han tenido más remedio que acogerlos en sus barrios. De manera similar enfoca la cuestión identitaria: culpabilizando a los catalanistas de los males de *El País*, intenta halagar a los catalanes metropolitanos que ignoran a Pompeu Fabra”¹⁷⁸. Again, some assumptions would be difficult to interpret for an external reader that does not belong to the Catalan society, such as the unexplained reference to “Pompeu Fabra”. Another example can be found in LV134, when a member of ERC, a pro-independence party, recriminates to the Vice-president of the Spanish Government that “lo que de verdad ha quedado descabezado son los 500 inmigrantes”¹⁷⁹. And yet there are more subtle examples in the coverage of how the pro-independence parties are still offering free health care to any migrant, even those who do not have a regular status in the country, in contrast with the mandate of the Constitution Court that requires the

¹⁷⁷ “A country that has only one pride: its migratory fact as a structural element” (LV130)

¹⁷⁸ “By pointing out immigrants, he satisfied the resentment of those who have had no choice but to welcome them into their neighborhoods. In a similar way he approaches the identity question: by blaming the Catalanists for the country's ills, he tries to flatter the metropolitan Catalans who ignore Pompeu Fabra” (LV128)

¹⁷⁹ “What has truly been left headless are the 500 immigrants” (LV134)

opposite, as seen in LV135, LV140, LV141 and LV142. All these examples are instruments to apply a particular issue of social events.

As it has been explained at the end of the previous sections regarding *ABC* and *El País*, the ultimate responsibility to the use of this type of political approaches when writing about migrations belongs to the journalists who wrote the articles, as gate-keepers of the information and settlers of the agenda, because journalists select the topic, the sources and the comments included in the stories. Moreover, they also decide what sources are not included and what articles can be reproduced from news agencies, relegating them to a secondary position in terms of relevance.

4.7. The representation of migration in *La Vanguardia* during a period without elections

4.7.1. The portrayal of migrants

This segment will approach the main research question regarding how migrants are portrayed in the Spanish newspapers by adding a qualitative analysis to the data extracted from the articles of *La Vanguardia* published during December 2019.

The most frequent term used to refer to migration in this newspaper is “inmigrante”. A qualitative analysis about how this word is applied in the text provides more context, showing flaws and misconceptions in the representation of migration. First of all, there are articles in which people are referred to as migrants without evidence, supporting the reference in historical assumptions. This is the case of LV239, titled “Rescatan a un inmigrante que intentaba llegar a nado a una playa de Granada”¹⁸⁰. In less than 300 words, the article informs about the rescue of a person near the coast of Granada after jumping from a dinghy. There are misconceptions assumed as valid in the text; the first is to consider this person a migrant before knowing his legal status or whether he wanted to apply for asylum. Second, the person is categorised as originally from the Maghreb, which is not corroborated in the text. The fact that the information does not express a specific country of origin suggests that the reference to the Maghreb, a broad

¹⁸⁰ “Rescue of an immigrant who tried to swim to a beach in Granada” (LV239)

area in North Africa, is an assumption linked to his looks. Finally, the article is categorised under “INMIGRACIÓN PATERAS”, the capital letters are included in the original. “Pateras”, as it has been explained previously in this chapter, are fishing boats made of wood. In the article, the person was not using a fishing boat but a dinghy. All these devices are used to build the strategy of predication and nomination and the issue of assumptions.

The assumption of people arriving by boat as migrants is even made when people are arriving hold documents stating their refugee status, as can be seen in LV212. The author of the article, which is not signed, writes about ten migrants, as it can be seen in the title: “Cáritas y la Delegación del Gobierno chocan por la acogida de 10 inmigrantes”¹⁸¹. However, one of the sources quoted in the article, the head of Cáritas in Las Palmas, explains that at least one of them has a refugee card, which would prove his intentions to at least apply for asylum: “uno de ellos porta un carné de refugiado, por lo que es previsible que solicite asilo en España”¹⁸². The term asylum seeker is not common in any of the newspapers studied, though, and it was only used once in the whole period of analyses.

A look into the correlated words used with “inmigrante” will expand the knowledge about how *La Vanguardia* represents migration, and it builds the issue of discourses. As such, it is found that among the most common correlated words used with immigrants, several variations are referring to death. The expression “cuerpo sin vida de un inmigrante”¹⁸³ can be found in five articles: LV216, LV217, LV219, LV221 and LV229. A similar expression, “cadáver de un inmigrante”¹⁸⁴, is also presented in four of those articles, and yet we can find other variations as “trabajador inmigrante fallecido”¹⁸⁵ in LV226, the more direct “inmigrante muerto”¹⁸⁶ in LV217, and “joven inmigrante fallecido”¹⁸⁷ in LV223. All these articles containing this reference, except for LV226, are about the same incident: the story of a person who died while picking fruit without having a contract and whose body was abandoned in front of a hospital by his employer. The fact

¹⁸¹ “Cáritas and the Government Delegation clash over the reception of 10 immigrants” (LV212)

¹⁸² “One of them carries a refugee card, so it is foreseeable that he will apply for asylum in Spain” (LV212)

¹⁸³ “lifeless body of an immigrant”

¹⁸⁴ “corpse of an immigrant”

¹⁸⁵ “deceased immigrant worker”

¹⁸⁶ “dead immigrant”

¹⁸⁷ “joven inmigrante fallecido”

that there are seven articles about this topic, LV216, LV217, LV220, LV221, LV226, LV229, LV233, might suggest that *La Vanguardia* decided to invest resources in covering the event and therefore applying a clear input in the construction of the issue of a social event, but this quantitative result is misleading. A look into all seven articles regarding this event shows that, in fact, *La Vanguardia* made an inadequate coverage of the incident.

All these articles have the same shortcomings. First, they do not have a person signing the pieces, so the author is either “Agencias”, “Europa Press”, or “Redacción”¹⁸⁸. By not signing with the name of a journalist, *La Vanguardia* puts this story in a secondary position in relation to the importance given to the topic. Second, all the articles were not original pieces written by *La Vanguardia*, by a reproduction of the information sent by news agencies or other media. Third, all the articles are short, the longest not surpassing 500 words and the shortest less than 200, another way of showing the lack of relevance attached to the incident. Fourth, the information given in the articles is merely descriptive, without an analysis of the situation made by any of the sources, including the author. Fifth, there is a lack of key sources in the story. In most of them, we only have the information provided by the journalist. In one of them, LV229, we also see the perspective of the employer of the dead worker and the mayor of the village where the incident happened. In the other two, LV226 and LV233, we also hear the voice of the representative of an organisation denouncing the incident. However, we are not presented with sources from any temporary workers who were in the area when the incident happened or any relative of the victim. The deceased was only identified by his initials, and he is referred to as a young Moroccan in some of the articles. Finally, most of the articles did not have a picture accompanying the text, which is also relegating the news to a marginal position in the newspaper. The coverage of *La Vanguardia* showed particular negligence in the fact that it published four times the same article during the same day, containing almost identical information, in some cases word by word, only changing some phrasing and including minor edits such as bold words: LV216, LV217, LV219 and LV221.

¹⁸⁸ “Agencias”, “Europa Press”, which is the name of Spanish news agency, and “Newsroom”

Regarding other combinations of correlated words about “migrants”, it is remarkable that *La Vanguardia* in December 2019 did not prominently use constructions such as “ilegales” or “irregulares”. A reference to being illegal can only be found in LV213, an article about demonstrations in India, and LV245, about an attack in Yemen. In relation to irregularity, *La Vanguardia* used a more accurate phrasing in LV205, when writing about “extranjeros en situación administrativa irregular”¹⁸⁹. However, this same article contains one of the typical metaphors found in the investigation throughout the three newspapers: an aquatic metaphor representing an imminent threat, a device implementing the strategy of nomination and the issue of difference. In this case, the metaphor is expressed through the personification of waves in “oleadas migratorias”¹⁹⁰. This article, about the overpopulation of a bad preserve neighbourhood, is one of the few ones signed by a journalist of *La Vanguardia* in this period. The aquatic metaphor is written directly by the journalist in the first paragraph of the article: “Aquellas viviendas, que a raíz de las diferentes oleadas migratorias ahora alojan a vecinos de decenas de países y etnias distintas, están antiguas, necesitadas de una mejora”¹⁹¹. Another relevant finding about aquatic metaphors is the absence of any reference to the expression “flujos”, flows. In the period of December 2017, *La Vanguardia* was the newspaper that used more often this expression for any newspaper in both of the periods. Two years later, expressions such as “flujos migratorios” or “flujo de inmigrantes” are not found in the articles of the corpus of *La Vanguardia*.

Regarding other tropes, as metonymies, that can be found in relation to water, it is possible to find “pateras”, a common reference related to the issue of discourses that also appeared in *ABC*, *El País* and the previous period of *La Vanguardia*. For instance, it can be found in LV208, in the only article that used the controversial noun “irregulares” to name migration: “irregulares que llegan en patera a las costas españolas”¹⁹². There is another layer to the used of metaphors in LV240. In this article, the journalist combines the reference to “pateras” as the subject of the action, objectifying the people who travelled in the boat using language related to conflicts. In this sense, people travelling by boat in precarious circumstances are not rescued but intercepted: “El Servicio

¹⁸⁹ “foreigners in irregular administrative situation”

¹⁹⁰ “migratory waves”

¹⁹¹ “Those houses, which as a result of the different migratory waves now house neighbors from dozens of countries and different ethnic groups, are old, in need of an improvement” (LV205)

¹⁹² “Irregulars who arrive in patera to the Spanish coasts”

Marítimo Provincial de la Guardia Civil ha interceptado esta embarcación de cinco metros de eslora con diez hombres a bordo que han sido puestos a disposición de la Policía Nacional”¹⁹³, which shows how the issue of representation is applied in the text. They are also detained: “Tres pateras han llegado a las costas de Baleares en la madrugada de este jueves, dos a Mallorca y una a Formentera, y se ha detenido por ahora a once inmigrantes”¹⁹⁴. Moreover, they are arrested: “También ha sido arrestado otro inmigrante que ha cruzado el Mediterráneo en una segunda embarcación que ha arribado a la zona de Cabo Blanco”¹⁹⁵. The title of the article sets the tone of the whole text by emphasising the boats, not the people: “Localizadas tres pateras en Baleares con 11 inmigrantes”¹⁹⁶.

A similar dynamic of using language linked to conflicts associated with “pateras” can be found in LV242. This article has less than 250 words, and a news agency, EFE, signs it. It mentioned three times the verb “intercept”, one for each time it wrote about “pateras”: “Se trata de la segunda patera trasladada esta pasada noche al puerto de Motril después de que el Servicio Marítimo de la Guardia Civil interceptara otra cerca de la costa granadina en la que viajaban otras once personas”¹⁹⁷. At the end of the article, in the last sentence of the last paragraph, the journalist writes that “on the other hand”, one of the persons who tried to reach the Spanish coast after jumping from a boat disappeared and searching for him was unsuccessful. The prioritisation shown in the article, leaving for the end of the piece the fact that a person is missing in the sea and he is most probably dead, seems journalistically incorrect, applying a strategy of mitigation of the event. Following journalistic rules, the focus of the story should have been on the disappearance of a person, first, and the “interception” of a boat, second. We do not know anything about the missing person in this article, and it was not published a follow-up story afterwards during the period of study, so the whereabouts of this person and whether or not he appeared remained unknown for the readers of *La Vanguardia*.

¹⁹³ “The Provincial Maritime Service of the Civil Guard has intercepted this five-meter-long boat with ten men on board who have been placed at the disposal of the National Police” (LV240)

¹⁹⁴ “Three boats have arrived on the Balearic coast at dawn this Thursday, two to Mallorca and one to Formentera, and eleven immigrants have been detained for now” (LV240)

¹⁹⁵ “Another immigrant who has crossed the Mediterranean in a second boat that has arrived in the Cabo Blanco area has also been arrested” (LV240)

¹⁹⁶ “Located three boats in the Balearic Islands with 11 immigrants” (LV240)

¹⁹⁷ “This is the second boat transferred last night to the port of Motril after the Maritime Service of the Civil Guard intercepted another one near the Granada coast in which eleven other people were traveling” (LV242)

Another form to refer to migrants, which is related to conflict, is the word “crisis”. It can be found in LV209, used in the tags as “CRISIS MIGRATORIA”. The capital letters are included in the original. It can also be found in LV212 and LV232, both writing the construction “crisis de los cayucos”. “Cayucos” is another type of fishing boat that is nowadays related to migration. It is a metonymy that requires the collaboration from readers to decode the meaning of the word by applying historical implicatures in order to understand the complete reference, which is another instance of the implementation of the issue of assumptions in relation to the strategy of nomination.

The second most common way to refer to migrants is the noun “persona”, which makes *La Vanguardia* the newspaper that used more frequently this term compared to *ABC* and *El País* in any of the two periods of study. In half of the mentions regarding “personas” as a way to refer to migrants, this noun is coming alone, without a correlated word. For instance, in LV214, an article with a positive frame about migration, it is explained that most of the migrants registered in Madrid are working legally.

On the other half of the occasions, “persona” did have correlated words. The most common correlated word for “personas” is “extranjerías”, creating the construction “personas extranjeras”, foreign people. In this case, the expression “personas extranjeras” is up in the list because it was used several times in LV218. This article also offers a positive frame about migration in Spain by quoting a union of workers saying that social security contributions would be ten per cent less without the immigrant population. The union of workers used data to refute news regarding false or misrepresented speeches promoting prejudice and rejection towards the immigrant population. The article is not elaborated by a journalist of *La Vanguardia* but reproduced from a piece of information sent by a news agency. *La Vanguardia* did not accompany the article with any picture, and the story did not collect any comment.

