

The Journalistic Field of the Neighbourhood Journalists

The case of immigrants' representation in the
neighbourhood press of Barcelona

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Abstract

Mainstream press tends to give visibility to immigrants only when problems arise. Through this visibility based on problems a *virtual social identity* is constructed and given to the immigration population. This identity is built on stereotypes and is not necessarily correct. However, the neighbourhood press of Barcelona, inscribed within the Catalan regional press' own idea of journalism, offers a different approach to this issue due to its history, proximity and commitment to the region, and hence, the different characteristics of these journalists' *field* where different *capitals* are sought and taken into consideration and different *habitus* are found. Therefore this press constructs and gives a different *virtual social identity* by using a differentiated set of *frames*. Through studying this mechanism the process through which this particular sort of press, and specifically its journalists, approach the idea of journalism was unearthed and its *journalistic field* explained.

Key Words: Immigration, Identity, Journalism, Press, Proximity Press, Neighbourhood Press, Barcelona, Social Field, Journalistic Field

Resum

La premsa generalista tendeix a donar visibilitat als immigrants només quan sorgeixen problemes. A través d'aquesta visibilitat basada en problemes es construeix una identitat social virtual. Aquesta identitat es construïda amb estereotips i no és necessàriament correcte. No obstant això, la premsa de barri de Barcelona, dintre de la tradició de la premsa regional catalana, ofereix, a causa de la seva història, proximitat i compromís amb la regió, un enfocament diferent a aquest problema i, per tant, les característiques diferents del *camp social* d'aquests periodistes fan que es busquin i es tinguin en compte diferents *habitus* i diferents *capitals*. D'aquesta manera aquesta premsa construeix i dóna una identitat social virtual diferent mitjançant l'ús d'un conjunt diferenciat de *marcs*. A través de l'estudi d'aquest mecanisme el procés a través del qual aquest tipus particular de premsa, i en concret els seus periodistes, s'acosten a la idea del periodisme ha estat estudiat i el seu camp periodístic explicat.

Paraules Clau: Immigració, Identitat, Periodisme, Premsa, Premsa de Proximitat, Premsa de Barri, Barcelona, Camp Social, Camp Periodístic

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Introduction

The processes of migration have always been of great importance, they have shaped nations, regions and lands. But the globalised world has made it easier not only to migrate but also to have a more or less clear picture of what the world on the other side looks like (Sassen, 1998). A picture that might not completely reflect the reality of the place but that allows us to at least know of that place, making the world somewhat smaller. At the same time journalism is being reshaped, or at least rethought, by the tools offered by this globalisation. Smart phones, smaller and lighter laptops, tablets, the broadband, a higher flow of knowledge, all this is challenging the privileged position of mainstream media as the actor that makes sense of the world (Choi, 2016; Fondevila, 2010, 2013; Noor, 2013). However, this action of challenging has also allowed for other possible ways to understand journalism to flourish and develop, with their own contradictions and problems, but reshaping the borders of the journalistic social field (Ahva, 2012). This research pretends to understand and uncover the journalistic practices of one of these different than mainstream media types of journalism, the neighbourhood press of Barcelona. A wide variety of subjects could have been chosen to research on this type of press, immigration, nonetheless, is an issue that offers a number of advantages over other possible topics. Using a concrete topic allows for an in-depth analysis and immigration not only is a concrete subject but it also offers a varied and complex reaction and discussion in the media, from simplistic polemics to thoughtful analysis (Benson, 2013) while being at the same time a topic present in people's lives in daily basis, especially in those places with a high immigration rate.

Immigration in Spain has been one of the major phenomena of the last, roughly, fifteen years. Fifteen years where Spain, Catalonia and Barcelona have become big receivers of foreign immigration. It is important to note that both Catalonia and Barcelona had already been focuses of migrant settlements before, with important waves of immigration from different parts of Spain all through the twentieth century. The beginning of the new century marked the starting point for the new wave of foreign immigration in Spain. This wave has been so important that “according to the National Institute of Statistics (INE), there were only 542,314 foreigners in Spain in the mid-nineties. This figure rose to 1,370,657 at the beginning of the millennium and, according to the data it stood at 5,730,667 in January 2011. This is the sharpest rise in

the number of foreign residents in any member state of the European Union” (Checa & Arjona, 2011: 142). However the number of foreign residents dropped to 5,072,680 by the 1st of January 2013¹ and keeps dropping every year with the most recent data, as of December 2014, showing a figure of 4,925,089² of foreigners residing legally in Spain, although it is important to consider processes of naturalisation as part of this decrease³.

Barcelona, being one of the major cities in Spain, attracts a large number of these immigrants. As of January 2013 there were 280,047 foreigners living in Barcelona, representing 17.4% of the population of the city⁴. It is important to say that due to the economic crisis there had been a decrease on the foreigner population of 0.7% in 2012 and of 1.4% in 2014 compared to 2009 when this population reached its peak with 294,918 representing an 18.1%. Although there has been a decrease of the migrant population in the city a 17.4% in 2012 was still a very important figure nonetheless.

It is vital therefore to study the way migrants were seen by the people they live with in their foster societies because, as surveys carried out by the CIS show, immigration and migrants were consistently seen as a focus of concern by the Spanish or Catalan nationals all through the mid 2000s to early 10s, having consistently dropped in importance by the year 2012⁵. These data show a clear pattern of increase in numbers and public perception of immigration all through the 00s decade, a pattern that fades in the beginning of the 10s decade with a clear decrease of the numbers of foreigners and a loss of public concern by the year 2012, which makes this period an important period to study.

Several studies show that “(...) the foreigner is identified more and more as a generator of unemployment, delinquency, lower salaries and an enemy of cultural identity” (Checa & Arjona, 2011: 143), and with a tendency to be framed by the media in situations of illegality (Igartua & Cheng, 2004), situations of vulnerability (Roman, Garcia & Alvarez, 2011), among some other negative frames, thus neglecting the cultural side of immigration (Rodrigo & Martínez, 1997).

¹ <http://www.ine.es/prensa/np854.pdf>

² http://extranjeros.empleo.gob.es/es/Estadisticas/operaciones/con-certificado/201412/Residentes_Principales_Resultados_31122014.pdf

³ <http://www.ine.es/prensa/np838.pdf>

⁴ <http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/catala/dades/inf/pobest/pobest14/pobest14.pdf>

⁵ http://www.cis.es/cis/opencms/-Archivos/Indicadores/documentos_html/TresProblemas.html

Media then, have a great degree of power to shape the way people see immigration. It is clear that immigration receives bigger coverage on Spanish and Catalan national newspapers when they are part of a conflict and not simply as members of our society. “The world is too complex to be objectively and fully represented, which leads to an indispensable selection process on the part of the media” (Vliegenthart & Boomgaarden, 2007: 294) it seems obvious that this selection tends to be biased towards the conflict rather than the agreement. Following this idea, researchers show how “results suggest that key events are more likely to pass the news threshold and might indeed function as journalistic prototypes for longer periods of time” (Vliegenthart & Boomgaarden, 2007: 309) giving their readers a representation of immigrants through certain key events such as the 3/11 in Madrid, mass legalizations, unemployment rates in migrant population, etc. It can be assumed then that, following the ideas presented by the aforementioned researches, if migrants are seen as a focus of concern and trouble by the population, newspapers have a big responsibility in the way society at large behaves and interacts with these people as they are portrayed in situations that do not fully adjust to reality.

However, a different way to understand journalism can be found in the Catalan regional press and Barcelona local newspapers. Following a long journalistic tradition they offer different ways to show and understand what news is (Guillamet, 1983, 2006), due to their relatively small geographical area of action and maybe to the more homogeneous readers (Masip, et al., 2010). This research will partly focus on the view on immigration by the neighbourhood newspapers of the city of Barcelona.

Immigration is a matter of state control. The state is the only institution in Spain that has power over immigration policies. However, migrants live in cities and villages surrounded by their neighbours, who can be immigrants or natives and, although they do not have the legislative power to do much, these people are the ones that live and interact with the migrants. Hence the importance of knowing what they think of the migrants because not only they live with and among them but “(...)la majoria de les vegades els assumptes locals semblen els únics en els quals <<podem fer-hi alguna cosa>> -influir, reparar, millorar, redirigir.” (Bauman, 2007: 108)

Taking into account that media shape the way we see things and urban areas are the ones where migrants live it is believed that it is important to study the way local newspapers in neighbourhoods of Barcelona see and represent immigration.

There have been investigations regarding the construction of immigration in media, mostly newspapers and television, and they all show the degree of misinformation created by them, following stereotypes when talking about the immigrants. However, there aren't many investigations regarding this issue using local or regional newspapers as the object of study. This is the first reason we believe this investigation may be useful, the lack of conclusive research concerning this topic. On the other hand, the investigations about immigration and local or regional newspapers are focused on newspapers from different parts of the world, which clearly show results concerning that specific situation that might or might not concern other parts of the world. Hence the importance of studying other realities concerning this topic such as the case of the neighbourhood press of Barcelona.

The neighbourhood press falls within the Catalan regional press, which is a distinctive and unique model of press and journalism (Guillamet, 1983) and therefore it must be studied on its own. The history of the Catalan regional press lies in parallel to the nationwide press, always as a diverse way to inform and issue news and often as a means of counter powering the government, whether central or local. Counter power is one of the main characteristics of the neighbourhood press of Barcelona. It took part in the defense of the independence of the villages surrounding Barcelona against the expansion of the city absorbing those villages (López, 1994; Maristany & Musons, 2002). When it actually happened this press did not stop publishing but instead acted as vigilant guardian of the interests of their readers and neighbours as the creation of bonds and links within the collective is another one of the characteristics of this kind of press (Rouger, 2008). This kind of press, inserted in the broader space of public and proximity journalism, is strongly linked to democratic practices by engaging in public and democratic discussions through certain civic participation (Ferreira et al., 2011).

These specific and differentiating characteristics highlight the necessity to understand the social field of these journalists and newspapers. Following the concepts and ideas of Bourdieu it is important to study the social field of the neighbourhood journalists as part

of the regional press which may be linked to proximity press, following the works of Guillaumet et al. (2014) and Navarro and Massana (2014), as well as public journalism (Ferreira et al, 2011). Hence the concepts of regional press and proximity press may be understood as synonyms in this research. According to Bourdieu the journalistic field is defined by the struggle between commercial journalism and pure journalism (Bourdieu, 1994) which leads to a small autonomy of this field in front of the field of power by accepting the high demands of scoops and competence between media (Benson, 2009; Bourdieu, 1994, 2005). However, there might be differences between the nationwide mainstream media and the proximity press, in this case the neighbourhood press of Barcelona, due to the formal and structural differences between these two types of press. The neighbourhood newspapers in Barcelona may play a different role in the media field. They follow different rules and therefore might offer different views which could collide with those of the national newspapers regarding immigration. Contact with foreigners gives less negative sentiments (Checa & Arjona, 2011) and these newspapers live and talk about spaces where immigrants live, gather and use. As Howarth observes, “(h)egemonic representations pervade the dominant social construction of reality; oppositional representations contest these versions” (Howarth, 2006: 15). It must be taken into account that in communication *power relations* do play an important role and therefore shape the way this communication is carried out as there are multitude of variables that can form and create this relationships (Rodrigo, n/d). There is a clear representation of power relationships regarding newspapers and immigration, where newspapers are the voice of the natives and the immigrants are the others, and “the reproduction of power relations depends on the continuous and creative (ab)use of representations that mystify, naturalize and legitimize access to power” (Howarth, 2006: 15), but it might be that the neighbourhood newspapers do not reproduce these *power relations* in such a strong or in the same way. As Rodrigo (1999) presents, information and media create two perspectives when constructing news, *mental space* which gives us borders to separate ourselves from the others and hence helping *otherness*, and *sentimental space* which gives us tools and limits to sentimentally bond and link with other people that are accepted within this space. These two perspectives stand between the *us* and the *them* and might be set over ethnic background. But it could be found that neighbourhood press sets the *us* and the *them*

over a total different background, maybe over neighbourhood residency which does not take into account ethnicity and sets the *otherness* in a more neutral background.

The difficulty of not letting the use of the language become a relationship of *symbolical power* is so hard that only by using Catalan or Spanish when talking about immigration we could be building a wall of power. Our languages (both Catalan and Spanish) most of the time, and maybe even more important our *linguistic habitus* too, are different from the ones of the immigrants (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1995). *Symbolical violence* is “la violencia que se ejerce sobre un agente social con su complicidad” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1995: 240) but this complicity is in general not acknowledged as this violence is not perceived as such. With the construction of immigration in the newspapers we are applying *symbolical violence* towards the immigrants, even if it comes from a positive point of view, because *power relations* are still being created and developed (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1995).

The possible, and expected, differences in the depiction and portrayals of the immigrants by these journalists and this press will help positioning them in the journalistic social field, making visible the different characteristics of this press to the nationwide press while at the same time explaining the differences in the immigrants' depictions as well. These differences are linked to the journalistic *habitus* and *capital* and their relationship with the *journalistic field* (Bourdieu, 1985, 1994, 1997, 2005).

The relative novelty of the immigration in Spain, Catalonia and Barcelona makes it key to understand the process of creation of identity, of *otherness*, while these newcomers are still settling. In places like the Netherlands or Germany immigration has had a long history, having already produced descendants, and descendants of descendants. The investigation of the given identity of this collective in the aforementioned countries unearths different qualities from what the same investigations in countries or states with more recent immigration waves, as the permanent bonds of sharing spaces, familiar ties, etc. are not yet created, could arise. Hence, investigating the given identities in an early stage of the incorporation of these migrants may show different attitudes along with differentiated frames.

The importance then of observing and understanding the construction of the idea of immigrants by neighbourhood newspapers is clear since they might not use the same representations as the nationwide newspapers, and some authors seem to think that these local press “(tenen) com a funció primordial captar i difondre informacions i opinions susceptibles de ser d’interès general per a tot el conjunt d’habitants d’un nucli territorial concret que mai arribarà a ser el del conjunt de la ciutat” (Maristany & Musons, 2002: 10), with the migrants being part of this population.

This research has used different techniques to achieve the set goals. The semiotic analysis was used to reveal the main *frames* used by the newspapers by studying the opinion and editorial articles in which the subject of immigration was mentioned as the editorial and opinion articles are where the guidelines of the publication are set. The semiotic analysis was carried out following the works of Ruiz Collantes et al. (2006). This analysis seeks to uncover the hidden discursive structures (Floch, 1983) and the construction of these discursive patterns, these truth-creating discourses (Greimas, 1989) and the relationships between the characters established in these discourses showed the main *frames* through which the immigrants are depicted. Once these *frames* were found content analysis was used on the new articles regarding immigration to find not only the frequency of these *frames* but also to explore other possible useful information such as the importance of the articles and the main characters of these articles. The works of Igartua et al. (2004) were followed as the authors developed a sheet of analysis in their article regarding the depiction of immigrants in the mainstream and nationwide press in Spain. Content analysis is particularly relevant due to its systematization (Berelson, 1970), reliability of the collected data (Neuendorf, 2002) and the capacity to replicate the findings (Krippendorff, 1980). In order to understand the social field of the neighbourhood journalists of Barcelona a series of interviews were carried out with the principal journalists of each studied newspaper. These interviews were set out to unearth attitudes and journalistic practices as well as ideas and opinions regarding the field of journalism, proximity journalism and immigration. Through revealing these attitudes and opinions, along with a historical review and the analysis of the depictions and portrayals of the immigration an accurate positioning of these journalists and press in the social field of journalism was achieved.

STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

In favour of a comprehensive understanding of the theoretical positions of this dissertation an extensive review of the concepts and ideas of Bourdieu on the social field, its main conceptual notions and the concrete application of these notions to the field of journalism will be presented in the first section. This review will set the tone and the main general guidelines in which this research will be carried out taking into account that ultimately this research pretends to understand the social field of the neighbourhood press of Barcelona.

A chapter about the relationship between immigration and the media will follow in the second chapter, which starts with a discussion on the concept of immigration. It is important to clearly state what this research understands as immigrant so as to later on analyse correctly the units. As it is argued in this section the immigrant is a social position not only defined by the country of birth or nationality but also by other variables closely linked to class and cultural markers. The works of Sònia Parella (2003, 2005) will give the ground to define the concept of immigration. The next section will cover the most relevant researches regarding immigration and media, where the different investigations will be reviewed along with the results and the relevancy towards this research. This section will show the characteristics of the prejudice towards immigration by the media and some of the consequences that these prejudices carry. The relationship between media and immigration has been widely studied and it gives a solid ground against which to compare some of the findings of this research, especially in the case of investigations regarding regional press (Cheng, et al. 2014; Elsrud, 2008). This will be followed by a review of the main theoretical characteristics of the regional press, of which the neighbourhood press of Barcelona is a part, and an exposition of the history of this press inscribed within the Catalan regional press. The theoretical characteristics will show the main peculiarities of this type of press in terms of journalistic practices and attitudes according to different authors such as Ferreira et al. (2011), Fontcuberta (2007) or Rouger (2008), while the historic review will give a general idea of where this neighbourhood press of Barcelona is inscribed in and comes from, with its structural and historical differences. The historical review will follow the works of Guillaumet (1976, 1983, 1987, 1988, 1990, 2003, 2006, 2015).

The next chapter will be dedicated to the goals and methods, explaining in detail the choices made and their relationship with the goals so as to find the best way to fulfill them and reach useful conclusions. The results from the research and the conclusions will complete this dissertation, with future lines of research as possible continuations of it as the last section.

Ultimately the hope of the author is for this research to be a useful tool to discuss and understand a different way to practice journalism while at the same time providing with helpful data on the depictions and portrayals of immigrants by the neighbourhood press of Barcelona.

THEORETICAL FRAME

1. A journalistic approach through Bourdieu's concepts

Field theory stems from Bourdieu's concept of social field. According to Bourdieu, "the social field can be described as a multi-dimensional space of positions such that every actual position can be defined in terms of a multi-dimensional system of co-ordinates whose values correspond to the values of the different pertinent variables" (1985: 724), a field then "is a field of forces within which the agents occupy positions that statistically determine the positions they take with respect to the field, these position-takings being aimed either at conserving or transforming the structure of relations of forces that is constitutive of the field" (Bourdieu, 2005: 30). Fields can be understood as little self-contained social worlds with its own patterned regularities, behaviours, social rules and activities that allow some degree of predictability and are hierarchically structured separating thus what is inside the field from what is outside of it (Thomson, 2008). In Bourdieu's approach "a field is an arena of shared practice bounded by shared assumptions. It is the result of contingent historical developments. It is a cluster of relationships organized around a set of stakes, a field-specific capital. A field is only relatively autonomous" (Krause, 2011: 92).

The social field is a network of objective relations between positions the limits of this field are found where the effects cease to affect, effects that affect an object not only because of the characteristics of it but importantly due to the characteristics and effects of the field. Put it differently, the external determinations over the agents do not affect them directly but through the field's filters and forces (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2005). The more autonomy a field has, the stronger the filters and forces are. A field is more or less autonomous according to how close it is to the field of power and it can be understood as a game field where different positions play to gain its control. This semi autonomy field is a human construction with its particular set of beliefs and its logic of practice, that is, the rules of field behaviour. Also, social fields are not fixed and by tracing the shape changes its social history can be retrieved (Thomson, 2008).

There are always functional and structural homologies in every field such as dominants and dominated, exclusion and usurpation fights, reproductive mechanisms, etc. Also,

the field is a relations' system independent of its agents, of the agents this relations determine. The field might move and change quicker than the agents, leaving the agents in a situation of mismatching habitus and field, and hence the field maintaining its logics as a field independently of the agents which it affects (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2005).

Bourdieu understands the field as a relational concept and an ongoing process of differentiation. What is real is relational (Benson, 2005) and so the way to exist socially is to distinct one's difference, a process carried out mostly unconsciously (Bourdieu, 2005; Benson, 2006). This is, a field is a field because it is different from another field. Only through differentiation a given social field can become differentiated and this separate from a different social sphere. The social world, however, is supposed to be split between two spheres of power, the economic power and the cultural power. By "economic capital, he (Bourdieu) means simply money or assets that can be turned into money. Cultural capital encompasses such things as educational credentials, technical expertise, general knowledge, verbal abilities, and artistic sensibilities. Economic capital, on the whole, is more powerful, but cultural capital is always needed to transform good fortune into "legitimate" fortune" (Benson, 2006: 189). The key process of the cultural field of power is the ongoing process of differentiation, since it legitimates the economic power and awards distinction and "know-how" and through the distribution of the properties of the social field it reaches the status of *symbolic system* which carries, intrinsically, symbolical power, which in its turn, hold the power to *nominate* (Bourdieu, 1985), thus legitimating what is understood as correct and incorrect (Bourdieu, 1991). This is, consequently, the power of the cultural field, the capacity of nominating, of setting what is correct and accepted and what is not, and this is why the field concept is relational, because it sets its norms, rules, accepted behaviours, etc. in relation to what is not accepted, to what is outside of the norms and rules. However, a certain amount of struggle is found in every field, representing the fight between the dominated and the dominant, and it is easily found in its borders, where peripheral actors or agents fight to change the field and gain power and authority within it (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2005).

People occupy more than social field at a time, whether it be the professional field, the parenting field, education field, etc. thus occupying what is called the *field of power*. This *field of power* consists on multiple fields creating a common social space creating at the same time similarities and homologies among these differentiated fields. These regularities allow people to transit from one field to another and still understand the basic rules governing them (Thomson, 2008).

A social field is a representation of the social world that is based on differentiation and that is “capable of conferring strength, power within that universe, on their holder. Agents and groups of agents are thus defined by their relative positions within that space. Each of them is assigned to a position or a precise class of neighbouring positions (i.e., a particular region in this space) and one cannot really - even if one can in thought - occupy two opposite regions of the space. Inasmuch as the properties selected to construct this space are active properties, one can also describe it as a field of forces, i.e., as a set of objective power relations that impose themselves on all who enter the field and that are irreducible to the intentions of the individual agents or even to the direct interactions among the agents” (Bourdieu, 1985: 724).

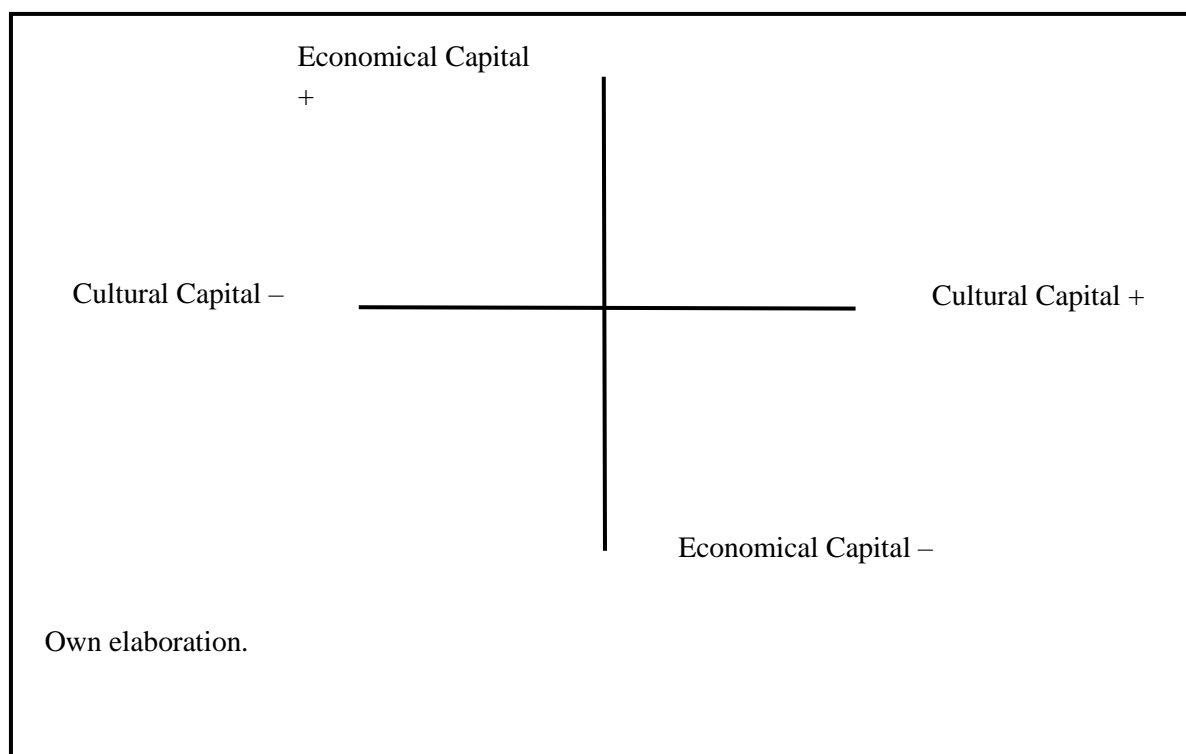
These fields have their own internal rules, “guiding the ways in which people can enter that field, progress within it or be rewarded. In all fields there are divisions between insiders and outsiders and between elites and non-elites. A social actor’s power and position within a field is determined by his or her social capital (membership of networks, social connections, friendships with the ‘right’ people), cultural capital (skills, knowledge, educational background), or economic capital (command over economic resources)” (Dickinson & Memon, 2012: 617). It is clear then that “(t)hose actors who enter a field are, therefore, obliged to play by its own autonomous rules of the game, or “nomos”” (Compton & Benedetti, 2010: 489). These rules, rules that are implicit and tend to govern the fields thus creating a certain degree of homogeneity within them, have been created through historical struggle (Benson, 2006).

Bourdieu’s ideas and concepts “constitute what is arguably the most significant attempt to make sense of the relationship between objective social structures (institutions, media discourses, governments, laws, etc.) and everyday individual practices (what people do and why they do it). So – in, say, journalism, players need to have commitment to the

principles of the field (the public's right to know, etc.), and its capital (a good reputation, the respect of one's peers)" (Tapp & Warren, 2010: 202).

Field theory then, offers a wide set of theoretical tools to approach and study a given social field. It helps explaining the autonomy, or lack of autonomy (heteronomy), of social actors in the different spheres of human activity they can find themselves in, even if this autonomy is always relative and depends on the studied context and historical moment (Dickison & Memon, 2012). Field theory helps bringing together both micro-levels of individual practices and macro-levels of structures and allows researchers to understand the consequences of new entrants into a given social field (Compton & Benedetti, 2010) and escape extremely mechanistic or structuralist explanations of a social field (Darras, 2005). Through analysing the social field the different habitus of the actors and agents can be revealed also showing the dispositions acquired through the interiorisation of a given social and economic condition offering more or less opportunities for changing the field and gaining authority and importance within the social field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2005). It also offers the possibility, using statistical techniques, to show visually the inner composition of the studied field creating clusters of individual profiles in a diagram consisting of two intersecting axes. The vertical axis is the economical capital, going from plus to minus, and the horizontal axis is the cultural capital, going as well from plus to minus (Thomson, 2008).

