RACISM AND
CULTURAL DIVERSITY
IN THE MASS MEDIA

An overview of research and
examples of good practice
in the EU Member States, 1995-2000

on behalf of the

European Monitoring Centre
on Racism and Xenophobia, Vienna
(EUMC)

by
European Research Centre
on Migration and Ethnic Relations
(ERCOMER)

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DISCLAIMER

PREFACE

The research interest in analysing the way mass media report on ethnic issues has increased in the Member States over the last decades. And for this reason the EUMC decided to bring together the major research reports and their findings over the last five years in this report "RACISM AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN THE MASS MEDIA - an overview of research and examples of good practice in the EU Member States, 1995-2000".

The project has been carried out by Dr Jessika ter Wal, at Ercomer, Utrecht University, the Netherlands. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to her for her excellent work. The report underlines the importance of media research in the area of racism and diversity.

The mass media, and especially the news media, have an unequivocal position in society when it comes to establishing and disseminating common cultural references. The mass media have an influence on people's attitudes as well as our common knowledge, but not always in the expected and desired ways.

The active democratic role of the mass media in society can be influenced by a number of factors. The way the mass media represent, focus and give voice to different actors and incidents in society could have the unintentional result of strengthening a racist discourse instead of fighting against it. Mass media reporting is especially sensitive when it comes to ethnic, cultural and religious relations in our society.

The mass media organisations in the Member States take different initiatives to promote cultural, ethnic and religious diversity, such as developing codes of conduct, recruiting broadcasters from the migrant and minority communities and training the personnel from multiethnic societies.

The report has already attracted a lot of interest from researchers, from journalists as well as from media organisations. I hope that the report will be of practical use to all those interested in the fight against racism and especially those working in the media.

Beate Winkler

Director of the EUMC

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4.5   SPAIN (ES)

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In the last ten years, and especially in the last five to six years, an intense public debate on racism has emerged in Spain. The press, radio and television have played an important role in this debate. Not only have they offered the necessary infrastructure for exchange of the different discourses and the ideologies on which they are based, but they have also participated in the debate as defenders of one of those discourses or ideologies. From a research perspective, the media have acted simultaneously as information gatherers and providers, in this case, regarding racism and cultural diversity. Sociologists, social workers, anthropologists, discourse analysts, mass communication scientists, teachers, trade unionists, politicians and members of different NGOs, as well as journalists themselves, have contributed over the last few years to the common understanding of the social repercussions of this double mediatic function. Many studies have focused on overall news practices and contents, and the discriminatory effects for various groups of minorities and immigrants. In addition, there has been an emphasis in recent research on the news related to recently introduced immigrant legislation and measures against illegal immigration, and to events in areas where immigrant workers or illegal immigrants have become perceived as a 'problem' and a source of conflict.

This present report aims to inform, on the basis of the data obtained, about some of the initiatives carried out by the social actors concerned. The objective is, on the one hand, to applaud specific means effectively employed by the Spanish media against intolerance and in favour of intercultural relations and, on the other hand, to denounce the (either direct or indirect) discriminatory behaviour of the media and to present a list of alternatives that could help us find a solution to this problem.

4.5.1   RESEARCHERS AND RESEARCH GROUPS

Research on media and racism in Spain is organised very much at the local level in various regional centres or groups of researchers. To some extent, it seems logical that researchers from universities situated in regions where a major immigrant presence exists (Catalonia, Andalusia, the city of Madrid), also show more interest in examining the ways in which the media approach migration. However, this does not mean that local groups analyse local media exclusively.

4.5.1.1   RESEARCH IN CATALONIA

Rodrigo and Martínez (1997) studied the treatment of ethnic minorities for the years 1994 and 1995 in Spanish, French, Italian and British dailies, two for each country: ABC (Catalan edition); *El País* (Catalan edition); *Le Figaro; Le Monde; Il Corriere della Sera; La Repubblica; The Times; and The Guardian*. From the data collected by the authors the following conclusions were drawn:

- *the elite press associated information about ethnic minorities mainly with conflict.* The authors recall that this type of orientation (which rather highlights the conflictual and plays down the cooperative) is a media routine in the treatment of many themes and not only in the information about minorities. The real problem is that the media almost never spoke about positive aspects of immigration and minorities, such as their cultural contribution to the society they live in. This absence hindered the existence of alternative reference points that would facilitate the association of minorities with themes far removed from social conflict.
- an unexpected finding is that, *depending on the ideology (conservative or liberal) not many differences existed between the dailies*, and the variations that separate them were found mainly in the editorials. Here the conservative dailies placed the conflict primarily in the police and judiciary fields, whereas the liberal papers usually emphasised the conflict as a political issue.

- *some minorities have a greater capacity than others to make themselves heard*. There is not always a correspondence between the most frequently quoted actors and the minority or migrant sources that appear most often. In the Spanish case, the most frequently quoted actors were the Moroccans, whereas the minority sources with highest frequency were the 'gitanos' (i.e., Roma people). Moreover, Rodrigo (1999) found that, in general, the Spanish media provide information on the Maghreb that is basically focused on war, violence and tragedy.

Martínez Corcuera (1998) recalls that media treatment of migration usually develops in two phases: first, a phase of exclusion, in which minorities are invisible; they contribute to the wealth of the country, but their social status is not recognised. According to the author, this situation corresponds to the first years of the 1990s. In a second phase, minorities are perceived as a threat to the social order. This would be the phase Spain is currently undergoing at the end of the 1990s. In the same article, findings derived from a textual analysis reveal that the largest percentage of information during 1997 about immigrants shows them as either detained or dead as a result of attempting to enter Spain illegaly or transit it in order to get to other European countries. Thus, in the news discourse, immigration is always shown in relation to *police intervention and supposed criminality.*

Normally there is also as a perspective complementary to the previous one, a humanitarian vision of the difficult circumstances under which these people live. This idea is also developed by Rizo (2000a), who analyses the mobilisation of emotions of fear and compassion which is used by the media as a communicative strategy, sometimes in a subtle and indirect way, in order to clearly mark the differences between us and them. The sensation of fear is transmitted through the television news on immigration by using the image of the immigrant as a strange and potentially dangerous individual. Frequently, this is combined with the use of images that provoke feelings of compassion, charity, pity or tolerance towards the 'Other' among the television audience.