The noun “extranjero”, foreigner, is the third most common way to refer to migrants in *La Vanguardia* during this period. Correlated words accompany the noun in most cases. Most of them show a positive definition of foreigners. For instance, “trabajadores y trabajadoras extranjeros”¹⁹⁸, which appeared in LV218, or “ciudadanos

¹⁹⁸ “male and female foreign workers”

extranjeros que viven en nuestra región”¹⁹⁹, in LV214. This last article has many points in common with LV218. LV214 also offers a positive representation by informing about migrants contributing to the society in Madrid. However, as it happened with LV218, LV214 shows minor signs of direct input by *La Vanguardia* since the article reproduces the information previously published by a news agency on its website (Europa Press, 2019). Both articles from *La Vanguardia* and the news agency are identical. However, the information published on the website of the news agency includes almost 150 words more. Also, the website of the news agency gives more relevance to the article by including a picture to illustrate it. LV214 did not collect any messages in the comment section.

Stating the names of the migrants is the fourth most common way to refer to migration in *La Vanguardia* in this period. Nonetheless, *La Vanguardia* showed a minor frequency of including the names of the migrants compared to *ABC* and *El País* in both periods. By contrast, *La Vanguardia* in this period is the newspaper that included more often the noun “trabajador”, worker, as a way to refer to migrants. Articles in which there were described events related to the mistreatment of migrants played an essential role in relation to the noun “trabajador”. For instance, LV223 informed about “trabajador fallecido”²⁰⁰, a migrant who died because the camp he was sleeping was set on fire. LV225 wrote “trabajador agredido”²⁰¹ to inform about a migrant attacked by his employer, who stabbed him while the worker collected fruit for him. LV226 mentioned the construction “trabajador inmigrante fallecido”²⁰² to inform about a migrant who died while picking fruit and whose body was abandoned at the entrance of a hospital by his employer, who hired him without a formal contract. This story was covered in seven articles containing several signs of flawless journalism in the coverage, as described above in this segment.

Finally, the results of *La Vanguardia* in this period are also relevant by looking at what terms were not used or merely used, which is also a form of implementation of the strategy of nomination by absence. For instance, the term “mena”, which appeared

¹⁹⁹ “foreign citizens living in our region”

²⁰⁰ “deceased worker”

²⁰¹ “assaulted worker”

²⁰² “deceased immigrant worker”

profusely in *ABC* during December 2019, was only used once by *La Vanguardia* for the whole period, a similar result to *El País*. The only article in which the term “mena” was used by *La Vanguardia* was in LV229. The mention is included in the comment of the employer who abandoned the dead body of his employee. In this case, the use of “mena” can be journalistically justified because it provides evidence about how the employer refers to non-accompanied foreign minors, which adds information about his political views. The comment is put into quotation marks, isolating the responsibility to the source: “Menas, perfectamente organizados ya en manadas. La mayoría menores de edad y no les pasa nada”²⁰³. This is a positive example of the strategy of perspectivization. In general, the interest of *La Vanguardia* in this period towards stories of unaccompanied foreign minors, or immigrant children in general, was almost none, in clear contrast with the results of *ABC*.

Another relevant result of *La Vanguardia* is the high interest in showing the specific nationality of the migrants, in an instance of applying the issue of evaluation. More than two-thirds of the articles included a reference to the country of origin, a similar result to *El País*. This result is especially notable because, in December 2017, *La Vanguardia* only mentioned the nationality of the migrants in one-third of the articles. The most frequent nationality mentioned in the period of December 2019 by *La Vanguardia* corresponds with the most common nationality of foreigners in Spain, Moroccans. This result is influenced one more time by the story of the young worker who died while picking fruit and was abandoned by his employer at the hospital entrance. The second most common nationality among foreigners in Spain, Romania, is only present in one article, LV214, as part of a long list of people from the rest of the most represented countries in Spain: Romania, Morocco, China, Colombia, Ecuador, Italia, Venezuela, Peru, Dominican Republic, Paraguay, Italy, Venezuela and China. The story, already commented on in this segment, describes migrants as contributors to the society in Madrid.

Concerning the religion associated with migration, as it happened with the rest of the newspapers analysed, *La Vanguardia* mentioned only Muslims. However, the frequency of the articles regarding Muslims decreased in half in comparison to December

²⁰³ “Menas, perfectly organized already in herds. Most of them are minors and nothing happens to them” (LV229)

2017. The scope of the articles about Muslims was not set in Catalonia. In 2017, we could see articles explaining how Muslims were part of the Catalan society, naming them as “musulmanes catalanes” (LV127). By contrast, in 2019, articles about Muslims did not include immigrants in Spain, only writing about migration in Belgium (LV203) and India (LV213 and LV234). This practice is also related to the issue of intertextuality.

The number of migrants to whom the information is related changed from 2017 to 2019 in *La Vanguardia*. In this second period, the newspaper published more frequently stories about a specific individual. As it happened with other results, this one is also influenced by the extensive, but poor, coverage of the story about the person who died while picking fruit, as seen in the articles LV216, LV217, LV220, LV221, LV226, LV229 and LV233. Another pattern found in many of these articles writing about only one migrant is using the passive voice in the title, which can be found in several instances. “Iniciados los trámites para que el ‘héroe de Dénia’ obtenga los papeles”²⁰⁴ (LV215), “Detenido por abandonar en un centro de salud a un inmigrante muerto”²⁰⁵ (LV217), “Detenido un hombre acusado de dejar en un centro de salud el cadáver de un inmigrante que trabajaba en su finca”²⁰⁶ (LV219), “Detenido tras abandonar en un centro de salud de Pozo Alcón (Jaén) el cadáver de un inmigrante que trabajaba en su finca”²⁰⁷ (LV221), “Rescatado un migrante que pasó 12 horas en aguas del Estrecho tras precipitarse de un ferry”²⁰⁸ (LV242), “Condenado a muerte un hombre que apuñaló a actores españoles en Arabia Saudí”²⁰⁹ (LV245). The use of passive voice subtracts agency to migrants, and it limits the responsibility of the actions, and it is a clear example of an implementation of the issue of representation.

In addition to the use of the passive voice, other titles employed another form of impersonality by not including the subject of the action. For instance, “Abandona el cadáver de un inmigrante en un centro de salud de Jaén”²¹⁰ (LV216), “Convocan una concentración el domingo en Palos de la Frontera en recuerdo del joven inmigrante

²⁰⁴ “Began procedures for the ‘Dénia hero’ to obtain the papers” (LV215)

²⁰⁵ “Arrested for abandoning a dead immigrant in a health center” (LV217)

²⁰⁶ “Arrested a man accused of leaving the body of an immigrant who worked on his land in a health center” (LV219)

²⁰⁷ “Arrested after leaving the corpse of an immigrant who worked on his farm in a health center in Pozo Alcón (Jaén)” (LV221)

²⁰⁸ “Rescued a migrant who spent 12 hours in the waters of the Strait after falling off a ferry” (LV242)

²⁰⁹ “Sentenced to death a man who stabbed Spanish actors in Saudi Arabia” (LV245)

²¹⁰ “[Somebody] abandons the corpse of an immigrant in a health center in Jaén” (LV216)

fallecido”²¹¹ (LV223), “Rescatan a un inmigrante que intentaba llegar a nado a una playa de Granada”²¹² (LV239). This type of construction missing the subject is not used in English, but it is grammatically correct in Spanish. However, by not including a specific subject, the sentences lack basic information about who is acting, and, once again, migrants saw their agency diminished.

The story of Gorgui, the person who rescued a disabled man from a burning apartment, did not seem to interest *La Vanguardia* as much as it did to *ABC*. *ABC* published five articles about the event, while *La Vanguardia* published only two: LV211 and LV215. This is an example of how both newspapers applied an issue of social events differently. Both articles followed the trend of *La Vanguardia* in this period to be unsigned and taken from the information sent by news agencies. *El País* published even fewer articles about this incident, only one (EP209). However, the quality of the content is much higher than in *La Vanguardia*, since *El País* produced an original piece signed by a journalist of its newsroom, who talked directly with Gorgui and the survivor, including several original pictures about the reunion of both people. The article of *El País* collected 568 comments, the most significant number of comments for any of the newspapers in both periods of analysis. By contrast, the articles of *La Vanguardia* about Gorgui lacked sources and depth, which might explain the little attention they attracted in the comment sections, collecting two messages in total. The qualitative results indicate that if *La Vanguardia* had invested more resources in covering this article, the story of Gorgui would have received more attention from the readers of *La Vanguardia*, as it happened in *El País*, and more people would have seen this type of positive frame.

By contrast, the most commented article in *La Vanguardia*, LV237, also has a singular person as the main character, but the scope is very different to the story of Gorgui. LV237 narrates the story of Assita Kanko, a Belgian Member of the European Parliament who supports Carles Puigdemont, the former president of Catalonia, who called for an unofficial referendum of independence two years before the publication of this article. Assita Kanko was pictured and recorded accompanying Puigdemont to the European Parliament. *La Vanguardia* wanted to explain to its readers who this person is

²¹¹ “[They] call a rally on Sunday in Palos de la Frontera in memory of the deceased young immigrant” (LV223)

²¹² “[They] rescue an immigrant who tried to swim to a beach in Granada” (LV239)

by publishing an article titled “¿Quién es la mujer que acompañaba a Puigdemont?”²¹³. In the first paragraph, the author of the article explains Kanko is a black woman with an afro hairstyle: “Assita Kanko, que es como se llama en realidad la mujer negra con peinado afro que recibió el viernes pasado a Carles Puigdemont y Toni Comín en las puertas del Parlamento Europeo y les acompañó a acreditarse”²¹⁴. After this statement, we learned that she is from Burkina Faso and she is 39 years old. The author of the article, Gemma Saura, did not refer to Kanko as a migrant. Instead, it is stated that she arrived in Belgium in 2004, and now she is one of the most critical voices against radicalism in Islam, and she is in favour of the rights of immigrant women in Belgium. The coverage of this article is widely different from the approach by *La Vanguardia* in most of the stories published about migrants during this period.

The unique characteristics of this article are notable. First, Assita Kanko is not referred to as a migrant or a refugee, against the generalised criteria shown by *La Vanguardia* in the rest of the articles published in both periods, which assumed that any person arriving from Africa is a migrant, even those who are lost at sea and whose personal information is not known, such as in LV242. Second, the article is signed by a journalist and not by any news agency. Third, *La Vanguardia* originally elaborated the piece, and it is not using or reproducing information from news agencies. Fourth, the piece is longer than usual, for than 1000 words, when the average is around 500. Fifth, the information contains several sources, including Assita Kanko, whose comment is situated in a prominent position, opening the article and appearing profusely throughout the text, containing political statements in favour of the independence of Catalonia: “La UE no puede pedir por el mundo que se respeten los derechos humanos si aquí hay políticos perseguidos”²¹⁵. Sixth, the name of Kanko is stated, in contrast to the vast majority of the articles about migration published in *La Vanguardia*. Remarkably, 90 per cent of the articles did not contain the name of the migrants, even in cases when the name was known, such as in LV211. Seventh, the article is accompanied by a picture of Kanko, something unusual in this period, in which most of the articles did not contain any picture.

²¹³ “Who is the woman who accompanied Puigdemont?” (LV237)

²¹⁴ “Assita Kanko, who is actually the name of the black woman with an afro hairstyle who received Carles Puigdemont and Toni Comín at the doors of the European Parliament last Friday and accompanied them to accredit” (LV237)

²¹⁵ “The EU cannot ask the world for human rights to be respected if there are persecuted politicians here” (LV237)

Eight and finally, the picture portrays a migrant, which is also unusual since it is more frequent for *La Vanguardia* to show another person different than a migrant in their illustrations.

In contrast with the article of the Belgian politician, we can see LV211. This is one of the two articles published about Gorgui, the Senegalese who risked his life to save a disabled person from a burning apartment. This article about Gorgui is similar to the average article about migration published by *La Vanguardia* during this period: it is short, and without a picture, it is not signed with a name and later stated that the information is taken from news agencies, it has only one source of information, and it is not the migrant. Moreover, the name of the migrant is not specified even though that information was available.

This subsection has attended the main research question of how *La Vanguardia* portrays migration by adding a qualitative analysis to the quantitative data extracted from the corpus. Nevertheless, as indicated in the cases of *ABC* and *El País*, this answer will need further analysis of the auxiliary research questions to gain in-depth and show a complete result, as shown in the following segments.

4.7.2. The use of public memories and assumptions

This segment will add a qualitative perspective to the auxiliary research question studying to what extent, in representing migrants, media use public memories and historical assumptions that include sensitive aspects about migrants, in this case concerning *La Vanguardia* during the period of December 2019.

First, it is studied the use of known representations and assumptions in the articles of the corpus. In this period, *La Vanguardia* is one of the newspapers that published more often articles containing assumptions in the representation of migration. The frequency of this practice is very close to the one from the newspaper that published more often assumptions, *ABC*, in the same period of 2019. *La Vanguardia* also matches the results of *ABC* in which neither of them published articles explaining this assumption, so the historical representations shown in the stories are expected to be understood by the reader, simplifying the transmission of the information.

The assumptions showed a stereotypical image of migrants as trying to enter into Spain after suffering dangerous conditions in their attempt, constructing the issue of difference. The historical representation implies that the attempt to enter is not made by regular means of transport, but more frequently by boat, often repelled by the authorities. Migrants are presented as nameless, faceless, passive objects. This description does not fit with the one presented about Assita Kanko, the Belgian Member of the European Parliament, which might explain why she was not considered a migrant by *La Vanguardia*, even though she was born in Burkina Faso.

An example of a typical assumption presented by *La Vanguardia* using public memories to simplify the description of migrants can be found, for instance, in LV232. This article is short, it does not have a picture, it is not signed, and it is elaborated by a news agency. It informs about the organization of a forum in the Canary Islands to coordinate the attention to migrants. The article writes about how migrants arrive using “pateras” without explaining what this object is. Moreover, the author quotes a politician saying that migrants arrive on the Canary Islands coast risking their lives and fleeing from dramatic life situations, but it does not develop the information to include what type of risks are they facing and fleeing from. The representation of the migratory process is assumed to be known by the readers, who must use their historical preconceptions and social assumptions to understand the implicatures of the specific language displayed.