Figure 1: Diagram of a social field



There are many grounds the field theory can show some light upon. Gatrell, Popay and Thomas (2004) researched health issues using this theory, being an example of how the field theory can provide useful information for a wide variety of topics. Using a survey carried out in Lancaster and Salford, in the north-west of England, the researchers try to understand the relationship between the social field and its outcomes regarding health issues. Through the survey and its answers they pretend to show the unequal distribution of resources and forms of capital, both material and social, and link this distribution to one dimension of health, illustrating the relationship between the amount of resources and capital and the health dimension. Lastly, using the relationships previously unearthed the researchers map “the locations of survey respondents from different areas in social space, as a means of visualizing the association between social and geographical space” (Gatrell, Popay & Thomas, 2004: 246).

The mapping of the relationships was accomplished through multiple correspondence analysis technique. A statistical technique used in number of occasions by Bourdieu himself as a means of visualising the social field. It is a constructive and functional tool

to represent visually relationships between variables. The authors use multiple correspondence analysis firstly constructing a visual representation of the selected variables, chosen for its implications in health status, “that represent aspects of material circumstances and social relationships” (Gatrell, Popay & Thomas, 2004: 249). They then locate the individuals in the social space, classifying them according to the place they live in, allowing them to understand the implications of the relationships between the social and the geographical space the individuals find themselves in. Lastly, they construct a final social space with the relationships between the variables that statistical modelling show to be significantly associated with the health issue studied. It is important to note that, although multiple correspondence analysis is the main statistical technique used in this investigation, a regression analysis is also carried out to quantify the effect of a variable, or a set of variables, over the outcome variable. As we can see, the researchers use exploratory and confirmatory statistical techniques.

Another research that can show the usefulness of the field theory is an investigation performed by Savage and Gayo (2011), in which they analysed the contemporary musical taste field in the United Kingdom. The investigators follow the idea of the cultural omnivore, understanding that modern cultural taste is based on an increasing number of people organising themselves in a pluralistic model in which a wide range of cultural genres are enjoyed. The omnivore then is the end of the cultural snob which defined status in the past. The aim of the investigators is to show a pattern of musical taste in the UK by creating different clusters in the form of ideal types. However, it is important to note that this cultural omnivoresness is linked to a certain type of person, well educated, relatively privileged and relatively young (Vander Stichele & Laermans, 2006; Warde et al, 2007) which shows that it takes a given amount of cultural capital to actually become a complete omnivore. Nonetheless a true type of univore, with traditional cultural taste leaning towards art forms, can be found among consumers of high culture (Snowball et al, 2010) whereas omnivores do not have to inevitably like highbrow culture (Goldberg, 2011).

Using the Cultural Capital and Social Exclusion project’s data about musical taste, asking about eight musical genres and eight musical named works, Savage and Gayo trace the individuals by their musical taste. Multiple correspondence analysis is used to

visualise the representation of this musical taste in a social field showing the way the individuals organise themselves within the contemporary musical taste field. In depth interviews follow the statistical technique to add more information and draw an accurate description of the six clusters in the form of ideal types. These clusters also include socio-demographic information that can be added to the social field visualisation, through the use of multiple correspondence analysis, mapping not only the musical taste but also the patterns in socio-demographic variables.

Very much in the way Savage and Gayo studied the musical taste, Roose, van Eijck and Lievens (2012) study lifestyles and their social structuring using a social space approach. Again, following the idea of the cultural omnivore, formulated as openness, against the snob, which seeks distinction by drawing clear-cut cultural boundaries, the authors “wish to contribute to the existing literature by investigating the relevance of—and relation between—distinction and openness as structuring principles of cultural lifestyles in Flanders” (Roose, van Eijck & Lievens, 2012: 492) by mapping the “the extent to which cultural distinction and cultural openness structure contemporary lifestyles” (Roose, van Eijck & Lievens, 2012: 496).

Using the survey “Cultural participation in Flanders 2003-2004” and analysing it with multiple correspondence analysis the researchers draw three clusters of lifestyles revealing the socio-demographic variables that constrain the cultural tastes of the individuals and showing the life path of the three different clusters being snobs or omnivores in different degrees.

1.1. The journalistic field

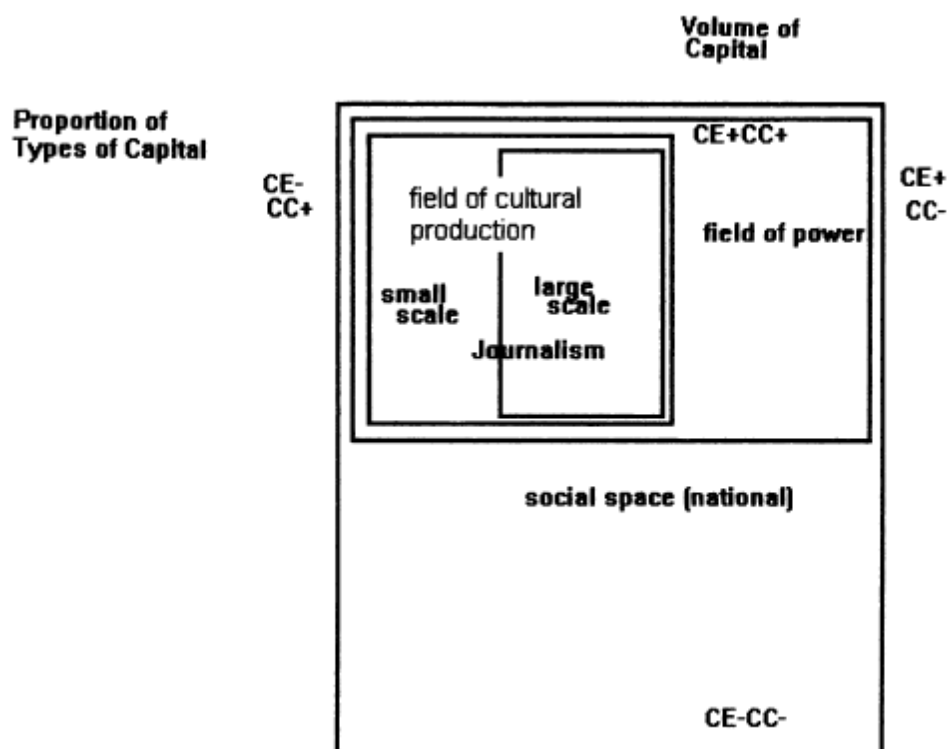
The theory of fields has been extensively used in regards the journalistic field, giving then an accurate description of the characteristics of this field, a field that was also described by Bourdieu himself, even if it was not a main field of his researching. Journalism is, at the same time, more and less than what modern media do (Krause, 2011).

The journalistic field, as any other field, is a field of forces, a game field, with two forces struggling to control it. In the case of the journalistic field the two forces that struggle are the commercial and the pure journalism (Bourdieu, 1994). Commercial journalism is the one that bows in front of the market demands whereas pure journalism discards market demands and stands for its own rules. However, the fact that media are constantly looking out for each other, adapting their news to a general consensus brings market demands to the front of the journalistic field, a general consensus created and reproduced by media itself (Bourdieu, 1997), “media organizations not only report on events and disseminate information, but they also have the power to shape people’s perceptions and understanding of the world” (Jonsson & Buhr, 2011: 467). Audience research and ratings are perfect examples of media succumbing to the market demands, or economic constraints (Bourdieu, 2005). These market demands bring us to the field’s autonomy, or lack of it, or to put it differently, “(i)n the journalistic field, one of the main divisions is between autonomy and heteronomy (i.e. how far journalists are free of external political or economic constraints)” (Dickinson & Memon, 2012: 617).

As has been mentioned before, fields tend to be found within other more extensive fields, thus creating a bigger *field of power* (Thomson, 2008). The journalistic field is located within the *field of cultural production* (Bourdieu, 1994) which is also part of the field of power (Benson, 1999). This cultural capital is, following the current historical moment, a capital subjected to the economical capital, even if the cultural capital legitimises the economical one (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2005), thus making some fields within the field of cultural production more prone to lying closer to the economic pole than others (Benson, 1999), or a different way to state the same, the journalistic field lays within the dominated fields of the field of cultural production (Benson, 2006). Journalistic field’s ““left” pole [...] is part of the field of “restricted” cultural production (produced for other producers, that portion of the field closest to the cultural pole—small literary journals, avant-garde art and music, etc.), while at its “right” pole, it belongs to the field of large-scale cultural production (produced for general audiences, that portion of the field closest to the economic pole—mass entertainment, etc.). In its dominant tendency, the journalistic field belongs to the latter” (Benson, 2006: 195).

Patrick Champagne (2005) states that the growing weight of mass media is a consequence of having a lot of characteristics belonging to a mass-market of symbolic goods, goods produced to respond to external demands. However these demands affect differently different types of media, being television highly affected and printed press not affected as much. But journalism is an intellectual activity that can only exist if it is economically profitable in the short term, thus, making journalists and journalism work against itself, the struggle between the two poles varying and depending on their position in the field. Journalists “are torn between the contradictory demands of economic profitability, (...) and the imperative proper to intellectual work (Champagne, 2005: 57).

Figure 2: Social field



Benson, R (1999) Field theory in comparative texts. A new paradigm for media studies. *Theory and society*, 28 (3), Pg. 466

The journalistic field has developed a small amount of autonomy from the state and from the market demands (Benson, 2009), being then a subjected field to the economic capital through not only connections with the field of power but also accepting the

market demands lowering the maturation of the news since scoops and competence are a big and key element of this field (Bourdieu, 1994). However, the journalistic field still retains some autonomy in the form of journalistic norms, rules and practices that differ nationally (Bourdieu, 1994; 2005). This heteronomy, weakness of autonomy, means that in order to understand the journalistic field it is not sufficient to understand its own rules, norms and practices but it is strictly necessary to understand its relationship with the other fields, the dependence vis-à-vis of the external powers affecting the journalistic field and shaping it (Bourdieu, 2005). These relationships between different fields make the journalistic field especially interesting and so “tendremos que investigar, ante todo, las relaciones de *poder* creadas por el hecho específico de que la prensa convierta en públicos determinados temas y cuestiones” (Weber, 1910: 253). Again, it is important to remind ourselves that the journalistic field, as part of the wider cultural field, and in conjunction with the political and social science field, has the power to *nominate*, to make sense of, the social world. A power and legitimacy acquired in the course of history (Champagne, 2005). A mechanism that these fields share in attempting to make sense of the social world is the categorisation of it through the use of couple of opposite adjectives such as masculine/feminine, high/low, etc. (Bourdieu, 2002). All these fields not only share the use of a set of “practical principles of vision and division” but also “they struggle, each in their own universe, to impose these principles of vision and division, and to have them recognised as legitimate categories of construction of the social world” (Bourdieu, 2005: 37).

However, the purest regions of the journalistic field, the printing press, keep hold of the cultural capital, thus serving, in a way, as autonomy retainers, with prizes like the U.S. Pulitzer prize serving as a way to award professional excellence, showing a struggle between the culturally rich but economically poor, some press, and the culturally poor but economically rich, commercial television, journalism. News organisations that accumulate both kinds of capital, such as The New York Times, are able to set the rules and practices for the standard in the whole journalistic field, stating their dominance over the other news organisations (Benson, 2006). They are awarded a role of cultural intermediaries which implicates a struggle between different groups over dominance through defining what legitimate culture is, hence being authorities of legitimation (Smith Maguire & Matthews, 2013). This dominance is given because they are read

more, the stories they publish are picked up by the other outlets in a higher rate and they can consecrate a story by just publishing a story that can be passed onto other outlets by picking up their stories (Champagne, 2005).

Journalistic production is always, to a different degree throughout historical periods and media outlets, constrained by the political and economic conditions in which it is set (Champagne, 2005), and these economic constraints threaten to destroy the weak autonomy held by the journalists. Not only pressure of advertisers and audience ratings but the increasing precarious situation of journalists, with a big unemployment rate of the overproduced university graduates in the fields of cultural production, creating a reserve army of labour, easily controlled by the political and economical forces through precarious employment, thus increasing the heteronomy of the journalistic field even in the regions that were thought as more autonomous or “purer” (Bourdieu, 2005), “(i)n newsrooms, this hyper-commercialization has manifested itself in the rise of strategic marketing and thus the breakdown of the old “wall” separating the news from the business-side operations” (Benson, 2006: 193).

Bourdieu (1997) states the necessity to isolate fields, specially the scientific, political and journalistic fields, from each other. He thinks these fields’ interactions and incorporations into each other only seem to contaminate hence breaking the internal rules each one of them have established. However, Schudson (2005), thinks it not necessarily desirable since journalists’ interests may not coincide with the ones of the scientists or politicians, activists or citizens at large. A given amount of heteronomy in the journalistic field and the consequent clash and struggle of the market and political field on one side and the journalistic field on the other side is what, according to Schudson (2005) keeps journalism alive. Unexpected and unanticipated events help media introducing different topics of discussion out of reach of the political and market fields, as the Three Mile Island incident brought media attention to environmental issues. Bourdieu, though, seems to modulate his ideas a bit by stating that complete autonomy can lead to an egoistic closing-in on the specific interests of other people interacting in the field. Although he sees a bad consequence of this autonomy he still thinks it desirable as a means of protection from immediate market demands and demagoguery (Bourdieu, 2005). Nonetheless, a pluralistic journalistic field might,

understanding that it is under political and market constraints, offer a solution to the need of a certain amount of heteronomy, retaining at the same time the journalistic autonomy to not become a servant of those constraints (Schudson, 2005).

It has been shown, so far, how the journalistic field revolves around the struggle between autonomy and heteronomy; this is, between the “purer” journalism and the one that complies with the economical and political constraints. Nonetheless, field theory and the journalistic field accept a different approach to its study. This time the struggle, according to Dominique Marchetti (2005), turns around subfields of the journalistic field, and in more detail, around the opposition between the generalist and the specialised pole. This articulation of the journalistic field around these two poles reflects the characteristics of the public to whom the media outlets address their news and the characteristics of the media outlets and their journalists.

As Marchetti states (2005), generalist media tend to seek and hire journalists from the journalism schools since they already have the tools and the practical knowledge to start working from practically day one. Even if the journalist has no knowledge in the specific area to be covered, those basic tools and practical knowledge are deemed more important than the specific ones. However, a rapid and important increase and reinforcement of the specialised poles should not be forgotten. The growth of specialised magazines is followed by an increase in the number of specialised journalists hired by these publications. Knowledge of the issue is basic and crucial for the credibility of the information, practical knowledge is not sought. Instead, concrete and high knowledge about a specific theme is what is looked for. More often than not these journalists hold PhDs, MBAs, non journalistic degrees, etc (Marchetti, 2005).

Again, it is important to take into account the inequalities of capital and field distribution within these subfield specialities. Some of those specialities bring economical capital, such as sports journalists. It is very easy to see how sports have many more viewers than foreign politics and hence bring many more advertisers and consequently having a much more economical capital driven field position. However, even if foreign politics might not enjoy as many viewers, and consequently are placed in an extremely less visible position in the media outlet, these journalists do have a higher cultural capital input, or at least are invested with a higher cultural and field position,

bringing, as a result, a superior cultural capital, with its implication in field position status and the capacity to lead and set the rules for the field (Marchetti, 2005).

Regarding the journalists, and their positions in these two poles, different variables can be set to understand them. Class background is seen to go lower as we move from more important positions within the media outlet, like columnists, editorialists etc. to less important ones, “behind-the-scenes reporters” (Marchetti, 2005: 73). Level of education is also a key element since the specialisation requires a specific type of education that goes beyond the journalistic degree, as it has been previously commented, PhDs and MBAs are frequent among specialised journalists. Age and experience is another factor that explains the journalist’s position in the field. Experience in a given issue certifies the information as more professional, with a broader knowledge and deeper understanding.

Finally, a very important aspect to highlight around the distribution between the generalist and specialised pole is the autonomy or heteronomy of the subfields. This autonomy from the field of power helps distinguishing the subfields within the field of cultural production (Hesmondhalgh, 2006). Fields, such as legal, scientific or political have the power to exercise a strong control, even it is only through prohibiting access to the location, therefore “(t)he most autonomous universes, such as the legal and scientific fields, have come to take into account more and more the manner in which journalists cover their activities, since the media images thus created have effects both real and imagined on the public as well as on functioning of these fields (Marchetti, 2005: 77). The degree in which the subfield imposes its logics is also another way to test its autonomy. Agenda-setting and framing are mechanisms wherein media tend to impose its views; however, it is not out of place to think that media outlets have a tendency to share beliefs with their interlocutors. Proximity to the social actors is also a variable that defines the amount of autonomy or heteronomy of the subfield. There might be social spaces with a high level of interaction and proximity, Marchetti (2005) gives as an example the case of cultural critics from the turn of the century to 1930’s who were journalists and playwrights.

The journalistic field has been explained so far through the lens of the field theory, of which it stems. However, there are other theories that also explain the journalistic field.

One of them is the differentiation theory. This theory evolves from Talcott Parsons' concept of differentiation, who took it from Emile Durkheim's work (Hallin, 2005). It is a part of the conceptually broader theory of structural-functionalist systems, in which it is understood that societies have a tendency to create more and more functionally differentiated institutions. Media then, as a differentiated institution, plays the role of coordinating the interactions of the increasingly different other institutions. Jeffrey C. Alexander (1995), a neo-functionalist himself, critiques Bourdieu and states that Bourdieu's sociology is fundamentally flawed theoretically as well as empirically. Considering the French sociologist as merely a continuity of the Marxist tradition, seeking to create materialist superstructures, and unearthing cultural norms as attached to dominating structures. Consequently, in Bourdieu's sociology, the individual has no other option but to continually adapt to external environments. Alexander, when dealing with media made use of the differentiation theory as a means to explaining the journalistic field. According to the Alexander, media have a tendency to go towards greater differentiation driven by three forces, a bigger demand of universalistic information by oppressed groups in their demands of inclusion and support, the growth of self-regulation and journalistic professional norms in the quest for autonomy and a broader development of social norms of universalism (Hallin, 2005).

Following the differentiation theory, history of news media in the west clearly follows a process of differentiation. Western newspapers began as a way for social groups to express their ideas in an ideological competition and conflict, with very close links between the newspapers and the social groups, often forming part of their organisational networks. The change throughout the twentieth century of citizens going from members of social groups to individual consumers and voters forces media to leave its role as party press and embrace "objectivism" in the name of public information (Hallin, 2005).

However potentially explanatory differentiation theory may be, it fails, according to Daniel C. Hallin (2005), to understand that change does not necessarily take institution or fields towards greater differentiation. Fields, in Bourdieu's theory, change through the struggle of its actors and agents, and there is no reason to believe that this change will result in a greater differentiation, or in field theory terms, in greater autonomy (Hallin, 2005).

New institutionalism offers another valid explanation of the journalistic field. New institutionalism has several similarities with field theory, for instance, both field theory and new institutionalism understand fields, or semi-autonomous institutional orders, as possessing some autonomy from external pressures, some degree of internal order and homogeneity (Benson, 2006). As another author puts it: “NI (new institutionalism) highlights the cultural and political dimensions of organizations that result from their embedding in broader societal sectors or fields. It disputes the idea that organizations are autonomous from the broader constraints, ideals, and inputs of this external environment. Instead, NI suggests that organizations and their practices typically consist in taken-for-granted, culturally sanctioned conventions (or "institutions") that, in turn, reflect the organization's conformity to the broader cultural norms and pressure of the overarching field” (Kaplan, 2006:173). News production, according to Gräfstrom and Windell (2012), can be understood as an area of institutional life, being a mature institutional field or sphere, with its own members, internal logics, professional and educational associations, and guided by a common system of meaning.

It is clear that field theory and new institutionalism theory have a lot in common, having as well certain differences that complement each other. Bourdieu’s focus on competition, rooted in the concept of distinction supplements the focus on homogeneity given by new institutionalists. At the same time, new institutionalists fill a gap not covered by Bourdieu, the role of the state as a partially autonomous influence over journalism (Benson, 2006). New institutionalism naturalises the relationship between government and journalism, with the field being ruled by norms that come in response to external pressures, that is, pressures from outside the field, generally the state or the political culture (Kaplan, 2006). And yet, “Bourdieu’s emphasis on professional or intellectual autonomy (however limited) of journalists as a collective body, elided in new institutionalists accounts” (Benson, 2006: 199) makes field theory a more useful theory for our investigation.

1.2. Field theory applied to the journalistic field

Several examples of field theory applied to the journalistic field can be found. Some of them will be reviewed here so as to give a sample and a general idea of how this theory can be used when analysing the journalistic field. Also, not only the journalistic field in general can be studied but different aspects of this field may be revealed, focusing on some features rather than others and hence reaching different conclusions.

This is the case of the first investigation. The authors studied the power and influence of the media structure, this is, its position in the field of power, internal characteristics, business models, etc. on the journalistic discourse through content analysis of the US and French national press in the 1960s and 1990s. Benson and Hallin (2007) draw differences between the US and French national press from the field theory standpoint. According to the authors, the US national press is more commercialised than the French national press, with higher revenues coming from advertisements than their French counterparts. Also American media companies are more likely to be found and traded in stock markets. On the other hand, the French national press, and media in general, have closer relationships with the French political field, with many laws interfering the journalistic field, the state subsidising media outlets, etc. Differences that have created differentiated journalist traditions. However, globalisation might have diminished these differentiated journalist traditions, affecting thus the journalistic discourse.

Banson and Hallin chose two French national newspapers (Le Figaro and Le Monde) and one American national newspaper (The New York Times), randomly selecting dates from the 1960s and the 1990s of political news coverage. The selected articles were analysed using content analysis and measuring three variables at the level of the story as a whole, dominant scheme, tone and topic.

The analysis showed that contrary to the assumption that proximity to the political field inhibits critical political coverage, the French national press have a higher rate of political scandals, and the more market driven American press offers a narrower range of viewpoints and less civil society representation. Also, the journalistic discourse did not change and converge comparing the two countries and the two historical periods, even if the media structure did suffer a convergence. Market driven journalistic fields

have a tendency to copy and follow stories, therefore having a tendency to converge around one viewpoint, whereas state subsidised journalistic fields keep their political pluralism intact. This political pluralism increases partisanism but also maintains different voices that question each other, hence keeping political pluralism or even boosting it.

Following the same pattern, the next article uses comparative sociological research to understand the patterns in the construction of social problems in French and American newspapers. Differences in the treatment of immigration and sexual harassment in France and the US were sought to see if they converge or diverge. Benson and Saguy (2005), expect to find differences in these treatments due to the different journalist traditions France and the US hold. France with its focus on civic solidarity should have a press more focused on social problems, the social conditions of the immigrants and the abuse of power in sexual harassment, portraying it as an injustice and a violation of the personal integrity. Whereas the US press is expected to focus more on the fiscal problems created by the immigrants and framing sexual harassment as a form of sex-based discrimination. Content analysis was used in articles regarding immigration and sexual harassment in French and American newspapers, 750 in total, between 1973 and 1994, adding 16 articles from French newspapers published in 2002.

Benson and Saguy found no increasing convergence in the treatment of immigration and sexual harassment by French and American newspapers between 1973 and 1994, plus the articles in 2002. Of the two forces that shape journalistic production, the state seems to play a higher role, leaving the market as a secondary force, in portraying and covering immigration and sexual harassment. External media structures shape the internal media structures, which at the time shape the news coverage. A difference between the US market driven and the French state subsidised media is that, due to the constraints of the market, US media has a tendency to find its niche and compete in a lower degree, paying attention to each other and hence publishing the same stories having found their own audience, whereas French media are more centralised, having less niches and competing for the same readers, provoking a higher degree of competition, oppositely to what one would assume of market driven and state subsidised

fields. This higher degree of competition in the French media system results in a production of more scandal stories than the US media system.

Monika Krause (2011) compared, using historical research, changes in the journalistic field throughout different periods of time, going from the 1890s to the year 2000. Her research finds interesting changes in the journalistic field. Active news-gathering started in the 1860s and 1870s, with the emergence of a field with a relative autonomy. Between 1890 and 1914 the journalistic field and the newspaper industry expanded, with the first golden era of the investigative journalism and local reporting. The importance of news-gathering decreased in the interwar years, with a blurry border between PR and journalism, as it is found in the part thirty years as well. Krause discovers that the field autonomy depends not only on the autonomy of media actors from political interference, but also on the political protection and regulation. Technology plays a small but important role in the history of the journalistic field, helping to maintain the autonomy vis-a-vis outside forces, through limiting concentration, creating new audiences and new form of journalistic practices, a role played first by the TV and played these days by the Internet. In each case, technology was not part, initially, of the journalistic field, but was incorporated little by little into the field, limiting the role the new medium could play.

Regarding the role of technology in the journalistic field is also discussed in the investigation carried out by Handley and Rutigliano (2012), even if it is discussed tangentially. Technology had allowed the birth of extra-national news organisations such as WikiLeaks, an organisation that could never have been born without the help of the Internet. But even though WikiLeaks wanted to erode the national narrative structures but it eventually had to rely on national based narrators, using established media to expose and share its information, which at the same time covered these news using national frames, their own national frames. So, despite the efforts, new technologies, Internet and WikiLeaks in this case, help reinforcing the nation narrative structures and practices, relying ultimately on traditional journalistic practices.

1.3. Habitus

Habitus is one of the main concepts in Bourdieu's theoretical work. It is also a very hard concept to define and conceptualise in a short text since its aim is to resolve a sociological question that has been around for many years. This is how to reconcile agency and structure within one single concept. It tries then to give generative power to the agent, understanding that this power is socially constructed (Bourdieu, 1996).

So in a simple way, it tries to explain why social practises are characterised by regularities, such as middle class people having a tendency to like middle class art, or working-class kids finding, or again having a tendency to find, working class jobs without leaning too much to the structuralist side or the agency side (Maton, 2008). Bourdieu understands habitus as a system, an interrelated set of durable dispositions, like a second nature as a result of repetition (Fernández, 2003).

Habitus does not act alone, agents are not pre-programmed actors that act according to the implication of their upbringing, but rather, habitus is the result of the relationship between the field and the habitus (Maton, 2008), since habitus is a “*subjetividad socializada*”, “*lo personal, lo subjetivo, es social*” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2005: 186). Habitus is a system of disposition attuned to the field (Bourdieu, 1993). To understand this in a simpler way it can be summarised as it follows: one's dispositions (habitus) and one's position in a field (capital⁶), within the state of play (field) results in certain practices (Maton, 2008).