To illustrate this, Rizo gives the example of a report in the programme *30 Minuts (Catalan Television), which was broadcast on 13 February 2000. This report informed about the racist events that took place in the Andalusian village of El Ejido.* On the one hand, pictures of groups of agitated Moroccans were shown, followed by declarations by their Spanish neighbours in the village, who said, among other things, that the immigrants were stealing and raping women. On the other hand, other pictures showed the racist attacks against the Moroccans, the deplorable housing conditions they lived in and their despair. According to Rizo, the most important point is to determine whether the information given (and the journalist) leaned more towards fear or compassion. The author believes that *fear often exceeds compassion*, and that the residual effects of fear lasts longer.

In another study on television discourse, Rizo (2000b) launches the following hypotheses about the contents and orientation of television reporting:

- Categorisation of the 'Other' as a non-E.C. immigrant, presented as a stranger belonging to groups that are hardly or not organised at all, that do not have social or political influence, and that reside in ghettos.
- The main themes related to discourse on the 'Other' are: so-called illegal immigration, governmental control, 'race' relations and crime.
- Public and official actions of the in-group are generally represented in a positive way.
- Themes related to the daily life of immigrants and their participation in culture, politics, and economy are usually ignored or undervalued.
- Discrimination is not represented as a structural feature of a racist society, but is attributed to groups of angry (young) men and isolated acts.
- TV images usually contribute to stereotyping the 'Other', in many cases, through the transmission of messages for tolerance.

The prejudice towards ethnic minorities reproduced by the media is often reflected in the media's images about the countries of origin.

For example, Miralles (1998) showed the associations made between Islam and terrorism in newspaper headlines on Algeria[30]. This country is only mentioned in relation to violent acts, attacks, deaths, and repression. The predominance of violence in the discourse on Algeria is also the subject of a study on the 1994-1996 coverage in six European dailies (La Vanguardia, El País, Le Monde, La Repubblica, Frankfurter Algemeine Zeitung, and The Times) and the Arabic language daily Al Quds al-Arabi on the relations between Maghreb and the EU (Laborda and Velázquez, 1999). Similarly, researchers have denounced the distorted images of the East (Miret, 1999) and Latin America (Murciano, 1995)[31] constructed by the Spanish media.

4.5.1.2   RESEARCH IN ANDALUSIA

Andalusia is another region with a considerable presence of immigrants, where research on their representation in the media has been carried out. From a linguistic perspective, Bañon (1996) analysed the discourse of quality newspapers and identified up to 39 different textual strategies through which journalists reproduce and transmit prejudice towards ethnic minorities and immigrants. The aim of these strategies may be, in some cases, to reaffirm a positive image of the majority in-group or lessen its negative image, and, in other cases, to intensify the negative image of the minority out-group or damage its positive image. Among the strategies used by the non-sensationalist newspapers that were analysed, we would like to emphasise the following ones:

- In the representation of immigration, newspapers use generic, ambiguous or *hyperbolic quantifiers, which do not relate to the actual number of immigrants residing in Spain.*
- In the presentation of out-group demands, newspapers tend *to give only partial and/or asymmetric accounts*, and play down the number of demands made.

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30   http://www.webislam.com/99/tx_99_44.htm
31   http://www.pangea.org/ccbesos/solidari/251095.html

- In dealing with responsibility, agency and causes, the articles often
  - *tend to attribute agency and responsibility to the out-group* only, when actually one should speak of co-responsibility.
  - omit the degree of responsibility when talking about the out-group, in order to reinforce the idea that immigrants represent a homogenised undifferentiated group.
  - display ambiguity and disorder when they deal with the causes that have led up to particular acts.
  - select verbs that allow *justification of racist acts* and reinforce the notion that the aggression is less serious when committed by members of the in-group.
  - omit agency and responsibility in headlines.
  - use discursive strategies in *which the majority in-group is excused*, i.e. where majority group members are not held responsible for what happened to the out-group (also in quotations from out-group discourse).
- In the representation of out-group opinions, apparent synonyms are used which imply that even out-group members believe that the Spanish society is not racist. Conversely, the newspapers tend to highlight the *self-discriminating discourse of the out-group*, and to play down their positive roles.
- In the distribution of themes and news sections, use textual transformations which induce a preferential reading of events.
- In sentence constructions, there is an often ambiguous use of subordinate clauses and an inadequate use of contrastive and concessive links, which result in an intensification of prejudice.
- In the use of images, newspapers often use confusing charts and pictures to accompany the articles, and make a biased use of photos.
- In the coverage of cases of ethnic and racial discrimination, newspapers sometimes re-order the time sequence of related events in order to give the impression that the in-group acted promptly to intervene and act against discrimination.

In addition, Bañon (1997) showed the way in which statements made by ordinary peopleoreye witnesses are used and manipulated in order to effect an indirect discrimination, i.e. without the journalist having to make these statements her/himself.[32]

From an anthropological perspective, Escobar (1998) analysed three dailies from Almería (*La Voz de Almería, La Crónica and El Ideal-Almería edition*), published between 1990 and 1994 and concluded, among other things, that:

- Media attention regarding the out-group was focused on a limited number of (stereotypical) issues; in fact media generally did not mention issues such as health, hygiene, labour conditions, salaries, etcetera. La Voz de Almería, the daily which published most articles on immigration during this period, only dedicated 2.1 per cent of information to the issues of health and housing.
- The preferred news genre was that of informative texts, such as news reports and short articles. According to Escobar, the continuous use of this genre, as opposed to the much less frequent use of editorials, interviews and articles signed by the author, revealed the clear attempt on the part of journalists to take a distance from controversial issues and remain personally aloof.
- The news representation simplified considerably the complex reality of immigrants and ignored the cultural capital of the Africans who arrive in Almería.
- The majority of the articles appeared in the accident and crime reports section. The author also observed a tendency in the newspapers to publish uncritically any information on the presumed antisocial behaviour or attitudes of the immigrant population.
- Terms to evaluate 'Otherness' negatively (such as *moros*, i.e. 'blacks', a term which goes back to the 8th-15th centuries when the Arabs occupied Spain) were no longer used, but there was nevertheless a negative (mis)use of more diffuse

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32   http://www.eurosur.org/revolta/immaterials/mugak/mugak21.htm

and generalising terms such as 'Muslims', 'North Africans', or 'coloured people'.