This type of oversimplified assumptions saves time to the authors of the articles. For instance, the author of the article LV212 does not feel the need to explain what “crisis de los cayucos”²¹⁶ is when writing about something that happened in 2006. The author expects readers to apply their historical assumptions to understand that this crisis was not related to boats but to the fact that many people arrived in the Canary Islands using this type of boats named “cayucos”. Another similar example can be found in LV240. The journalist of this article opens the story by writing: “Tres pateras han llegado a las costas de Baleares en la madrugada de este jueves”²¹⁷. Once again, the author expects readers to understand that those three boats arriving at the coast are not moving by themselves. The mechanism to activate the historical assumption, in this case, is the word “patera”. Using

²¹⁶ “crisis of a type of boat called ‘cayuco’”

²¹⁷ “Three boats have reached the coast of the Balearic Islands at dawn this Thursday” (LV240)

this specific word, the author knows that the reader will understand that he is referring to the people inside these boats, who are overcrowding the space available in the boat. The author also expects the reader to understand that people in these boats are migrants from Africa and not refugees or asylum seekers. The author also implies that most of them are male and young, they do not have documents allowing their arrival into Spain and that, by taking this means of transportation, they are risking their lives, so it is expectable that some of them will die in the attempt. Therefore, this will not cause surprise to the readers because it is assumed to be a regular part of the process. All these preconceptions are part of the construction of the issue of assumptions, which is not questioned by the journalists of *La Vanguardia* during this period.

4.7.3. The use of frames to portray migration

The auxiliary question qualitatively examined in this segment is related to what frames are journalists using to portray migration in *La Vanguardia* during the period of December 2019. The analysis will start by looking into the main topic related to migration. In *La Vanguardia*, the most frequent main topics were border control and offences committed to migrants in this period. Once again, the stories about particular immigrants who are attacked, killed or abandoned after death, as seen previously in this section, are the reason for the high frequency of the articles about offences committed to migrants, and they have a big influence on the construction of the issue of difference and the strategy of predication in this newspaper.

Concerning articles about border controls, including rescue operations, the frequency grew substantially from the previous period of 2017, more than doubling the number in December 2019. Most of these stories shared a similar depiction of migration playing a passive role in the action, even from the title of the articles, as seen previously in this section. The subtraction of the agency of migrants is deepened because they are not used as a source of information on these stories. The only exception is an article about migrants trying to enter the United States, LV209. In this exceptional case, the migrant was referred only by his name, without a surname, and his comments were given to a news agency and later published by *La Vanguardia*. The newspaper was not in direct contact with the migrant who acted as a source. All of these articles about border controls

also have in common to be written by news agencies. Another remarkable result is that many of them are categorised in the section of “Vida”, life, even though the topic does not seem to fit with the category. The section “Vida” also contains an article about two young female Spaniards who decided to stop shaving their faces and now have a beard (Fita, 2020). In this same section of “Vida”, we can find stories such as the rescue of a migrant who was trying to reach Spain by using a float (LV230), the rescue of another migrant who jumped from a dinghy trying to reach Spain (LV239), the arrival of three boats to the Balearic Islands with 11 immigrants (LV240) and the interception of a dinghy carrying migrants trying to reach Spain (LV242). This categorisation is another device to implement the strategy of mitigation. Other two articles with the same main topic of border controls were categorised in different sections: LV242, about the rescue of a migrant at sea, was classified in “Andalucía”, and LV247, about the detention of smugglers who were bringing migrants from Italy to Spain by bus, was categorised in the section “Sucesos”, events. It seems that *La Vanguardia* does not have a particular section for migration stories, and it is struggling to decide where these stories should be categorised. The incongruence to categorise articles about migration in the section of “Vida” can be found in most of the articles of this period, including LV217, about a migrant who died while picking fruit.

The type of Cynefin framework used to frame the information is consequent with the main topics found, being the complex frame the most frequent during December 2019. Articles are containing this type of Cynefin frame when causes and effects are only coherent in retrospect. They depict problems that are understandable once they have finished. Therefore, they are not foreseen. Subsequently, they require a response from the authorities more than planning. The article LV229 is an example of this complex frame. This article writes about the person who died while working and whose body was abandoned by his employer. The reaction of the city hall where the incident happened was to ask employers to not hire temporary workers without offering them a contract.

Regarding the identification of ethical frames in the articles, three results are especially noteworthy. First, in most of the stories, there is no discussion about migration controls, either directly or indirectly, even in articles in which migration controls are described. They are described but not discussed. The reason behind this result can be that the vast majority of the articles are reproduced from pieces of information n by news

agencies. News agencies tend to write purely descriptive articles in which the analytical perspective is left aside to be suitable to any buyer, independently of the political stands of the newspaper.

In those cases where migration controls are discussed, the ethical frame used more often by *La Vanguardia* is related to identity differentiation and public security. Both frames were also the most frequent two years earlier. The public security frame sees migration control as a way to keep social order and stability. An example of this frame can be found in LV247, an article about the detention of smugglers who were bringing migrants into Spain. The identity differentiation frame, which originated by reproducing the arguments of politicians who are using migration to define their positions against another political actor, will be studied later in the last segment of this section.

The results about ethical frames identified in *La Vanguardia* are also relevant in regards to the absent frames or those ones that were merely used. For instance, the ethical frame of multiculturalism showed a low frequency. This type of frame presents a positive input from migrants in terms of contributing to the culture of the receiving country. One of the few articles containing this ethical frame is LV228, in which a migrant from Peru is given a chance to explain how his culinary skills contribute to developing Spanish cuisine. The article reproduces a story already published by a news agency. Unfortunately, *La Vanguardia* includes relevant flaws in its publication. To begin with, the photo gallery referred to in the title is not available in *La Vanguardia*. In order to watch the pictures, it is necessary to go to the website of the news agency, as express at the end of the article in a sentence containing two typographical errors: “Fotogalería disponible en el servicios de Fotografía de la Agenco EFE”²¹⁸, the italics have been added in order to highlight the words containing typos. Two of the eleven words of this sentence contain typographical errors. The article is a succession of descriptions of pictures that we cannot see, downgrading the informational value of this story portraying a multicultural frame, and therefore applying, consciously or by negligence, a strategy of mitigation.

²¹⁸ “Photo gallery available in the Photography services of the EFE Agency” (LV228)

The identification of topic frames in discussions about migrants in the articles of *La Vanguardia* in this period showed results that are coherent with what we have seen until now. The most common topic frame presents migrants unfairly mistreated. As explained previously, the story about the person who died while picking fruit has a relevant influence on this result since there were seven poorly covered articles about the event.

The second most frequent topic frame in *La Vanguardia* in this period shows migrants as a flow of people challenging to handle, related to the issue of difference and the strategy of predication. These articles deal with migration coming into Spain (LV230, LV232, LV239, LV242, LV240, LV242, LV247), except for one (LV209), which writes about migration trying to enter the United States. The articles about migration trying to enter into Spain have similar characteristics: they use the passive voice, limiting the agency of the migrants, they present migrants using metonymies related to boats, they are short in length, there is an absence of personal information about migrants, there is a small number of sources used to elaborate the information and migrants are not included either as a source. This result contrasts clearly with LV209, the article about migration to the United States. In this story, a person from Cuba trying to enter into the United States of America is included as a source of information, and his comments are cited between quotation marks. This is an example of the implementation of the strategy of perspectivization depending on the subject of the information.

Articles with a more positive approach regarding the main event covered in the information were not as common as those showing a neutral or a negative event. This is part of the construction of the issue of evaluation by *La Vanguardia*. In fact, the evaluation of the main event was negative in more than half of the cases. Additionally, some articles showing an empathetic view towards migration were, once again, poorly covered by *La Vanguardia*, as it happened in LV223. This article reports about a gathering to remember a migrant who died after somebody set on fire the camp where he and other migrants were sleeping. The article is written in less than 150 words, and it is not signed, it does not have a picture, there are no comments from the family of the deceased or other residents of the camp. The only information provided about the person who died is that he was from Morocco and he was 23 years old, which suggests that the body was recognised and, therefore, it would have been possible to investigate more about

this person. The article, as usual in this period for *La Vanguardia*, was written by a news agency.

The article LV222 also shows an empathetic view towards migration. It includes data supporting that migration is beneficial for the Spanish economy. The title of this article is “Los extranjeros aportan el 10 % a la Seguridad Social y sólo reciben el 0,9 %”²¹⁹. This story collected zero comments and suffered from the same flaws as LV223: it is short, it does not have a signature, it does not include the participation from any migrant, it does not have any picture and the information provided is copied from a news agency. The same article, with the exact words, is found on the website of other outlets, such as EFE²²⁰, *Heraldo*²²¹, *Laboral Pensiones*²²² or *El Español*²²³, to quote only some of them.

4.7.4. The treatment of sources

The last segment of this chapter will provide a qualitative approach to the answers to the auxiliary questions regarding the prioritisation of sources by journalists, as well as to what extent migrants are a source in the information about themselves and whether journalists reproduce arguments from politicians who try to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration, in relation to *La Vanguardia* during the period of December 2019.

The first aspect examined is to what degree the names of the authors of the articles are mentioned. By knowing this, we can learn if *La Vanguardia* is the author of the information or, in fact, it is a news agency. This practice is related to the construction of the issue of intertextuality, and it is part of the implementation of the strategy of mitigation. The results of *La Vanguardia* in December 2019 indicate that identified journalists do not write the vast majority of the articles about migration during this period from the newspaper but by unknown journalists from news agencies. Most of the articles are just a reproduction of the information sent by these agencies. *La Vanguardia* has an

²¹⁹ “Foreigners contribute 10% to Social Security and only receive 0.9%” (LV222)

²²⁰ See, in bibliography, EFE (2019, December 19)

²²¹ See, in bibliography, EFE (2019, December 16)

²²² See, in bibliography, EFE (2019, December 16 -bis-)

²²³ See, in bibliography, *Invertia & Efe* (2019, December 16)

overwhelming 86 per cent of articles unsigned, more than any other newspaper by far. Unknown journalists are the primary source of information during this period. Moreover, in most cases, the articles show a purely descriptive approach, leaving aside analytical pieces or opinion articles.

As shown previously, migrants are not used as sources in most articles, even when it would have been possible to contact them, such as in the article LV211. This article covers the story of Gorgui, a migrant who rescued a disabled person from a burning apartment. The author does not mention either the name of Gorgui, who is not asked to give his opinion about the event. Gorgui, at the day of the publication of the story, seven days after it happened, was already known, and his name was mentioned in other newspapers, in articles published around the same day, such as *El País* as in EP209. In the case of *El País*, Gorgui gave comments. This is another instance of how the issue of social events is implemented differently according to each newspaper.

Other relevant events of this period did not count either with the intervention of any migrant to give their perspective. For example, there are no comments from any migrant in any of the seven articles about the person who died while picking fruit: LV215, LV216, LV218, LV220, LV225, LV228, LV232. All these articles have in common an inadequate coverage of the event, and they have as the sole direct source of information a news agency. This pattern is repeated throughout the whole period in *La Vanguardia*, including other relevant events such as the story of a migrant whom his employer stabbed. This story is covered in two articles, LV225, LV233. Both of them showing the same flaws indicated before: they are short, they have less than 300 words, they are written by news agencies, and they lack essential actors as sources. The most relevant source who is absent is the stabbed migrant, the main character of the story. LV233 does not have a picture, and regarding LV225, the picture selected to accompany the text is the close up of an olive tree. All these practices are devices used to build a strategy of mitigation of the story.

The examples showing deficiencies in the news coverage of *La Vanguardia* when informing about migrants are numerous and ranging a wide variety of events, such as the opening of courses of Catalan language for migrants (LV207), the organisation of an exhibition to fight fake rumours about migration (LV206), the trial to a migrant from Mali

for practising genital ablation to her daughter (LV220), the rescue of a migrant who spend twelve hours at sea after jumping from a ferry (LV242), the film award given to a Guatemalan director for a movie about discrimination towards migrants (LV201), among other articles. All of these articles have in common the minimal attention shown by *La Vanguardia* in the elaboration of the information, which was copied from pieces written by news agencies. This practice translates into the attention paid by the readers, who did not leave any message in the comment section. The other characteristic of all these articles is the absence of migrants as a source of information in stories about themselves, in another example of the implementation of the issue of perspectivization.

By contrast, politicians were used often as a source and their influence in the representation of migration, even though it decreased in comparison to 2017, it was still present in this period of 2019, when there were no elections in Catalonia. Their role in December 2019 was still relevant because they often appear analysing the information or giving their opinion, which provides them with a more relevant agency than to other sources who are just describing events, proving their relevance in constructing the issue of intertextuality. The ethical frame of identity differentiation, which is linked to how politicians define themselves in contrast to other political parties by the way they treat migration, decreased slightly from 2017, but it has still a significant presence during this period of 2019, being one of the most frequent ethical frames. A similar result is found concerning the topic frame about contrasting the treatment of migrants to other political actors, which was also used less than in 2017 but still played an essential role in December 2019. The most relevant finding in this respect is that when migrants are serving a political purpose, and they do not fit the archetypical image constructed by the media, they are not even considered migrants, as could be appreciated in the article LV237, about Assita Kanko, the Member of the European Parliament who was born in Burkina Faso and publicly supported Carles Puigdemont.