Figure 3: Social field system

$$[(\text{habitus})(\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practices}$$

And since habitus is the result of the relationship between habitus and field, the field is also a result of this relationship, making both concepts closely linked. The field structures the habitus, and at the same time the habitus gives meaning to the field, contributing to create it (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2005). It is an unconscious relationship (Bourdieu, 1993).

⁶ Capital is explained in the next section of this essay

Habitus then can be understood as a “property of social agents that comprises a structured and structuring structure” (Maton, 2008:51). It is structured by one’s upbringing, past experiences and past and present circumstances. It is also structuring because it shapes and compromises one’s present and future practices. And it also a structure in that it has a systematic order, opposed to being unpatterned. Habitus generates beliefs, perceptions, feelings, attitudes, practices, etc. according to its very own structure. But these situations, as habitus is structured by past experiences and circumstances, shape habitus making it an ever evolving concept within an evolving social field, hence, as no two individual histories are ever exactly the same; no two individual habitus are exactly the same (Bourdieu, 1993). It links personal experience to structure, and structure to personal experience as the agent internalises the external and externalises the internal. It is then a link between the past, present and future (Maton, 2008) and between social and individual (Bourdieu, 1996).

It can be thought as the inherent knowing of the rules of the game; it is the social game in the form of a second skin, a second nature. If habitus then is the key to understanding the rules of the social game, capital is what brings success to the game. Through habitus actors may understand the rules of the social game, and play accordingly, but actors do have not internalised the rules of all the social games. Only some games are understood by each actor, others are unknown to a given individual (Maton, 2008). Habitus is a system of dispositions, implicitly and explicitly acquired, which generate schemes and strategies. These schemes and strategies may be objectively consistent with the agent’s objective interests (Bourdieu, 1993). Agents have a sense of practice and a “sistemas de estructuras cognoscitivas duraderas (...) y de esquemas de acción que orientan a percibir la situación y la respuesta adecuada. El habitus es esa especie de *intention in action* (...), el sentido de la jugada, es decir, ese arte de anticipar el futuro del juego, de adivinar lo que está inscrito en líneas punteadas en el estado presente del juego (Bourdieu, 2003:117). It also provides with perception categories and classification principles while acting as an action organising principle (Bourdieu, 1996).

It offers a codification of situations, a collective clarification and a homogenisation, helping different agents understand the same situation without words. Through this

habitus' codification everything is apparent, obvious; there is no need to explain anything because everyone understands the codes (Bourdieu, 1996).

However, habitus is not felt, it is incorporated and sensed but never explicit. There are, though, situations when norms are explicit, situations in which it is necessary to impose forms of action. The more violence is perceived as a possibility, the bigger the imposition will be and the less relevant habitus will be. Situations like diplomatic language, where norms and rules are explicit, make habitus irrelevant (Bourdieu, 1996). This is, in situations where different habitus might clash and provoke conflict, strict norms and rules are needed so to avoid possible violence, hence power plays a dominant role in the habitus concept. Bourdieu's "theory of cultural reproduction suggests that a lack of familiarity with the dominant culture (cultural capital) and thus the absence of the proper disposition that typically comes from such familiarity (habitus) serves as a barrier to upward mobility for youth from low socioeconomic status (SES) backgrounds" (Gaddis, 2013: 2).

Habitus also relates to the social fields through the concept of *strategy*. Social fields have been defined as a field of struggle between different forces, in which social actors improvise, strategically, different strategies to maximise their position within a given field. But agents do not come into the field with a in-depth knowledge of it, rather, they have a particular point of view from where they stand, their position. Time and experience teach the unwritten rules of the game, field, enhancing what Bourdieu calls the *feel of the game* (Maton, 2008). However, it is very important to stress that habitus does not imply a deterministic rule-following practice in the structuralist sense. It rather assumes imprecision and vagueness (Bourdieu, 1996). It is then a tendency, a disposition to act in a certain way, but never a rule-following practice regularity.

When an actor knows the rules of the game it means that habitus and field match. When habitus and fields match the strains of the structures are not felt, practices, assumptions, attitudes go without saying, are unconsciously accepted and acted, and that determines what is correct and what is not within the limits of a field matched by a given habitus (Maton, 2008). This habitus, as a disposition, a potentiality, will be revealed only in regards certain situation, and it will produce practices and attitudes. Habitus needs a trigger, depending on the stimulus of the field it will produce different practices,

sometimes even opposed results (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2005). Habitus is theoretically useful because it accounts for social reproduction of social structures from a relational social-psychological standpoint (Simon, 2011).

To sum up, habitus focuses on the ways agents act, feel, think and, in a more general idea, are. It unearths the agents' history in regards to their present actions, practices and attitudes, and therefore it is an ongoing process of active change under external and internal constraints. The choices we choose to make depend on the objective material conditions we find ourselves in, the current context, but also, depend on the choices that are visible to us due to the internal constraints of our past that shape our present. This is, choices depend on the available options (context), options visible to us and our dispositions (habitus), choices then that will shape future opportunities, making visible the ongoing process of active change (Maton, 2008).

1.4. Capital

The concept of capital might be a little confusing since it has, sort of, been hijacked by economics, turning it into a purely economical term. However, Bourdieu uses the word capital as a means to conceptualise a wider range of exchanges and transformation of assets within intricate networks in, and between, different fields (Moore, 2008). This includes economical capital in the classic sense of the term but also symbolical types of capital, such as linguistic, social, cultural, scientific, etc.

This theoretical distinction of capital brings us the possibility to understand cultural capital in terms of qualitative differences between agents within different social groups and fields (Moore, 2008). This is the capacity to draw status within a given social group or field by means of capital, whether economic and symbolic. As mentioned above, agents have different positions in a given social field according to their habitus and capital, drawing different practices, and hence giving more or less power over the social field and having more or less competence to state and set rules and practices.

Bourdieu argues that symbolical capitals, by having an unequally distribution thus drawing distinction and status upon agents and, hence, bringing social inequalities,

hierarchies and discrimination back to the field, are transubstantiated forms of economic capital (Moore, 2008), as this type of capital, the symbolic, secures direct profits of distinction (Bourdieu, 1993).

For differentiating between economic capital, which is purely commercial, and other capitals, which are symbolic capitals, it is essential, therefore, to understand that what matters is not the accumulation but the prestige that accompanies this accumulation, and that relates to the social field, habitus and the other types of capital.

It is possible to find a very good example of how this symbolic capital works in a Woody Allen's film called *Small Time Crooks*. In this film, a gang of small-fry criminals plan on robbing a bank by drilling a tunnel from a shop they rent to the safe deposit vault of the bank. Woody Allen's wife starts selling cookies in the shop so as to pretend to be a normal small business. While attempting to dig the tunnel and rob the bank Allen's wife cookies are a success and they become immensely rich. Allen and his wife then try to surround themselves with people of their economic level, this is, they surround themselves with other rich people trying to behave like them and be liked. However, having the economic capital does not mean they have the symbolic capital. Their social backgrounds are completely different and hence Allen and his wife make constantly a fool of themselves, always looking vulgar and sounding dull, being mocked by the "real" rich people. This is so because, while economic capital can be attained by a lucky chance, winning the lottery for example; symbolic capital cannot be attained as easily. Symbolical capital presupposes embodiment, exactly as habitus is formed, an adaptation to the fields, and time, in the form duration. Embodied symbolic capital requires long exposure to a given social habitus, where a sense and principles of selection, learnt by breathing it in a given environment, translate, "through inculcation, into principles of consciousness that translate into physical and cognitive propensities expressed in dispositions to acts of particular kinds", "symbolic capital is objectified as *habitus*, and is embodied realised in practice "(Moore, 2008: 111).

Two different logics play an important role in the distinction between the "legitimate culture" of the people with the symbolic capital and the vulgarity of those who do not possess it, i.e. Allen and his wife. The first logic is the *logic of association*, where an agent, an individual, makes particular choices according to his or her social background.

This is; if a person makes a certain choice, a type of book for example, he or she is likely to choose a type of music and watch a particular type of film etc. And these choices will be shared by people with a similar social background. These are statistical probabilities, in no way deterministic but generative. People with a certain social background are likely to choose the same type of cultural goods, not that they necessarily are going to, but that they probably will. The second logic is the *logic of difference*, where a person, namely *a*, would choose something partly because person *b* would not, entailing a selection that is socially and culturally connected and socially valued, with at its extremes having a selection that draws “distinction” and another one that shows “vulgarity”, thus the way we categorise the world categorises us in return (Moore, 2008).

Cultural differences and its translation in symbolic capital inequalities may be very violent, creating very strong aversions to different life-styles and thus building barriers to keep social groups out of each other ways, or to put it differently, to make sure that the distinctive, the ones with the legitimate symbolic capital do not mingle with the vulgar. The importance here is how this differentiation creates a legitimate culture, the correct taste, something that some people possess and some others do not, creating a false sense of a correct way of living (Bourdieu, 1999).

In the case of cultural capital, this accumulation of knowledge, skills, education, degrees, results in attitudes, tastes, and values that provide a certain status, and allow the individual to move with more or less ease in a given social field. This cultural capital can be divided into three subgroups (Moore, 2008).

- *Objectified* capital can be translated into objects that can be possessed, as the case of books, pictures, etc. or visited, like galleries, museums, concerts, etc.. One can only have them if the necessary habitus is possessed.
- *Embodied* cultural capital can be displayed in the form of attitudes and predispositions, it is what we might call taste for certain cultural practices that carry a certain social status. It's what is called *cultural habitus*, ie the knowledge of certain rules for enjoying certain cultural practices.

- Finally, the third group is *institutionalized* cultural capital. This capital translates into school diplomas, academic credentials, qualifications, etc. The importance of this capital is that, by its nature, it can be quantified, unlike other types of capital, and furthermore, it is highly valued by the labour market which seeks and rewards owners and possessors of this institutionalized cultural capital. This form of capital tries to inculcate a habitus that is congruent with the dominant principles of the fields where the capital exists in its objectified form. It tries to inculcate the rules of the game for situations in which the individual might find himself in (Bourdieu, 1999).

To sum up, symbolic capital, in different forms such as culture, linguistic, social or scientific, are objectified and acquired over time through a process of inculcation, thus becoming the habitus as a form of an inculcated agency and field pressure. By drawing distinction symbolic culture also brings value to the individual if his or her symbolic capital matches the legitimate culture, creating strong barriers between groups with different unequally amounts of symbolic capital distribution.

1.5. Symbolic violence and power

The relationship between social field, habitus and capital has been so far presented. Following Bourdieu's concepts and ideas the three concepts are closely linked, in a manner that one can hardly be understood without the other two. As it is, a social field is a network of relationships, a system of social positions statistically determined and in relation to each other. Habitus are the social dispositions, learnt with time and socialisation that gives the sense of the game, the unwritten rules of a given social field and hence the capacity to participate as a valid agent in a field. Capital sets the position in a field. By having more or less amount of a certain capital the agent will find himself in a better position to influence and change the rules of a field.

When habitus and field match, constraints and strains of the structure are not felt. Everything runs smoothly and the agents find the situation "normal" and "natural" as there are assumptions, understood by every participant, that go without saying (Maton,

2008). The higher the capital the agent has, the more suited for the field the habitus will be and the more distinction the agent will have, hence having a better position within the field for setting, imposing and influencing it.

However, when the habitus and field mismatch, the structure is felt in all its power and mechanisms of symbolic power are released. This is; symbolic violence. Symbolic violence is a “generally unperceived form of violence” where “systems of domination are then reproduced to the extent that the dominant and the dominated perceive these systems to be legitimate, and thus think and act in their own best interests within the context of the system itself” (Schubert, 2008: 184). Or in Bourdieu’s own words, symbolical violence is “la violencia que se ejerce sobre un agente social con su complicidad” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1995: 240) but this complicity is in general not acknowledged as this violence is not perceived as such. This violence is exerted by shaping something. Shaping an activity or a discourse as a convenient and legitimate so to allow to be presented in public is a power that can be only presented under the light of universality, morality or reason (Bourdieu, 1996).

The acceptance of this violence is carried out because symbolical power is “exercised only in so far as the person subjected to it recognises the person who exercises it as authorised to do so” (Bourdieu, 1991: 116) and consequently contributing “through his recognition, to its establishment” (Bourdieu, 1991: 116), or so to say, only the ones invested with authority are recognised as such and hence reproducing this fact by its recognition. Symbolic violence and power are the main mechanism to maintain social hierarchies and social reproduction (Busquets, 2011). Each field creates its own channels to express the legitimate discourses which are accepted by compliance. Symbolical power is therefore the capacity to generate legitimate discourses within a given field.

Symbolic violence and power implies an acceptance of the world, an acceptance of the hierarchies, inequalities and discriminations by the dominated. This acceptance is achieved by failing to understand this power as arbitrary (Bourdieu, 1991).

This sort of violence may be considered gentler than physical violence, however, its effects are equally felt and by no means less real (Schubert, 2008). As it is symbolical it

may be felt through symbolical channels such as education or cultural consumption. Bourdieu (1999) argues that class distinctions and hierarchies are not so much maintained through economical inequalities but through consumption practices and its capacity to create legitimate culture and cultural practices and hence draw distinction between the “vulgar” and the “superior”. The mismatch between habitus and field creates awkward social situations, in which the agent finds himself in “a not comfortable social setting” (Schubert, 2008: 192). Embarrassing situations from habitus/field mismatched conditions reproduce and legitimate social inequalities and the structure since they make a distinction between individuals of certain classes. Individuals that do know how to act in a given situation, the dominant, will be recognised by the dominated as superior, setting and accepting limits and borders in this hierarchy social constructed. A hierarchy that is also felt in the educational institutions, with schools using only a certain type of language and teaching only a particular type of knowledge and imposing rules and behaviours codes in which upper and middle class members are already familiar with by having the appropriate cultural capital. Thus working class kids who lack the legitimate capital have a tendency to fail in school. But school is supposed to treat all students equally and hence working class kids are blamed for their lack of success and referred as intellectually and socially inferior, even though their lack of success is due to their social position and the inequalities derived from it (Schubert, 2008).

Mechanisms through which these inequalities are felt may be strongly found in the language and the creation of a legitimate language. As Bourdieu states “(t)odo intercambio lingüístico contiene la *potencialidad* de un acto de poder, más aún cuando involucra a agentes que ocupan posiciones asimétricas en la distribución del capital relevante” (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2005: 211). And, as already mentioned, the distinction between legitimate language and vulgar language is a string mechanism. Also, the access to the legitimate language is unequal, as it is a form of symbolic capital. Certain classes do not possess the skills and capacity to use a certain kind of language in a certain situation, this is, the peasant who states that he cannot run for mayor of his village because he can’t speak (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2005). The official language, or the legitimate language, is bound up with the state with obligatory

officiality in schools, political institutions, public administrations, etc. and it becomes the measure of linguistic practices (Bourdieu, 1991).

In regards journalism, especially neighbourhood journalism, it seems clear that, due to the formal and corporate characteristics of the neighbourhood press, its journalists might suffer the consequences of the symbolical violence. By not complying to the standard rules of mainstream journalism, by not having the necessary capital, and in this case it can be both symbolic and economic, etc. neighbourhood press and neighbourhood journalists may be under the influence of symbolical violence, regarding this press as a second class press or the journalists as “not really journalists”. Also, as it has been discussed before, the way immigration is treated by journalists, both general and neighbourhood, is a form of symbolical violence.

1.6. Social Field Analysis

The social field analysis is a key part in the investigation, since, as it will be discussed in the goals and sample chapter, the main goal of it is to understand how the journalistic field of the neighbourhood journalists works. However, studying a social field is not a matter of a simple method.

A social field can be understood as a net of positions and their objective relationships (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2005). These positions within the net and their objective relationships need an empiric investigation, it is not possible to know how a social field works and is set without studying it empirically. Every field in every given moment is different, but it is also based on real decisions and situations constructed and reconstructed constantly and hence the need of empirical investigation is clear.

An analysis of a social field requires an analysis of the field itself and its position in relation to the field of power. Its proximity, or its distance, to the field of power affects the autonomy of the field. The closer a field is to the field of power the less autonomy it has, and the farther a field is to the field of power the more autonomy it has.

But a social field is not an imposed concept, it is constructed. The construction of a social field deals with the limits of it. The limits of a social field are found where the effects of it cease to affect. Within a social field then, the objective relationships of the positions are established (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2005). It is key for a social field analysis to understand and draw a map of the objective structures of the relationships between the different given positions of the different actors, players or institutions that compete to impose their authority in the field.

These actors, agents, players, institutions, act within the field in a certain way, just as the footballers play following the rules of the sport (and sportsmanship). This way of acting is given by the field and affects the position in the field; it determines the position of a given agent in a given field. The objective relationships between the different actors cannot be understood without understanding what determines them, this is, the *habitus*. This *habitus* is acquired and interiorised and results in a certain field positions, in a trajectory in the field, more or less favourable to affect it, to change it.

The analysis of a social field must be done from a constructivist and structuralist standpoint. This is so since the social field must be reconstructed by the researcher and it is, also, socially constructed through interactions between agents (agents being individuals or institutions). But the field is highly structured and structuring, this is, it has a given structure that, at the same, structures the agents within the field to act in a certain manner and take certain positions in it (Bourdieu, 1994).

The journalistic field of the neighbourhood journalists, and its objective relationships, positions, habitus, capitals, etc. may be arisen through a series of in depth interviews with key participants of the field. The interviews will try to answer the investigative questions and the goals set for the investigation, or, so to say, understand the journalistic field of the neighbourhood press.

The social field is a relational concept, not understood for example from a structuralist point of view because it is constructed, but neither can it be explained from a constructivist standpoint for the reason that it is also structured and structurant. Multiple

correspondence analysis⁷ offers a relational technique that fits well into the relational concepts of social field (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2005), habitus and capital (Grenfell, 2008). Through multiple correspondence analysis a set of variables can be tested in relation to each other, also having the capacity to draw ideal types in the Weberian sense. It displays graphically sets of data from a contingency table (Gatrell, Popay & Thomas, 2004). It is also important to clarify that, even though multiple correspondence analysis may be the main statistic technique, regression techniques might be necessary in order to quantify the “effect of one or more variables on an outcome variable” (Gatrell, Popay & Thomas, 2004: 251).

However it must be clarified that this statistical technique is not strictly necessary for the social field analysis and its use depends on the capacity to deal with the given amount of data. A big amount will require of statistical techniques to make sense of the information whereas a small amount, or a manageable amount, does not need a statistical technique and the interpretation of the data can be done without it.

⁷ Correspondence analysis is a statistic technique that allows a visual representation of the rows and columns of a two way contingency table (Philips, 1995). It was used by Bourdieu in *Distinction* (1999) setting its prominent use in the field theory research, providing, through the use of this technique, a visual representation of the determinants of cultural taste, the relationship between cultural and economical capital, cultural discrimination, etc. This technique is a multivariate technique designed to “explore the relationships within and between two or more categorical variables” (Sourial et al., 2010: 639), it is then, an appropriate technique or method for the analysis of categorical data since it produces visual results, a visual representation of the relationship between the row and the column categories on a two dimensional map, providing the possibility to suggest unexpected dimensions and relationships between categories (Philips, 1995; Greenacre, 2000), this visual representation shows how the different categories are related (Souril et al, 2010). It has the great advantage that it works generally with qualitative variables, with the possibility of adding some quantitative variables (Lozares & López, 2000). Qualitative variables are non ordering variables, cannot be measured and are only classified based on their attributes.

2. Immigration and Journalism

2.1. Defining the concept of immigration

Immigrant as a concept is a social position hard to describe as it is not always found in official statistics. Juridically, the valid position is foreigner. But this word does not carry the same signification as immigrant. Foreigner and immigrant do not stand in the same place when describing people in a social context, that is, to speak of foreigners and to speak of immigrants means to speak of two different social groups. In 2011 and 2013 Britons showed different attitudes towards high-skilled and low-skilled workers, clearly favouring the former and having much more negative attitudes towards the latter (Blinder, 2014) showing how different attitudes towards people of different origins can be easily found while at the same time being explained by different variables other than merely the origin. Other concepts add confusion to this already confusing situation. Concepts such as migrants, asylum seekers or refugees might also be used to refer to a population that might coincide with what a definition of immigrant could be (Anderson & Blinder, 2014; Baker et al, 2008). Also the use of different variables to define immigration helps complicating this situation. Variables such as country of birth, nationality or length of stay might be used to extract immigrants' data, but it produces significant differences between the sets of data depending on which variable is used (Anderson & Blinder, 2014). A correct and concrete definition of what is understood by immigrant is, hence, clearly necessary, otherwise these different concepts and variables end up making a conceptual mess hard to disentangle. Even within the European Union there are different methods to calculate migrations to and from EU states. Some of them use census or sample surveys, others aliens registers and some use surveys on borders or household surveys. Consequently there isn't a correct estimation of the number of immigrants within the borders of the European Union and thus there is a miscalculation of immigrants within each state (De Beer, Raymer, Van der Erf & Van Wissen, 2010). This shows how difficult it is to state what an immigrant is and to calculate official immigration statistics given that different European states use different methods, different concepts and different variables, hence hampering the understanding of the concept as such and making it difficult to actually compare sets of data. However, as

Enrique Santamaria (2002) points out, the European Union does have a common concept to define a specific kind of immigrant, the concept of *non European Union immigrant*, though it does not discriminate enough. It is based on the status of the country of origin in regards to the European Union, a status that might change overtime and thus impede comparisons between different periods. It also does not take into account the different cultural and economic differences between states within the European Union and their relationships. This is important because, as it will be argued here, immigrant is a social position that carries different significations that go beyond the juridical matters.

What defines a foreigner is his or her nationality. As Sònia Parella (2005) states a foreigner is someone who holds a nationality different to the nationality of the state he or she lives in. In our case a foreigner is anyone who is not Spanish. As it is seen, the concept of foreigner by being defined only by nationality does not discriminate by class, or status, or even by place of birth as this concept does not take into consideration new Spanish nationals. By using only one variable, foreigner as a concept puts a mass of different people within its conceptual borders, so that official demographic statistics show figures of foreign born population where highly paid multinational managers or retired people can be found among peripheral country born hand workers or caretakers. It clearly does not narrow down enough to show exactly what the differences between its components are. Again, *foreigner* only shows people who hold a non-Spaniard passport. But, would a peripheral country born Spanish national not be considered an immigrant? Or should children of peripheral country born Spanish nationals with Spanish nationality be considered immigrants? Both these situations are a clear result of the immigration and the least we could say is that in some cases these people would still be considered immigrants, whether they should be considered immigrants is a different matter. It is clear that *immigrant* as a social position carries a different meaning and nationality is only one of the variables but it is not in any case the central variable. Although there is no official immigrant record in official statistics we need to construct this concept with the purpose of understanding better what an immigrant is.

However, immigrant as a concept “ens remet al lloc de naixement – persones que s’han desplaçat per viure, de forma temporal o estable, en un altre país- i no només a la

nacionalitat” (Parella, 2005: 200). This concept again is too wide and does not show exactly what the social position of the immigrant represents. Consequently we need to draw a line between immigration as a concept that refers to mobility and immigration as a social position that carries a different meaning and significances.

For constructing immigration as a social position it is central to keep in mind the key role of culture, this is, cultural differences as position markers in the social spectrum, and of economic motivations due to the origin from extracomunitary countries. (Calvet, 2004) We can understand then that, blending the three variables (culture, economy and extracomunitary origins), *immigration* as a social position is greatly linked to social status and social recognition and these three variables do not offer highly recognised statuses or so to say, being a *foreigner* and having a different culture from an extracomunitary country for economic motivations does not give greatly recognised statuses.

Sònia Parella (2003) offers a similar definition but adds another subtle variable that helps towards the construction of the definition of this social position. Although she focuses on immigrant women her definition could be applied to immigrants in general. Using her definition it could be said that an *immigrant* is the social position of a person from a peripheral country who, through labour migration, emigrates to a central country for labour economical reasons. It is important to stress the fact that an immigrant migrates due to labour economical reasons and consequently a rich national of a *peripheral country* living abroad in a *central country* cannot be considered an *immigrant*. This social position can be left and *immigrants* might find the way to become *foreigners*, or even *nationals*. This definition stresses again the weight of origin as a social position marker and the importance in this social positioning in being considered an *immigrant* or a *foreigner*, although this last concept offers a different point of view by adding the concept of *peripheral country* instead of extracomunitari country. A country that is underdeveloped in political, social and economical terms in relation to another country will be understood as a *peripheral country*. Obviously, *peripheral countries* can be seen as such depending on its context and its associations or relationships with other countries. This way some nationals from Poland, even though they are nationals from a European Union state, can be considered immigrants in some

Western European Union states, and not be considered as such in some other places, depending on the relationship of Poland with other states in terms of economic and political importance. Again, this could be seen in the way Xavier Garcia Albiol treated Romanian and Romani Romanian nationals in 2011 local elections in Badalona. Romania is a member of the EU since 2007 and therefore not nationals of an *extracomunitary* country but probably nationals of a *peripheral country* in economic and political terms.

Hence, based on Parella's (2003, 2005) definition and adding Calvet's (2004) idea of culture as a marker, *immigrant* can be understood as a social position of a person from a *peripheral country*, with its implications in culture as a *social position marker*, that has emigrated to a *central country* due to labour economical reasons.

Another aspect of *immigration* as a social position is the relationship of the *immigrants* with the labour market. *Immigrants* tend to find jobs in unqualified positions as a result of the assumption that they do not hold any qualification, consequently under valuating their knowledge and the value of their labour force (Moreno, 2007). It is true though that, *immigrants* in general, have a lower level of qualification than the native population (Muñoz de Bustillo & Antón, 2010), which does not mean that *immigrants* do not hold qualifications and diplomas at all. This situation leads them to low-skilled, badly paid jobs with a higher factor of instability (Muñoz de Bustillo & Antón, 2010; Okkerse, 2008; Sassen, 1998) which places migrants in a more vulnerable position in times of economic hardship (Godenau et al., 2010). On the other hand, these immigrants find a job in occupational niches that the native population do not want to fill, increasing the necessity of immigrant population to cover these vacancies (Moreno, 2007; Sassen, 1998; Vargas et al., 2009). They are used as *reserve army* workers and are pushed towards the lowest steps of the labour ladder because of a segmented labour market (Solé, 2000).