Vázquez (1999) deals with the responsibility of the media in the transmission of arguments based on a number of widespread prejudiced beliefs.

- *'There are (too) many immigrants'.* On the basis of this claim, repressive measures against immigration are justified. Terms such as 'tempestuous', 'unruly' immigration (El País, 8 August 1995) or 'avalanche' (*El Mundo*, 28 August 1995) evidently feed prejudice and justify the repressive measures which are eventually taken. The presence of these terms in Spanish newspapers is very frequent, as can be seen clearly in the articles referring to the recent debate on the introduction of the new foreigners' law (called the Ley de extranjería) in 2000.
- *'Immigrants are very unlikely to integrate'*, in particular those coming from Arabic countries and North and Central Africa. The Spanish media too often emphasise those aspects that hinder integration. Reference to health problems and illness are often used in particularly appealing headlines: 'Cholera. A Moroccan infected seeds alarm in Algeciras' (*Diario* 16 - Andalusian edition, 22 August 1995); 'Detained two Chinese men with scabies who worked in restaurants' (*Levante*, 20 May 1995). When positive aspects are expressed, immigrants are not normally presented as directly responsible for the integration process, but rather the institutions or other in-group actors are given credit.
- *'Immigration increases crime'.* Vázquez gives the example of the following headline from the newspaper ABC of 6 October 1995: 'Two parallel gangs assault the villas in the North East of Madrid. The second group would be formed by Chileans and Colombians'. The author rightly asks himself what the nationalities were of the other gang's members, and whether details such as nationality should be mentioned at all in stories about crime, especially if these sorts of details are based on suppositions rather than fact.

4.5.1.3   RESEARCH IN MADRID

Peñamarin (1997) analysed three articles published on 31 August 1997 in the Sunday supplement *Domingo of El País*, concerning the situation in Melilla. Melilla is one of the Spanish cities located in the North of Africa, acting as a border region between Morocco and Spain. As a result, Melilla is also one of the areas directly affected by the arrival of undocumented migrants. While the subject of (illegal) immigration was not explicitly mentioned, it nevertheless became an implicit undercurrent that permeated the two reports and the interview that were published on the issue in *Domingo*, acquiring a relevance which dominated these texts. The first page headline in large and bold lettering referred to the statements made by undocumented immigrant children living in Melilla: 'Papa will hit me if I return without money'. The emotional appeal of this headline and the indignation towards the parents which it aroused, contrasted sharply with the rest of the article, in which a critical distance was taken towards the children themselves. Indeed, the latter were characterised as liars, delinquents, and too numerous, which reinforced the notion of an invasion of undesirable street urchins. Peñamarin then asked why the news was dominated by this pathetic accusation. And why, in this instance, did the newspaper attempt to mobilise feelings of compassion towards this group, while immediately after portraying them as suspicious and even dangerous? She explains this combination of different attitudes as follows:

> One can observe here how the foregrounding of a child's pain in such a way that it cannot but provoke compassion, together with the following indignation towards the supposed guilty, allow the journalist to present him/herself, as well as the readers, as sensitive towards injustice and the weak/powerless. This produces a self-image that is the most remotely removed from the racist stereotype. When after this Moroccan children and parents are presented afterwards as liars, cheats, and delinquents, this cannot be attributed to prejudice against the Moroccans. The cause must be then another, maybe the need to be objective or the aim to find a solution to the problem (Peñamarin, 1997: 155).

Peñamarin's explanation appears quite plausible, and the remaining texts and images further reinforce this intention. Finally, news is presented without sufficient background information or references to previous news on the same subject. Another strategy found by the author is that of fragmentation, which means that complex realities are simplified by bringing news from day to day without establishing more long-term relationships between events, and also omitting references to causes or consequences altogether. In this way, the media fail to explain the causes behind social problems such as poverty and racism. In addition, media tend to exclude or marginalise the opinions of those who challenge this strategy of fragmentation by discussing the relations between the poverty of immigrants and the causes that produce it.

Giordano (1996) dealt with the incidents in Melilla on 11 October 1995, when undocumented immigrants, the majority from North Africa, demanded that their asylum applications be processed more quickly. The situation in Melilla was very similar to that of the immigrants presently taking refuge in the church of *San José de Almería*. The asylum seekers were violently repressed by the police and herded en masse to an improvised prison-depot. According to Giordano, the coverage by the daily *El Mundo* was clearly unbalanced and discriminatory. In his article, the author identifies a number of reasons for this. Firstly, there was an *enormous contradiction* between the information on the events included in the newspaper, in which both the racist aggressors and the police were *justified* in their excessive use of force, and a number of editorial notes (published from the third day onwards), in which these same actors were condemned. Secondly, official sources justified the use of heavy force on the assumption that an immigrant had shot and wounded a policeman. A few days later this report was *dismissed as false*; the bullet probably came from the gun of a fellow police officer or a soldier. The correction came late and had little effect, since the public's perception had already been formed about what had happened. El Mundo did not apologise or express any regret for the error. Perhaps even more worrying, especially from the perspective of marginalised groups, was that the newspaper gave no official assurances that its reporters would try to avoid making similar mistakes in the future by checking sources more carefully before presenting information

as factual. Finally, *El Mundo* reproduced only very *late the statements of humanitarian and trade union organisations.*

As a result of the extreme security measures taken by the Spanish government to control entries into Ceuta and Melilla, some immigrants or the Mafia that organises the crossing between Morocco and Spain chose the Canary Islands as alternative port of entry. On the basis of his analysis of a number of articles on immigration published by the Canarian daily *El Día* in May 2000, Dallanhol (2000) denounced journalists' dependency on official sources for news stories on this issue. This was evident in the routine use of statements given in agency dispatches, press releases or interviews with official sources, instead of gathering 'precise factual' information, derived, for example, from databases and investigations regarding the characteristics of countries of origin and the causes of immigration[33].