Concerning migrants being used as a source in the information about themselves, there are only five articles showing comments from migration: LV205, LV209, LV228, LV231, LV237. All these five articles in which migrants are taken into account have different characteristics compared to the rest of the articles that do not have migration as a source. The article LV205, for instance, is one of the few stories signed by a journalist of *La Vanguardia*. Additionally, it is the most extended article published by this

newspaper in any of the two periods of analysis, including more than 1400 words. The author, José Polo, writes about structural problems in a depressed area of Catalonia, where migrants live among other people. The author includes six different sources: the journalist himself, a politician from the city hall, an expert on migration, an agency publishing data, an association defending the rights of the neighbours and two neighbours of the area, one of them a migrant. It is significant to notice that the participation of the migrant is left to the last paragraph of the article. The migrant picked to give comments is called Rachid Elbourkhissi, and the journalist explains that he is wearing a yumu'ah, a type of clothes wore for "Muslim prayers" at Friday noon. Continuing his description, the author explains that Elbourkhissi is similar to those Spanish immigrants who arrived in Catalonia in the middle of the last century, working in fixing roads to search for a better life. It is interesting to compare this article with one published two years earlier, in a period of Catalan elections. The article LV127 of December 2017 did not associate Muslim migration with Spanish migration in Catalonia, but in that case, Muslims were considered Catalans who could find their voice in ERC, a pro-independence party which was including a Muslim candidate in the elections. LV209 is another article belonging to the small group, including a migrant as a source. In this case, the most notable aspect of the article is to learn what type of noun is a migrant using to refer to himself: the word "gente", people. The noun "gente", as seen in the quantitative results, is not a common way to refer to migrants by journalists of *La Vanguardia*.

Another minor but noteworthy result comes from discovering what word is picked by another source different than journalists, migrants or politicians. In this case, the source is the disabled person rescued from his burning apartment by a migrant. In the article LV215, this person referred to the migrant who rescued him as "este tío", this guy. The demonstrative "este" shows proximity, and the noun "tío" is the slang form used to refer to a man in Spanish, something that a friend would call to another friend in a casual conversation. The expression is used in the following sentence: "Este tío me salvó la vida. ¿Que si se merece tener papeles? Pues claro. Yo le daría mi casa si no estuviera destrozada por el fuego"²²⁴. The rescued person proposes one of the few positive instances in the construction of predication found in this period by applying a favourable issue of representation towards migration. The ultimate responsibility of how migrants are

²²⁴ "This guy saved my life. If he deserved to have papers? Well of course. I'd give him my home if it wasn't ravaged by fire" (LV215)

represented in *La Vanguardia*, regardless of which sources have been used, belongs to the journalists and editors of *La Vanguardia*, even in those numerous cases when their job was limited to reproducing information sent by a news agency.

5. Conclusions

The first section of the conclusions shows a brief overview of the hypotheses, objectives and research questions of the thesis. It also presents how the text has been organized by chapter, detailing what it can be found in each chapter. The second section shows the main contribution of the thesis, which is the understanding of how migration is represented in the Spanish newspapers. For that, the section presents the answer to the research question for each newspaper and period of study. The third section is dedicated to fulfilling validating the hypotheses of the thesis by showing the general trends on the representation of migration in the Spanish newspapers, the type of sources concerning the quality of information presented in the corpus and a general overview of the typical representation of migration. The fourth section is a list of the most salient practices in the representation of migration in the Spanish newspapers analysed. Finally, the fifth section suggests eight future lines of investigation in the field of Media and Migration studies which can be developed using the tools and results presented in this thesis.

5.1. The objective of the thesis and its organization

The topic of this investigation was the study of the representation of migration in three Spanish newspapers, *ABC*, *El País* and *La Vanguardia*. Particularly, it was studied a corpus of 215 articles containing the word “inmigrante”, published in two different periods: December 2017, characterized by regional elections in Catalonia, and December 2019, a period without elections. The three newspapers have been selected because of their different particularities regarding their political positioning.

To study this topic, it was set the main objective: to discover if and how migrants are represented in the media, and whether this representation varies according to the political context of elections. The first hypothesis of the thesis was ‘migrants are misrepresented in the Spanish newspapers’. The main research question was ‘how migrants are portrayed in the media in a receiving country, in this case, Spain?’. The second objective uncovered practices of journalists approaching migration and framing migrants as social actors. The auxiliary hypothesis was ‘journalists in charge of covering migration are selecting predominantly negative frames and not including, in most cases, migrants as sources of information’. The auxiliary research questions concerning this

objective were: ‘what frames are journalists using to portray migration?’, ‘are migrants a source in the information about themselves?’ and ‘are journalists prioritising some sources over others?’. The third objective observed the coverage of immigration in the media during recent historical events, in particular during an electoral context in Spain, analysing how media frame migrants, refugees and asylum seekers in a political and electoral context. The research focussed on the way media shape aspects of migration, using historical preconceptions and assumed representations. The auxiliary hypothesis was ‘journalists reproduce arguments of politicians who try to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration, among other aspects’. The auxiliary research questions regarding this objective were ‘to what extent, in representing migrants, media make use of public memories and historical assumptions that include sensitive aspects about migrants?’ and ‘are journalists reproducing arguments from politicians who are trying to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration?’

To achieve these objectives, the present thesis was organized into four chapters. The first chapter presented an overview of the current state in the field of Media and Migration Studies, it introduced the main concepts related to Migration Studies as an interdisciplinary field of research and it studied media framing of migration and the construction of the public sphere. It also presented the main lines of study applied in the investigation. The multidisciplinary approach included elements from content analysis, frame analysis and critical discourse analysis, with an emphasis on the relevance for the investigation of discourse-historical approach and textual analysis.

The second chapter presented the main objectives, hypothesis and research questions already stated above. The chapter also defined the corpus, which contains more than 215 articles published during the two periods of study including the keyword of the investigation, “inmigrante”. This chapter also presented and described the codebook used to code and analysed the corpus. The codebook is an original contribution of this thesis, built after preliminary research which analysed more than one hundred articles. During the preliminary research, tools from authors presented in the previous chapter were tested to prove their suitability for the characteristics of our corpus. Their tools were expanded and new instruments were created to reach the objectives. The final codebook contains more than seventy items of information that collects data about how migration is represented in the newspapers. The chapter also described the tools to analyse the

collected data qualitatively, relying upon strategies from the discourse-historical approach and issues from the textual analysis. The whole objective of the chapter was to contribute to the advance in the field of Media and Migration studies by creating a codebook that can be used to prove the outcome of this thesis and to expand the investigation through the inclusion of new data from other periods and countries.

The third chapter presented the results from the quantitative codification of the corpus organized in information about the representation of migrants, the use of sources and the selection of frames. It comprises the results in seventy different variables for each of the 215 articles analysed. The results constitute another relevant contribution to the field. The data is presented in more than 150 tables that can be easily interpreted by external readers. Each table includes a description of what is shown, the method used to extract the data and the research question which benefitted from the information provided.

The fourth chapter presented the qualitative analysis of the corpus, relying on analytical instruments from the discourse-historical approach and textual analysis described in the methodological chapter. It looked into the correlation of words and their semantic relations, the use of rhetorical figures, including metonymies, hyperboles, euphemisms and the use of deictics, direct, indirect or free indirect speech and quotation marks to show perspectivization, among other aspects detailed in the text. The main contribution of this chapter is the qualitative analysis of the discourse of the articles in relation to the data extracted in the previous chapter, matching the most remarkable results with particular examples from the corpus and the analysis of the context. The most relevant findings are detailed in the following sections.

5.2. The most relevant findings by newspaper and period

This segment is a summary of the most relevant findings presented in this work, with the objective to give a concise answer to the research questions. However, it is imperative to put the following information into the context of the previous chapters to be aware of all the nuances found in the analysis. Only by doing so, we would avoid falling into one of the main issues discovered in the representation of migration in *ABC*, *El País* and *La Vanguardia*: oversimplification. The answers to the research questions are presented below, divided by newspapers and periods to facilitate the comparison.

How are migrants portrayed in the media in a receiving country, in this case, Spain?

ABC, December 2017. Migrants are portrayed schematically as a collective, with minor to no personal information about them. They are mostly framed under an unfavourable light, related to poverty and conflict. The emphasis is put on the differences between them and us. They are Muslims, or they are primarily from Sub-Saharan countries. They come by boat as flows of people who are difficult to manage. They put their lives at risk to try to arrive in Spain. Therefore, some of them are dying, which shows as part of the process. They are referred to as migrants, but also as refugees, indistinctively.

ABC, December 2019. Migrants are portrayed as unnamed individuals with basic traits and lacking depth. They are Africans because of the colour of their skin. They come irregularly by boat, and they often die at sea or have an unpleasant time in Spain, which is seen as a natural part of the migratory process. They are very young. Many of them are unaccompanied minor migrants who are keen to provoke conflict. The personification of objects, such as boats, has an active role in the action, leaving migrants as a passive character.

El País, December 2017. Migrants are portrayed as passive actors without a name. They arrive irregularly into Spain, in many cases as minors. They mostly come from either Morocco or Sub-Saharan Africa. They are not in charge of the action of the event. They are often reported using the passive voice as rescued, detained or dead.

El País, December 2019. Migrants are mostly portrayed as irregular individuals. They are referred to as coming from Africa, in general, or specifically from Afghanistan, Bangladesh or Morocco. In the case of Morocco, they are only considered to be Muslims. In most of the cases, their names remain unknown.

La Vanguardia, December 2017. There are two distinct portrayals of migrants in this period. The first description presents an oversimplified image of collective migrants as Muslims, undocumented and related to conflicts, without further elaboration about their origin. In this reality, migrants are presented as an imminent threat and described using

rhetorical figures, especially flows of water, waves and avalanches. The second description, which is also simplified, is found only in articles dealing with the Catalan elections. In this case, migrants are used as a political instrument to differentiate pro-independence parties, which value migration, as opposed to national parties, that do not care for migration, according to this journal.

La Vanguardia, December 2019. Migrants are mostly portrayed as a nameless group of adult people coming from Africa, especially Morocco, typically by boat. They risk their lives trying to arrive in Spain. They also suffer once they live in Spain, even dying or being attacked while working. People coming from Africa are automatically defined as migrants, ruling out the possibility of being asylum seekers or refugees, even those lost at sea and whose personal information is unknown.

To what extent, in representing migrants, media make use of public memories and historical assumptions that include sensitive aspects about migrants?

ABC, December 2017. The use of public memories in *ABC* is related to the personification of objects, especially boats. By applying a metonymy, boats are the subject of the action and migrants are left in a passive position without agency. *ABC* is also making use of public memories by referring to migration as flows, waves, and other aquatic metaphors presenting a natural threat. This type of description requires the collaboration of readers in order to be understood.

ABC, December 2019. People coming from Africa are assumed to be migrants, even in those cases when their legal status is not clear. The representation is triggered by the use of certain words which are not explained in the text, such as “pateras”, a special kind of boat. This period sees the appearance of the term “mena”, a newly created word used to name a uniform entity of unaccompanied minor migrants. In most cases, “menas” are seen as threatening to social stability.

El País, December 2017. Generally, *El País* assumed that any person arriving by sea is a migrant. Objects associated with the journey replaced references to humans. Through personification, migrants are referred to as boats and flows without further elaboration, expecting readers to use their public memories to decode simplified references. The origin

of migrants is mostly induced by the colour of their skin, with no evidence to support the implicature.

El País, December 2019. It is often assumed that they are irregulars by nature, without the need to prove their legal status in Spain by using specific terms related to irregularity. They are also assumed to be Muslims because of their appearance.

La Vanguardia, December 2017. Public memories about migrants being irregulars are used to simplify the description of migrants, up to the case of enclosing their portrayal to words linked to natural forces or papers. Readers need to understand the implicatures of the references in order to decode them. As a result, articles are often short and lacking analysis.

La Vanguardia, December 2019. The most frequent assumption is to refer to boats instead of people when informing about migration. The word “patera”, carries the action of the event, and it subtracts agency from the migrants. It is implied that migrants are in boats, but their presence is not mentioned, or they are referred to as passive actors.

What frames are journalists using to portray migration?

ABC, December 2017. Migrants are most often framed as arriving massively into Europe in complex stories that highlight the unpredictability of migration. In most cases, they are involved in a negative event.

ABC, December 2019. Migrants are often portrayed under a chaotic frame, related to the disorder, confusion, disarray and violence, frequently directed towards them, which is prompting to frame the articles with a public security approach, justifying migration controls for the benefit of both migrants and native population.

El País, December 2017. A general negative frame representing migration is related to border control and rescue operations under an ethical frame of public security. *El País* predominantly shows migrants connected to instability and in need to be controlled, rescued or intercepted.

El País, December 2019. Migrants are paradoxically framed under two opposite representations. On one side, they are frequently situated in a positive frame inside the body of the text, especially regarding migration in countries other than Spain. By contrast, migration is usually related to conflicts when categorising the articles, mainly migrants in Spain, who are often mistreated.

La Vanguardia, December 2017. The collective considered undocumented migration is linked to massive arrivals and conflicts, portrayed as hostile natural forces. They are connected with political disagreements and public security. Refugees and migrants are often depicted as the same entity.

La Vanguardia, December 2019. Frames related to conflict are present throughout the period, mainly linked to border controls and migrants suffering in Spain.

Are journalists prioritising some sources over others?

ABC, December 2017. *ABC* mainly prioritizes sources from its own newsroom in the first position. After that, parties in the government are the other prioritized source. Sources from non-governmental parties are mostly not included.

ABC, December 2019. News agencies are a touchstone source for *ABC*. Often the only input shown by the newspaper is limited to the inclusion of a picture and the selection of tags to categorise the story. The original production of *ABC* is residual.

El País, December 2017. *El País* prioritises news agencies as the primary source of information. Concerning politician sources, it prioritised those from the government and the ruling party, commonly excluding non-governmental politicians.

El País, December 2019. *El País* favours journalists as the main source. Contributions from governmental sources and non-governmental politicians also show relevant participation.

La Vanguardia, December 2017. *La Vanguardia* prioritises in first place sources from journalists, especially news agencies. Additionally, politicians, especially those from pro-

independence parties, also have an essential role in this period, participating more often than in any other newspaper analysed.

La Vanguardia, December 2019. *La Vanguardia* overwhelmingly selects news agencies as the primary source of information. Furthermore, news agencies are predominantly the author of the text. Most of the articles do not include other sources.