Findings show how immigrants do not in general come from the lower classes in their country of origin, they do not find themselves in a situation of unemployment before they migrate either (Cortes, 2015). Migration needs resources of different kinds, not only money but an amount of social and cultural capital too, to be able to start again in a different country (Muñoz de Bustillo & Antón, 2010). Although these migrants might

not come from a low class, or from a poor country, we should not understand that they are not part of a low class in their new society. It is hard to see how someone can leave everything in their lives behind, in their country of origin, to start again in a different country with fewer opportunities, working in low qualified and badly paid jobs, having broken social ties, etc. and not go straight to the bottom of the social ladder.

An explanation for this fact may be the *theory of human capital* where immigrants are positioned at the bottom of the labour market because they lack basic social knowledge such as a strong command of the language or the social rules of the new society. This lack of knowledge leads them to a *subordinate incorporation* in the labour market, not because of an active discrimination by the new society but because of a low degree of social knowledge. The *theory of social capital* adds more aspects to this point of view. Some migrants live in social isolation, not interacting with people from other origins, and thus find it hard to use economic, cultural, social or relational resources in their everyday lives, resources that are necessary in creating strong bonds through which jobs can be found (Zanfrini, 2004).

The situation of the immigrants is different from what a press full of stereotypes shows it is. Researches show that immigrants lose their social capital when they migrate, but once arrived and settled at the new country immigrants try to create new social networks of help and solidarity (Huertas, 2012; Lynam, 1985; Salaff & Greve, 2004). These processes of adaptation to the new environment and culture have gender differences (Huertas, 2012) as well as the social networks have gender differences, where men associate social networks with the work and community sphere, while women associate the social network with work and family spheres, often failing in the work sphere (Salaff & Greve, 2004). These social networks, in the case of women, provide necessary services that may be taken for granted in their country of origin but lost in the process of migrating, such as child care or information about the host country. Various support groups can be found within these social networks. First, a "parental" circle, which does not have to be of the same family, in which women find other members who have a common sense of belonging. The second circle is the "insiders" circle, people that women think can understand them, even if on grounds of religion and ethnicity. Finally, the "outsiders" circle is the bunch of resources that women did not

know existed or previously could not understand. Government resources like lunch time grants can be found among them (Lynam, 1985). The differences between roles assumed in different circumstances or situations, family, work, leisure, etc. in the new society in contrast to the country of origin make these social networks provide social capital and relational capital that helps immigrant women join and understand their new life.

These three circles in which immigrant women fall can be viewed as three stages in the progressive integration into the new reality without losing a circle once it goes into another. Thus the first circle, the "parental" would be the first circle to foster immigrant women, and provides the first knowledge of the environment. The second circle, the "insider" circle, widens the frame of reference and helps to better understand the functioning and the social norms of the new social reality. Finally, the third circle provides full knowledge of the new world into which immigrants are inserted. In addition, these different circles offer different resources and immigrant women expect different resources from them, while accepting different roles within each of the circles (Lynam, 1985). This gradual acceptance of different circles does not mean in any case immigrants lose their identity, these circles show a progressive understanding of the world around them through the support networks that every circle provide.

Recent trends of migration have shed light on the feminisation of the migrating processes (Acharya, 2010), although this feminisation is a long standing, though not regular, trend in the history of migrations (Vause & Toma, 2015). It is clear that each migrating process has its own particular characteristics that explain the situation, however, some aspects of this process have been explained in order to offer a greater understanding of this event. In this way, the feminisation of the migrating process can be defined as a change in the gender ratio among foreign-born populations with a higher percentage of the women in the share of the migration stream, also altering the gender composition of the migration flows changing the position of women as dependent migrants to autonomous economic agents (Vause & Toma, 2015). This feminisation has produced specifically female patterns of migration in the form of domestic workers and caregivers, migration and trafficking of women as sex workers and the careful migration of women for marriage as an outcome of the feminisation of poverty and the

feminisation of the world labour market (Acharya, 2010). As a consequence, this process is strongly linked to a patriarchic society in which the reproductive labour is not shared equally between heterosexual couples but transferred to female migrant workers as a sort of “reserve army” when women access the productive labour market which brings an ethnicisation of domestic and care work (Parella, 2003). This situation is also enhanced by policies and patterns of migration carried out by states (Gil & González-Fernández, 2014) like the global care chains in which a woman in the first world fills her need of child care by hiring a migrant woman who then needs to have someone else taking care of her children or the global nursing care chains with more developed structures and institutions that move nurses from a developing country to a developed one (Vaattinen, 2014). This migration of nurses and care workers is fed by traditional gender norms and cultural stereotypes as this field of work is enforced by the international labour market norms resulting in a threat to the autonomy of girls and women by constraining their imaginations and choices in terms of a career (Eckenwiler, 2014). The legal status of the migrant women may also affect their autonomy pushing them towards the domestic and care work, situation in which the migration policies are felt by the migrant women playing a powerful role in their access to the labour market (Gutierrez-Rodríguez, 2014). It is important to state that the feminisation of the migrating processes is not a universal trend, with a highly feminised migrant population from Latin American, East and Southeast Asia and the opposite in the migrant trends from Africa and South Asia (Vause & Tome, 2015).

Through time *immigration* as a concept has gained negative meaning thanks in part to media. Media are important as a transmitter of stereotypes or concerns, it forges perceptions, values, shows what is dangerous, etc. (Martínez-Brawley & Gualda, 2009; Rodrigo, 2006). Media essentialise the differences between locals and immigrants showing cultural differences as *our* culture and *their* culture and presenting cultures as basically separate groups with no opportunity to mix and mingle. Media, also, construct stereotypes, uniforms different identities and cultures through the word *immigrant* and sets a series of adjectives to describe immigrants as *them* so as to separate them of the implied *us* (Bernárdez, 2007). And with this power media becomes a generator of definitions for “political facts and public policy problems” (Abu-Laban & Garber, 2005:

524) and therefore shaping not only thoughts and minds but as well shaping the future policies and constructing what is a problem and what is not.

This process of *otherness* (Rodrigo, 2006) creates different groups within a society. These groups are subject to *stereotyping* and are given *identities*. The next chapters deal with these processes from a theoretical point of view, by reviewing these processes of characterisation, and from a research based point of view, by reviewing articles and researches about depictions and potrayals of immigrants in the media.

2.2. Immigration in Barcelona

Barcelona has its own kind of immigration or foreign population due to not only its economic needs but to its own attraction to foreign people who want to move out of their country and spend some time abroad in Barcelona. These foreign people looking for a place to live for a while, maybe working or studying, tend to be Europeans or Americans from the United States of America thus not fitting our definition of an *immigrant* but the number of them is in some cases so big that they should at least be mentioned when talking about foreign population in Barcelona.

The main documents used for this anlysis are, the Barcelona Council statistical report “La població estrangera a Barcelona, Gener 2012” and “La Població estrangera a Barcelona, Gener 2013” written by Statistics Department of the council and “Perfils sociodemogràfics dels principals col·lectius presents a Catalunya” published by the Welfare and Family Department of the Catalan government.

Barcelona had as of January 2013 280.047 foreigners living within the city, representing a 17.4% of the total population, a higher rate than the whole of Catalonia with 1.183.907 foreigners representing a 15.6% of the population. In both cases this foreign population is not evenly distributed along the territory, having some parts of the city or the country a higher or a lower rate. In this particular case it can be seen how Barcelona is 1.8% above the Catalan average.

Table 1: Foreign Population

	Population	% over population
Barcelona	280.047	17.4
Catalonia	1.183.907	15.6

Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona i Generalitat de Catalunya. Own elaboration.

When observing the main nationalities that are present in Barcelona it might be shocking to find out that the Italians were the foreigners with a greater number of nationals in the city of Barcelona, in 2012, a fact that was observed as well in 2009 and 2010. In 2012 the Pakistanis were the second nationality in terms of number of people living in Barcelona, behind the Italians and immediately followed by China, Ecuador and Bolivia.

Table 2: Nationalities with the highest presence in Barcelona

Country	2011	2012	Growth rate
Italy	22.909	24.256	5.9
Pakistan	23.281	21.637	-7.1
China	15.875	16.128	1.6
Ecuador	15.511	13.688	-11.8
Bolívia	14.154	13.463	-4.9
Morocco	13.674	13.214	-3.4
France	11.922	12.708	6.6
Perú	13.464	12.506	-7.1
Colòmbia	12.328	11.550	-6.3
Philipines	8.482	8.724	2.9

Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona. Own elaboration.

There was an increase of the number of foreigners in Barcelona in the year 2012, going from a 17.3% to a 17.4%. However this increase did not follow the general trend of decrease started in the year 2009 when foreigners represented the 18.1% of the population. As of 2014 foreigners represent the 16.7% of the total population of Barcelona. In terms of absolute values we can see how Italy is the country with a major number of foreigners that moved to Barcelona in 2012 with an increase of 1.347

Italians, representing a 6.9%, followed by China, with 253 people migrating and an increase of 1.6%, France, with 786 people and the Philipines with 242 a 2.9%.

Table 3: Nationalities with a higher increase in absolute values in 2012

Country	Population
Itàly	1.347
France	786
UK	519
Honduras	496
Germany	332
Russia	294

Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona. Own elaboration.

It is interesting to note how only one of the five nationalities with the highest increase in absolute values is a non European country, Honduras, which might point out the difference between foreigners and immigrants and the way they were hit by the economic crisis. A position reinforced by the nationalities with the highest decrease in absolut terms.

Table 4: Nationalities with a higher decrease in absolute values 2012

Country	Population
Ecuador	-1.823
Pakistan	-1.644
Peru	-958
Colombia	-778
Bolivia	-691

Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona. Own elaboration.

The nationalities with the highest decrease in absolute terms are in the first place Ecuador, with -1.823 followed by Pakistan with -1.644, Peru with -958, Colombia with -778 and Bolivia with -691. As mentioned, the fact that the five nationalities with the highest decrease in absolut terms are non European might reinforce the difference

between foreigners and immigrants, showing how the economic crisis affected the latter in a higher degree than the former.

Table 5: Nationalities with a higher decrease in relative values 2012

Country	Growth rate
Nepal	-12.3
Ecuador	-11.8
Ghana	-10.4
Nigeria	-8.4
Tunisia	-8.2

Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona. Own elaboration.

The exact same situation can be found when check by relative terms, with three of the five nationalities being European.

Comparing official data from Catalonia and Barcelona big differences can be seen. As it was shown earlier Pakistanis are the nationality with the highest amount of nationals in Barcelona but this is not the case in the whole of Catalonia, being the Moroccans the nationality with a greater amount of people, with 244.264 compared to 47.772 of Pakistanis. Almost half of the Pakistani population lived in Barcelona, 22.342 of 47.772. Morocco does represent an important foreign population in Barcelona being the sixth nationality in absolute terms, with 13.674 Moroccans. Romanians, though, live more evenly and widely spread throughout the country, with only 6.529 Romanians living in Barcelona out of the 104.081 that can be found in Catalonia. However, again in the third place Ecuadorians are found in both Barcelona and Catalonia, with a fourth of their total residing in the city, 17.966 of 66.278. Bolivian, Chinese, Colombian, French and Peruvian population reside in Barcelona in about a fourth or a third of their total population living in Catalonia. The only exception to this rule being the Pakistani and Italian population with about half of them living in Barcelona and Moroccan and Romanian nationals living more evenly spread throughout Catalonia.

Table 6: Ten main nationalities in Catalonia 2011

Country	Population
Marroc	244.264
Romania	104.081
Equador	66.278
Bolívia	54.323
Xina	50.336
Itàlia	49.361
Pakistan	47.772
Colòmbia	45.294
França	34.152
Perú	33.152

Source: Generalitat de Catalunya. Departament de Benestar i Família. Own elaboration.

It is important to note that many of the foreigners live in the surroundings of Barcelona thus not living in the city itself but live close enough to be able to work there if needed. As an example, Ecuadorian people live primarily in Barcelona, followed by Hospitalet de Llobregat, Sabadell, Cornellà de Llobregat, Terrassa, Santa Coloma de Gramenet, Badalona, etc. All these cities are very close to Barcelona, and do not exclude the possibility of working there.

Table 7: Total and average of foreigners by district in 2012

District	Population	% over foreigners	% over district population
Ciutat Vella	43.944	15,7	42,6
Eixample	48.917	17,5	18,5
Sants-Montjuïc	36.171	12,9	19,9
Les Corts	9.348	3,3	11,5
Sarrià-Sant Gervasi	16.185	5,8	11,1
Gràcia	18.542	6,6	15,4
Horta-Guinardó	21.240	7,6	12,7
Nou Barris	26.739	9,5	16,2
Sant Andreu	18.646	6,7	12,7
Sant Martí	36.571	13,1	15,7
no consta	3.744	1,3	

Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona. Own elaboration.

Foreigners have not distributed themselves evenly throughout Barcelona either. There are some districts more heavily populated by foreigners than others, as within districts

there are some neighbourhoods more heavily populated by foreigners than others. Talking about districts the Eixample is the district with a higher percentage of the foreigners in Barcelona, with 17,5%, Ciutat Vella follows with a 15,7%, Sants-Montjuïc and Sant Martí with 12,9% and 13,1% of the foreign population, Nou Barris with 9,5%, Horta-Guinardó with 7,6% and Sant Andreu, Gràcia, Sarrià-Sant Gervasi and Les Corts with 6,7%, 6,6%, 5,8% and 3,3% respectively. However, this figures show only the distribution of the foreigners and not how densely these districts are populated with foreigners. The next figures will be of more interest since they show the internal density of each district and therefore showing how populated with foreigners these districts are regarding their own population.

Keeping in mind that the foreign rate in Barcelona is 17.4% of the total population the rate of each district will be presented and compared to each one of them. The district with a higher foreign rate is Ciutat Vella, with a 42.6% of its population being foreigners. Sants-Montjuïc has a 19.9% followed by Eixample with a 18.5%. A difference can be already seen with the percentage over the total foreign population. These three districts have a foreign rate higher than that of Barcelona. Nou Barris, with 16.2%, is 1.2% below the average. Gràcia and Sant Martí are between one and two points below the average, with 15.4% and 15.7%. Sant Andreu, Horta-Guinardó with 12.7% and 12.7% and Les Corts and Sarrià-Sant Gervasi with 11.5% and 11.1%. The ranking of the districts by foreign rate is the following.

Table 8: Foreign Rate District Ranking 2012

District	% district population
Ciutat Vella	42,6
Sants-Montjuïc	19,9
Eixample	18,5
Barcelona	17,4
Nou Barris	16,2
Sant Martí	15,7
Gràcia	15,4
Sant Andreu	12,7
Horta-Guinardó	12,7
Les Corts	11,5
Sarrià-Sant Gervasi	11,1

Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona. Own elaboration.

The next tables show the distribution of foreigners by neighbourhood rather than district.

Table 9: Foreign rate by neighbourhoods in Ciutat Vella district 2012

Neighbourhood	Rate
El Raval	50.0
El Barri Gòtic	39.7
La Barceloneta	30.6
Sant Pere, Santa Caterina i la Ribera	38.5

Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona. Own elaboration.

Ciutat Vella has an extremely high foreign rate and consequently its neighbourhoods have extremely high rates too. El Raval is the neighbourhood with the highest rate with half of the population being foreigners. The other neighbourhoods have around one third of foreign population. It is important to note that 8.7% of the total foreign population live in El Raval more than four points higher than the second neighbourhood of the city which is El Poble Sec – Parc Montjuïc with 4.5% of the total foreign population.

Table 10: Foreign rate by neighbourhoods in Sants-Montjuïc district 2011

Neighbourhood	Rate
El Poble Sec - Parc Montjuïc	30.6
La Marina del Prat Vermell - Zona Franca	9.4
La Marina de Port	13.8
La Font de la Guatlla	18,9
Hostafrancs	22.2
La Bordeta	13,9
Sants - Badal	17,8
Sants	17,3

Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona. Own elaboration.

As mentioned above El Poble Sec – Parc Montjuïc is the second neighbourhood with a higher rate of foreigners out of the total but as well it is a neighbourhood with a really high internal rate with a 30.6% of its own population being foreigners. La Marina del Prat Vermell – Zona Franca, La Marina de Port have a lower rate compared to the other neighbourhoods and compared to the general rate of the district with 9.4%, 13.8%, if

these two neighbourhoods are understood as one entity, as the newspaper of La Marina does, its rate of foreign people is 13.6%.

Table 11: Foreign rate by neighbourhoods in Eixample district 2012

Neighbourhood	Rate
El Fort Pienc	19.3
La Sagrada Família	18.0
La Dreta de l'Eixample	18.8
L'Antiga Esquerra de l'Eixample	19.5
La Nova Esquerra de l'Eixample	16.9
Sant Antoni	19.7

Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona. Own elaboration.

In the case of the Eixample there are three neighbourhoods that have really similar rates, El Fort Pienc with 19.3%, l'Antinga Esquerra de l'Eixample with 19.5% and Sant Antoni with 19.7%.

Table 12: Foreign rate by neighbourhoods in Nou Barris district 2012

Neighbourhood	Rate
Vilapicina i la Torre Llobeta	13,4
Porta	14.4
El Turó de la Peira	23.4
Can Peguera	5.3
La Guineueta	7.7
Canyelles	5,1
Les Roquetes	21,1
Verdun	18.1
La Prosperitat	14.9
La Trinitat Nova	18.3
Torre Baró	10,4
Ciutat Meridiana	32.7
Vallbona	14.2

Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona. Own elaboration.

Nou Barris shows stronger differences between neighbourhoods. Can Peguera for example has only a 4.4% of foreign population whereas Ciutat Meridiana has a 35.6%. Out of the thirteen neighbourhoods five of them have a foreign rate higher than the

average of the city, Ciutat Meridiana, El Turó de la Peira, Les Roquetes, La Trinitat Nova and Verdun (32.7%, 23.4%, 21.1%, 18.3% and 18.1%).

In a more socio-demographical approach it can be seen how the biggest age group is the one between 25 and 39 years old, followed by the 40 to 64 years old with a 25.4%. According to the Barcelona council the average age for foreigners in Barcelona is 33 years old. This is so because migrations are primarily labour related.

Table 13: Foreigners age in Barcelona 2012

Age	Rate
Children 0 to 14	11.1
Young 15 to 24	11.7
Adults 25 to 39	49.3
Adults 40 to 64	25.4
Old people 65 or more	2.5

Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona. Own elaboration.

Table 14: Average foreigners age by district and main nationalities with internal rate 2012

District	Average age	Main nationality and rate
BARCELONA	33	Italy 8,7 Pakistan 7,7 China 5,8
Ciutat Vella	32	Pakistan 16,5 Philippines 11,1 Italy 9,2
Eixample	34	Italy 12,1 China 9,8 France 6,2
Sants - Montjuïc	32	Pakistan 10,1 Italy 6,7 China 6,3
Les Corts	34	Italy 9,4 France 8,9 Colombia 5,6
Sarrià - Sant Gervasi	36	Italy 12,9 France 11,4 Germany 5,2
Gràcia	33	Italy 14,3 France 7,0 Colombia 4,2
Horta - Guinardó	32	Ecuador 7,6 Bolivia 7,4 Peru 7,1
Nou Barris	31	Ecuador 12,3 Bolivia 9,4 Honduras 8,1
Sant Andreu	32	Ecuador 8,8 Peru 8,5 China 8,3
Sant Martí	32	Pakistan 9,9 Italy 8,6 China 7,9

Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona. Own elaboration.

The majority of foreigners in Barcelona in 2011 were males, 51.2% opposed to 48.8% of females. This is not a strong difference but there are probably differences by nationality since immigrants from South America tend to be female in most cases (Muñoz de Bustillo & Antón, 2010).

As stated before *immigrants* do not have to have no qualifications *per se*. Table number 15 shows how 40.2% of foreigners in Barcelona have secondary school level or college degree and a 31.0% have a university degree or a high college degree. It is clear then that foreigners in Barcelona do hold qualifications.

Table 15: Qualification level of foreign population in Barcelona 2011

Level of qualifications	%
No qualification	2,4
Primary school	26,4
Secondary school/CFGM	40,2
University level/CFGS	31

Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona. Own elaboration.

Nonetheless table 15 shows us figures for *foreigners* and not exactly for *immigrants* since Italians for example, the most prevalent foreign nationality in terms of population in Barcelona, are included and distort the figures.

Table 16: Corrected level of qualifications of foreign population in Barcelona in 2011⁸

Level of qualifications	%
No qualification	2,78
Primary school	34,04
Secondary school/CFGM	57,15
University level/CFGS	23,56

Source: Ajuntament de Barcelona. Own elaboration.

Table number 16 shows modified figures for each level of qualifications. This table has been constructed excluding foreigners living in Barcelona from *central* parts of the world such as North America, Japan, Oceania, UE 25 and rest of Europe. In this table an

⁸ Foreigners from UE25, Rest of Europe, North America, Japan and Oceania have been excluded.

increase in primary school and secondary school level can be seen. A decrease in university level is also noticeable. Table 16 then, might provide with a better picture of what the situation regarding qualifications can be for *immigrants* without *foreigners* distorting figures.

2.3 Explanatory theories of the construction of otherness

All groups are thought in a certain way. It is a human trait to characterise and categorise differences and turn them into attributes that might or might not match reality. Immigrants, as previously discussed, do present certain differential characteristics, whether physical, cultural or in terms of social class, that might make them stand out as a differentiated social group, understanding this big and diverse social group through the definition of immigrant already stated, hence the importance to understand and review these processes of characterisation.

An interesting theoretical frame to this approach can be found in Erving Goffman's book *Stigma* written originally in 1963. In his book, Goffman describes from a sociological point of view how society categorises people through their characteristics and identity and how this social construction can stigmatise people that do not fit in the general description of normality.

The author differentiates between the *virtual social identity*, assumptions and characters that are imputed, and the *actual social identity*, "(t)he category and attributes he could in fact be proved to possess"(Goffman, 1963: 12), or so to say, the difference between what we think of people and what they think of themselves. From the moment someone is aware of the difference between them and the stigmatised, they imply and attribute a sense of inferiority to the stigmatised subject, the "normal" person is superior because of the lack of a stigma, whereas the stigmatised one must be therefore inferior since he/she has a stigma, and it follows that when an interactive situation is encountered "(t)he stigmatized individual may find that he feels un-sure of how we normals will identify him and receive him"(Goffman, 1963: 24).

This is done through two concepts coined by Goffman. The first term, *cognitive recognition*, “refer(s) to the perceptual act of ‘placing’ an individual, whether as having a particular social identity or a particular personal identity”(Goffman, 1963: 85), that is, applying a given social or personal identity to an individual without an interaction. On the other hand the concept of *social recognition* requires interaction and mutual recognition, it is “necessary reciprocal” (Goffman, 1963: 85) which means that a two way recognition is necessary for this process. It is clear that, applied to our investigation, when media talks about immigration, or the immigrants in general, a *virtual social identity* is given to them. They are much more than just immigrants, for instance they could be something a little less general like our neighbours, the same way everyone is more than just one adjective or as Rodrigo and Medina (2009) put it, identity changes depending on the context and situation. And this is done through a *cognitive recognition* of their existence, only knowing of their existence without granting them a *social recognition*. But interestingly enough, “the more often they have a long conversation with a foreigner, the less negative the perception of the out-group is”(Checa & Arjona, 2011: 144). It could be said then that, when talking about the immigrants or immigration we are applying our prejudgements, situation that differs when an actual interaction is held going from a negative perception to a positive one.

Media use some of these mechanisms to create *social representations*. These *social representations* can be created and shared by media because they are a very important tool in creating identities, representations and spreading ideas. But these *social representations* are not created out of the blue, strong roots on popular believes will probably be found. Given that *social representations* can be created by media, amplifying a popular and historical believe, these *representations* are therefore socially constructed and constructing social imaginary and at the same time changeable and variable in time. Some of these *representations* may be positive, picturing immigration as a solution to some of the problems of developed societies, such as aging of the population, increase of the birth rate, increase and endurance of the social security, retirement plans and unemployment systems taxation, etc. (Rodrigo, 2006).

Ethnical prejudices are based on *stereotypes*, “creencias socialmente compartidas y culturalmente condicionadas” (Zanfrini, 2004: 71), and triggered by *ethnic markers* and

also by *social distance*. Based on this, the fact that some nationalities are better accepted than others can be understood. Some nationalities have stronger *ethnic markers* whether skin colour, shape of the eyes, etc. that along with *social distance*, maybe a really different culture, maybe a perception of own superiority, trigger those *stereotypes* that take form on *ethnic prejudices*. A research by Robert Ford (2011), showed how British attitudes towards immigrants are *racialised* with white migrants being preferred to non-white immigrants and as well migrants from closely linked regions suggesting some sort of reciprocity in accepting immigrants. *Stereotypes* also describe groups in a way that fit their social position and therefore make them deserve their roles in society. These *stereotypes* are used afterwards to *ethnically stratify* different groups within society (Zanfrini, 2004) because they assume one's own *ethnic group* as culturally superior (Rodrigo, 2000) and hence with the power to decide what is acceptable and what is not. These *stereotypes* give, and are given through, the *social identity*, but they are just a part of it. *Social identities* are the actual use of social practices, when these social practices and the actions that follow are at work, and require of social status to be contextualised and be made sense of and which require as well a dialectic relationship between the self and the society reflecting the social immersion (Echebarría & Gonzales, 1993). Status and discrimination are strongly linked, making representations of out-groups worse when the out-group is in a lower position than the in-group, or in other words, when the out-group has a lower status than the in-group the latter infers more negative representations to the former (Echebarría & Gonzales, 1996; Echebarría & Fernández, 2003). Identification with one's nation and the way this nation is conceived is also linked to anti-immigrant sentiments, with a correlation between higher national identification and stronger anti-immigrant sentiments (Pehrson, Vignoles & Brown, 2009).

But to deconstruct, change or erase *stereotypes* is not an easy goal, since they are profoundly rooted and widely accepted within societies and cultures (Rodrigo, n/d) and also imply a construction of one's own culture through *otherness* (Rodrigo, 2006) and because they serve a purpose by organising our social universe, justifying social differences within social order between the hegemonic culture and the minority cultures, drawing the limits of one's own culture through comparison and otherness with the other cultures and attributing individuals general characteristics (Rodrigo, 2000). A

process reinforced by media (Rodrigo & Medina, 2009). These *stereotypes* are nothing but repeated ideas and it is always important to remember that “(e)verything within thought that repeats a position without reflecting upon it, like those who from the very beginning share an author's opinion, is bad. In this attitude thought is brought to a standstill, degraded into the mere recital of what is accepted, and becomes untrue. For the thought expresses something it has not permeated yet as though it had reached its own conclusion” (Adorno, 1998: 242).