4.5.2   RESEARCH BY ASSOCIATIONS AND NGOS

The documents of anti-racist associations and non-governmental organisations usually observe the sometimes contradictory functions of the media. Indeed, on the one hand, part of the criticisms of NGOs is based on the factual information gathered from the press, radio and television. On the other hand, these organisations do not hesitate, and rightly so, to reflect upon the responsibility of these media in the transmission of prejudice.

4.5.2.1   SOS RACISMO REPORTS

A good example of the above is the annual reports produced by *SOS RACISMO - ESPAÑA*. Estupiñan (1996) analysed the information published during three months on one of the most appalling events of the last few years: the expulsion from Melilla of 103 immigrants who were administered tranquillisers[34]. The author holds that the coverage was positive in the sense that the event received a lot of attention. It occupied many headlines in the press, on radio and on television, and was dealt with in both informative news reports and

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33   Similar information is available on internet http://www.eldia.es
34   For an analysis of the official discourse on these events, see Martín and van Dijk (1997).

in opinion columns. However, immigrants' participation in news stories was entirely passive, whereas the positive news actors were, almost without exception, direct or indirect spokespeople from the Government, the political parties, various institutions and trade unions and/or non-governmental organisations. This naturally leads to the question whether the relevance acquired by the issue could in fact be motivated not so much by the theme of 'cultural minorities' but rather by the political and social importance of the other (i.e. in-group) actors that intervened in the development of the events.

In the 1999 report of SOS RACISMO, Ramírez-Heredia criticises the ill treatment received by the *gitano* (Roma people) population. He observes that:

- Journalists do not use the *gitanos as a source of information.* They write about gitanos, but do not take into account their opinions.
- Reports on gitanos are practically *always published in the accident and crime report section* or the society section of the newspapers.
- News about gitanos is not treated with *sufficient detail.* The news texts are usually short, and on a few occasions, abbreviated genres such as reports or articles are used. In addition, photos, graphics and/or pictures to accompany the texts are rarely used.
- Negative coverage is predominant. The term that refers to the Roma community (*gitano*) is given a pernicious and pejorative connotation, and they are frequently identified as the perpetrators of criminal acts. Generalisations are common in this context.
- Media professionals do not have *sufficient specialisation* in themes such as racism or ethnic minorities.

Finally, in the 2000 report of SOS Racismo, Mikel Mazkarian presents an analysis of the coverage of the new foreigners' law, the *Ley*

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33   Similar information is available on internet http://www.eldia.es

de Extranjería (2000). The following points were revealed by his analysis:

- The press did not make any connections between the debate on the law and the reports on other events related to immigration that took place during the period of the debate. For example, absent in most accounts on the law were links to the events of the neighbourhood of *Ca n'Anglada* in the Catalonian town of Terrassa, where a dispute between two young people led to an open conflict between Spanish and Maghrebians, or to the aggressions against immigrant workers in the fields of Níjar, in Almería. The link between the new law and those events was nevertheless established *a posteriori* with the events of El Ejido (see also section 4.5.1.1 above, and Rizo (2000a)). A Government spokesman, Mr. Piqué, suggested that the new law (of which the Government disapproved) was the possible cause of this racist outburst. That is to say, links were established in an uneven way and only when they favoured certain party interests.
- During the entire legislative process the media paid more attention to the conflict between the parties in their debates on the law, than to its contents. This also led to an evident marginalisation of the position of social organisations.
- The press suggested that these organisations completely opposed the reforms put forward by the *Partido Popular* (PP), of José Maria Aznar, without separating the different options advanced that were at times more and at times less critical of the original text.

4.5.2.2   *INITIATIVES OF THE UNION ROMANÍ AND THE ROMA PEOPLE*

The reaction of the associations and groups of people who suffer direct discrimination are no doubt of particular importance. In this case the action developed by the Roma and Sinti organisations needs to be discussed. We already mentioned before the study by Ramírez (1999), but the interest shown in press coverage by the associations of Roma groups can be also seen in other studies, such

as the regular publications, which strive for the elimination of prejudice and stereotypes. An example is the monthly bulletin *Los gitanos en la prensa* (Roma people in the press)[35],   the daily *Informaciones*, written in Romaní language, and the journals *Nevipens Romaní, Gitanos. Pensamiento y cultura* (Roma, Gypsies. Thought and Culture) and I Tchatchipení.

4.5.2.3   ANTI-RACIST ORGANISATIONS ON THE INTERNET

The discourse of solidarity and anti-racism has received an important impetus from the existence of networks that promote the use of the Internet among non-governmental organisations. One of the best-known networks is the *Asociación para el Progreso de las Comunicaciones* (APC)[36], which identifies itself as a 'Global Internet Community for the Environment, Human Rights, Development and Peace'. It was launched in 1990 with the collaboration of six national networks. Presently it is made up of 50 networks all over the world, some of them Spanish, such as *Pangea*[37] , *Nodo50*[38] , or *Xarxaneta*[39]. The aim of the developers of these networks is to offer alternative and complementary broadcasting and receiving projects. Some news agencies present themselves on these networks in order to help compensate somewhat for the absence of news offered from truly alternative perspectives. One of these agencies is ADAI, *Agència d'Altres Informacions* (Agency of Alternative Information)[40], established in Barcelona at the end of 1992.