Are migrants a source of information about themselves?

ABC, December 2017. Migrants are generally ignored as a source, either directly or indirectly, even in those cases when the articles would have required their comments to offer basic details about the described event. The only direct comment made by a migrant in *ABC* in this period is from a homeless person.

ABC, December 2019. Migrants are typically not taken into account as sources, even in those stories where their comments would have improved the quality of the information. In the few cases when migrants were included as sources, the perspective towards migration is more empathetic, but these articles did not attract much attention from the readers.

El País, December 2017. Migrants are mostly ignored as a source, even in cases when they could have been contacted. The few articles containing migrants as a source give a positive perspective of migration, but they are a minority.

El País, December 2019. There are particular articles in which migrants enrich the information with their perspectives, but most of the stories still lack the contribution of migrants providing information about incidents in which they take part.

La Vanguardia, December 2017. In most of the articles, comments from migrants, either direct or indirect, are absent, even in those cases when it would have been possible to contact them to improve the quality of the information.

La Vanguardia, December 2019. Generally, migrants are not included as sources of information, even in cases when they were available to be contacted. Most of the articles

show fundamental deficiencies in the coverage of the story, limited to a short description of events without analysis and lacking essential details.

Are journalists reproducing arguments from politicians who are trying to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration?

ABC, December 2017. Politicians in the government and the ruling party are characterized as rejecting migration and favouring border controls in Spain and on a global scale.

ABC, December 2019. Arguments from politicians are mostly limited to representatives from the ruling party of Andalusia. The most repeated argument in this period made by this actor is related to unaccompanied minor migrants as a complaint towards the national government.

El País, December 2017. *El País* does not recurrently reproduce arguments from Spanish politicians regarding the treatment of migration from national parties. It focused on international stories, and it showed a tendency to question the views on migration from the then president of the United States, Donald Trump.

El País, December 2019. In general, the presence of articles using migration as an element of differentiation among parties is very scarce.

La Vanguardia, December 2017. The most salient political arguments reproduced in this period are those from pro-independence Catalan parties, framing migration as a political differentiator in contrast to nationwide parties.

La Vanguardia, December 2019. The role of politicians in *La Vanguardia* decreased with respect to 2017, but it is still relevant in 2019. Politicians are included analysing events and giving their opinion, a role that was not common for any other source. The most noticeable aspect in this regard is that when specific people from Africa serve a political purpose, they are not considered migrants but nationals from the receiving country.

5.3. Fulfilling the objectives and proving the hypotheses: general trends on the representation of migration in the Spanish newspapers

The present subsection will validate or refute the hypothesis presented in the methodological chapter, providing general findings extracted from the analysis of the corpus. As mentioned in the previous subsection, it is relevant to consider that the below-mentioned information is compressed and summarized to give a clear picture of the results. Because of that, to be aware of the particular distinctions of each period and newspapers, as well as the nuances of the outcome of the analysis, it is necessary to attend to the complete results presented in the respective chapters. This section is organized by hypothesis, related to the supporting objectives of each of them. It starts showing the two auxiliary hypotheses and secondary objectives, and it ends with the main hypothesis of the thesis, linked to the main objective of the investigation.

5.3.1. The variety of sources and the quality of information

The auxiliary hypotheses taken into consideration in this subsection are ‘journalists in charge of covering migration are selecting predominantly negative frames and not including, in most cases, migrants as sources of information’ and ‘journalists reproduce arguments of politicians who try to differentiate from their political opponents by the way they treat migration, among other aspects’. The research objectives linked to these hypotheses were, on one side, uncovering journalistic practices related to sources, analysing whether this selection impacts the frame appearing in the articles and, on the other side, examining the influence of politicians.

Overall, the vast majority of articles have as the primary source a journalist. This tendency is clearly influenced by the fact that news agencies are overrepresented as the primary source of information in articles about migration. Besides being the primary source, the most common authors of the articles are also news agencies. There is a pattern relating articles written by news agencies or having news agencies as the primary source with low-quality articles: they focus on a limited description of the events, without an analysis of the incident; they are shorter in length, include fewer sources, typically do not include migrants as a source, give scarce information about migrants, and include pictures with deficiencies, such as portraying events unrelated to the incident or lacking a caption. Migrants, in general, play a passive role in the information, both in the narration of the story and as narrators. Migrants are represented as passive objects, often carried, rescued, detained or dead, among other unpleasant circumstances. As narrators, migrants are not

usually included as sources in the stories about themselves, even when their comments would have enriched the information. The agency of migrants is, therefore, subtracted in favour of other types of sources. It was found that in stories containing migrants and other more varied sources, the frame of these stories was often more favourable towards migration. However, this type of researched stories is a minority in comparison to those articles containing fewer sources. There is a tendency to publish negative stories about migrants trying to arrive in Europe. On the other hand, positive stories about migrants are often set in other countries outside the European Union, in many cases in the United States. There is a trend to avoid defining people belonging to privileged positions in society as migrants. Politicians, football players, actors, among other well-considered professions, are not viewed as migrants in the media. The only characteristic which is differentiating them is money or political power.

Politicians play a crucial role in the articles about migration analysed, especially those who are in power. Members from the ruling party are given a preponderant role in the narration of the story. This is made by giving them more space to participate and also by including opinions and interpretations about the facts, a role that is not common in migrants as a source. Politicians often define their political position in relation to how they describe migration, such as using the term “mena” to refer to unaccompanied minor migrants or considering a person as a migrant when they play a political role in favour of a specific party.

5.3.2. The typical representation of migration

‘Migrants are misrepresented in the Spanish newspapers’ was the main hypothesis of the investigation. To verify this statement, it was set a primary objective, concise in the formulation and wide in the scope: to learn how migration is represented in the newspapers. Part of the main hypothesis has been proven with the information presented in the previous section regarding the auxiliary hypotheses, which focused mainly on the type of sources used to write about migration. Now, this subsection will complement the results concerning how migrants are portrayed in the newspapers analysed.

During the analysis, it was found a common practice among the newspapers to use metaphors, metonymies and rhetorical figures, which are closer to literature rather

than journalism. This practice is implemented by relying on assumptions that are expected to be understood by readers. One of the most common assumptions is that migrants die while trying to enter irregularly into Europe, portraying it as a natural process. Therefore, it is not treated as news but as an ordinary consequence, which calls for less media attention. Metaphors are one of the tools used to construct this portrayal, especially those related to water flows to define migration, such as “avalancha”, “ola” or “flujos”. Another common metaphor is to use verbs related to conflict and invasion, such as “asaltar”, “interceptar”, “detener” and “repeler”. There is also an extended practice to use words related to boats as a metonym to refer to humans migrating. As such, the word “patera” is often subtracting the agency from migrants, which are portrayed as a passive subject inside of an object carrying the action. Regarding this finding, it is shared the perspective of Orwell, who already in 1946 wrote that by “using stale metaphors, similes and idioms, you save much mental effort, at the cost of leaving your meaning vague” (Orwell, 1946: 11).

There are other common oversimplifications, such as informing only about Muslims in relation to migration, creating an overrepresentation of this religion compared to other ones. There is also an overrepresentation of minors in the articles about migration and, in many cases, unaccompanied minors. Moreover, there is a trend to assume that people arriving by boat to Europe are migrants, ruling out the possibility to be asylum seekers or refugees. This trend is found even in cases where there is little to no information about the subjects. Another simplification is made by creating new terminology applied to migrants. For instance, there is a proliferation of terms such as “irregulares”, “ilegales”, “indocumentados”, “simpapeles”, which are used without further explanation about the meaning behind these one-word references. This practice is also related to the overrepresentation of unaccompanied minor migrants in the media, which led to the creation of new terms such as “menas”. Most of these neologisms are not included in the Spanish dictionary, and they are often linked with problems for the receiving society. Another common representation is to focus on migration coming from two areas: Morocco and Sub-Saharan Africa. In many cases, the attribution of the origin seems to be made by looking at the colour of the skin rather than by relying on official records. Migrants from other countries with a high representation of the population in Spain, such as Romanians, are not included in the articles, with a few exceptions of stories reproducing simplistic stereotypes. Overall, most migrants presented in the articles are

lacking basic personal information, starting with the absence of their names. Migrants remain unknown, in part because most of the incidents reported are published as one-time events, lacking a follow-up article to expand the information. However, in most cases, the decision to not include names of migrants seems to respond to a lack of interest by the authors. Even in notable cases when the name of the migrant was known, this person remained nameless. In general, positive stories about migration are scarce and are not situated in Europe but other countries like the United States. In many cases, these positive stories are related to people belonging to a privileged position in society: politicians, actors, CEOs and athletes. The few articles containing a positive frame about migration in Spain attracted the attention of readers, who participated more actively in the comment section in comparison to in other articles. The pictures selected to accompany the articles about migrants tend to be of low quality, frequently unsigned. On many occasions, their captions lack essential information about the subjects depicted, especially when they are black people, who are often portrayed in situations of despair.

5.4. The most salient practices in the representation of migration in the Spanish newspapers

It has been proven in this thesis that the representation of migration in the Spanish newspapers is not accurate. The following list points out the most salient aspects which are distorting the image about migration. Each point is accompanied by a real example of an article extracted from the corpus of this work in which the practice is deployed:

1. Migrants generally do not appear as sources of information in the articles about themselves. For example, in the article ABC104, even though 34 people arrived by boat -except for one who died- and their whereabouts were known, there were no comments from any of them. The variety of sources is in general very limited, with an overrepresentation of journalists as the primary source of information and members from the ruling party playing a prominent role as sources.
2. Most migrants are not identified, even in those cases when their names could have been known. For example, the articles LV211 presents the story of a person from Senegal who heroically rescued a disabled person from a burning apartment. The

name of the rescuer is not included in the information, even though it was known by the authorities. Instead, the person is referred to by his origin and as a migrant.

3. The only religion associated with migration is Islam. Muslims are portrayed as migrants, to the point that in some cases both references are used interchangeably, such as in the article LV127, and normally they are associated with frames related to border control and despair.
4. People are called migrants before knowing their official status and also when they do not consider themselves migrants. For instance, in the article EP104, Susana Ye asks: “Es hora de que nos dejen de ver como a una masa uniforme y nos empiecen a ver como individuos”²²⁵.
5. Language related to conflict is commonly used, even in nonviolent situations. In the article EP222, an expert on migration explains that “Reforzando esta mirada basada en la seguridad que convierte la inmigración en amenaza se intenta hacer política migratoria desde la frontera”²²⁶. However, the editors of this article decided to tag the story under the term “guerra”, war.
6. Terms related to objects are used to refer to migration, subtracting their agency. The article LV240 explains that “Tres pateras han llegado a las costas de Baleares en la madrugada de este jueves”²²⁷. The object “pateras” carries the action of the sentence, and readers need to assume that people, supposedly migrants, were inside those boats.
7. Rhetorical figures not related to humans are part of the journalistic vocabulary. There are common mentions of natural forces which are not descriptive of a human dimension used to describe migration, such as the term “flujo interminable de inmigrantes”²²⁸ found in LV103.

²²⁵ “It is time for them to stop seeing us as a uniform mass and begin to see us as individuals”

²²⁶ “Reinforcing this view based on security that makes immigration a threat, an attempt is made to make immigration policy from the border”

²²⁷ “Three boats (pateras) have arrived on the Balearic coast at dawn this Thursday”

²²⁸ “Endless flow of immigrants”

8. Simplistic neologisms used as synecdoches substitute detailed definitions. New constructions such as “irregulares”, “simpapeles” or “menas” are not informative. Sentences such as “[España] es el único país europeo donde crece la llegada de irregulares por mar”²²⁹, from LV138, shows a lack of depth in the description of a complex reality.
9. The use of assumed representations and historical preconceptions are common. The most common one is associating people arriving by boat from Africa with “irregular” migration. By implying assumptions, articles present a simplified and simplistic reference about people trying to arrive in Spain, reducing the description of the reality and expecting readers to decode the messages using their presumptions. For instance, the article EP114 writes that “Un inmigrante ha fallecido este jueves en una nueva oleada de pateras en las costas andaluzas”²³⁰. The author expects the reader to understand what “oleada de pateras” is and to see as a fact that the person who died was a migrant, even though his legal status was not confirmed.
10. The use of passive voice in relation to migration is the main tendency when reporting about migrants. The passive voice diminishes the agency of the subject and avoids responsibility over the events. It is common to find sentences such as “Detenido por abandonar en un centro de salud a un inmigrante muerto”²³¹ (LV217), “Detenido un hombre acusado de dejar en un centro de salud el cadáver de un inmigrante que trabajaba en su finca”²³² (LV219), “Detenido tras abandonar en un centro de salud de Pozo Alcón (Jaén) el cadáver de un inmigrante que trabajaba en su finca”²³³ (LV221), “Rescatado un migrante que pasó 12 horas en aguas del Estrecho tras precipitarse de un ferry”²³⁴ (LV242).
11. The criteria for who is considered a migrant are not equal for all the people with the same characteristics. It is not coherent that successful people are not

²²⁹ “[Spain] is the only European country where the arrival of illegal immigrants by sea is growing”

²³⁰ “An immigrant has died this Thursday in a new wave of boats on the Andalusian coast”

²³¹ “Arrested for abandoning a dead immigrant in a health center”

²³² “Arrested a man accused of leaving the body of an immigrant who worked on his farm in a health center”

²³³ “Arrested after leaving the corpse of an immigrant who worked on his farm in a health center in Pozo Alcón (Jaén)”

²³⁴ “Rescued a migrant who spent 12 hours in the waters of the Strait after falling from a ferry”

considered migrants even though they have the same characteristics as other people who are automatically considered migrants. For instance, LV237 writes about a Member of the European Parliament born in Burkina Faso, who was not considered a migrant at any point of the story.