Another interesting theoretical frame is the Social Representation Theory, theory first used by Serge Moscovici in 1972, but specially Social Representation of Community linking it with Goffman's concepts.

Social Representation Theory is a theory that pretends to explain the way subjects see and interact with their environment through their ideas, beliefs, values, etc, or “social representation can be defined as the elaboration of an object by a community which enables its members to behave in a comprehensible manner and to communicate” (Nicolini, 1999: 8). Caroline Howarth gives some valuable concepts and ideas in Social Representation of Community. Through her papers we can see the role of media in constructing identities, in both the way some people see themselves and the way they are seen. “Identities are co-constructed through the shifting dialectics of self–other relations” (Howarth, 2002: 10), and in this co-construction different actors play their role. But this constructions are something in movement and “(t)he effects of this continual turning back on oneself are very different for particular social groups. For those stigmatized, questions of identity are painfully inescapable (...)” (Howarth, 2002: 10) As it has previously been discussed, media play a key role in stigmatising and giving virtual social identities, or as Howarth says “(m)any teenagers assert that the media plays a role in disseminating (...) negative representations of Brixton” (Howarth, 2002: 10).

This Social Representation leads to the creation and sedimentation of prejudices and the following attitudes, whether positive or negative depending on the status of the out-group in relation to the in-group (Echebarría & Gonzales, 1996; Echebarría & Fernández, 2003). These prejudices lead as well to other situations where social unsettling or racism might arise. However, society and its predominant discourses affect

the way these prejudices are thought and felt by the predominant group, reducing the heat of the arguments with a subtle form of them when the general norm rejects blatantly prejudiced and racist arguments and ideas (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). Arguments that imply fault and blame on the out-group or a strong need of assistance (Meyers, 2013). If blatant prejudice is “hot, close and direct”, subtle prejudice is “cool, distant and indirect” (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1997: 54) as well as focused on defending traditional values, the exaggeration of cultural differences between groups and the rejection of negative emotions in favour of positive ones towards the in-group (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). Blatant prejudice involves rejection of the out-group in formal and intimate situations whereas subtle prejudice focuses on beliefs and value differences with the out-group, rejecting negative stereotypes but assigning positive ones to the in-group (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1997). Subtle prejudice is created through the emerging social norm of rejection towards blatant prejudice and its heated arguments, by the outgrowth of “the establishment of norms that proscribe blatant expressions of prejudice and discrimination” (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1997: 55). Hence subtle prejudiced will reject blatant prejudice while still being prejudiced (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995). This rejection may be caused by having contact with a few elements that confront prejudice, such as laws, norms of social equality, etc. which are normative or of ethical nature. These elements provide with the boundaries for rejection of blatant prejudices offering at the same time the platform for a more moderate form of prejudice, legitimated by the existence of such ethical norms and laws (van Dijk, 1991). However, in situations in which the norm of rejection towards blatant prejudice does not apply, that is, in situations where there are no prejudicial reasons to use blatant prejudiced arguments, subtle prejudiced individuals will still have opinions closer to blatant prejudiced individuals (Pettigrew & Meertens, 2001). Different researches show media having a strong impact on how these prejudices are constructed and how the social hierarchy is maintained by portraying different groups in certain ways. A research by Scott Coltrane and Melinda Messineo (2000) showed the role of TV commercials on the construction of subtle forms of prejudice and the sustainability of group boundaries that come to be assumed as natural by portraying different individuals of different races in certain attitudes in a given situation. Very much in the same direction Echebarría (1997) illustrated the way newspapers can affect social prejudice: “The mass media could be

seen as indirectly responsible for raising or reducing social prejudice, depending on what kind of social topics they underline” (Echebarría, 1997: 7). The role of new information in the construction of prejudices and attitudes also shows the power of mass media in shaping people’s ideas. When an object or a situation is portrayed as dangerous the evaluations, opinions and attitudes of individuals have a tendency to be negative (Echebarría & Gonzales, 1999). Evaluations, opinions and attitudes that may be changed through the exposure to new information that may be incongruent with the previous evaluations, opinions and attitudes (Echebarría & Gonzales, 1999). An example is found in the attitudes towards Muslims in Eastern European countries with a low Muslim population. These countries have a higher level of prejudiced attitudes towards Islam and Muslims than towards immigration even though the population of Muslims is 0.4% on average. According to the authors this situation can be explained by the lack of first hand experiences with Muslims and the exposition to global news about Muslims and Islam that force them to make judgements based on international events and information from abroad rather than local and national issues (Strabac & Listhaug, 2007). Van Dijk (1993b) pointed this out as well in regards to the role of media in informing about ethnic issues to a prominently white audience with little everyday contacts and experiences with ethnic minorities, having, thus, no competition at all regarding their communicative role on the subject of ethnic affairs. An important issue to note and highlight in regards to subtle prejudice is the lack of close relationship between this specific prejudice and political conservatism, a political standpoint that does relate to blatant prejudiced attitudes and ideas, making subtle prejudice a wide situations along the whole political spectrum (Pettigrew & Meertens, 1997) as it is shown in Saroglou et al. (2009) where subtle anti-veil attitudes were found among conservatives as well as among liberals even if other variables were also important to explain the anti-veil attitudes, variables such as values and religion.

It is of key importance to understand that *race* and *ethnic* are constructed concepts closely linked to creating group self identities. In order to create self identity it is necessary to exclude the others and thus creating concepts so to separate *them* from *us* (Zanfrini, 2004). This process of *otherness*, along with processes of *subtle prejudice* and *virtual social identity* creation are important to understand the consequences of depictions by the media, especially in the case that concerns here, immigration. By

understanding and keeping in mind that identities are constructed a real comprehension of the role of the media can be achieved and hence situations of *stereotyping* can be unearthed and pointed out. The chapter that follows will discuss researches regarding the portrayal of immigrants and immigration by the media and the depictions that result of these characterisations.

2.4. Portrayals of immigration in the media: characteristics of prejudice

The relationship between media and the portrayal of immigration is a subject that has been widely studied. The characteristics of the media, with its capacity to affect the way a certain topic is depicted and understood by society and its overwhelming presence, make it an extremely important subject to research about. Also, the social position of immigration, with the prejudices cast upon them and their economic restraints, show this to be an important topic where the power of media can easily be felt. In terms of intercultural relationships it is easy to understand that for some people media might be the only intercultural contact with immigrants and hence the only medium through which migrants are seen, thought and understood. This is not to say that migrants are some kind of hard to reach group of people but as seen in the data about immigration distribution in the city of Barcelona the percentage of immigrants in the different neighbourhoods of the city varies widely, from 5% to 50%.

One of the most relevant papers regarding our investigation was written by Juan Carlos Checa and Angeles Arjona, researchers at the University of Almeria, in 2011. This paper explores the Spaniards' opinions and views of immigrants and immigration through news and articles of the two main Spanish newspapers, El Mundo and El País. They do so by, first, creating an Anti-Immigrant Sentiment Index collecting data from Análisis Sociológicos, Económicos y Políticos' (ASEP) surveys between 1995 and 2007, and second, by studying all news items referring to immigration in both aforementioned newspapers in two two-year phases, 1997-1998 and 2006-2007. Results from both methods are later crossed in order to determine whether there is a relationship between anti-immigrant feelings and news frames of immigration.

Checa and Arjona show that “(t)he initial result of the longitudinal study is the gradual increase in anti-immigrant sentiment in Spain. Whereas in 1997 the mean was 1.4, in 2007 it had risen to 2.1.” and that “from 2004 to 2007 it again increases to 2.4” (Checa & Arjona, 2011: 143). Researchers find that this sentiment is constructed because “the perceived threat created by various agents and institutions, and economic and political competition is more important in creating sentiment towards foreigners than the real population size or the unemployment rate, even when the immigration rates are relatively low, as occurred in 1997/98” (Checa & Arjona, 2011: 144).

It is worth it noting that the authors find it statistically significant that occasional contact with foreigners affects the perception of these, “the more often they have a long conversation with a foreigner, the less negative the perception of the out-group is” (Checa & Arjona, 2011: 144). This finding is of utmost importance towards our research. It shows the effect of intergroup relations towards the improvement of cohabitation and out-group stereotyping processes. Regarding to the newspapers frame for immigration, Checa and Arjona, show that in 1996-1997 65% of the news items “had a negative profile” (Checa & Arjona, 2011: 145) and that only 18% showed the positive side of immigration, rising to 69% of negative profile for the second two-year period of 2006-2007 with an increase in the positive side up to 21%. Headlines like «An Islamic centre endangers coexistence in the Babel of Extremadura» (El Mundo, 17/8/2006) or «Islamic fundamentalism and immigration threaten Europe» (El Pais, 10/10/2006) give us examples of how this process of framing might work. The increase in positive items responds, according to the authors, “to migrations over time that aroused less suspicion in journalists, especially during times of economic expansion, such as the period from 1997 to 2007” (Checa & Arjona, 2011: 145).

The authors define six new frames for the items, these being:

- 1) illegal flows of immigrants (entering the country in makeshift boats, hidden inside lorries, etc.);
- 2) immigration and social opportunities (job market, housing, social services, etc.);

- 3) processing documents and legalisation of immigrants;
- 4) immigration and delinquency (crime, mafias, etc.);
- 5) racist and xenophobic acts, and discrimination;
- 6) social integration policies (central, regional and local governments)

As a conclusion the authors state that “(t)he construction of immigration is not per se through numbers or immigration inflows but responds to a symbolic construction, the product of speeches from a variety of actors and social scenes, in which the communications media are preeminent” (Checa & Arjona, 2011: 146).

Igartua along with Humanez, Muñiz, Cheng, Mellado, Medina and Erazo (Igartua et al., 2004) add valuable information to the research just reviewed. By using the *frame theory* the investigators try to unearth the hidden frames that shape the way press talks about immigration. The investigated newspapers are *El Mundo*, *El País*, *ABC* and *La Razón* because these newspapers reach the whole Spanish state.

Using statistical techniques the authors create indicators to show the different frames used by different newspapers when talking about immigration. Seventeen statistically significant frames were identified of which the most important ones were: a) Immigration Law and the government, b) Trespassing borders by illegal immigrants in boats, c) Under age immigrants being taken care of by autonomous community governments, d) Links between immigration and delinquency, etc. e) UE borders management with the purpose of stopping illegal immigration because it is considered to be out of control and too numerous and encourage legal, hired in origin immigration. Significant differences were found between the stand points of the four different newspapers, giving them different ways to present the immigration and emphasize different aspects of the migrants and their situations even when talking about the same story (Igartua et al., 2004).

It is interesting how the authors raise the question of whether these *frames* change attitudes regarding immigration in the readers throughout a long time being exposed to

these ideas or expositions. Although it is decided not to answer the question because of a lack of information and research the path is pointed at by stating that probably this is so and it makes sense to think that it might be relevant.

Miquel Rodrigo and Manuel Martínez (1997) show how European newspapers, specifically the ones they call *elite* newspapers, have a tendency to link immigration with conflicts, presenting them as a problem. These newspapers also obviate in a great number of occasions possible circumstances and situations regarding culture that could find their place in the newspapers, focusing in negative news rather than in other more neutral ones, that is, focusing on the conflict and not on other situations. However, the authors clarify that, according to event determination rules, conflicts are more appealing than cooperation and therefore the fact that immigrants often appear linked to conflicts should be pondered on account of these event determination rules. Nonetheless the problem can be found in the non existence of articles and news regarding other aspects or situations of the immigration. This circumstance makes newspapers neglect the cultural side of the immigration, understanding cultural as customs and traditions, often either overlooking this side or paying close attention to “les caractéristiques més exòtiques o inassimilables per les cultures dominants” (Rodrigo & Martínez, 1997: 34).

Igartua, along with Cheng and other researchers (Cheng et al., 2014) decided to investigate this situation in a different kind of newspapers. For this investigation regional newspapers from Castilla-la-Mancha were chosen⁹. This article reveals very important information regarding our topic because their object of study is somewhat closer to our own object of study than nationwide press, even though it is still more widely distributed than the neighbourhood press of Barcelona. In this investigation negative *frames* regarding immigration were still found, however, these frames had an important difference regarding the *frames* in nationwide newspapers, they were given contextually. This contextualization helped to distinguish between the two kinds of newspapers aforementioned. In regional press a stronger effort to set the distinction between economical immigration, understood as good immigration, and illegal/criminal immigration, as bad immigration, was done. Also, it was come across that regional press

⁹ El Norte de Castilla, El Diario de León, La Gaceta Regional de Salamanca, Diario de Burgos and El Adelantado de Segovia.

acted like nationwide press giving a majority of news units a negative character but, unlike the latter, without tragic visual elements, and it seems that “local newspapers tend to be more community service oriented” (Cheng et al., 2014: 14).

These frames are also combined with other news and articles regarding different topics from immigration. A newspaper, obviously, does not only report news regarding immigration. However, this combination might affect the way some news are treated and presented.

Rens Vliegthart and Hajo G. Boomgaarden (2007) further this issue by researching whether news content reflects real-world factors, and if so, whether *real-world developments* or immigration-related *events* are more important in shaping the prominence of issues to do with immigration and integration of minorities in the news” (Vliegthart & Boomgaarden, 2007: 294). The authors created a rate to weigh the importance of information in Dutch newspapers between 1991 and 2002. A computer-assisted content analysis was conducted on the five most popular Dutch newspapers, *NRC Handelsblad* (1991–2002), *Algemeen Dagblad* (1992–2002), *De Volkskrant* (1995–2002), *Trouw* (1992–2002) and *De Telegraaf* (1998–2002). These monthly scores are crossed with monthly immigration and asylum application and key events, mainly key Dutch events like electoral campaigns, etc., and real-world events. Vliegthart and Boomgaarden conclude that “key events are more likely to pass the news threshold and might indeed function as journalistic prototypes for longer periods of time” (Vliegthart & Boomgaarden, 2007: 309), whereas the investigation shows “a limited direct influence of real-world developments” (Vliegthart & Boomgaarden, 2007: 309).

It can clearly be seen then that key events related with immigration have a direct impact on news items and information therefore, as shown before, affecting the construction of the image of the immigrants and immigration highlighting the importance of the media in processes of depiction and portrayal, especially in the case of groups with lower access to this media which at the same time lowers its access to influence (van Dijk, 1989, 1993a, 1995, 1999). This direct impact of events on the construction of immigration and the discourse of the media when depicting the immigrants is shown by Harald Bauder (2008). The author focuses on the media discourse in Germany between

2001 and 2005 when a new immigration law was proposed, debated, modified and finally passed.

The article starts by explaining how Germany and the Germans have gone from considering themselves as a *no immigration country*, even when having immigrants within its borders, to an *immigration country*, and the process to rethink the country leading to the passing of the new immigration law in 2005, all along with the Süßmuth Commission, a commission ordered by the German government in order to study and propose a new immigration law. The chosen sample consists on articles discussing the new law from four national newspapers and a regional newspaper, Frankfurter Zeitung, Süddeutsche Zeitung, Tageszeitung and Bild Zeitung being the national ones and Stuttgarter Zeitung the regional newspaper, going from the 4th of July 2001 to 10th of August 2004, when the Süßmuth Commission issued the final report.

Bauder uses argument analysis, studying *models of argumentation* and *schemes of thought*, called *topoi* by linguists. The analysis finds four relevant *topoi* in 609 different articles. These *topoi* are:

- . economic utility topos: migration produces economic benefits or harm;
- . danger topos: migration produces or prevents danger;
- . culture topos: migration is desirable or undesirable for ethnic and/or cultural reasons
- . humanitarian topos: migration should be permitted or denied for reasons of humanitarianism and/or human rights.

It is important to note that “(i)n all five newspapers the economic utility topos occurred more frequently than other topos. In all newspapers combined, 174 text passages applied this economic model of argumentation. In addition, the economic argument was used more frequently in a positive manner, arguing that immigration is needed to benefit the German economy; it was less often applied negatively, suggesting that immigration

increases unemployment among Germans” (Bauder, 2008: 104), but different newspapers had different second topos regarding this issue.

Taking into account the attention over the law and immigration through the time period, the author observes how it fluctuates but with differences between the different topoi, having been the economic topos the most consistent when positive and relatively less consistent when used as an argument against immigration. However, “the occurrence of the humanitarian topos follows almost the opposite temporal pattern of the economic utility topos” (Bauder, 2008: 108).

The author, having studied both *topoi* and the temporal scales, concludes that media coverage of the new immigration law followed the parliament flow and responded to external events regarding immigration like the bombing attacks on the 11th of March of 2004 in Madrid, leading to some articles linking immigration with terror. Also, Bauder observes how “the economic utility topos occurred more frequently than the ‘culture’ topos” suggesting that “economic arguments dominate over ‘cultural’ arguments in the contemporary immigration debate” (Bauder, 2008: 109).

These events that shape the media discourse can have strong consequences regarding politics or social cohesion. Boomgaarden and Vliegenthart (2007) show the relationship between the vote of an anti-immigration parties and the number of articles and news related to immigration that appear in the media stating: "We believe that news media coverage highlighting immigration issues as politically and socially important significantly contribute to the success of anti-immigrant populism" (Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2007: 407). The authors construct indicators by comparing different data like immigration rate during the analysed period, the unemployment rate and the reaction to the assassination of Pim Fortuyn. The created indicators are *political opportunity* and *support for parties opposed to immigration*. The authors find that the media coverage of immigration and its content explains the rise of anti-immigration attitudes and “populist parties” (Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2007: 413), taking into account the intensity of the reporting of news regarding immigration.

But then again, as stated when reviewing the concept of immigrant, there are differences between migrants. Some migrants are better accepted, and therefore better protected

against anti-immigration attitudes and policies. Brader, Valentino and Suhay (2008) show how reactions to news leading to an anti-immigration sentiment depend largely on the kind of immigrants that are being portrayed. This is an important factor and it has to be kept in mind as clearly illustrates and reinforces the difference between *immigration* and *foreigners* as social positions. As previously explained the fundamental difference between *immigrants* and *foreigners* is based on the country of origin and the reason to move, this is, an *immigrant* comes from a *peripheral country* and has moved for *economical reasons* (Parella, 2003).

The authors show how in the U.S.A. there are opposed attitudes to Latin American immigration but not to European immigration. These reactions are achieved by appealing to feelings such as the cultural differences, which causes anxiety, and forgetting rational arguments, like the real scope of a certain immigration wave or a certain group of people, and so touching sensitive points. In addition, when appealing to feelings, they lead into errors, facilitating manipulation by interested parties. To reach these conclusions, the authors used two surveys in different series, the first 354 people with non-Hispanic white respondents and the second with 267 people, 220 of these being non-Hispanic white. The two series of surveys followed the same method, first a series of socio demographic questions followed by a series of question seeking attitudes towards immigration after having read articles that "had been in the news lately" (Brader, Valentino & Suhay, 2008: 964). This opposition is reached by a feeling of a threat by the Latin American immigrants through having an over exposition in media in front of other groups of immigrants, like the Asians, Canadians or Irish. Images of stigmatised groups, with strong ethnicity markers, in news that emphasise costs of immigration rather than its benefits boost opposition to immigrants, in particular those who are depicted as dangerous for the society. Oppositely, Europeans are depicted in news that emphasize benefits of their migration for the receiving society.

The fact that there are unaccepted migrants that tend to be portrayed as a threat is shown again in the investigation carried out by Alastair Catto, Dermot Gorman and Martin Higgins, from University of Edinburgh and NHS respectively, (2010) which studies the coverage of the impact of the Eastern and Central European migrants on NHS Scotland by six Scottish newspapers (The Scotsman, The Edinburgh Evening News, The Herald,

The Evening Times (Glasgow), The Aberdeen Press and Journal and The Aberdeen Evening Express) between 2004 and 2008.¹⁰

The authors use the Social Representation Theory as a theoretical frame and the six aforementioned newspapers, newspapers from the areas with a bigger number of migrants from Central and Eastern Europe, as the universe of study.

Results show how “the nature of the perceived threat of migration to the health service has changed since 2004” (Catto, Gorman, & Higgins, 2010: 773), going from a representation of the economic benefits brought by immigrants, to representations of the threats that the immigrants represent for the NHS as immigrants use the resources. It is especially interesting since the authors clearly state that immigrants do not use NHS in a higher degree than Scottish people, “recent work (...) has reiterated how common it is for Polish migrants in particular to head ‘home’ for health care” (Catto, Gorman, & Higgins, 2010: 774). The authors make a last and concerning statement regarding the representation of the Eastern and Central European Immigrants as resources consumers, “[p]olitics was a clear driver of representations in the early period of this study but even then, newspapers responded to events. Why did politicians use such intemperate, arguably racist, language in the first place? Likewise, why did newspapers continue to propagate inaccurate, perhaps racist, views regarding disease and migrants? Even more interesting is why the untruths about disease continued when the pre- accession myths about immigration were so comprehensively unpicked in the newspapers” (Catto, Gorman, & Higgins, 2010: 774).

These two last articles illustrate how Eastern and Central European migrants are linked to a threat to the Scottish NHS just as Latin-American migrants were represented as a threat for American society, thus pointing out the importance of the media in the representation of specific groups of people regardless of what the actual and factual data say, to which the majority of the population have no access.

¹⁰ The UK, having been one of the three EU15 that didn't place restrictions on access to its labour market for the countries incorporated to the EU on the 1st of May 2004, received a great amount of migrants from these countries, mostly from Poland, leading to an average of 220.000 migrants from these countries per year. Scotland has received between 48.000 and 100.000 in the studied period of time.

Two reports published by The Migration Observation Centre further these findings by researching on the way media and the press in the United Kingdom depict immigrants and to what words these immigrants are linked. Between 2010 and 2012 the main word that accompanied the word *Immigrant* was *Illegal*, that was true for tabloids, mid-market press and broadsheets (Allen, 2013). As for the representation of Bulgarians and Romanians in the British press between December 2012 and December 2013, these two groups of people were often linked to words related to prevention of movement and metaphores related to scale, like flood or flock (Vicol & Allen, 2014).

Hopkins (2011) gives a very interesting view on how and why residents' attitudes are influenced by living close to immigrants communities. The author states that "Britons in heavily immigrant areas will be especially concerned about immigration when the issue is in the national headlines" (Hopkins, 2011: 502). Hopkins uses data from different surveys in both UK in 2005, and the US in 2001 and 2006.

The contextual effect as "the influence of casual interactions and observations within a bounded space" (Hopkins, 2011: 504) and threat as the "negative political attitudes or behaviour directed at a group that is viewed as distinctive in ascriptive terms, such as race or national origin" (Hopkins, 2011: 504) are the most important concepts to highlight in this paper. It shows relevant information regarding inter-group assumptions of threatening situations by immigrants, stating that "(t)heories of inter-group threat assume that demographics are a salient feature of the local context, but the survey evidence disagrees" (Hopkins, 2011: 506), and making clear that assuming that immigration is a cultural threat raises at best some questions like, "what explains the sudden punctuations in attention to immigration as an issue?" (Hopkins, 2011: 506).

The author, through analyzing data from surveys, observes that "contextual effects are influenced by the national political environment" (Hopkins, 2011: 523), showing how local communities living in a heavily immigrant area are more likely to have political and social behaviour related with this fact whether the facts they believe in are completely true or not and as the author says "If local contexts are in fact politicized by national events rather than local activities, we should expect people who paid close attention to the campaign to be especially susceptible to environmental influence" (Hopkins, 2011: 522).

However Boomgaarden and Vliegenthart (2009) show in their research that there are contradictory consequences of the immigrants' exposition in media. Furthering the understanding of these processes shown by the previous articles here exposed. It seems clear that immigrants are badly depicted in the media, leading to a big use of stereotypes, anti-immigration sentiments, opposition to immigration or simply wrong assumptions about a heterogenic collective. This is exactly one of the conclusions of the authors (Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2009); the tone of the coverage of immigration has an impact on attitudes towards them. Therefore, misrepresentations or blaming attitudes towards immigrants take us to hostile mind-sets when thinking about these collectives. And yet, the authors find, through statistical research of media coverage, real-world events, population statistics and public opinion data that "the more positive news outlets cover immigrants, the less people are concerned about immigration" (Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2009: 535). The authors also find that visibility correlates negatively with anti immigration attitudes, this is, the higher the visibility in media the lower the anti immigration attitudes will be, or as the authors state "increased visibility of immigrants in the media might increase feelings of familiarity and sympathy and thereby reduce negative attitudes towards immigration" (Boomgarden &Vliegenthart, 2009: 535).

This fact is of key importance because it agrees with what Checa and Arjona stated: "the more often they have a long conversation with a foreigner, the less negative the perception of the out-group is" (Checa & Arjona, 2011: 144). And both papers follow the lines of authors such as Pettigrew (1998, 2008), Pettigrew and Tropp (2006), Pettigrew et al. (2011), Tropp and Pettigrew (2005a; 2005b), in which these authors state that intergroup contact leads to a decrease of prejudice, where contact through media is understood by these authors as extended contact. Consequently a strong conclusion can be drawn: it is not only that media depicts immigrants and immigration wrongly, but that exposure can foster a better understanding and a less concerned society can be reached. Real world events, matching the results of their other article here reviewed, are important for the representation of the immigration. High levels of immigrants do lead to a stronger perception of the immigrants as problem causing. But in a counter intuitive way, higher unemployment rates have a negative impact on anti immigration attitudes, revealing that when there is a high unemployment rate, negative

attitudes towards immigration lower (Boomgarden & Vliegthart, 2009). Visibility is also an important factor for Koopmans and Olzak (2004). The authors find that visibility depends on the number of channels in which the message is broadcast as well as the importance of the inclusion of this message. The prominence of this broadcast is a significant condition for this message to be influential and become important in the public sphere. This again shows the relevance of visibility in terms of fostering good understanding between different groups and reduces the prejudices these groups might have.

On the other hand, Torun Elsrud (2009) shows some differences. The author illustrates how the local newspapers of Kalmar depict the immigrants in Norrliden, a suburb of Kalmar in a rural part of Sweden, through the process of *othering*. This otherness is embodied by subtle choice of words, representations of immigrants through photographs with strong cultural meaning that depict immigrants as the *others*. This process of othering takes different sides in order to construct the identity of the immigrant. Thus, according to the article, this *otherness* is constructed through ethnifying, genderising and brutalising not only the immigrants but also the area, often described with “jungle-like, non-modern, non-Swedish characteristics” (Elsrud, 2008: 440). Consequently, men are frequently depicted as brutal, highly masculinised, and often linked to criminal and aggressive situations, whereas women are portrayed as victims, passive, defensive, etc. Depictions that clearly clash with the “dominant discourses defining the proper ways for men and women to act (...) (i)n a “modern”, “secular” and developed Sweden (...)” (Elsrud; 2008: 441). It is important to note how the author points out that the processes of *otherness* are persistent through time and ways of constructing the selves, the “swedishness” in this case, a *taken for granted* silent situation present in the newspapers.