Another interesting initiative launched on the Internet in Spain is the Eurosur Network[41]. Among the associations that participate in the project are the *Centro de Investigacion para la Paz* (Research Centre for Peace) (CIP)[42] , the *Equipo de Comunicación Educativa* (Team for Educational Communication) (ECOE)[43] , and the *Centro*

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35   Published by the Asociación Secretariado General Gitano (ASGG), http://www.asgg.org
36   http://www.apc.org
37   http://www.pangea.org
38   http://www.nodo50.org
39   http://www.xarxaneta.org
40   http://www.pangea.org/adai
41   http://www.eurosur.org
42   http://www.cip.fuhem.es
43   http://www.eurosur.org/ECOE

de Investigaciones, Promoción y Cooperación Internacional (Centre for International Research, Promotion and Co-operation) (CIPIE). The three groups have worked on media, cultural diversity and racism, but the most important case is that of CIPIE, responsible for one of the most interesting and useful projects conducted over the last years: *Inmigración y Racismo. Análisis de Radio, Televisión y Prensa Española* (Immigration and Racism. Analysis of the Spanish Radio, Television and Press)[44]. The data and results of the observatory on press, radio and television can be consulted via the Internet since 1995. The results are presented per trimester. The press section is the most complete; it also has an archive of articles that can be read on line, as well as a section called 'reflection and debate'. A selection of the press results is presented in the tables below. **Table 1** shows the number of articles on immigration in each trimester since October 1998. It shows an increase in reports since end of 1999, and especially during 2000, compared with 1998.

Table 2 indicates the themes treated in the reports and the percentages attributed to each macro-theme. The table shows the little importance dedicated to themes of daily life as housing. As could be predicted, much attention is given to crime new, violence and action of the authorities. Noteworthy is also the high percentage of articles dealing with the events in El Ejido.

Table 3 visualises the evaluations about immigration appearing in the articles. In order to consider whether a report or journalistic document was an example of negative evaluation, CIPIE used both the information itself (frequent association of immigration with marginality, exclusion, delinquency, illegality), and the way in which this information was presented (use of pejorative, confusing or inadequate terms) and the graphic presentation accompanying the article. A positive evaluation was considered to be given in those articles which message presented immigration in a favourable, amiable, and convivial way (both regarding the physical person and her/his culture) and which favours concepts of plurality, unity, solidarity and integration.

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44 For the dissemination of its activities, CIPIE has the support of the Institute for Migration and Social Services of the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs, through the Permanent Observatory of Immigration (OPI).

45 http://www.eurosur.org/CIPIE

Table 1. Number of articles per trimester, for the period October 1998-September 2000

Trimester	Number of articles
4th trimester 1998	870
1st trimester 1999	1.058
2nd trimester 1999	690
3rd trimester 1999	1.547
4th trimester 1999	1.840
1st trimester 2000	2.340
2nd trimester 2000	2.127
3rd trimester 2000	2.348
Total	12.820

Source: CIPIE (http://www.eurosur.org/CIPIE)

Table 2. Main themes during October 1998-September 2000

Thematic Unit	Percentage
Initiatives of solidarity (for the integration of immigrants and the denouncing of discrimination)	20,47
Crime events, violence and xenophobia (immigrants as perpetrators or victims of criminal acts).	19,37
Activities by local and national government (Foreigners' law (Ley de extranjería), quota policies, policies of temporary contracts, expulsions, asylum, regularisation)	18,66
The southern border of Spain (arrivals in small boats, Police zones, border control, border patrolling, situation in Ceuta and Melilla)	13,78
Daily life and social integration (housing, education, labour conditions, health, traffic accidents)	8,15
Immigration in the rest of Europe	7,40
The events of El Ejido	3,53
The event of the Rumanians in Madrid	1,97
Other themes	6,67

Source: CIPIE (http://www.eurosur.org/CIPIE)

Table 3. Evaluation of immigration observed in the reports (October 1998-September 2000)

Type of article	Percentage
Positive evaluation of immigration	14,6
Negative evaluation of immigration	69,18
Neutral evaluation of immigration	16,2

Source: CIPIE (http://www.eurosur.org/CIPIE)

33   Similar information is available on inte
34   For an analysis of the official discourse

An interesting and very useful feature provided by the database is that of containing reliable information on changes over time (since the same method and set-up for research was applied over several years). Therefore, it is possible to see the development over time in the proportion of negative and positive reporting in the various media. Figure 1 shows a decreasing trend in the percentage of negative media reports (*both press, radio and television*) from 1998 until 1999, but a gradual increase (though not to the level of 1998) in the year 2000. Figure 2 illustrates press reports' orientation and the high proportion of negative press articles. At the same, however, we see a positive development in that there is a gradual and relative increase in the ratio of positive and neutral press reports developing during the year 1999, which drops again - but only very slightly - in 2000.

In addition to the quantitative reporting, since the third trimester of 1999, CIPIE includes analyses and contributions from invited experts. An example is a qualitative case study by Xavier Obach, about a group of Roma of Rumanian origin who were expelled from their settlement in the district of Malmea in Madrid. The municipal authorities sent security forces to 'remove' them from the city justifying their actions on the grounds that it was to 'guarantee public health'. During the expulsion a child died under the wheels of a car. The Rumanians assembled again and a polemic was launched about the responsibility of the city council in this death. These events received widespread coverage. Obach observes that close to where he lives there is another settlement similar to that of Malmea, which nevertheless has never received any attention from the media. According to Obach, there are several reasons why the media paid so much attention to Malmea, and not to the other settlement. Firstly, the Rumanians of Malmea were 'photogenic': they were many, highly visible and concentrated in one area, which facilitated their representation in front of the television and photo cameras. Moreover, their presence upset the neighbours. Therefore there was a conflict between old and new inhabitants of the neighbourhood, which increased with the intent to displace the Roma settlement. A third reason was that the death of the child awakened a lot of emotion around the settlement; images of the bereaved family were shown. Finally, political contingency played a role. The most

ernet http://www.eldia.es
e on these events, see Martín and van Dijk (1997).