12. Migrants and refugees are considered the same legal entity. Moreover, the term ‘refugee’ is often a synonym of migrants arriving by boat. For instance, the article LV112 writes about “El número de inmigrantes indocumentados y refugiados que llegaron este año a España a través de la ruta del Mediterráneo occidental se situó en casi 20.000 personas”²³⁵. Afterwards, in the same text, the author homogenizes the group and only writes about migrants: “En la travesía a través del Mediterráneo occidental murieron en lo que va de año 206 inmigrantes”²³⁶. Additionally, migrants are never represented as agents of diaspora.
13. References to asylum seekers are not common. They are vastly absent in the results in favour of the broader term migrant. Even in those cases when it was known that people wanted to apply for asylum, the author still defined this person as migrants and not asylum seekers, as it happened in LV212, or cases when people were coming from Syria, as in LV138.
14. The colour of the skin is used as an indicator of the person being migrants and their origin. ABC219 describes a person rescued from the sea as “joven inmigrante magrebí”²³⁷, without legal confirmation about his status.
15. The quality of the pictures accompanying the articles about migration and their captions are poor, lacking essential details. For instance, the article LV225 refers to a migrant stabbed by his employer, but the picture selected to accompany the text is the close up of an olive tree.

²³⁵ “The number of undocumented immigrants and refugees who arrived in Spain this year via the western Mediterranean route stood at almost 20,000 people”

²³⁶ “In the crossing through the western Mediterranean, 206 immigrants have died so far this year”

²³⁷ “Young Maghrebi immigrant”

16. The use of news agency as authors of the articles about migration is not an exception but a norm. Articles sent by news agency tend to be short, basic and lacking depth. They are purely descriptive and elaborated to fit into any newspaper. For example, the article LV117, published by *La Vanguardia*, is signed by the news agency EFE, and it can be found with none to minor changes also in *El Economista*, *Canarias 7*, *La Opinión de Murcia*, *Cadena Ser*, *El Confidencial*, *Diario de Ferrol* and *Libertad FM*, among other newspapers.
17. There is no consistency in the categorisation of the articles about migration regarding the section. Editors did not create an original section just for migration, inserting migration stories under eclectic categories. For instance, we can find how *La Vanguardia* classified similar events about the rescue of migrants at sea under different categories such as “Andalucía”, “Sucesos” and “Vida”²³⁸. This last category seems to be a catchall section that includes stories about migrants dying (LV217) and women having beards (Fita, 2020).
18. The majority of ethical and topic frames used to represent migration have a negative connotation. The evaluation of the main event reported in the stories also is negative in most of the cases. For instance, stories writing about the arrival of people by boat are framed under a border control perspective, not considering other types of frames such as the humanitarian one. This practice is shown, for example, in the article LV242. The article informs about the “interception” by Spanish police of three boats that were trying to arrive in the Spanish coast carrying migrants, as explained in the text. In a line at the end of the text, the author briefly writes that “on the other hand” a person disappeared in the water after jumping from the boat and his rescue was unsuccessful.
19. Articles using migration as a political differentiator are not common but they are present. There are instances of articles presenting migration with a political purpose in the context of the elections in Catalonia, such as EP123, criticizing the attempt by pro-independence parties to influence young migrants, or LV127, which writes about a report about migration and how Muslims are poorly

²³⁸ “Andalusia”, “Events” and “Life”

represented in politics, a situation that is going to be amended by a pro-independence party which is offering a sit to a Muslim, even though there is a confusion in the article between migrant and Muslim, wrongly using them as synonyms.

20. It has been proven that stories including more number and more varied sources tend to be more positive towards migration and draw more attention. For instance, EP135, a story about Spaniards born from Chinese parents trying to fight back the stereotypes about Chinese migrants, included several sources and collected 189 comments from readers. Another example is the story of Gorgui Lamine Sow, a Senegalese who rescued a disabled person from a burning apartment, climbing the building and risking his own life. The story was covered poorly in *La Vanguardia*, published in two short articles unsigned and written by news agencies, LV211 and LV215, which collected only one comment in total. By contrast, *El País* published this story in EP209, an original article in which Gorgui appeared as a source. This article collected 568 comments. This finding contradicts the generalize view considering negative and sensationalist articles as more attractive to the reader (see, for instance, Caviedes, 2015: 913). The results of this thesis show that positive stories, when they are well documented, attract the attention of the readers in high numbers.

5.5. Future lines of investigation in the field of media and migration studies

The scope of the present work can be expanded by future lines of research, making use of the tools developed for the coding of the corpus and the data extracted. Using these resources, the future lines of investigation could be the following:

- i. To interview journalists who wrote the articles to learn more about the journalistic practices and the decisions that made them define migrants, as shown in this work.
- ii. To interview migrants appearing in the stories to learn whether they find themselves well-represented in the articles and how the story could have been enhanced by adding their comments.

- iii. The elaboration of a database including the specialisation of the journalists who write about migration, learning whether they are trained to write about this topic.
- iv. A deeper analysis of the tags used to categorise the stories about migration, comparing them with the tags used in articles about another type of actors.
- v. An interview with journalists or editors responsible for selecting the tags used to categorise the stories.
- vi. A follow-up of the incidents published during the two periods of analysis to learn whether there was an interest by the newspaper to keep publishing about particular cases in which stories would benefit from an extended coverage of the event.
- vii. To compare the findings of this thesis with the representation of migrants in newspapers from other countries.

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Annex 2: images

Image 1: Caption of the information collected in the database (detail)

A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	A8	A9	A10	A11	A12	A13	A14	A15	A16	A17	A18	A19	A20	A21	A22	A23	A24	A25	A26	A27	A28	A29	A30	A31	A32	A33	A34	A35	A36	A37	A38	A39	A40	A41	A42	A43	A44	A45	A46	A47	A48	A49	A50	A51	A52	A53	A54	A55	A56	A57	A58	A59	A60	A61	A62	A63	A64	A65	A66	A67	A68	A69	A70	A71	A72	A73	A74	A75	A76	A77	A78	A79	A80	A81	A82	A83	A84	A85	A86	A87	A88	A89	A90	A91	A92	A93	A94	A95	A96	A97	A98	A99	A100
Article code	A2: Newspaper	A3: Link	A4: Date of publication A5: Number of hits A6: Author	A11: Mentioned to A5: Section	A8: Related article A9: Title	A10: Number of hits A11: Main topic of the article	B2: Main topic of the article				B3: Work used in the article				B4: By personnel B5: By government B6: By non-government																																																																																				
ARC001	ABC																																																																																																		

Image 2: Image from the implemented search

 site:elpais.com inmigrante



 Todo  Imágenes  Maps  Noticias  Vídeos  Más Configuración Herramientas

Cualquier idioma ▼ 1 dic. 2019 – 31 dic. 2019 ▼ Todos los resultados ▼ Borrar

 elpais.com › Internacional ▼

Carlos Hernández: Un vídeo muestra la muerte de un menor ...

6 dic. 2019 - Carlos Gregorio Hernández Vásquez era un **inmigrante** guatemalteco que cruzó la frontera entre México y Estados Unidos a través del río Grande cerca de ...

 elpais.com › Opinión ▼

Inmigración: La humanidad inmigrante | Opinión | EL PAÍS

9 dic. 2019 - "Al menos 58 **inmigrantes** de varias nacionalidades han muerto tras naufragar este miércoles su embarcación en aguas del Atlántico a la altura de Nuadibú ...

 elpais.com › España ▼

Detenido en Jaén tras abandonar en un centro de salud el ...

16 dic. 2019 - Este suceso se ha producido en medio repunte de la llegada de **inmigrantes** al pueblo. La Subdelegación del Gobierno ha reforzado el dispositivo de vigilancia ...

 elpais.com › Madrid ▼

Solo el 1,7% de los inmigrantes cobra ayudas sociales - El País

14 dic. 2019 - Desde 2008, el Gobierno regional realiza cada dos años una encuesta para profundizar en la situación sociolaboral de la población **inmigrante**. El último ...

Image 3: Cover page of *ABC*, 26th December 2019





Image 5: Cover page of *La Vanguardia*, 26th December 2019



Image 6: Image of the article ABC112, *ABC*, 27th December 2017

ABC INTERNACIONAL

Opinión ▾ España ▾ Economía ▾ Internacional ▾ Sociedad Deportes ▾ Cultura ▾ Historia Ciencia Gente Play ▾

EXCLUSIVO PREMIUM Estilo ▾ Más ≡

ABC INTERNACIONAL Europa Hoy

Italia niega la nacionalidad a los hijos de inmigrantes

● La medida afecta a 600.000 niños nacidos en el país de padres residentes legales



31  Ángel Gómez Fuentes • SEGUIR

LO MÁS LEÍDO EN ABC

Internacional	ABC
1 Las concesiones de Borrell ante Venezuela alarman a EE.UU.	
2 ★ ABC PREMIUM Biden llega a su primer 4 de julio con su mayor promesa incumplida	
3 Maduro acusa de terrorismo al director de la ONG que lo señala por amparar a la guerrilla colombiana	
4 Los ejercicios militares de EE.UU. y Ucrania alarman a Rusia	

Expanded image of the article ABC112



Image 7: Image of the article EP112, *El País*, 14th December 2017

≡ **EL PAÍS**



1. La niña rohingya Isha Rab, de 5 años, llegó a Bangladés en septiembre, muestra un cordón de zapato con el que juega en el campo de refugiados de Thankhali en Cox's Bazar.

—
ED JONES (AFP)

Image 8: Image of the article LV138, *La Vanguardia*, 19th December 2017



1/4 · Un policía conversa en el puerto de Málaga con un inmigrante de un grupo llegado en una patera y que fue rescatado por un barco Jon Nazca / Reuters

Image 9: Image of the article LV138, *La Vanguardia*, 19th December 2017



Image 10: Image of the article LV138, *La Vanguardia*, 19th December 2017



Annex 3: Database

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1a-TDgEV_jgr1SDQwTON_tN9fZ_-sxayZ/view?usp=sharing

Annex 4: list of Spanish terms translated in English

The following list shows the terms used to refer to migration by ABC, El País and La Vanguardia, published in articles during two periods, December 2017 and 2019. The terms shown in the chapter 3 can be found in this list translated in English.

abnegado inmigrante	selfless immigrant
actores	actors
acusada	accused
adolescente	teen
adolescente fallecido	deceased teenager
afectados por las corrientes migratorias forzosas	affected by forced migration flows
africanos	Africans
alumnos extranjeros	foreign students
ambicioso inmigrante uruguayo	ambitious Uruguayan immigrant
andaluchinas	Andalusian
anónimos que huyen	anonymous fleeing
antiinmigrante	anti-immigrant
apátridas	stateless
aquellas que proceden de terceros países	those that come from third countries
árabes	Arab
árabes y gitanos	Arabs and Gypsies
argelinos	Algerians
artista japonés	Japanese artist
asalariados extranjeros	foreign wage earners
asiático-americano	Asian American
asilados	asylees
asilo	asylum
audiencia latina	latin audience
avalancha de pateras que se lanzaron al mar	avalanche of boats that were thrown into the sea
avalancha de solicitudes de asilo procedentes de Latinoamérica	avalanche of asylum applications from Latin America
bailarina	dancer
bananas	bananas
bangladesí	bangladeshi
bangladesíes	bangladeshi
barcas	boats
bengalesí	Bengali
bengalí	Bengali

blanco	white
brasileño	Brazilian
buena persona	good person
cadáver	corpse
cadáver de un empleado	corpse of an employee
cadáver de un empleado inmigrante	corpse of an immigrant employee
cadáver de un hombre flotando	corpse of a man floating
cadáver de un inmigrante	corpse of an immigrant
cadáver de un jornalero norteafricano	corpse of a North African laborer
cadáver de un temporero	corpse of a temp
cadáver del marroquí de 31 años	corpse of the 31-year-old Moroccan
cadáveres malogrados en nuestras playas	corpses spoiled on our beaches
camareruneses	Cameroonians
camerunés	Cameroonian
campesinos y trabajadores	peasants and workers
cargas	loads
casos	cases
catalán	Catalan
catalana	Catalan (fem.)
categoría especial de inmigrantes: los de cultura islámica	special category of immigrants: those of Islamic culture
chavales de Ghana	lads from Ghana
chica inmigrante	immigrant girl
chico	boy
chicos	boys
chicos inmigrantes	immigrant boys
chicos jóvenes	young boys
chilena	Chilean
china	Chinese (fem.)
chino	Chinese
chiñol	chiñol
chiñoles	chiñoles
cientos y cientos de migrantes	hundreds and hundreds of migrants
ciudadana cubano americana	Cuban American citizen
ciudadanas	citizens
ciudadano londinense de origen polaco	Londoner of Polish origin
ciudadanos	citizens
ciudadanos canadienses	canadian citizens
ciudadanos chilenos que viven en Argentina	Chilean citizens living in Argentina
ciudadanos colombianos	Colombian citizens
ciudadanos de plenos derechos	citizens with full rights
ciudadanos estadounidense de origen nipón	American citizens of Japanese origin
ciudadanos extranjeros	foreign citizens

ciudadanos extranjeros que viven en nuestra región	foreign citizens living in our region
ciudadanos foráneos	foreign citizens
ciudadanos sin papeles	citizens without papers
ciudadanos venezolanos	Venezuelan citizens
colectivo	collective
colectivo vulnerable como el de los inmigrantes	vulnerable group such as immigrants
colectivos de personas en situación de vulnerabilidad	groups of people in vulnerable situations
colectivos vulnerables	vulnerable groups
colombiana	Colombian (fem.)
colombianos	Colombians
colombianos y centroamericanos	Colombians and Central Americans
colonias	colonies
compañero	co-worker
compañero de celda	prision partner
compañeros de patera	boat mates
compañeros de viaje	fellow travelers
compañeros foráneos	foreign companions
compatriota	compatriot
compatriotas africanos	African compatriots
comunidad china	Chinese community
comunidad de origen indio	community of indian origin
comunidad hispana	Hispanic community
comunidad india	Indian community
comunidad inmigrante	immigrant community
comunidad inmigrante haitiana	Haitian immigrant community
con papeles	with papers
condenado	condemned
congoleña	Congolese
corriente migratoria	migratory stream
costurero	taylor
críos solos	kids alone
crisis de los cayucos	crisis of the cayucos
crisis de los migrantes y refugiados	migrant and refugee crisis
crisis de los refugiados	refugee crisis
crisis de refugiados	refugee crisis
crisis migratoria	migration crisis
crisis migratorias	migration crisis
cubana	Cuban
cuerpo	Body
cuerpo sin vida de un hombre	lifeless body of a man
cuerpo sin vida de un inmigrante	lifeless body of an immigrant