This process of *otherness* is also found by Concepción, Rodrigo and Medina (2008) showing how the newspaper *ABC* portrays African immigrants trying to reach Europe through Ceuta and Melilla are portrayed as animals, climatic phenomena and prehistoric hominids. A strong dehumanisation and depersonalisation and a lack of self depiction are other situations found. This lack of self depiction also lead to a complete reliance on official sources thus creating a positive construction of the *us* and a negative one of the

others. In a similar line of investigation Bertran et al. (2006) conclude that TV channels inform of the same event from a Eurocentric, with a strong use of the word *immigrants* instead of a more neutral one, and without a critical point of view of the situations that push people to travel hundreds or thousands of kms to try to climb a fence that was built to stop them from reaching European soil. Even though NGOs and immigrants are used as informative sources TV channels might appeal to emotions which may cause a process of spectacularisation. Among several other recommendations Bertran et al. (2006) suggest increasing efforts contextualising the pieces, choose a different set of words that do not have negative connotations, help normalising immigrants through the usage of the same treatment as with any other citizen and invest in a more diverse and pluricultural coverage of the news.

As it has been shown, media have a tendency to misrepresent immigration and use frames that trigger opposition towards immigrants and help the rise of anti-immigration political parties. This misrepresentation can be seen in some articles regarding the case of immigrant women, which highlights a double case of discrimination, as immigrants and as women.

The image of immigrant women is analysed by Roman, García and Álvarez (2011). The authors analysed the depiction of these immigrant women by some Spanish press, namely ABC and La Vanguardia. The researchers find that 38.1% of the news regarding immigrant women give a “descripción de la situación, narrando hechos relacionados con la mujer inmigrante” (Roman, Garcia & Álvarez, 2011: 177). The results also show that 22.22% of the stories talk about group vulnerability, where domestic violence can be found. In the 20.63% of the articles being an immigrant woman is not of great importance within the story. News about illegal immigrant boats in which women on board were reported are among the articles where this features regards no importance. Last of all, articles where a positive nature can be identified represent the 19.09% of the total. Stories of immigrant women that “han ganado algun premio” such as Najat El Hachmi winning a literary contest or “luchan por la supresión de la ablación” (Roman, Garcia & Álvarez, 2011: 177). However, the case of Najat El Hachmi is a completely different case since she moved away from her country of origin at a very early age with her parents. Her parents may be regarded as immigrants but Najat El Hachmi did not

actively migrate but rather followed her family, and most importantly, has acquired all the cultural traits of the new culture as it is clear since she writes in the Catalan language as any other person who grew up within the Catalan school system may choose to.

Thus it is seen how the 80.91% of the news may have a somewhat negative character about immigrant women, sometimes disregarding of them, sometimes openly negative. The 22.22% of the articles show the group as a worrying, vulnerable group with a tendency to easily find themselves in trouble and instability. The articles that plainly describe the situation, 38.1% of the total, can be negative depending on what situations are chosen to be shown. Presenting immigrant women in degraded neighbourhoods could give a bad image of this group and thus not be as neutral as the intention might be. The exact same situation can be found in the 20.63% of news where being an immigrant woman is not key for the story. The given example shows how immigrant women are connected with negative stories, such as illegal immigrant boats. It can be assumed that this relationship was not thought so as to give a bad image of the collective. Even so, the image may outlive the story and thus give a negative vision over the group, a group that probably has arrived in its majority through more conventional methods.

Following this idea, out of the fourteen topics¹¹ most used when talking about immigration in the Spanish press, only two of them could be used in a non negative sense. As an example, if all these topics were used equally twelve out of fourteen articles regarding immigration would cover negative topics. Thus the authors conclude that immigrant women not only have very little visibility in the two analysed newspapers, but when they are visible they are often linked to social problems, violence, lack of integration and diseases. Moreover, these women are presented as vulnerable beings or related to words like illegality, prostitution, etc.

However on occasion we find immigrant women in articles that have a more positive perspective, compared at least with illegality, crime and violence. These occasions

¹¹ The fourteen topics are: Integración, extranjero, xenofobia, racismo, delincuencia, violencia, violencia doméstica, drogas, ilegalidad, terrorismo, falta de adaptación cultural, prejuicios, tolerancia and discriminación

though are sometimes linked to reproductive work and it is shown that immigrant women are needed because local women do not want to participate as much on this work (Parella, 2003). This way, positive topics regarding immigrant women could be the increase of the birth rate or workers doing housework (Brown & Ferree, 2004; Roman, Garcia & Alvarez, 2011). Still, supposedly positive discourses might end up *stereotyping* immigrants even more (Rodrigo, 2006). It should be mentioned anyway that on other occasions successful immigrant women get visibility in the Spanish press. An example can be found in Najat El Hachmi, who won the Ramon Llull prize, a Catalan literary contest although it has already been discussed that considering her an immigrant is at least arguable.

The case of the increase of the birth rate due to immigrant women is an important example because it is one of the few areas in which immigrant women get positive recognition even though this recognition is a clear discrimination against these women in terms of only getting recognition in the reproductive field or reproductive work and especially only as women who have more children than the native counterparts. Sometimes this argument is used as a justification for immigration and makes data emerge on how many more immigrants would be needed in Europe in order to continue with the population that currently has (Roman, Garcia & Alvarez, 2011). However, it is also important to notice that there are negative arguments based on their higher birth rates which makes it a case impossible to win. On the one hand they are praised for increasing the new country's birth rate and on the other hand they are criticised for having too many kids.

An example of this situation is found in Jessica Autumn Brown and Myra Marx Ferree's (2004) research. The authors examine the treatment of low birth rate among English women in English press and how it is related to immigration and its high birth rate. They use the concept of *replacement migration* as a solution to low fertility despite the loss of identity that this fact could mean. Pronatalism can be understood as “a political, ideological, or religious project to encourage childbearing by some or all members of a civil, ethnic, or national group” (Brown & Ferree, 2004: 8). This way the basic idea on the majority of articles analysed in the English newspapers, whether left or right, is that the UK with a markedly British character, the British UK, is doomed to

disappear if birth and reproductions is left solely in the hands of the immigrants. However, the remaining 46% show immigration as a positive substitution considering the low fertility of the English women, in some cases with openly favourable articles and in other cases with articles that simply tolerate it as something necessary as long as these women accept British standard behaviour. 40% of the articles openly opt for increasing the birth rate in British women as the required solution, of which 47% are aimed solely at women in order to increase the birth rate. These articles aimed at British women appeal to different arguments, some like the danger of losing their national identity, but others like the nature of women to have children, or their selfishness by not having children and not thinking about English society.

The authors observe how 50% of articles in conservative newspapers argue that replacement immigration is harmful for the UK, thus advocating for policies to end discrimination against women so that they can accomplish their goals working without sacrificing motherhood. Autumn Brown and Marx Ferree argue that these arguments, certainly unusual in conservative newspapers, are given for a certain basic racism that makes it overcome the prejudices against redistributive justice and gender discrimination. (Brown & Ferree, 2004)

It is clear then that the fear of a replacement of the cultural essence by a high birth rate of the immigrant women activates all kinds of attitudes to try to stop it, assuming without hesitation that English women always choose maternity over work if the right conditions are given.

Asunción Bernárdez Rodal shows (2007) the results of a research about the way immigration is represented on Spanish televisions news. Although this research focuses only on press, her investigation proves useful for it unearths hidden attitudes and ways to see immigration that rest on popular imaginary. This is so due to these depictions coming from informative programs, which should, in theory, be neutral.

Bernárdez and her investigation group called PICNIC find, through different techniques such as observation of television news and focus groups, that immigrants and immigration waves are presented as an exceptionality in the sense of a new

phenomenon. When shown in this way feelings like fear of change, fear of invasion, etc. arise because this way to understand the world comes consequently from having forgotten that borders have always been trespassed and immigration have always existed. Presenting ourselves as pure is false, for every nation is a result of migrations in different degrees.

Television, Bernárdez argues, presents immigration as something eminently masculine and related to labour and women are only shown when given certain roles, such as prostitutes or housewives and mothers, this is, either linked to delinquency or to traditional female roles. Also, informative programs shows immigrants as primarily poor people with inferior cultures and less evolved, showing them as something confronted to us. A really interesting point shown by the author is how this immigration is generally thought in a capitalistic dynamic, or so to say, only thought in economical terms and linked to labour, forgetting any other way where these people can participate in their new society. This way to present and construct immigration on television leads to understanding cultures as separate and unmixable, where a mixed culture is undesirable and immigrants ought to adapt and forget their own culture when in public spaces. They also lead to construct immigration as a whole, not taking into account differences between different nationalities or even regional differences within the same nationality.

The research concludes that television news construct a concept of immigration that does not reflect on the variety of people that are migrating and encloses them to a certain part of our society linked to labour, always demanding integration on their part and not accepting differences in the public sphere.

Rodney Benson (2013) however takes this general line of research, immigrants and media, a step further by not only studying the *frames* used by French and American media but also placing them against a thorough research on the journalistic field of the French and American media, thus explaining these *frames* in terms of journalistic attitudes and practices regarding the social field of journalism. His findings show that there are fundamental differences between the U.S. journalistic field and the French journalistic field, not only due to historical characteristics but also due to economic and political divergences. These differences, high concentration increasing competition,

debate driven in the French case and market oriented, narrative driven in the American media, although audiences remain basically similar in both fields, explain the variations in the different depictions of immigration in both countries. The U.S. media tends to favour a humanitarian frame rather than jobs, economic, racism, national cohesion frames. The average for the aggregated victim/hero frame in the period between 1974 and 2006 was 55% as opposed to 45% of aggregated frames as a threat. As for the French media a great importance is placed in the national cohesion, public order, racism and cultural diversity due to the dominant political discourse of the far right and left parties. These differences are explained by the disparities between the U.S. and the French journalistic field.

To summarise, as seen throughout this whole chapter, a sample of investigations from different parts of the world shows that immigration and the immigrants are constantly misrepresented by media, with special interest in newspapers. Recovering the *frame theory* it could be said that media tends to use frames that enclose immigrants and immigration in situations linked to adversity, often with illegal circumstances and thus giving images and representations that are often connected to conflict situations, whether through stereotypes or real-world events. These real-world events might not stereotype immigration by itself but when helped by frames used by media it creates situations where immigrants are in a disadvantageous place and status in front of the other social groups. Also, exposure and visibility is linked to a decrease of a perception of immigrants as problematic through what is called extended contact. In situations with low visibility this extended contact, contact that brings further understanding as it has been mentioned earlier, is not carried out. The opposite would also be true in situations with high visibility.

2.5. The specificity of the regional press

2.5.1 The regional press as an example of public journalism

So far it has been presented how media, especially newspapers due to the nature of our investigation, affect the opinion of their audience, or readers, towards immigration and

the migrants. It is of key importance to understand how this fact works in order to face it against our object of study, the neighbourhood press. In this chapter the conceptual line between nationwide newspapers, and their own logics, and neighbourhood press, with its own way to understand journalism, will be drawn. If the aim is to analyse the dissimilar construction of a social position, as the idea of immigrant is, by two different newspapers with different journalist logics and different aims towards the media, this line needs to be drawn and set the differences clear, whether they are big, small or none at all.

It is important to contemplate in the first place that media not only inform but also set the *frames* through which facts are likely to be seen. The process of *framing* has already been seen in the reviewing of different researches that use this concept and theory. As it is a recurrent and important theory in the studies of immigrant depiction in media it is essential to review and understand what *framing* and the *frames* really are. This process of *framing* refers “the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation” (Entman, 2007: 164). According to the same author, *framing* achieves four different purposes which are, problem definition, causal analysis, moral judgment and remedy promotion (Entman, 1993) and it is always present in politics and policy analysis (Entman, 2008). *Framing* as a concept stems from the *framing analysis*, an idea coined by Goffman (1974), in which the author understands that “(...) definitions of a situation are built up in accordance with principles of organisation which govern events – at least social ones – and our subjective involvement in them (...)” (Goffman, 1974: 10). The terms used here are important since Goffman does not pretend to address the social life but the experience of individuals in their social lives and the way these experiences are structured, in other words, how individuals make sense of what is happening around them. *Frames* are these basic elements that give sense to this social life (Goffman, 1974). These *frames* lead people into thinking about a certain something in a certain way or to draw predictable conclusions (Gross & D’Ambrosio, 2004). To put it in different words, “frames are powerful vehicles in driving receivers’ perceptions of their inherent self-efficacy in the given situation (...)” (Omilion-Hodges & McClain, 2016: 633). Consequently, this particular issue or event will be processed in people’s mind in a way that has been already set by stressing ideas behind news that guide the

audience to think in a particular way (Entman, 2007), that is, associations between a specific issue and cultural phenomena offer new perspective through which perceive reality (van Gop & Vercruysse, 2012). *Frames* introduce and enhance importance in certain ideas (Entman, 2008) through the process of *priming*, a process in which some issues are more salient than others (Scheufele, 2000). When a specific frame dominates, or so to say, is more widely spread, it is used as an opinion and thus some ideas become predominant (Gross & D'Ambrosio, 2004). Within this concept two sub concepts can be found. *Thematic frames* and *episodic frames* where the formers consist on background, public policy news or general trends, so to say, news that do not focus specifically on personal experience but on issues treated abstractly, and the latter are news covered with a strong sense of personal experience of an individual or a family (Iyengar, 1990). The process of *framing* is linked to five factors that impact how journalists *frame* a certain issue, these are: social norms and values, organisational pressures and constraints, pressures of interest groups, journalistic routines and ideological and political orientations of journalists (Scheufele, 2000). However, *frames* do not impose ideas that do not resonate with prior ideas or attitudes and are strongly correlated with *familiarity* about news events and issues (Gang et al, 2009). *Frames* can also be understood as *media packages*, or *interpretative packages*, that give meaning to an issue, with an internal structure and a central idea that makes sense of relevant events (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989).

Media then, do not report events as they happen, instead, media represent events providing “a particular framing of reality and thus a partial or biased account” (Fryberg et al., 2011: 3). As Walter Lippman stated: “news and truth are not the same thing, and must be clearly distinguished” (Lippman, 1991: 358; original from 1922), showing in a single sentence how news, far from depicting events as they really happened, represent them and hence cannot be taken as the truth.

Through other tools like *agenda setting* media not only show how to think about something but also what to think about. This concept arises from the aforementioned book written by Walter Lippman in 1922 (Lippman, 1991). Media emphasise some elements or issues over some others thus showing the audience what is important and what is not, giving visibility to what media come to think as relevant and important (McCombs,

2001), or to put it in different words, *agenda-setting* is the capacity of media to influence the salience of certain subjects, telling the audience and readers what to think about (McCombs, 1977). By repeating certain elements and messages in the news every day, the audience gets influenced by media, making these issues move from media agenda to the public one. This was seen in the influence of the media in the presidential campaign of 1968 and the importance that certain issues were given by the voters (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). This is, *agenda-setting* details the process in which media place importance over certain issues, a process that leads people to perceive those issues as more important than others (Coleman & McCombs, 2007). The idea is grounded on the psychological need for orientation, which has a strong impact in agenda-setting effects (Chernov et al., 2011) and curiosity, where the higher the curiosity and need for orientation the “more we tend to search for information, rely on the media and are predisposed to agenda-setting effects” (McCombs & Valenzuela, 2007: 46). However “if an issue does not resonate with the public, it will not appear on the public agenda regardless of its prominence on the media agenda” (McCombs, 1997: 437). It is an inherently causal theory, with a correlation between the amount of content in mass media and the development of this issue on the public agenda (Scheufele, 2000). The *agenda* influence finds its origins in news norms, the influence of other media and the daily implementation of these news norms, that is, the journalistic practices and intermedia effects as well as local influence from local communities in the case of local media (McCombs & Funk, 2011). Three different levels of *agenda-setting* research have been reached so far. The first level deals with the salience of issues and the correlations between media agendas and public agendas (McCombs, 1977). The second level of *agenda-setting* focuses on attribute salience, that is, “objects in the news have various traits and characteristics that comprise their images” (Kiousis & McCombs, 2004: 38). However, these first and second levels of *agenda-setting* are based on the assumptions that representation happens in a linear and logical model and that the transfer of issues and attributes’ salience is done in a concealed way (Vu, Guo & McCombs, 2014). The third level of *agenda-setting* differs from the first assumption of linearity and introduces a network-like structure while contesting the second assumption by pointing out the capacity of media to transfer the salience of interrelated issues and attributes to the public’s mind, hence presenting the *network agenda-setting* model (Vu,

Guo & McCombs, 2014). This way the salience of objects is the first level, the salience of attributes is the second level (Kioussis & McCombs, 2004) and the “salience of interrelationships among objects and/or attributes” (Vu, Guo & McCombs, 2014: 671) is the third level.

There are coincidences between *framing* and *agenda-setting* as both concepts shape the way the audience reacts to an issue by portraying it in a certain way (McCombs & Valenzuela, 2007), although *framing* can be understood very much in a symbolical way, stressing the fact that through *framing* social knowledge is constructed. Again, this social construction of knowledge comes up from Berger and Luckmann’s *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966) and their idea that “la vida cotidiana se presenta como una realidad interpretada por los hombres y que para ellos tiene un significado subjetivo de un mundo coherente” (Berger & Luckmann, 1983: 36). From the *framing* point of view media are not neutral transmitters but structural agents that use those *frames* to conceptualise reality and offer it to their audience (Sádaba, 2001) along with *agenda-setting* making some pieces of information readily available and “more accessible in a person’s mind than others” (Kim, Scheufele & Shanahan, 2002: 9) and dealing with the salience of the issues by the frequency of mentioning of a certain topic (Kim, Scheufele & Sanahan, 2002). Nationwide newspapers use these mechanisms, as well as radio stations and TV channels, hence creating an *information environment* where, as said before, some issues are more salient than others. Not everyone has access to the same media but it does not mean by any means that only people who had access to it are affected by it. This *information environment* causes shifts of opinions as it has an important effect on knowledge through media, or in our case, newspapers (Jerit, Barabas & Bolsen, 2006).

When analysing the way media shape the audience thoughts the concept of *gatekeeping* must be taken into account. What we understand as *gatekeeping* is simply a matter of practicality, media can only offer a small amount of the daily news and thus decisions about what is worth being printed or broadcasted are necessary. It is the analysis of how and why an event goes from the sources to the journalists and from there to being news items and its publication (Shoemaker et al., 2010). But what is interesting is not the fact that some news are not worthy of being mentioned, what is interesting is how these

decisions come to be. As Shoemaker puts it, “*gatekeeping* in mass communication can be seen as the overall process through which the social reality transmitted by the news media is constructed, and is not just a series of “in” and “out” decisions” (Shoemaker et al., 2001: 233). Again, this social reality is constructed by a series of decisions made by journalists and editors. These decisions have three different stages (Bruns, 2011). At the first stage, *input*, journalists pre select news important enough to be followed and covered. Editors have their share in the *output* stage, where their selections of the material written and covered by journalists decide what will be published or broadcasted. And finally the *response* stage where feedback from the audience is provided if deemed necessary. However this last stage might not be present in some media and only the *input* and *output* stages may exist. If the *response* stage is not found, journalists and editors have total control over what is news and what is not (Bruns, 2011). Or as Reese and Ballinger state it, “acknowledging that news is what gatekeepers say it is brings the entire role of the news media into question, and we can no longer assume that news is an unproblematic reflection of societal events, helping maintain the entire system in equilibrium” (Reese & Ballinger, 2001: 647). By highlighting some of the news, placing them in one page or another, or giving them more air time, deciding who has access to discourses, etc. *manipulation* is being carried out by the control over the media that power elites exercise (van Dijk, 1989, 1993b, 1994, 1995). These situations worsen in circumstances of scarcity of media. Where there are few media the *gatekeeping* process is felt more strongly as more issues and news will not be mentioned (Bruns, 2011). It can be assumed then that a wider range of media, with a wider panning of social sensibilities, will weaken the *gatekeeping* process in the overall newshole. It is important to note that the journalistic practices carry out the process of *gatekeeping*, these practices, as routinized practices, help decide what is newsworthy (Shoemaker et al., 2001), routinized practices that are transmitted in the newsrooms (Breed, 1955) and universities (Bourdieu, 1991).

Media in one of its social roles serves the purpose of exposing deviations of the established norms (Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1948), thus giving visibility to some issues that are not accepted publicly. But through *framing*, *agenda-setting* and *gatekeeping* these media affect the way the news regarding the norms deviances are received by the audiences and how they are generally thought. This is, media get to set the rules of what

the audience thinks and how it thinks about what media decide it is worthy of being published or broadcasted. In the case of this research, and as seen in the reviewed researches, it is clear that nationwide media show and link immigration to deviation of social rules, linking the collective to delinquency, illegality, vulnerability, etc. all of them clear situations of social rule deviations, while setting the frames, the agenda and choosing the news that will be published. And these situations reproduce themselves as media contribute to the maintenance of the system we live in, stopping them from making important questions about the whole society for not compromising it (Lazarsfeld & Merton, 1948).

From the investigations previously reviewed it results clearly that there is no opposition or questioning to the general conception of immigrants linked to the negative concepts already mentioned. Although Lazarsfeld and Merton (1948) were probably thinking about a more hazardous situation, their idea of *propaganda for social objectives* can be applied. The position of media, and obviously nationwide newspapers, towards immigration has little or no opposition. In general, as seen in the reviewed articles, all the newspapers use the same *frames* and place immigrants in the same situations, thus *monopolisation* of nationwide newspapers regarding this issue is found (Brown & Marx, 2004; Catto, Gorman, & Higgins, 2010; Checa & Arjona, 2011; Cheng et al., 2014; Igartua et al., 2004). Some other articles suggest that this *monopolisation* of the arguments about immigration changes and shapes attitudes (Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2007; Brader, Suhay & Valentino, 2008; Hopkins, 2011; Vliegenthart & Boomgaarden, 2007) *canalising* attitudes through a pattern already established. And finally *supplementation* where face-to-face situations reproduce the established arguments set by media (Saroglou, et al. 2009).

As already reviewed the journalistic *field* has its own logics regarding the use of language, with journalists adopting the *habitus* according to their *field*. These logics are transmitted through different generations of journalists (Breed, 1955) and in the academic *field* found at universities. It is a matter of *cultural capital* and most journalists share education and job environment, authority roles, and therefore play a social role in the same *field*, the journalistic *field*. These logics inculcate modes of expression, a set of grammatical rules specific for the *field*, and a very own way to see

and express the ideas in the media (Bourdieu, 1991). The *field* sets its own rules, *habitus*, that are socially constructed within itself and reproduce themselves. This *field* gives journalists the authority to tell the news through the right and accepted channels, this is the media, and to do it in a certain way with its *symbolical power*, which is “exercised only in so far as the person subjected to it recognises the person who exercises it as authorised to do so” (Bourdieu, 1991: 116) and consequently contributing “through his recognition, to its establishment” (Bourdieu, 1991: 116), or so to say, only the ones invested with authority are recognised as such and hence reproducing this fact by its recognition. This is reinforced by the fact that media are constantly looking out for each other and paying attention to what news are covered, adapting their news to the general consensus that is created and reproduced by them and the tendency to lack a context to the published or broadcasted news (Bourdieu, 1997). These characteristics are due to the fact that quickness is regarded as a good work policy and that errors are minimised by covering the same news as their competitors (Bourdieu, 1994). The journalistic *field*, given its importance as a news maker, has its repercussions upon other fields, stronger or weaker depending on the intensity of the mechanisms and the position of the journalist in the field (Bourdieu, 1994), giving thus importance to the individual who sits in a certain position within the journalistic *field*, giving more or less status to the professional and hence being trusted in a higher degree and being able to produce different forms of discourse (Bourdieu, 1991).

Media have *symbolical power* because it can only use it as cultural capital, it does not mean, however, that its power is not important or influential since, as presented here, it is able to shift attitudes and change ideas on their audience (van Dijk, 1995). This power can be understood as the relationships between powerful groups or institutions and the control over attitudes and ideas of a less powerful group or institution (van Dijk, 1994; 1995). This dissimilar power relationships, or dominance, often involves processes of reproduction (van Dijk, 1989; 1995), reproduction understood as the process between the actual practices and the general principals of a social system and its historical continuity (van Dijk, 1991) that helps legitimise, by reproducing it, the *ideological power* of the elite, in which discourses and communication play a key (van Dijk, 1989; 1993b) Racism is a form of group dominance, ethnic dominance, which in western societies is exercised by white people towards other ethnic groups (van Dijk, 1993c)

carried out, in societies where blatant prejudice is not accepted (Pettigrew & Merteens, 1995; 1997), through *social power* (van Dijk, 1993c). This racism leads to discrimination which involves people conforming to long-established societal norms as part of their adaptation to their every day life (Pettigrew, 2008). *Social power* is shown through interaction by different groups where the dominant group has control over the cognitive conditions of the dominated group by the possible use of sanctions in case of non compliance and presupposes an *ideological framework* consisting of socially shared and interest-related cognitions, a cognitive framework that sets the framework for knowledge, attitudes, opinions, etc. and assigns coherence thus determining social practices, and it is acquired, changed or validated through communication processes and discourses (van Dijk, 1989; 1991).

Ideologies are part of a general consensus, in which the elite creates this consensus and it is then shared by the rest of the population through different mechanisms. Media has a principal role in the creation of this consensus not only by its access and generalisation but also by the role of intermediary between other discourses and the audience, that is, news on what the elites have to say (van Dijk, 1987). Media is, as well, a powerful agent in the nation building process, through the shared language and the common experience of reading the day's agenda which defines the nation's borders hence creating a reciprocal relationship between the structure of society and the structure of the media (Katz, 2000). This is clear when it is thought that generally the only way citizens have to know what the government has to say about an issue, what a judge has to say about a sentence, what businesses, parties, unions and churches alike have to say, is through the media, making media, virtually, a big contributor to the mechanisms of reproduction of social discourse (van Dijk, 1988, 1991).