Figure 1. Percentage of reports with negative character, in press, radio and television (1998-2000) - from CIPIE database
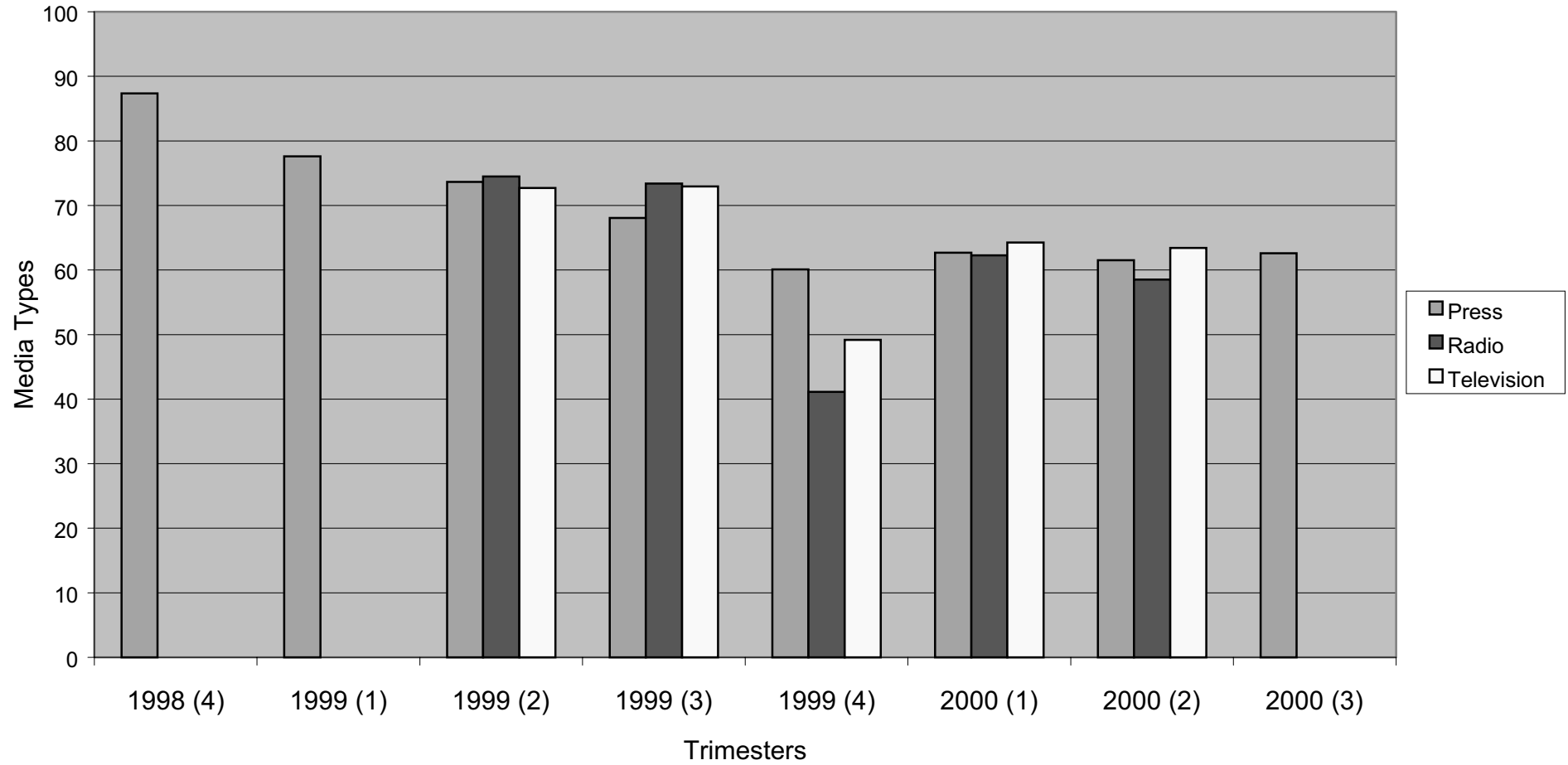
important events in Malmea happened either during an electoral phase, which made it a 'hot' issue from the political point of view, or else in the slow news summer period when there was less competition with other relevant news items. The media supporting the opposition in the local council of Malmea perceived the incidents as a serious political issue, which could be used to attack the local government led by the conservative Partido Popular.

4.5.3   INITIATIVES OF THE MEDIA

4.5.3.1   DEONTOLOGICAL CODES

An important factor when analysing the relationship between racism, cultural diversity and media is self-criticism[46], that is, the initiatives of media organisations and individual journalists to elaborate (or demand the elaboration of) non-discriminatory texts. In this sense the establishment of deontological codes[47], such as the one approved by the *Colegio de Periodistas de Cataluña* (Professional Association of Catalan Journalists) on 22 October 1992[48], is very useful. One criterion, contained in this code of ethics under article 12, states the following:

> Act with particular responsibility and rigour in case of news or opinions with statements that may give rise to discriminations on sexual, racial, religious, social background or cultural grounds. The same should apply to news or opinions that may incite the use of violence. Journalists should avoid expressions or testimonies that are offensive or harmful for the personal condition of the individual and his/her physical and moral integrity.