cuerpo sin vida flotando	lifeless body floating
cuestión migratoria	immigration issue
de nacionalidad extranjera	of foreign nationality
de nacionalidad yemení	Yemeni national
de origen argelino	of Algerian origin
de origen pakistaní	of Pakistani origin
de origen paquistaní	of Pakistani origin
debajos ingresos	low income
debate migratorio global	global migration debate
decenas de miles de personas	tens of thousands of people
delincuentes	criminals
demandantes de asilo	asylum seekers
desalojados	evicted
desplazados internos	internally displaced
diseñadora de moda	fashion designer
dreamers	dreamers
ecuatoriana	Ecuadorian (fem.)
ecuatoriano	Ecuadorian
ejecutor	executor
el héroe de incendio	the fire hero
el problema de la inmigración irregular	the problem of irregular immigration
ellos	they
embarcación	boat
emigración	emigration
emigrada	emigrated
emigrante	emigrant
emigrante subsahariano	Sub-Saharan emigrant
emigrantes	emigrants
emigrantes procedentes de una serie de países musulmanes	emigrants from a number of Muslim countries
emigrantes que han perdido el empleo	emigrants who have lost their jobs
emigrantes que nunca han tenido papeles	emigrants who have never had papers
empleados extranjeros	foreign employees
empleados inmigrantes	immigrant employees
empresario de origen uruguayo	Uruguayan businessman
en situación regular e irregular	in regular and irregular situation
esclavos	slaves
escritora	writer
español	Spanish
española	Spanish (fem.)
española de padres chinos	Spanish of Chinese parents
españolas	Spanish (fem., plur.)
españoles	Spanish people

estadounidenses con ascendencia hispana	Americans of Hispanic descent
estadounidenses de origen indio	American Indian origin
estereotipo de inmigrante indio	stereotype of Indian immigrant
estudiante iraní	Iranian student
estudiante venezolana	Venezuelan student
estudiantes inmigrantes de segunda generación	second generation immigrant students
etnias grupos sociales	ethnic groups social groups
eurodiputada	MEP
europeos	Europeans
exiliada	exiled
éxodo masivo (de) miembros de la minoría birmana de los rohinyás	mass exodus (of) members of the Burmese minority of the Rohingya
expatriados	expatriates
expedientes	files
extranjera	foreign (fem.)
extranjero	foreigners
extranjeras	foreign (fem., plural)
extranjeros	foreigners
extranjero negro	black foreigner
extranjeros en situación administrativa irregular	foreigners in an irregular administrative situation
extranjeros europeos	European foreigners
extranjeros no registrados ni autorizados	unregistered and unlicensed foreigners
extranjeros residentes aquí con permiso	foreigners residing here with permission
extranjeros titulares de una autorización para residir en territorio español	foreigners holding an authorization to reside in Spanish territory
fallecido	passed away
familia	family
familias	families
familia árabe	arab family
familia salvadoreña	Salvadoran family
familias con niños	families with children
familias gitanas portuguesas	Portuguese gypsy families
feminista	feminist
fenómeno	phenomenon
fenómeno de los movimientos migratorios	phenomenon of migratory movements
fenómeno migratorio	migratory phenomenon
filipinos	Filipinos
flujo	flow
flujo de inmigrantes	flow of immigrants
flujo de llegada	arrival flow
flujo de migración regular	regular migration flow

flujo global de inmigrantes	global flow of immigrants
flujo interminable de inmigrantes	endless flow of immigrants
flujo migratorio	migratory flow
flujos de inmigrantes	immigrant flows
flujos migratorios	migratory flows
focos de inmigración que está siendo contratada de forma irregular	sources of immigration that are being contracted irregularly
foráneos	foreigners
francesa	French (fem.)
gente	people
gente de bajo nivel	low level people
gente de pocos ingresos	low-income people
gente de zonas muy rurales de Latinoamérica África o Asia	people from very rural areas of Latin America Africa or Asia
gente muy muy mala	very very bad people
gente peligrosa	dangerous people
gente que huye	people fleeing
gerente de marca	brand manager
gitanas rumanas	Romanian Gypsies
gran población inmigrante	large immigrant population
griego	Greek
grupo	group
grupo de inmigrantes	group of immigrants
grupo de jóvenes	group of youngsters
grupo de marroquíes	group of Moroccans
grupo de personas	group of people
grupo de personas que se desplaza a la provincia de Huelva para trabajar en labores agrícolas	group of people who travel to the province of Huelva to work in agricultural work
grupo procedente de Líbano	group from Lebanon
grupos sociales	social groups
guatemala	Guatemala
guineanos	Guineans
habitantes	population
habitantes de origen migrante	inhabitants of migrant origin
héroe	hero
héroe «sin papeles» de Senegal	Senegal's "undocumented" hero
héroe anónimo	anonymous hero
héroe anónimo sin papeles	anonymous hero without papers
héroe de Dénia	Dénia hero
héroe senegalés	Senegalese hero
héroe senegalés de 20 años	20 year old Senegalese hero
héroe sin papeles	paperless hero
hija	daughter

hija de inmigrantes de la India	daughter of immigrants from India
hijo de emigrantes	son of emigrants
hijos	children
hijos de inmigrantes	children of immigrants
hijos de inmigrantes nacidos en este país	children of immigrants born in this country
hijos de inmigrantes nacidos en Italia	children of immigrants born in Italy
hijos de migrantes del gigante asiático	children of migrants from the Asian giant
hispanos	Hispanic
hispanos y sus descendientes	Hispanics and their descendants
hogares de origen inmigrante	homes of immigrant origin
hombre	man
hombre de nacionalidad senegalesa	man of Senegalese nationality
hombre de nacionalidad senegalesa	man of Senegalese nationality
hombre de origen africano	man of African origin
hombre fallecido	deceased man
hombres	men
hombres jóvenes	young men
hombretón	big man
homo sacer	homo sacer
hondureña	Honduran
humoristas y escritores estadounidenses de origen indio	American Indian comedians and writers
ilegales	illegal
ilustradora	illustrator
indio	Indian
individuo	individual
individuos	individuals
indocumentado	undocumented (sing.)
indocumentados	undocumented (plural)
indocumentado de mierda	undocumented shit
inmigración	immigration
inmigración de indocumentados	undocumented immigration
inmigración en España	immigration in Spain
inmigración ilegal	illegal immigration
inmigración irregular	irregular immigration
inmigración irrestricta	unrestricted immigration
inmigración legal	legal immigration
inmigración masiva	mass immigration
inmigración musulmana	muslim immigration
inmigración neta	net immigration
inmigración regional	regional immigration
inmigrados clandestinos	clandestine immigrants

inmigrante	immigrant
inmigrante	immigrant
inmigrante "ilegal de nacionalidad yemení"	illegal immigrant of Yemeni nationality
inmigrante «héroe anónimo»	immigrant "anonymous hero"
inmigrante «ilegal de nacionalidad yemení»	illegal immigrant of Yemeni nationality
inmigrante apuñalado	stabbed immigrant
inmigrante argelino	Algerian immigrant
inmigrante bangladeshí con simpatías por el extremismo islámico	Bangladeshi immigrant with sympathies for Islamic extremism
inmigrante bangladés	Bangladeshi immigrant
inmigrante camerunés	Cameroonian immigrant
inmigrante canadiense	Canadian immigrant
inmigrante cubano	Cuban immigrant
inmigrante de Bangladés, Afganistán y Pakistán	immigrant from Bangladesh, Afghanistan and Pakistan
inmigrante de Mali	immigrant from Mali
inmigrante de origen indio	immigrant of Indian origin
inmigrante de origen magrebí	immigrant of Maghreb origin
inmigrante de segunda generación ilerdense	second-generation immigrant from Lleida
inmigrante desaparecido	missing immigrant
inmigrante desconocido	unknown immigrant
inmigrante guatemalteco	Guatemalan immigrant
inmigrante hecho así mismo	self-made immigrant
inmigrante ilegal	illegal immigrant
inmigrante ilegal argentino	Argentine illegal immigrant
inmigrante indio	indian immigrant
inmigrante indocumentada	undocumented immigrant
inmigrante indocumentado	undocumented immigrant
inmigrante indocumentado de Bangladés, Afganistán y Pakistán	undocumented immigrant from Bangladesh, Afghanistan and Pakistan
inmigrante irregular	irregular immigrant
inmigrante irregular de Bangladés, Afganistán y Pakistán	irregular immigrant from Bangladesh, Afghanistan and Pakistan
inmigrante magrebí o subsahariano	Maghreb or sub-Saharan immigrant
inmigrante maliense	Malian immigrant
inmigrante marroquí	Moroccan immigrant
inmigrante muerto	dead immigrant
inmigrante musulmán	muslim immigrant
inmigrante nicaragüense	Nicaraguan immigrant
inmigrante pakistaní	Pakistani immigrant
inmigrante polaco	Polish immigrant
inmigrante que ha visto la pobreza	immigrant who has seen poverty
inmigrante senegalés	Senegalese immigrant

inmigrante sin documentados	undocumented immigrant
inmigrante sin papeles	undocumented immigrant
inmigrante solicitante de asilo	asylum seeker immigrant
inmigrante taiwanesa	Taiwanese immigrant
inmigrante uzbeko	Uzbek immigrant
inmigrante uzbeko	Uzbek immigrant
inmigrante uzbeko seguidor del EI	Uzbek immigrant supporter of IS
inmigrantes	immigrants
inmigrantes 'sin papeles'	'undocumented' immigrants
inmigrantes adultos	adult immigrants
inmigrantes africanos	African immigrants
inmigrantes ahogados	drowned immigrants
inmigrantes argelinos	Algerian immigrants
inmigrantes considerados "de baja calidad"	immigrants considered "of low quality"
inmigrantes de Afganistán	immigrants from Afghanistan
inmigrantes de forma irregular de origen pakistaní	irregular immigrants of Pakistani origin
inmigrantes de Irán	immigrants from Iran
inmigrantes de origen argelino	immigrants of Algerian origin
inmigrantes de origen pakistaní	immigrants of Pakistani origin
inmigrantes de origen subsahariano	immigrants of sub-Saharan origin
inmigrantes de países europeos	immigrants from European countries
inmigrantes de países vecinos	immigrants from neighboring countries
inmigrantes de pocos ingresos	low-income immigrants
inmigrantes de primera y segunda generación	first and second generation immigrants
inmigrantes de Siria	immigrants from Syria
inmigrantes económicos	economic immigrants
inmigrantes empadronados	registered immigrants
inmigrantes empadronados en la Comunidad de Madrid	immigrants registered in the Community of Madrid
inmigrantes en EE.UU.	immigrants in the US
inmigrantes en patera	immigrants in patera
inmigrantes en situación irregular	immigrants in an irregular situation
inmigrantes encerrados	immigrants locked up
inmigrantes españoles	spanish immigrants
inmigrantes hispanos	Hispanic immigrants
inmigrantes ilegales	illegal immigrants
inmigrantes ilegales criminales	criminal illegal immigrants
inmigrantes indocumentados	undocumented immigrants
inmigrantes indocumentados	undocumented immigrants
inmigrantes internados	interned immigrants
inmigrantes irregulares	irregular immigrants

inmigrantes irregulares de países vecinos	irregular immigrants from neighboring countries
inmigrantes irregulares procedentes de Afganistán, Pakistán y Bangladesh	irregular immigrants from Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh
inmigrantes japoneses	japanese immigrants
inmigrantes latinos	Latino immigrants
inmigrantes latinos no documentados	undocumented Latino immigrants
inmigrantes legales	legal immigrants
inmigrantes marroquíes	Moroccan immigrants
inmigrantes menos cualificados	less skilled immigrants
inmigrantes musulmanes	Muslim immigrants
inmigrantes nacidos en el exterior	foreign-born immigrants
inmigrantes nacidos en el extranjero	foreign-born immigrants
inmigrantes no musulmanes	non-muslim immigrants
inmigrantes ocupados	busy immigrants
inmigrantes pakistaníes	Pakistani immigrants
inmigrantes procedentes de Afganistán	immigrants from Afghanistan
inmigrantes que llegan en patera	immigrants arriving by boat
inmigrantes que llegaron a Barcelona durante la dictadura	immigrants who came to Barcelona during the dictatorship
inmigrantes rescatados	rescued immigrants
inmigrantes rurales	rural immigrants
inmigrantes sin papeles	undocumented immigrants
inmigrantes subsaharianos	sub-saharan immigrants
inmigrantes turcos	Turkish immigrants
inmigrantes y niños recién llegados	immigrants and newly arrived children
intenso flujo de refugiados	intense flow of refugees
internado	internship
internos	internal
intrusos	intruders
irregulares	irregular
irregulares que llegan en patera a las costas españolas	Irregular who arrive in boat to the Spanish coasts
japonés	Japanese
jornalero fallecido	deceased laborer
jornaleros sin papeles	day laborers without papers
joven	young
joven compatriota	young compatriot
joven con velo	young man with veil
joven de 20 años	20 year old young man
joven fallecido	young deceased
joven guatemalteco	Guatemalan young man
joven inmigrante	young immigrant
joven inmigrante fallecido	young immigrant deceased