Ethnic news and discourse on ethnic issues follow the same mechanisms, hence, these kind of discourses are discourses created by the elites and reproduced by the media where immigrants are linked to negative and spectacular events, such as crimes, because these events get more attention clearly affecting the way certain issues are perceived by the audience, in this case, ethnic affairs and immigration (van Dijk, 1987). Media thus has a crucial role in regards the perception of immigrants from both ideological and structural points of view since for ethnic news and news about immigration the main

source, and even the only access, to this information by the majority white population is the news (van Dijk, 1993b; Strabac & Listhaug, 2007), again, making media a strong mechanism of elite discourse reproduction (van Dijk, 1988; 1991).

This ideologically charged news production is caused by different actions (van Dijk, 1991, 1993b): the majority of journalists are white, underrepresenting minorities; these white journalists were socialised under the white dominant set of norms and values hence taunting the way ethnic news and ethnic affairs are seen giving them a *white perspective* and giving more importance to white discourses and institutions; which at the same time affects the *social cognition* of the news and its models; the coverage of certain topics and what is important and what is not, linking minorities to problems and negative frames; the news schemata when referring to ethnic news; the use of quotations, whether minorities are quoted or not, the way they are quoted, etc; the semantics and the style and rhetoric used.

It is clear that a journalist can only see and understand an event from his or her partial model which means that this model has a point of view and it may include personal opinions turning it into a subjective, albeit socially monitored by social and professional constraints, model of a situation based on the memory of the reporter being the basis of a discourse production process (van Dijk, 1988). This journalistic ideology, model, is offset by the idea that the production of knowledge is always crafted on account of the interest of those in power or of those who want that power (Zelizer, 2004).

It would be naive to ascertain that the mechanisms described in this chapter do not exist in the neighbourhood press. It is obvious that these situations will be found, although, maybe in a lower degree due to the structural differences between nationwide press and neighbourhood press. Differences instituted not only in the infrastructure but also in the logics of covering and producing news. It is important to note the role of journalistic routines in the mechanisms that have just been reviewed. In all these mechanisms unconscious attitudes and practices carried out by journalists have a strong effect in the way news are published and depicted, the salience of an item and the decisions of newsworthiness. It might be plausible to think that a certain kind of journalism, with different formal and structural characteristics, might develop different mechanisms and hence develop different journalistic routines. A review of the characteristics of the

regional press, understanding that the neighbourhood press is defined within the boundaries of the regional press, will follow so as to delimit this press' structural characteristics.

Neighbourhood press and regional press are not only defined geographically, although it clearly plays a really important role, but also defined by the concept of proximity on informing and covering news. This proximity can be understood as having close interests to the readers' so when he or she reads the newspapers can identify and relate to what the newspaper is saying (Fontcuberta, 1997). Also, a regional, local or neighbourhood newspaper has a strong impact in creating identities whether by sharing a certain degree of common culture, depending on how big the covered region is its population will be more or less homogeneous regarding different variables, or by creating it through their news coverage, helping to show the characteristics of the community they are informing to (Fontcuberta, 1997), hence one of the qualities of regional press is the capacity to create and maintain links and bonds between the readers and the territory (Rouger, 2008). A possible outcome of this proximity between readers, territory and the press is the possibility of becoming opinion leaders, influencers, very much in the sense introduced by Elihu Katz (1957), that is, creating somewhat interpersonal relations that are "channels of information, sources of social pressure and sources of social support [...]" (Katz, 1957: 77).

Regional journalism, and regional press can be understood as any press covering a region smaller than the whole state, is linked to public journalism since the latter is by definition local or regional (Ferreira et al. 2011; Pennington, 2012). Public journalism has contact with democratic practices by "a) the need of systematically listen the stories and ideas of citizens, b) the importance of examining alternative ways of approaching stories from points of view that are considered important by the community, c) to choose those approaches in the presentation of the issues that offer greatest opportunity to stimulate citizens deliberation, d) to report on relevant problems in a way that increases public knowledge about possible solutions and the values engaged in alternative options, e) to provide systematic attention to the quality of the communicative relationship with the public" (Ferreira et al., 2011: 61), creating civic participation in democratic processes of discussion through participation from the third

sector or civil society (Ferreira et al., 2011). It does not mean though, that every regional newspaper can be considered public journalism. For it to be considered this kind of journalism some of the aforementioned features have to be accomplished.

Public journalism thus, provides a set of journalistic ideas, even if experimental and changing, focusing on the engagement of citizens in public discussions and the journalistic process (Ahva, 2012) by incorporating and combining the public sphere, civil society and citizenship (Vatikiotis, 2010) and by incorporating social groups that have been ignored or dismissed (Pennington, 2012). In order to increase this public engagement, public journalism, offers a set of tools or principles. Public journalists and journalism should focus on values, and this is so because decisions over policies are based on values, values carry out choices that imply consequences. By admitting that values play an important part in journalism and public life, journalists focus on a wider range of consequences, consequences that should be subsequently explained so that citizens can ponder their decisions. The incorporation of values is essential for a better and stronger public engagement. Public journalism should also try to uncover problems that political tactics intend to hide, rather than focusing on the political consequences of those tactics, while at the same time journalists should be conscious of the way their news or articles are framed, this is, accepting the starting point of focusing on community and thus actively framing the stories in terms of their implications for the community (Faina, 2012). Public journalism is seen as a challenger, as a means to confront traditional journalism and re-imagine its autonomy, boundaries and objectivity by considering readers as citizens hence taking them into the journalistic sphere (Ahva, 2012), it is also seen as a good neighbour, with a caring interest about the community, giving voice to interesting people and groups and offering solutions to problems the community might encounter (Heider, McCombs & Pointdexter, 2005). In this regard it can be said that public journalism's content has different characteristics, covering news more constructively and with a more neutral focus (McGregor, Fountaine & Comrie, 2000), less likely to use official sources, and more likely to have minorities represented (Heider, McCombs & Pointdexter, 2005). However, there are serious doubts of whether public journalism defends journalism's autonomy, regarding it as a threat rather than a way to strengthen it. Professional independence needs separation from public as well as from the economical field. Readers are better served when not included in the decision-

making process, when journalists engage in civic activism their independence and ability to question diminishes (McDevitt, 2003). Journalists have to adhere to a set of practices and principles that grant separation between emotions and judgments to journalistic production, but objectivity is impossible to attain, hence this principles and practices are nothing but ethical concepts that rely on professionalism and moral standards which are passed onto other journalists through socialisation (Blaagaard, 2013). We see then that this separation between journalists and citizens is dealt with through professional ideology, focusing on community driven news but separating professionalism from activism (Ahva, 2012), or put in a different way, journalists should be seen at the service of problem solving but never as explicitly advocating (Faina, 2012). It should be noted though that professionalism in journalism is a debatable issue; entry in the profession has never been fully controlled for example (Örnebring, 2013). Public journalism's ultimate goal is "to influence the civic attitudes and behaviours of news audiences" (Massey & Haas, 2002: 569) and this cannot be attained by changing a few practices, but rather by creating a new orientation towards news that focuses and thinks of communities (Faina, 2012), by not only being a good neighbour or a chronicler but a social radar (Heider, McCombs & Pointdexter, 2005), and by making sure that different "voices" are represented, providing relevant ideas, or even by coverage of topics and subjects that originate from citizens (Ahva, 2012).

Citizen journalism is the journalism that follows this last argument until its last consequences. Public journalism, even if based on some important differences, is still professional journalism, defined as news content created by paid, trained and supervised journalists and delivered through media outlets, working under clearly established professional and editorial norms. The opposite applies for citizen journalism, unpaid work, lack of journalistic training, unedited publication of content, plain language, judgments and hyper-local issues (Kaufhold et al., 2010), non-professionals playing a part in the act of gathering information and disseminate it (Noor, 2013) a process that could be somewhat understood as a *disintermediation* process (Katz, 1988) and which might translate into a different way of news' consumption (Choi, 2016). Citizen journalism might be considered essential as a source of contents in online journalism; helping mitigate the top down logics of journalism by adding a bottom up flavour as well as reaching subjects and places that traditional, or professional, journalism cannot

reach (Fondevila, 2013; Tremetzberger, 2010). However, citizen journalism may not be regarded as “real” journalism, because of the lack of journalistic structure, thus it is viewed as a platform, a source, for journalism (Blaagaard, 2013) while posing as well some concerns from a moral point of view (Tremetzberger, 2010). This lack of journalistic structure, nevertheless, offers a different way to understand journalism, a particular contribution to the public sphere from a subjective and affective standpoint that fosters engagement in the communication process (Blaagaard, 2012). A particular problem found in citizen journalism takes us back to the issue of autonomy. Independence in citizen journalists cannot be assured. Adscription to ethical codes grants journalists autonomy, or at least a certain feeling of autonomy, that citizen journalists may lack due to the lack of journalistic structure and hence, to the non adscription to an editorial set of rules and ethical codes (Örnebring, 2013). Citizen journalists are simply readers, viewers, the audience, that want to share their stories, stories in which they are a concerned part, linking traditional journalism to civic participation by acting as a sort of bridge media (Noor, 2013). This constant relationship between citizen journalism and traditional journalism, which is fostered mostly online, turns the communicative sphere into more participative and less authoritarian field, thus serving one of citizen journalism’s main objectives, to achieve a more social and solidary communication (Fondevila, 2013). However, it also makes it difficult to reach a general consensus of what news is due to the shortened timeframe in which journalists have to work (Zelizer, 2012).

Neighbourhood press in Barcelona has a history of engaging in participatory discussions since its very beginning as local newspapers opposing the inclusion of their towns and villages within Barcelona (Huertas & Andreu, 1982) and later on with the protests against the dictatorship and claims for democracy (Maristany & Musons, 2002). Nonetheless the fact that these newspapers can be politically active in claims for improving situations does not mean that they do not have their own problems “(l)ocal government secrecy, a reluctance to disturb old friendships and vital contacts, fear of losing advertising revenue from local firms and lack of resources all combine to leave local councillors, their officers and local business interests largely unchallenged” (Aldridge, 2003: 495).

Also, these newspapers have a higher degree, compared with regional and nationwide press, of volunteers, either as journalists or distributing the copies (Maristany & Musons, 2002), and therefore, escaping to a certain degree from the logics of journalism previously exposed.

All in all, these ideas together show how regional press, and concretely neighbourhood press, has its own journalistic logics due to the proximity to their territory in covering news, helping improving a stronger capacity for public journalism thus engaging in democratic discussions and processes and the different infrastructures by in certain cases not having a completely professional staff.

Taking into account the history of the Catalan regional journalism, and specially the neighbourhood press of Barcelona, several points should be made. The neighbourhood press and newspapers do have a degree of journalistic structure, however great or small the degree is it still can be found, but at the same time participation by the readers is not only wanted but also needed. Their ethical standpoints make them take a position close to public journalism, but the citizen participation, whether actually achieved or not, also shows a position close to citizen journalism, thus positioning this kind of press within the sphere of the public/citizen journalism.

2.5.2. Historical context of the regional press in Catalonia

In order to establish the importance of the neighbourhood press and its position as a different model of journalism it has to be placed in its historical context. The historical context will show the inherent characteristics of this kind of press. Also, it will set the roots of this journalism and will illustrate the places where this journalism comes from. This section is strongly based on the pioneering works of Jaume Guillamet and his publications on the history of catalan journalism.

Importantly, this investigation aligns with the position of Jaume Guillamet (1983, 2006) regarding the nature of the Catalan regional press (*premsa comarcal*) as a different and unique model. “La premsa comarcal és la modalitat catalana de premsa local” (Guillamet, 1983: 25) and it includes a wide range of publications with different

audience diffusion, whether local, “comarcal” or “intercomarcal” (Masip, et al., 2010). It is a singular journalistic experience rooted in the origins of the press in Catalonia and with an important development (Guillamet, 2006). An idea somewhat reinforced by the specificity of the Catalan tradition of orientation journalism (Casasús, 1987). The Catalan regional press is of importance due to three factors, its territorial dimension, linking it to the proximity press, an expression of social and political pluralism, and the identity creation of its newspapers and magazines (Guillamet et al., 2014). Navarro and Massana (2014) also link regional press to proximity press, with a big importance placed on the close relationship between the press and its territory. This press finds its roots in the beginning of the Catalan press, especially in the 19th and 20th century, with non professional journalists and echoing the “moviments politics, culturals i populars de l’època contemporània” with a “gran arrelament i (...) una profunda significació col·lectiva” (Guillamet, 1983: 25). Some political newspapers are positioned as part of the roots of this regional press (Ribera, 2010), and some previous press became political press after 1931 (Guillamet, 1990), showing the extent of this political pluralism in this press, or as Fàbregas (2007: 12) puts it: “parlar de premsa local i comarcal és parlar de la història de la democràcia al nostre país”. Again, as mentioned earlier by Fontcuberta (1997) and Rouger (2008), these regional newspapers help creating collective bonds and links within the territory and therefore maintaining a sense of own identity throughout the territory of distribution.

It is clear that a broad variety of publication could be found within the set definition of the regional Catalan press. Not only newspapers could be found, but also magazines, specialised press, cultural publications, etc. Not all of these are useful for this investigation and the discrimination placed by Guillamet (1983) is of use for the research. Guillamet states that the regional Catalan information press is the one that truly gives sense to the unique and different Catalan model of press. Regarding the neighbourhood press a similar discrimination can be found by Maristany and Musons (2002: 11) as they define these neighbourhood press as “aquella que, generada per qualsevol mena d’entitat o col·lectiu, té com a funció primordial captar i difondre informacions i opinions susceptibles de ser d’interès general per a tot el conjunt d’habitants d’un nucli territorial concret que mai arribarà a ser el del conjunt de la ciutat.” Again it can be seen how the key element of this press is to serve their

immediate population, the whole of its population, a population defined by coexistence. Everything that matters for the whole population is subject to the news. But as said, not everything published in a neighbourhood meets the definition, leaving “butlletins interns o de difusió externa limitada amb continguts d’exclusiu interès per als membres d’una determinada entitat, grup, associació o partit polític” out of it. Hence, publications like PTA (Parent-Teacher Association) magazines, sports association bulletins, etc. will not be considered as information press.

And yet again this regional press has a fundamental function concerning the villages, towns, “comarques” or neighbourhoods where it is distributed, comparable to the nationwide press for the big cities or the whole state (Guillamet, 1983). But, even when having a comparable purpose they still have strong differences in logistics and frequency of publication. This is so because “cada poble, cada ciutat, segons les seves dimensions i els seus standards socials té un mercat de compradors de premsa que determina el model de publicació possible” (Guillamet, 1983: 27). According to the author, the more general the contents are the higher the frequency of publication and the bigger the territorial diffusion is. As well, the bigger the territorial diffusion is, the higher the frequency of publication and the more general the contents are. The contrary applies too. The more limited the territorial diffusion is, the lower the frequency of publication and the more limited the contents are.

Neighbourhoods in the city of Barcelona, when taken separately from the whole city or the district, have a bigger population¹² to the one of small towns or villages and hence their publications should have a higher frequency than the local press of small towns and villages, a bigger territorial diffusion and more general contents. It is not so nonetheless. Neighbourhood press tends to be monthly, with some weekly exceptions like l’Independent de Gràcia, limited to the neighbourhood territory and with contents directed to, only, the neighbourhood. This might be the case because the neighbourhoods, although taken as a separate territorial unit for our investigation, are a part of the city of Barcelona, having already the press of a big city, with the

¹² For example a neighbourhood like El Raval had a population of 48.485 on 2011, Poble-sec –El Parc Montjuïc one of 40.704, and la Dreta de l’Eixample 43.206. There are smaller neighbourhoods but they do not apply to our investigation (Característiques de la població de Barcelona segons el Padró Municipal, 2011).

aforementioned characteristics, and consequently do not completely follow the rule. And although neighbourhoods do not completely follow the rule due to their smaller population compared to the whole city, or to other cities, they do not break it either. Neighbourhoods do have a small population compared to cities and hence need not a highly frequent press, with vast territorial diffusion and general contents.

According to Guillaumet (1983) there are three different models of regional publications, each one of them different taken the population to which the publication is addressed. The first one is the model of *local daily newspaper*, with press from big cities like Sabadell, Terrassa, Manresa, Girona, etc. with a number of copies between 3000 and 8000. The second one is the model of *local newspapers* with a frequency different of daily, generally weekly or biweekly, and being published in smaller cities, or towns, like Vic, Tortosa, Vilafranca del Penedès or Figueres. And the third, and last, model is the *local magazine*, with monthly frequencies of publication, or lower, from villages or small towns, like Sant Jordi Desvalls (Gironès) and cities with a big newspaper, and with a low number of copies.

The neighbourhood press of Barcelona finds itself in between the three models. Having a population similar to the one in the second model, printing a number of copies comparable to the first model and a frequency of publication like the third model.

2.5.3 History of the Catalan regional press

As stated before, the Catalan regional press is on its own a different model due to the nature of its history. To review the history of this press mainly two books will be followed, both of them by Jaume Guillaumet, *La Premsa Comarcal: Un model català de periodisme popular* (1983) and *La Nova Premsa Catalana* (1976). Other books were sparingly used and were quoted accordingly.

One the first journalist publications was the *Còpia de dos cartes escrites per lo doctor Felip Viñas desde Perpiñà en 20 de setembre de 1639, en les quals conta la victoria que han tingut contra lo Exèrcit francés*, published by Francesc Martorell in Tortosa in 1639, as well as the *Gazeta* published in 1624 in Perpinyà and in 1641 in Barcelona. A

continuing publication of periodical press is found in Barcelona starting in 1684 (Guillamet, 2003). This is followed by a series of publications between the 18th and 19th century in the north of Girona and Figueres, mostly near the border between France and Catalonia, a border set after the Pyrenees Treaty in 1659.

However, the first truly important wave of publications was set in the 19th century, helped by the emerging rail network and around the principal industrial cities, such as Girona, Tarragona, Reus, Vilanova i la Geltrú, Tortosa, Sabadell, Mataró, Terrassa, Manresa, Lleida, Igualada, Granollers, Vic and Badalona as well as some earlier publications in Barcelona like the *Diario de Barcelona*. Girona is, also, one of the most important places where regional and local newspapers are published, having early publications even by the end of the 18th century. There are two main periods in which the Catalan language gains importance. Those are the two periods in which Catalonia is separated from Spain and joins France. The first one marks the beginning of the press in Catalonia between 1640 and 1652 whereas the second one, between 1808 and 1814, is defined by a forceful annexation of Catalonia by France (Guillamet & Mauri, 2015). By the end of the 19th century the majority of these publications are written either solely in the Catalan language or are bilingual, showing the advance of the language, a fact completely accomplished by the time of the Spanish second republic. The first republic and the previous revolution of 1868 foster a wider range of publications, politically themed in general.

The beginning of the 20th century continues with the emerging publication of local and regional newspapers, growing in number and variety, with the aforementioned cities having consolidated a net of local newspapers, with some small towns around the main industrial cities having complementary experiences publishing informative newspapers lasting differently in each case. Though, the 20th century found the start of the Civil War, stopping most of these publications by the end of it and halting the Catalan regional press model because of the consequent repression used by the francoist institutions. Before the war though, the second republic furthered even more the publication of newspaper along the whole territory, with the creation of more local and regional newspapers some of them really active politically.

The new state, a result of the civil war, ended the publications of the republic years and the press is understood as an “element basic” of the “construcció del nou estat” (Guillamet, 1976: 51). The Catalan language is completely forbidden in any public use and everything will be published only in Spanish. A series of newspapers from the regime were created as an organ of propaganda such as *La Prensa* in Barcelona, *Los Sitios* in Girona, *La Mañana* in Lleida and the *Diario Español* in Tarragona. Next to these provincial newspapers of the regime some smaller publications of the same ideology are created as well. These smaller publications are found in smaller but important cities and towns like Vilafranca del Penedès, Sabadell, Manresa, Mataró or Olot, with a weekly newspaper called *Arriba España*. As it can be seen, basically the same cities and towns of the first wave of publications in the 18th century had a regime publication. As Guillamet (1976: 55) states: “La premsa comarcal de les primers dècades de la postguerra va, doncs, a cavall del periodisme, la propaganda i la literatura (...)”.

The Catalan regional press do not, partially, retake its model of local newspapers until 1966, with the passing of the press law, where, again only partially, this Catalan model finds its way to publish. Magazines likes *Presència*, *El Maresme* from Mataró or *Tothom* from Vilafranca del Penedès are some examples of this revival. In 1969 forty-two publications take part in the Catalan Press Expositions organised by Òmnium Cultural. One of the changes that the halt in the Catalan model left was the fact that newspapers from Barcelona gained importance and turned into nationwide newspapers, Catalan nationwide that is.

With Franco’s death in 1975 came a full recovery of the Catalan regional model. The political conditioning disappeared and there was freedom to publish, the number of publications increased (with political publications as well as local newspapers), there was a privatisation of the *Movimiento* press and the Catalan language became massively used by the local and regional newspapers. Also, this kind of press rethought its contents and its function with “l’ampliació i fixació de nous objectius” (Guillamet, 1983: 158).

One hundred and fifty-one publications were created from 1976 to 1979. Also, two hundred and one towns and villages published their own newspaper, sixty-three more

than the second republic period. This big jump of publication has a political side, the beginning of the freedom, but it is also a “resposta a una necessitat bàsica de mitjans d’informació local” (Guillamet, 1983: 159). Not all of these newspapers survived. Mostly in small towns or villages the newspapers did not last long. The strong popular and non professional character of these publications made it hard for them to survive. However, sometimes the death of one publication triggers the start of another and although publications do not last long, the publishing life of the village is still active. By 1986 two hundred and twenty-one publications can be found, consolidating the model as a valid and unique one (Guillamet, 1988) with a vast majority of the publications published in the Catalan language (Guillamet, 1987). Cities like Sabadell, Manresa, Girona or Vic kept and strengthened their publications. Right now Sabadell has its own newspaper, *Diari de Sabadell*, bilingual and published daily. Regió 7, newspaper from Manresa and its surroundings went from being periodical, published every three weeks in 1983, to being daily these days. Maybe the most extremist example would be *El Punt Diari*, a newspaper from the zone of Girona, that went from being a regional newspaper to buy the nationwide newspaper *Avui* and change its name to *El Punt-Avui*, with both local and national editions.

2.5.4. History of the Barcelona neighbourhood press

This section will follow the works of Gerard Maristany and Albert Musons in *Del desencant a la contra-informació: La premsa de barri a Barcelona 1976-2001*, and of Manuel López in *Un periodisme alternatiu i autogestionari: La premsa de barris a Barcelona 1968-1977*.

Neighbourhood press of Barcelona is a part of the Catalan regional history as explained earlier. But it is a part with its own history due to the special situations it encountered throughout its history.

Along with the creation of the local press in small towns in the 19th century, the neighbourhoods of Barcelona developed their own press. At the time these neighbourhoods were still small towns or villages, with their own councils and completely independent from Barcelona. Newspapers can be found in Gràcia in 1884

(La Legalidad, El Eco de Gracia, La Linterna de Gracia), Sarrià in 1895 (El Sarrianés, El Verdaderos Sarrianés), Les Corts in 1890 (El Lustro) or even earlier like in Sant Martí in 1872 (El Eco del Taulat, El Vigilante, L'Arch de Sant Martí) or Sants in 1877 (El Eco de Sants, El Noticiero de Sants). Clearly, these newspapers are an example of the aforementioned creation of press in small towns or villages for as at the time these neighbourhoods were still independent villages surrounding Barcelona. The last one of them in joining Barcelona was Sarrià in 1921 “enmig d’una forta resistència popular” (Maristany & Musons, 2002: 11). This press fed mostly from local news, notes from the local organisations, council news, etc. They were highly political, showing strong ideologies and using the publications to spread them. But most of all, they defended their independence in front of the forthcoming annexation to Barcelona.

The annexation did not stop the publication of these newspapers. Horta in 1916 with *Horta*, in 1921 with *L'Eco d'Horta* and *Santa Eulària* and in the 1930s with *La Vall d'Horta*, Gràcia in 1921 with *La Veu Gracienca*, Sant Martí in 1924 with *Poble Nou* and *La Veu de Sant Martí* in 1921 and *La Rambla del Guinardó* in 1931 in Guinardó are some examples of this new publications after the annexation of the villages into Barcelona.

However, the civil war, as explained earlier, stopped the publication of these newspapers and it did not restart again until the 1950s with publications like *Les Corts* or *Gracia* in the 1960s. Before that the Catholic Church fostered some publications such as *Sarrià* in 1948 or *Ideal* in 1944 in Horta, but the fact that they were being published by the church gave them a different tone.

Late francoism opened some opportunities for publications. From 1971 to 1978 thirty-nine publications were created in neighbourhoods of Barcelona. Problems with housing, schools, council services, etc. made this press a good way to express the anger of the population and the longing for freedom and democracy. Again these newspapers regained their importance as a means to articulate, along with the neighbourhood association, these sentiments and claims. Also, most of these new publications were published through the neighbourhood associations giving these people a clear and strong voice within the neighbourhood.

With the democracy this press suffers a crisis. The loss of importance of neighbourhood associations in favour of political parties that were gradually legalised made the number of publications decrease. However, in the early 90's there was a revival.

This revitalisation is promoted by independent companies who see the neighbourhood press as a business opportunity and seek to professionalise an industry that, having been deeply tied to the neighbourhood, had a very low degree of professionalism, making many magazines and newspapers not profitable and with non professional staff, with many of its employees working for free in occasions or with students taking non paid working experience. These companies, however, seek profits and try to keep profitable publications and businesses.

Another type of organization that promotes this press are the organisations for local media promotion. These organisations originate in local television and radio projects and created very modest media groups. Organisations such as CAEPISSA, DeBarris or Foundation Diomira are responsible for publishing a series of local magazines and newspapers.

Such publications face some problems for continuing the publication of their newspapers and magazines. The lack of advertisers, or their irregularity, dependence on subsidies and semi volunteers, the need to understand and work within the neighbourhood, the non existence of selling revenues due to the fact that these newspapers are free from charging price, etc. are some of the main problems to solve by these companies so as to keep the publications going.

As seen, Bourdieu's concepts help understanding the social positioning of the journalists and the characteristics of the relationship of the journalistic field with the other fields, especially the field of power, which shapes the journalistic field and its struggles between pure and commercial journalism (Bourdieu, 1994, 2005). These characteristics, which are based on the *habitus*, *capital* and *field*, define the attitudes and dispositions of the journalists towards the news (Benson, 2009, 2013; Bourdieu, 1985, 1994, 1997, 2005), pieces of news that are tailored following the processes of *framing* (Entman, 2007), *agenda-setting* (McCombs, 1977) and *gatekeeping* (Shoemaker et al, 2001). These pieces of news construct and change the perception and the ideas of the audience

and readers (van Dijk, 1995) through the *symbolical power* (Bourdieu, 1991), giving media a crucial role in regards the perception of immigrants (van Dijk, 1987). Immigrants, a social position already defined, that are given low visibility in media and that are linked to negative *frames*. However, the fundamental difference between the structural characteristics of mainstream media and the local one, the latter linked to *public journalism* (Ferreira et al, 2011), *citizen journalism* (Kaufhold et el., 2010) and *engagement* (Huertas & Andreu, 1982), might provide the right environment to foster a different kind of journalistic practices.