This code provided a basis for the equal treatment of complaints that (in fact) started to arrive at the Colegio. The *Caritas Diocesana* of Barcelona, for example, sent a paper in which it denounced the discriminatory and racist tone of an article that was published in the

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46   For a study of media self-criticism in general, see Dader (1997).
47   On the debate about the utility of deontological codes, see Aznar (1997).
48   http://www.periodistes.org/cic/html/body_codi_s.htm

weekly Eco on 11 June 1997, entitled: 'The Peruvians are attacking again'. After having analysed the complaint and the allegations of the editor-in-chief of the weekly, the *Consell de Informació de Catalunya* (Catalan Information Council) agreed that:

- The use in headlines or articles of the word 'Peruvians', to designate a gang of individuals who have committed criminal acts, was discriminatory and racist.
- This type of reporting provoked a negative public attitude towards migration and immigrants.
- The headline and news reported by *Eco* violated article number 12 of the deontological press code cited above.
- The Council recommended that the media avoid generalisations and labelling people because of their different (ethnic, religious, economic or social) characteristics.[49]

4.5.3.2   THE MAGAZINE CAPÇALERA

The *Colegio de Periodistas de Cataluña* is also the editor of the magazine *Capçalera*. In issue number 96 (October 1999)[50], Xavier Giró analysed the coverage given by *El País*, *El Periódico*, *La Vanguardia* and *Avui*, and the television channels *TVE, TV3, A3TV*, about the serious incidents registered in the neighbourhood of *Ca n'Angalda* (Terrasa) in July 1999, when Spanish and immigrant neighbours clashed. Giró based his study on four main questions. The first question was: *are the Maghrebian also neighbours*? Frequently, the articles opposed 'neighbours' ('us') to 'Maghrebians' (them), presenting the latter as strangers, thereby supposing they were not normal 'neighbours' and they were actually not considered normal inhabitants of the neighbourhood.

Secondly, Giró asked *how many neighbours attacked the Maghrebian immigrants*. Headlines such as 'The working class neighbourhood of Terrasa violently rises against the Maghrebian

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49   http://www.periodistes.org/cic97/html/body_acord13.html.
50   Online in the electronic version of Capçalera at
     http://www.palahi.es/periodistes/Cap96/96_1a.html

community' (*La Vanguardia, 15 July 1999*) transmit the idea of absolute unity among all (or almost all) members of the neighbourhood against the immigrants. Other newspapers used other linguistic means such as 'a group of neighbours', 'some neighbours', or simply 'neighbours'. The changes made between the different news editions of the same channel are revealing in this respect: in the midday edition of 14 July 1999, TV3 spoke of a clash between the 'neighbours' and 'a part of the Maghrebian group'. In the edition of the afternoon however it was said that there had been a 'clash between *some* neighbours and a part of the Maghrebians'.

The third question posed by the author was *if the label 'illegal immigrant' was adequate*. The adjective 'illegal' was used by all media as well as by the municipal authorities. Its use proliferated unnecessarily even in the headlines: 'Ca n'Anglada has a 10% Maghrebian population, the majority of which is illegal' (*El País*, 15 July 1999). Finally, among the many witnesses gathered by all media, there was not one single representative of the young Maghrebian 'illegal immigrants' or 'undocumented aliens' themselves. These actors in the conflict were not present in the media's construction of reality. In the television coverage of the events, the majority of the images shown about Ca n'Anglada were related to the clashes and there were no images from the period preceding the escalation of the conflict.

4.5.3.3   LOCAL MEDIA

Local and regional media have been more sensitive towards solidarity and cultural diversity than the national media. The local media were the first to edit programmes on these themes. For example, the excellent television programme *Solidarios* (*Canal2* of Andalusia) or *Solidaris (Canal2 of Canal9 of Valencia*). An important radio programme on immigration is *Tertulia entre hermanos*, of the *Onda Regional de Murcia*, which received a special award from the Institute of Migration and Social Services (IMSERSO). Little by little, however, the national channels have also started to join this positive trend[51], with programmes such as *Cooperantes (Canal2 of*

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51   See the interesting report by Boluda (2000)

Televisión Española (TVE)), Mundo Solidario (Cadena Ser), Un mundo sin barreras (Onda Cero), Voluntarios (Radio España), Sin Fronteras (Radio3). Also in fictional television shows, themes related to immigration have been treated regularly (for example, *Raquel busca su sitio,* a television series where the protagonist is a social worker, was broadcast between 1999 and 2000 by *Televisión Española*).

4.5.4   GOVERNMENT AND TRADE UNIONS

4.5.4.1   *STUDIES FINANCED BY THE CATALAN REGIONAL GOVERNMENT (GENERALITAT DE CATALUNYA)*

On 15 February 1995, the Social Welfare Department of the *Generalitat de Catalunya,* together with the *Colegio de Periodistas* and the Catalan media organisations, signed an 'Agreement on the protection of the culture and image of ethnic minorities in the media'[52]. This was merely a declaration of principles, which in the following years has produced more concrete proposals. Within this framework, in 1999 *the Consell de l'Audiovidual de Catalunya* (the Audiovisual Council of Catalunia) promoted and financed the study *La imatge de les minories a la televisió* (The Image of Minorities on Television).[53]

On 14 June 1999, the members of the Council gathered in a plenary meeting and analysed this document. By means of conclusion they decided to give the following guidelines to the television programme producers:

- *News programmes:*
  - Eliminate any type of reference to the ethnic origin of the people concerned, as long as this is not essential for understanding the news, since the ethnic condition of people does not determine their behaviour.
  - When reporting news on ethnic minorities, try to give

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52 http://www.gencat.es/benestar/immigra/cnmit.htm.
53 http://www.gencat.es/cac/estudis/e3-1999.htm.

sufficient elements to facilitate the understanding of the news in a more general, wider context.

- Avoid news illustrated by images that do not correspond to the facts being explained.
- Favour the broadcasting of news related to other geographical or cultural areas that do not refer to crime, immigration, human rights, war, and so on.
- Be aware of the correct use of concepts and avoid the use of inappropriate synonyms.

- *Documentaries:*
  - Dot not excessively prioritise ethnographic documentaries which emphasise the supposed 'exoticism of the analysed minorities'.
  - Emphasise the presence of opinions of those concerned.
  - Make programmes that do not limit themselves to highlighting socio-economic and cultural differences, nor programmes that find their justification in exoticism.