joven inmigrante magrebí	young Maghrebi immigrant
joven marroquí	young Moroccan
joven marroquí de 23 años	23-year-old Moroccan boy
joven periodista	young journalist
joven senegalés	young Senegalese
jóvenes	youths
jóvenes africanos y de Oriente Medio	African and Middle Eastern youth
jóvenes de origen marroquí	young people of Moroccan origin
jóvenes hispanos	Hispanic youth
jóvenes subsaharianos	Sub-Saharan youth
jóvenes tunecinos	young Tunisians
jóvenes y sus padres	young people and their parents
judíos alemanes	German Jews
latino	Latino
latinoamericanos	Latin-Americans
latinos	latinos
llegada de pateras	arrival of boats
llegada masiva de inmigrantes	massive arrival of immigrants
los de fuera	outsiders
los más desesperados	the most desperate
los más desfavorecidos	the most disadvantaged
los que tienen doble nacionalidad	those who have dual nationality
madres	mothers
magrebíes	Maghreb
mala gente	bad people
manadas	herds
mano de obra foránea	foreign labor
mano de obra inmigrante	immigrant labor
marroquí	Moroccan
marroquí y musulmana	Moroccan and Muslim
marroquíes	Moroccan
Marruecos	Morocco
materia de migraciones	migration matter
matrimonio	marriage
mauritano	Mauritanian
mena	mena
menas	menas
mena en patera	mena on patera
menor	minor
menor de edad inmigrante	immigrant minor
menor de edad marroquí	Moroccan minor
menor guatemalteco	Guatemalan minor
menor inmigrante	immigrant minor

menor inmigrante detenido	detained immigrant minor
menor marroquí	Moroccan minor
menor tendido en el suelo	minor lying on the ground
menores	minors
menores africanos	African minors
menores de edad	minors
menores extranjeros no acompañados	unaccompanied foreign minors
menores inmigrantes	immigrant minors
menores inmigrantes llegados en patera	immigrant minors arrived by boat
menores inmigrantes no acompañados	unaccompanied immigrant minors
menores migrantes	migrant minors
menores no acompañados	unaccompanied minors
menores sin sus padres	minors without their parents
mexicano	Mexican
mexicanos	Mexicans
mi amigo	my friend
miembro de la comisión de Derechos Humanos y Justicia del Parlamento Europeo	member of the Commission for Human Rights and Justice of the European Parliament
miembros de minorías étnicas y religiosas	members of ethnic and religious minorities
miembros de minorías religiosas perseguidas procedentes de Afganistán, Pakistán y Bangladesh	members of persecuted religious minorities from Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh
migración	migration
migración económica	economic migration
migración internacional	international migration
migraciones	migrations
migrante	migrant
migrante con residencia legal	migrant with legal residence
migrante de nacionalidad senegalesa	migrant of Senegalese nationality
migrante guatemalteca	Guatemalan migrant
migrantes	migrants
migrantes en apuros	migrants in distress
migrantes en otros países del mundo	migrants in other countries of the world
migrantes internacionales	international migrants
migratoria	migratory
migratorias	migratory
miles de niños y niñas	thousands of boys and girls
miles de subsaharianos	thousands of Sub-Saharan Africans
millar inmigrantes de origen pakistaní	1,000 immigrants of Pakistani origin
minoría rohinyá	Rohingya minority
minorías étnicas	ethnic minorities
minorías religiosas	religious minorities

movimiento migratorio	migratory movement
movimientos migratorios	migration movements
movimientos migratorios y de refugiados	migratory and refugee movements
mucha inmigración	a lot of immigration
muchacho	young guy
muchacho subsahariano	Sub-Saharan boy
muerto	dead
mujer	woman
mujer de Mali	Mali woman
mujer independiente	independent woman
mujer inmigrante	immigrant woman
mujer inmigrante poscolonial	postcolonial immigrant woman
mujer negra con peinado afro	black woman with afro hairstyle
mujeres	women
mujeres de piel oscura	dark skinned women
mujeres inmigrantes	immigrant women
mujeres migrantes	migrant women
mujeres retenidas	retained women
musulmán	Muslim
musulmanes	Muslims
musulmanes catalanes	Catalan Muslims
nacionalidad extranjera	foreign nationality
nacionalidad marroquí	Moroccan nationality
narcotraficantes	drug traffickers
náufragos	castaways
negro	black
nicaragüenses	Nicaraguans
nigerianos	Nigerians
niña	little girl
niña ahogada	drowned girl
niña inmigrante rohingya	Rohingya immigrant girl
niña rohingya	Rohingya girl
niñas	girls
niño	boy
niño de 6 o 7 añitos	6 or 7 year old boy
niño encapuchado	hooded child
niño extranjero	foreign child
niño inmigrante	immigrant child
niño menor de origen subsahariano	minor child of sub-Saharan origin
niño que llegó solo	child who arrived alone
niño que tuvo que huir de su hogar en la II Guerra Mundial	boy who had to flee his home in World War II
niño rohingya	Rohingya child

niño sirio refugiado	Syrian refugee child
niños	kids
niños de padres y madres que se han marchado a los países de Europa a trabajar	children of fathers and mothers who have gone to European countries to work
niños en jaulas	children in cages
niños inmigrantes	immigrant children
niños menores en pateras	minor children in boats
niños que buscan un futuro mejor	children looking for a better future
niños que llegaron en patera	children who arrived in patera
niños que viven en Andalucía	children living in Andalusia
niños refugiados rohingya	Rohingya refugee children
niños refugiados rohinyá	Rohingya refugee children
niños rumanos	Romanian children
niños solos	children alone
no ciudadanos	non-citizens
no comunitarios	non-community
no nativo	not native
nombre	name
nuestros vecinos	our neighbors
nueva oleada de inmigración	new wave of immigration
nuevos europeos	new Europeans
nuevos inmigrantes	new immigrants
numerosos niños	numerous children
ocupados extranjeros	busy foreigners
ocupante	occupant
ocupantes	occupants
ofensiva antihispana	anti-Hispanic offensive
ola de inmigración	immigration wave
ola de refugiados	wave of refugees
oleada humana	human wave
oleadas migratorias	migratory waves
paciente	patient
pacientes de esas distintas culturas	patients from these different cultures
padre	father
padres	fathers
padres residentes legales	legal resident parents
paquistaní	Pakistani
paquistaníes	Pakistanis
pareja	partner
patera	small boat
patera con 18 niños	boat with 18 children
pateras	boats
pateras con menores	boats with minors

pateras con menores no acompañados	boats with unaccompanied minors
pequeña	small one (fem.)
periodista	journalist
periodista kurdo	Kurdish journalist
pero no a los que no están registrados ni autorizados como residentes en España	but not to those who are not registered or authorized as residents in Spain
persona	person
persona atrapada	trapped person
persona de origen magrebí	person of Maghreb origin
persona extranjera	foreign person
persona nacida en el extranjero	foreign-born person
personas	people
personas "sospechosas"	suspicious people
personas con permiso de residencia	people with residence permit
personas de cualquier parte del mundo	people from anywhere in the world
personas de nacionalidad u origen extranjero	persons of foreign nationality or origin
personas de origen magrebí	people of Maghreb origin
personas de origen marroquí	people of Moroccan origin
personas de origen norteafricano	people of North African origin
personas de origen subsahariano	people of Sub-Saharan origin
personas desplazadas	displaced people
personas en situación de estancia temporal	people in a temporary stay situation
personas excluidas	excluded people
personas extranjeras	foreign people
personas extranjeras en situación irregular	foreign persons in an irregular situation
personas ilegales	illegal people
personas inmigrantes	immigrant people
personas inmigrantes (...) sin trabajo y sin recursos	immigrant people (...) without work and without resources
personas inmigrantes o refugiadas	immigrants or refugees
personas llegadas a España desde distintos países	people arriving in Spain from different countries
personas más débiles	weaker people
personas migrantes	migrant people
personas ocupadas procedentes de otros países de la Unión Europea	employed persons from other countries of the European Union
personas que buscan asilo	asylum seekers
personas que huyeron de conflictos	people who fled conflict
personas que llegan	people arriving
	people who arrive on the Canary Islands
personas que llegan a las costas canarias	
personas que llevan mucho tiempo en el país	people who have been in the country for a long time

personas que se desplazan anualmente en busca de trabajo	people who travel annually in search of work
personas que se desplazan para trabajar	people commuting to work
personas recién llegadas a España	newcomers to Spain
personas refugiadas	refugee people
personas sin documentación	people without documentation
personas sin hogar	homeless
personas sin hogar de origen inmigrante	homeless people of immigrant origin
personas sin papeles	people without papers
personas trabajadoras extranjeras	foreign workers
personas vulnerables	vulnerable people
peruano	Peruvian
población china	Chinese population
población de nacionalidad extranjera	population of foreign nationality
población de nacionalidad extranjera y de la nacionalidad española nacida en el extranjero	population of foreign nationality and of Spanish nationality born abroad
población de origen inmigrante	population of immigrant origin
población es de origen inmigrante	population is of immigrant origin
población europea	European population
población extranjera	foreign population
población extranjera no comunitaria	non-community foreign population
población extranjera residente en la región	foreign population residing in the region
población foránea	foreign population
población inmigrante	immigrant population
población inmigrante —nacida fuera de España—	immigrant population - born outside of Spain -
población inmigrante de origen diverso	immigrant population of diverse origin
población inmigrante en nuestra región	immigrant population in our region
población inmigrante temporera	temporary immigrant population
población inmigrante y refugiada	immigrant and refugee population
población migrada culturalmente diferente	culturally different migrant population
población migrante	migrant population
población migrante que llega a nuestra comunidad	migrant population that comes to our community
población musulmana	Muslim population
población negra	black population
poblaciones de inmigrantes	immigrant populations
poblaciones nuevas y culturalmente diferentes	new and culturally different populations
política difícil de clasificar	politics difficult to classify
política migración	migration policy
política migratoria	immigration policy

políticas antiinmigrantes	anti-immigrant policies
políticas de inmigración	immigration policies
políticas de migración	migration policies
políticas migratorias	migration policies
políticas migratorias nacionales	national migration policies
populista posición antiinmigratoria	populist anti-immigration position
potenciales nuevos ciudadanos italianos	potential new Italian citizens
potenciales trabajadores	potential workers
presión migratoria	migratory pressure
presunto terrorista	suspected terrorist
primera generación de migrantes chinos	first generation of Chinese migrants
prisioneros políticos	political prisoners
problema de los menores	problem of minors
progenitores	parents
público hispano	Hispanic public
que han inmigrado de las áreas rurales para encontrar trabajo	who have immigrated from rural areas to find work
quienes vienen de fuera	who come from outside
realidad migratoria	migratory reality
recién llegados	newcomers
refugiado	refugee
refugiado rohingya	Rohingya refugee
refugiados	refugees
refugiados de zonas de guerra	war zone refugees
refugiados e inmigrantes	refugees and immigrants
refugiados españoles republicanos	Republican Spanish refugees
refugiados guerra	war refugees
refugiados políticos	political refugees
refugiados sirios	Syrian refugees
rescatados	rescued
residentes en el campamento chabolista	residents in the shanty camp
residentes no locales	non-local residents
reto migratorio mundial	global migration challenge
rohingyas	Rohingyas
rohinyá	Rohingya
rueda de la inmigración	immigration wheel
rumana	Romanian
ruso	Russian
salariados extranjeros	salaried foreigners
saldo migratorio	migratory balance
salvador	savior
senegalés	Senegalese
seres humanos	human beings

sin papeles	undocumented
sin papeles	undocumented
sirio	Sirius
sirios	Syrians
sistema migratorio	immigration system
sistema migratorio laxo	lax migration system
sistema migratorio roto	broken immigration system
solicitantes de asilo	asylum seekers
solicitantes de asilo latinoamericanos	Latin American asylum seekers
solicitantes de asilo y personas inmigrantes	asylum seekers and immigrants
solicitantes de protección internacional	applicants for international protection
sospechoso	suspicious
sospechoso del atentado	suspect of the attack
subsaharianos	Sub-Saharan
sujetos	subjects
Superman	Superman
sustentador principal de nacionalidad extranjera	main breadwinner of foreign nationality
también de origen magrebí	also of Maghreb origin
tema migratorio	immigration issue
temporero	temporary
temporero de Malí	temp from Mali
temporero saharauí	Sahrawi temporary worker
temporeros	temporary
temporeros extranjeros	foreign temp
temporeros sin papeles	undocumented temp
tío	uncle
toda la miseria del mundo	all the misery in the world
todas de origen inmigrante	all of immigrant origin
torrente humano	human stream
trabajador	employee
trabajador agredido	assaulted worker
trabajador extranjero	foreign worker
trabajador fallecido	deceased worker
trabajador inmigrante	immigrant worker
trabajador inmigrante fallecido	deceased immigrant worker
trabajadores	workers
trabajadores comunitarios	community workers
trabajadores con doble nacionalidad	workers with dual nationality
trabajadores en situación irregular	workers in an irregular situation
trabajadores extranjeros	foreign workers
trabajadores inmigrantes	immigrant workers
trabajadores jóvenes importados	imported young workers

trabajadores sin contar con la documentación en regla	workers without proper documentation
trabajadores y trabajadoras extranjeros	foreign workers
transeúnte	passerby
tuberculoso de Marruecos	tuberculous from Morocco
tunecinos	Tunisians
uigures	Uyghurs
última crisis migratoria	last migratory crisis
un millar inmigrantes	a thousand immigrants
uzbeko	Uzbek
varón	male
varón adulto	male adult
varones	males
varones procedentes de Costa de Marfil y Mali	males from Ivory Coast and Mali
vecinos de decenas de países y etnias distintas	neighbors of dozens of countries and different ethnic groups
vendedor ambulante	peddler
vendedor ambulante de pulseras	street vendor of bracelets
venezolanos	Venezuelans
verdugo del querido gato	executioner of the dear cat
víctima	victim
víctimas	victims
víctimas de la hambruna, de la desesperanza	victims of famine, of despair
víctimas del crimen organizado	organized crime victims
víctimas guerra	war victims
vidas en peligro	lives in danger
violadores	rapists

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