- *Debate programmes:*
  - Always try to have an active presence of representatives of the analysed migrants and minorities when the debate is about problems that affect them.
  - Include competent people (both women and men) from the different minority groups in debates that, strictly speaking, do not have anything to do with the problems that affect them.

- *Fiction programmes (series, films):*
  - Stimulate the channels to follow the trend used in children's fiction, where minorities usually have a normalised and positive presence.
  - Be more careful in the selection and acquisition of foreign audio-visual productions.
  - Incorporate representatives of minorities in tele-series and films produced by the own channel, playing normalised roles.

4.5.4.2 THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL OF THE REGION OF MURCIA

The Economic and Social Council (*Consejo Económico y Social*) of the region of Murcia commissioned a study on immigration in this region and in 1997 the final results were published. In the study, articles on immigration from two regional dailies, *La Verdad and La Opinión* were analysed for a two-year period between 1 June 1995 and 1 June 1997. Of 271 articles collected in total, 69.7 per cent appeared in the accident and crime report section. The majority of this news was negative, both when immigrants were the subject and when they were the object of the news. The majority of the articles that were not identified as news reports from this section were positive, although almost all of them had autochtonous people as main actors and not immigrants. According to the study, overall the media did not give a fair portrayal of immigrants and helped fuelling a public opinion that was unfavourable to integration. In these texts, particularly in the headlines, there was an incessant use of metonymia that foment generalising prejudice and stereotypes: 'A Moroccan attacks a woman with a pocket knife' (*La Opinión*, 3 January 1997). On the other hand, it is remarkable that the opinion of the immigrants themselves was hardly ever present in the media analysed: only two to three per cent of the articles examined bothered to report and directly quote the opinions of immigrants.

4.5.4.3 THE TRADE UNION COMISIONES OBRERAS

The trade unions are in close contact with immigrants arriving in Spain and have obviously also been concerned with the language and the image of immigration used by the media. Although in an excellent study Miguel Pajares (1998), who works for the Migration Bureau of *Comisiones Obreras*, expressed some optimism regarding the positive evolution of the media in their use of language and the representation of immigration, it is clear that there is still much room for improvement.

Another report by *Comisiones Obreras* (1999) contains eight recommendations that the media should adopt:

1. Each individual is a citizen, a human being who has the right to be treated and called as such, which means, among other things, that individuals should not become symbolic representatives of a group.
2. Mentioning the ethnic background, the country of origin, the skin colour, religion or culture only if this information is relevant.
3. Pay special attention to avoid the inaccurate use of denominations of minority individuals and groups, as well as the use of adjectives - for example 'illegal', 'flood', 'invasion of immigrants', 'with a gypsy-like look', 'Islamic terrorist', and so forth.
4. Normalise the living together with immigrants and do not dramatise. Do not mention minority groups only in relation to conflicts, dramatic situations, and crime reports, and adequately contextualise the information.
5. Use a news discourse that is balanced, unbiased and based on accounts from different sources, and also check the data against the official sources.
6. Adopt a combative attitude towards racism. Be vigilant, especially with attitudes and manifestations of the extreme Right, without ignoring more subtle forms of racism from other positions across the political spectrum. The media should not reproduce racist messages, and journalists should be committed to providing correct information.
7. Care should be used in the selection and the coverage of images, as well as in the use of headlines and text accompanying photos. It is also necessary that photographic archives be updated so that minorities do not always appear in the same way, therefore reinforcing stereotypical portrayal.
8. Racist expressions or symbols of the extreme Right or nationalistic and ethnic stereotypes should not be given space.

4.5.5   CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of the above, some conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, there is growing interest in Spain in studies related to racism, anti-racism and the media, although they are still too rare, especially when compared with other surrounding countries. The interest is most widespread among communication theorists. According to our data, Catalonia and Andalusia are the regions most interested in this sort of research, probably because the number of immigrants, while low, is higher than in the other regions. There are very few studies on the news and media representation of actors - other than immigrants - who are involved in combating racial discrimination, such as the anti-racist organisations.

Secondly, among the discriminated groups which analyse (and react to) the stereotypes in which they are the objects and victims, the case of the Spanish Roma is exemplary and worthy of mention. Other groups do not have the same capacity to react because they are not as well organised and have lesser means at their disposal. However, the Internet has boosted the visibility of NGOs that struggle to promote values in favour of cultural diversity and denounce any type of discriminatory messages in Spain.

Thirdly, the self-criticism that a number of journalists and journalist organisations are adopting is extremely valuable. The Catalan case is also particularly worthy of mention in this regard. The local and regional media were first (before the national media), when it came to elaborating programmes of social interest, including the struggle against racism and social exclusion. There are no journalists who specialise in covering issues of immigration, racism and cultural diversity, nor enough journalists belonging to ethnic minorities.

In addition, to date it has been almost impossible to succeed in making the Spanish press value immigrants as a regular source for news about their situation. Unfortunately, sometimes the importance attributed to things that happen to immigrants and ethnic minorities is not due to interest in their problems per se, but rather to its importance vis-a-vis politicians and political parties, or other majority actors, involved in the debate. Several researchers men-

tioned the strategy of combining 'defence and attack' or 'compassion and fear' used by Spanish media in order to safeguard an image of tolerance and supposed objectivity.

Moreover, it is normal that news is represented in a decontextualised way, so that the problems of the Third World or illegal immigrants are presented to Spanish society without linking these to reflections about the causes that generated those problems in the first place. This decontextualisation is avoided of course when it serves other interests (as with the news on the foreigner's law - *Ley de extranjería*).

Finally, the denominations given to illegal immigrants are frequently negative or confusing. Semantic associations between immigration and crime, disintegration, or threats, and related generalisations, are the most frequent formulae for the reproduction of prejudice towards 'Others'. The appearance of these associations and generalisations in headlines or other typographical salient places reinforces their capacity to influence society.

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