The next chapter that follows will cover the investigative goals as well as the chosen methods to fullfil these goals and reach useful conclusions. Each method is explained so as to understand why it serves a purpose and is linked to a specific goal.

METHODS

3. Goals and sample

The object of study of this research is no other than the neighbourhood press of Barcelona. Its theoretical characteristics have already been discussed and compared to the general press and its history, focusing on the Catalan regional press and the neighbourhood press of Barcelona, has also been reviewed. Both of which have shown how this press follows its own journalistic logics due to its formal and theoretical characteristics. It is important to stress the fact that the neighbourhood press of Barcelona and its newspapers have a short life span, which might be considered a general characteristic of the regional and proximity press, making it hard to establish long time patterns due to the lack of a historical line, that is, it is not easy to determine whether a practice or an attitude is an established practice or attitude or an anecdote because of the lack of continuity, hence the importance of studying newspapers with a long life, or at least as long as possible. Also, since this research pretends to unearth journalistic practices by studying portrayals and depictions of the immigration, a subject widely researched in mainstream media, a significant migrant population in the neighbourhood of the newspaper is essential. The period this research covers goes from the year 2000 to the year 2012. Years in which the immigration wave started (2000) and a clear pattern of a decrease of the migrant population is seen (2012 although starting in 2009).

After having reviewed and discussed the theoretical background of all the aspects of this dissertation, the goals may be laid out. Bourdieu's concepts and ideas have been examined and applied to the journalistic field. A fitting definition of immigration has been found and the prejudices applied to the immigrants by the press have been discussed. Finally the formal and structural characteristics of the neighbourhood press as part of the Catalan regional press have been evaluated. Taking all this into account the goals are as follows:

3.1 Goals

This research's main goal is to unearth the journalistic practices of the journalists of the neighbourhood press of Barcelona so as to understand the journalistic field of this press, taking into account its special characteristics as inscribed within the tradition of the Catalan regional press, by studying the way these journalists depict and portray the immigration. These special characteristics may, or may not, make the neighbourhood press be considered a different way to understand journalism thus separating it from the general journalistic field or simply reproducing the same mechanisms only through a smaller medium.

Specific goals

- Specific goal 1: To see which **frames** are used by the neighbourhood press when referring to immigrants.
- Specific goal 2: To see the degree of **visibility** of the immigration and the immigrants in the neighbourhood press of Barcelona.
- Specific goal 3: To study the **social field** of the neighbourhood press.
 - 3.1: To know what neighbourhood journalists think of journalism.
 - 3.2: To find historical and formal characteristics of the neighbourhood newspapers.
 - 3.3: To position the agents within the journalistic field based on the objective relations and positions between them.

Basically, the ultimate goal is to draw conclusions in regards of the used frames and visibility of the immigrants and the characteristics of the neighbourhood journalistic field. It is important to clearly state the sample so as to know exactly what to study and fulfill the goals. An explanation of the sample of this research follows this section. The explanation not only states the sample but gives a brief review of each newspaper and their general characteristics.

3.2. Sample

As already stated the sample must cover as much of the period from the year 2000 to the year 2012 as possible and must be from a neighbourhood with a high immigration rate. Four newspapers were found where these criteria were met or partially met. These newspapers are:

Table 17: Newspaper's information

Newspaper	Year foundation	Copies distributed	District	% immigration
La Marina	1994	6000	Sants-Montjuïc	13.8/9.4 (13.6)
El Raval	1994	5000	Ciutat Vella	50.0
Zona Sec	1997	5000	Sants-Montjuïc	30.6
La Barceloneta	2001	5000	Ciutat Vella	30.6

These four newspapers cover the whole range of the study, except for La Barceloneta which was published for the first time in 2001, and are newspapers of neighbourhoods with a high percentage of immigrant population with the exception of La Marina which in terms of percentage is below the average of the city but it is very close to the CIE (Foreigners Internation Centre) which increases the importance of the immigrant factor in the neighbourhood. The research will cover the twelve years from the start of the immigration wave, in the year 2000, up to the year 2012. Six out of these twelve years will be completely studied, being the six even years (2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010 and 2012). This temporal frame is explained by the fact that the number of immigrants rose sharply beginning in the year 2000 and started to decrease in the year 2012¹³¹⁴ while at the same time it went from being an important concern all through the mid 2000s and beginning of the 10s to representing a concern to a small part of the Spanish population. These two years then clearly differentiate a period. As mentioned

¹³ http://www.ine.es/prensa/padron_tabla.htm

¹⁴ <http://www.idescat.cat/poblacioestrangera/?b=0>

above, out of these four newspapers only three will cover the whole twelve years in monthly basis. These are El Raval, La Marina and Zona Sec. Both La Marina and Zona Sec did not, and still do not, publish in August. In terms of issues to study a total of 72 were studied for La Barceloneta, 77 for Zona Sec, 84 for El Raval and 77 more for La Marina, giving a total amount of 310 issues to study.

A brief presentation of the four newspapers will be provided in this section.

ZONA SEC

Zona Sec is a newspaper based in Poble-sec, the neighbourhood in the district of Sants-Montjuïc. It was founded in 1997 as a platform where the neighbours could express their opinions as a one page publication. However it soon became a newspaper and started employing journalists. Although independent Zona Sec is a member of the *Coordinadora d'Entitats del Poble-sec* which provides spaces to use as a newsroom as well as accounting services. Zona Sec is published by Enric Millet as the director and founder and the journalists Jordi Molina, Albert Hernández and Anna Pruna. It is published monthly, with the exception of August, and its five thousand copies are a 16-pages full colour newspaper.

LA BARCELONETA

La Barceloneta started its publication in 2001, in the neighbourhood of Barcelona, in the district of Ciutat Vella. Esther Marín is the only staff member of the newspaper, a newspaper highly based on El Raval's structure. It currently publishes five thousand copies of a 16-pages full color newspaper.

EL RAVAL

El Raval is the newspaper of the Raval neighbourhood, in the Ciutat Vella district. The roots of El Raval can be found as the official newspaper of the *Movimiento Humanista del Raval* in 1994. This group ceased to exist in the year 2000 and Javier Alegría, a founder member of the newspaper and a member of the *Movimiento Humanista del Raval*, decided to keep publishing the newspaper by himself. Javier Alegría is the only staff member of the newspaper and he acts as the editor, publisher, journalist and distributor. Five thousand full colour 24-pages copies are issued the 12 months of the year.

LA MARINA

La Marina began publishing in the year 1994 as part of the *Associació de Mitjans de Comunicació Local*. The association also owns a radio station which was founded prior to the newspaper's foundation. La Marina is base in the district of Sants-Montjuïc, covering the neighbourhood of La Marina del Port and La Marina del Prat Vermell. The number of pages of La Marina has changed over the years, starting with 12 and peaking at 30 although it is currently publishing 24-pages full colour issues. The six thousand copies of La Marina are published by Juan Antonio Reyes as the director, three qualified journalists, and several other collaborators that amount to a total of almost 20 people.

A justification of each method and technique as well as a review of the most important authors and researches regarding both our investigation and the methods and techniques will follow.

4. Methods

Each one of the goals will have to be researched with a different method that will fit the aim of the goal and investigation.

Table 18: Methods

Goal	Methods	Sample
To see which frames are used by the neighbourhood press when referring to immigrants.	Semiotics	Newspapers' articles and editorial articles
To see the degree of visibility of the immigration and the immigrants in the neighbourhood press of Barcelona.	Content Analysis	Newspapers' articles
To know what neighbourhood journalists think of journalism.	Interviews	Journalists
To find historical and formal characteristics of the neighbourhood newspapers.	Historical analysis/Interviews	Editors/Literature/Demographic Information
To position the agents within the journalistic field based on the objective relations and positions between them.	Historical analysis/Interviews	Variables from the 3.1. and 3.2. methodologies

Own elaboration

The first goal pretends to discover which frames are used when the neighbourhood press talks about immigration. The chosen methodology is semiotics, more specifically the technique used by Xavier Ruiz Collantes in *La imagen pública de la inmigración en las series de televisión españolas* (2006). Through this methodology the frames and the

roles given to the immigrants will be unearthed. Editorial and opinion articles will be analysed here due to their more opinion-based nature.

The second goal aims to see whether immigration has a greater visibility in the neighbourhood press and it will be carried out through content analysis and the methodology proposed by Igartua in his article *La información sobre inmigración en la prensa española. ¿Barreras mediáticas a la integración o imágenes que generan xenofobia?* (2004). This method will show the frequency in which frames are found, importance of the news, frequency of visibility within a given newspaper and key words used when referring to immigrants. News articles will be the universe.

The third goal aims to understand the journalistic field of the neighbourhood press of Barcelona journalists. This is done through three different subgoals that deal with different sides of this journalistic field. These are studied using different techniques.

The specific goal 3.1 deals with the thoughts of journalists regarding journalism, this is, what they think journalism is, what they think they are doing as journalists, their opinions on modern journalism, etc. Four interviews were carried out, one for each studied newspaper.

Goal 3.2 deals with historic, formal and structural information regarding the neighbourhood newspapers. In this case historical review will be carried out as well as the previously mentioned interviews in which a summary of the history and structural characteristics, such as number of employees, advertisement revenues, circulation, salaries, level of education of the journalists, etc, of the newspaper is asked.

In order to position the journalists within the journalistic field based on objective relations and positions the same two techniques will be used. Variables from 3.1 and 3.2 specific goals will be analysed through these techniques so as to understand the field of the neighbourhood journalism.

Specific goal number four pretends to draw conclusions by analysing results from goals 1 and 2, this is, frames and visibility, and the social field of the neighbourhood journalism (3.1., 3.2. and 3.3.).

The importance of making clear the sample so as to know exactly what to study and fulfill the goals is big. This section is followed by an explanation of the sample of this research. In this explanation, as well as stating the sample, a brief review of each newspaper and their general characteristics will be given.

It is of key importance to use different methods in order to draw substantial and clear conclusions. Not only the use of different methods is the best way to test one's hypothesis and research questions as well as one's goals but it also offers different and complementary explanations that provide with a deeper understanding of the object of research. Hence the importance of carefully and accurately choosing the methods. Only through a good selection of methods a deeper understanding of the subject will be reached and clear conclusions unearthed.

A particularity of the field of communication and media studies is that it offers the possibility of a multidisciplinary approach (Zelizer, 2009). Two fields have shaped the setting of journalism scholarship, sociology and political science, each one with its own set of methods and approaches to the field of communication, especially the works of journalism (Zelizer, 2006), offering then the possibility of expanding the scope of methods and approaches to use in a research in this field.

Through carefully reviewing the works of renown scholars and authors, different methods were found of which three were used. These methods fit what the methodology, social field analysis, demands, which is a complete understanding of the nuances and characteristics of the social field of the neighbourhood and the proximity journalists.

The first method is a semiotic analysis of the editorial and opinion articles. This method offers the possibility to bring to light hidden patterns in discourses. Content analysis as the second method, which grants a systemic analysis of textual units, news articles in this case. As for the third method, interviews, it allows the researcher to question and further understanding of the subject by directly asking the agents and actors involved in the process. Along with a historical review of this press, these three methods allow for a deep understanding of the social field of the neighbourhood and proximity press.

A fourth method is reviewed, although not used, in this chapter. The statistical method of correspondence analysis, due to its importance within the social field analysis, needs to be at least reviewed. However this research does not deal with an extremely big amount of data and since this statistical method helps making sense of a massive set of data by pointing out links and correspondences, correspondence analysis as a method was not necessary and hence not used. Nonetheless, the fundamental guidelines of this method, that is, mapping the studied field, were followed.

To sum up, three different methods, semiotic analysis, content analysis and interviews, backed up by a historical review, allowed to follow the stipulations of the methodology, social field analysis that led to testing the goals of this research.

A review of the fundamental characteristics and a justification of each method follows this section.

4.1. Semiotics

For our investigation an adaptation of the narrative semiotics will be used following the methodology shown by Xavier Ruiz Collantes, Joan Ferrés, Matildre Obradors, Eva Pujadas and Oliver Pérez in *La imagen pública de la inmigración en las series de televisión españolas* (2006).

The analysis of the chosen articles will be carried out according to this method, however, only a sample of the articles will be selected for this purpose. As will be shown in the results chapters 72 editorial and opinion articles were found. Zona Sec published eleven articles, El Raval published twenty-six, La Barceloneta published sixteen articles and La Marina published nineteen articles. The characteristics of the chosen units of analysis were of a high narrative content, not only of an exposition of facts, thus, units of analysis of the editorial or opinion genre will be opted for. Editorial or opinion articles have some particularities that make them different to analyse. Narratology classifies three temporal moods in order to study diverse narrative intentionality. These temporal moods are: Indicative (found in narrations regarding the past like historiography, journalism, novels, etc.), interrogatory (found in present

narrations like live tv news, cinema, music, etc.) and imperative (found in future narrations like advertisement, promises, futurology, etc.) (Zhao, 2011). Editorial and opinion articles could be found in the three temporal moods since they could relate to the indicative mood by referring to a past event, the interrogatory by referring to an event that is still occurring, and the imperative mood since the characteristics of these kind of article allow the author to write about the future, what he or she thinks might happen.

The semiotic approach analyses the discursive structures through which “the formulator of the discourse selects and orders the virtualities offered by the system” (Floch, 1988: 234), or again, it analyses the relationships between the invariables of the texts taking into account the signs (Floch, 1993). It is “a theory of sign systems” (Dastjerdi, et al., 2011: 117). It is important to understand that a text is socially constructed but it also constructs reality surrounding it, this is, it comes from a standpoint and takes the reader to a different point, however close to the original, therefore “[...] a text, taken in and of itself, is an invariant that can receive multiple readings because of extratextual changes vis-a-vis the instance of enunciation” (Greimas, et al., 1989: 653) and this “constructs a discourse whose function is not truthsaying but rather seeming-to-be-true” (Greimas, et al., 1989: 657). This semiotic approach unearths the narrative roles played by the actors, in our investigation, specially the immigrants. Hence, through the semiotic analysis the relationships that the immigrants as characters play with the other actors presented in the narrative structure of the articles will be shown and analysed in order to see the way the newspapers present these character in relationship to each other. These roles and the relationships established between the characters show the *frames* through which the immigrants are presented and represented in the newspapers.

Also, through the semiotic approach to the texts, the steps of the classical narrative structure will be illustrated showing not only the relationships between the characters but as well the functions each one of them plays within the narrative structure (Floch, 1988).

As it is seen, the narrative structure acts as the organiser of the human activity that will uncover the signification (Greimas & Courtes, 1982). However, another step will be added to the classical narrative structure. This new step is the disadjustment, a step that

pretends to explain the situation before the contract is set and that allows the narrative structure to develop as it classically is. This step was presented by Xavier Ruiz Collantes in his subject “Anàlisi dels discursos persuasius a la publicitat i a la propaganda política” within the Master in Estudis Avançats en Comunicació Social at the Universitat Pompeu Fabra.

This methodology is strongly linked to narratology since a possible way to understand narratology is as it follows: “A narrating subject places at least one event participated by at least one character into a text so that another (or the same) subject could interpret it as having temporality and significance” (Zhao, 2011: 330). This definition implies temporal and significant extents in the narration; it also needs to be factual since it is published in press, which is recording media (Zhao, 2011). Narratology then adds to general semiotics two narrative levels: surface and deep narrative levels (Greimas, 1971), but it also shows that micronarratives, or narrative structures, can be found in discourses (Greimas, 1989).

As already said, the analysis will follow the work of Xavier Ruiz Collantes et al. in *La imagen pública de la inmigración en las series de televisión españolas* (2006). Originally the methodology was designed to study the image of the immigration in Spanish fiction television series, aiming to identify the characteristics of the narrative structures found in the television series. This structure is also valid for our investigation because it points out the roles played by the immigrants and the characteristics given by the newspaper. Also, the research called “Medios informativos y discursos de la desafección en Catalunya: factores de desafección en los relatos periodísticos sobre la actualidad política catalana” written by Ruiz Collantes (2010) will offer some other useful tools to the semiotic approach of the study of the articles.

It is important to clarify that other methodologies have been taken into account. These different methodologies are not completely dissimilar from the methodology that is intended to be used; they are part of the same trend as they all have spawned from the classic semiotics. However, they do approach the object of study from different points of view and hence give different results.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is one of the methods that were reviewed and taken into consideration. This method offers, through widening what it is to be studied, the possibility to investigate the power relationships behind the signs, or put it in a different way “[...] critical discourse analysis is specifically interested in power *abuse*, that is, in breaches of laws, rules and principles of democracy, equality and justice by those who wield power” (van Dijk, 1993a:255). It is clear then that CDA seeks to unearth and understand the power relationships that lead to power abuse, inequality and injustice over a certain social group that do not hold the power (van Dijk, 1991, 1999), by understanding how these situations, these *dominances* are represented within the discourse. A discourse that, as discussed earlier, can *manipulate* what the audience or the readers get to know (van Dijk, 1989, 1993c, 1994, 1995).

Although it might look appropriate for our investigation, and certainly it cannot be said that the whole CDA is not applicable, this methodology focuses on *top-down* relations (van Dijk, 1993a). The problem that arises from focusing on *top-down* relations is that our object of study, the neighbourhood press, cannot be considered, from our standpoint, to be a *top* institution dominating a *down* social group, that is, the reproduction of *inequalities* and *dominances* as well as the social power (van Dijk, 1989, 1995, 1999). If anything, the neighbourhood press would be a *down* institution as it has been discussed in a previous section. Even so, it is important to take into consideration that CDA serves its purpose if “it is able to provide an account of the role language, language use, discourses or communicative events in the (re)production of dominance or inequality” (van Dijk, 1993a:279). Again, the neighbourhood press might not be a *top* institution but it might well be an institution reproducing some inequalities even if it is completely involuntary and making use of different stereotypes. But even when reproducing stereotypes and inequalities this press certainly does not have a dominant discourse and therefore cannot be thought the same way nationwide press is studied by van Dijk in his researches (2007).

CDA considers society and the social world a key part of what has to be studied from a dialectic point of view, not forgetting inequalities and power relationships that shape the world and the relationships between social groups (van Dijk, 1989, 1991, 1994, 1999). The lack of control over discourses is an element to keep in mind nonetheless. It cannot

be said that immigrants have a great control over, or access to, discourses, and, as van Dijk (1989, 1993a, 1995, 1999) reminds us, control over and access to discourses equals, generally, influence and power. In our case it is arguable that immigrants as a whole have access to discourses sketched by the neighbourhood press. Some might have access to it and some might not, whether because of a lack of knowledge of the languages, of knowledge of the existence of the newspaper or lack of interest. What is clear is that this collective does not have control over or access to discourses granted. The notion of news as discourse, specially linked to types of subtle and symbolic racist discourse is also of interest for this research (Sears & Henry, 2003; Tarman & Sears, 2005; van Dijk 1985, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1991, 1993a, 1993b, 1993c, 1994, 1995, 1999, 2007). Discourse analysis is more than simply a description of structures because a discourse is not only a text but interaction forcing the researcher to take into account the context, seeking the relationship between the text and the context thus understanding the nuances of the production of said discourse (van Dijk, 1988).

Another methodology that has been taken into consideration and reviewed but decided not to follow was the social semiotics of the mass communication proposed by Klaus Bruhn Jensen (1995). This methodology offers some really valid and interesting points, which, in a way, coincide with the critical discourse analysis. Again, social semiotics propose to consider and give central importance to the social environment and the social use of media since the author states that “si el elemento característico de la comunicación de masas es el proceso semiótico y la práctica social que surge de la integración entre los medios y las audiencias, entonces, la recepción, los usos sociales y los contextos culturales de los medios de comunicación cobran especial y estratégica importancia para la investigación” (Jensen, 1995: 104).

According to the social semiotics, mass media “sirven de interrelación entre lo cotidiano y otros espacios sociales” (Jensen, 1995: 80) understanding the everyday life as the physical space where people can directly act and be involved in events and not restricting it to the private sphere and where social communication can be understood as a variety of social semiosis (Jensen, 1995). Greimas and Courtes understood semiosis as a “operación productora de signos mediante la instauración de una relación de presuposición recíproca entre la forma de la expresión y la del contenido o entre el

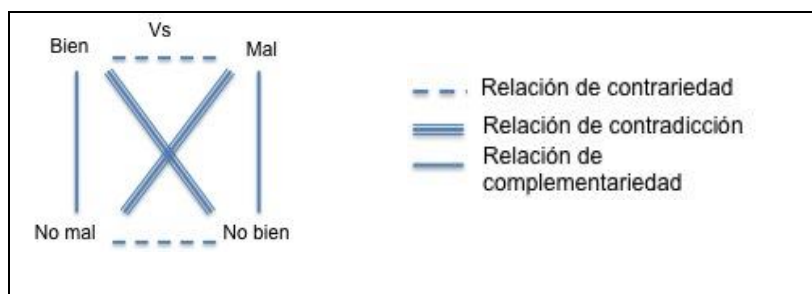
significante y el significado. En este sentido, todo acto de lenguaje, por ejemplo, implica una semiosis” (1982: 364).

One of the most interesting points of social semiotics is also the one that rules this methodology out for our investigation. The importance of language is that it is the main tool of exchange between reality and humans, so social semiotics must pay attention not only to the discourse and its signs but also to the social usages and context (Jensen, 1995). These usages and contexts are practices of the signifier and they create “lo cotidiano y regeneran las instituciones del sistema social, algunas veces con alguna diferencia” (Jensen, 1995: 111). Hence, social semiotics focuses on the reception of the discourses and the uses and cultural contexts that they create. Our investigation, though, does not focus on reception but on identity creation over a different collective, thus making social semiotics not appropriate for the research.

As seen then, the methodology will have five different stages, following the classical narrative structure plus the added step, the disadjustment. And so, according to Greimas and Courtés definitions (1982), it follows like this:

- Disadjustment: In which the original problem expressed in the article is pointed out and the main values articulated in the article are identified in order to construct the semantic table of values. The semantic table will be constructed following the example laid by Floch:

Figure 4: Semantic table



Source: Floch, J. M. (1993: 46)

- Contract: The contract stage of the narrative structure is the stage in which the mission is established. In the contract phase the proponent establishes the mission for the contractor, who in his turn, will have to carry out the proposed mission. Thus, not only the contract is established but also the mission to be carried out and the narrative roles of the proponent, the one that orders the mission, and the contractor, the character that will fulfil the mission.
- Competences: In this stage of the structure the abilities to be acquired by the contractor are set and defined. They may be of two kinds, abilities of motivation (To want to/ To have to), and of capacities (To know how/ To be able to). These four different abilities, competences, will allow the contractor to achieve and fulfil the mission and the contract.
- Performance: The performance is the stage where the programme set by the contract is carried out, or so to say, where the mission is performed. In this stage some other narrative roles can be identified. These are: - Subject of action (the contractor of the mission) – Subject of state (the character who benefits from the fulfilment of the mission) – Helper (the character that helps the subject of action to accomplish the mission) - Opponents (the elements that harden the accomplishment of the mission) - Adversary (the character opposed to the contractor of the mission)
- Sanction: The sanction is the final stage of the narrative structure. In this stage the contractor of the mission is evaluated about the fulfilment of the mission. If the mission has been successfully accomplished the sanction will be positive, however, if the sanction has not been completely accomplished this sanction may be negative.

This method, as it is shown in the results chapter, proved to be useful and provided with enough information to draw conclusions in regards of the *frames* used by the studied neighbourhood newspapers. The results were, later on, discussed with the journalists as part of the interviews method.

4.2. Content Analysis

Content analysis is a method used since the first half of the 20th century that allows the researcher to investigate the body of the communication content from a systematic point, describe it accurately and interpret it with insight (Berelson, 1971). It is important to note that “content analysis is a summarising, quantitative analysis of messages that relies on the scientific method (including attention to objectivity-intersubjectivity, a prior design, reliability, validity, generalisability, replicability and hypothesis testing) and is not limited as to the types of variables that may be measured or the context in which the messages are created or presented” (Neuendorf, 2002: 10). Hence, the fact that content analysis is a quantitative method that allows the researcher to summarise the analysed content gives the opportunity to “categorise phrases, describe the logical structure of expressions, ascertain associations, connotations, denotations, elocutionary forces and one can also offer psychiatric, sociological interpretations. All of these may be simultaneously valid. In short, a message may convey a multitude of contents even to a single receiver” (Krippendorff, 1990:22). It also takes into account the context and the meanings someone attributes to a given set of data, placing importance on the symbolic qualities so as to infer aggregated antecedents or consequences to the particular set of data, thus revealing trends and patterns (Krippendorff, 1989). As a method, content analysis places great importance in its replicability when it comes to analyse messages, messages that elicit their meanings from other messages (Krippendorff, 1980), hence this method helps making sense of stretches of text to support conclusions (Krippendorff, 2004a). This method offers a wide range of techniques “(c)ontent analysis is a way of asking a fixed set of questions unfaltering of all of a predetermined body of writings, in such a way as to produce countable results” (Carney, 1972: 6).

However, content analysis may have problems of reliability that should be taken into consideration. The researcher should be very conscious of the possible problems of reliability data since “(t)rust in the quality of the researched records is what counts” (Krippendorff, 2005: 8). The data should be studied through widely available coders, should follow explicit and clear instructions and should be independent from each other (Krippendorff, 2004b) as well as this set of data should provide with enough

information to infer conclusions (Krippendorff, 1967). The main problem in content analysis though is the problem of coping and dealing with meanings, contextual dependencies and symbolic qualities of the data (Krippendorff, 1980) as well as the dynamic nature of this field (Krippendorff, 2005) that goes beyond the range of the specific communicators (Krippendorff, 1971). The content analyst must be aware of all these situations and find the mechanisms to resolve them without compromising the data.

One of the mechanisms used in this research to cope and deal with the problems in regards of content analysis is the use of several analysts (López, 2002). In the case of this research only one analyst was used, however, an agreement between the analyst and Dr. Pilar Medina as the advisor of the dissertation was reached in regards of the categories and the analysis process. Doubts and hesitations were also discussed and agreed so as to find a common solution. In short, an inter analyst agreement was reached in order to overcome the problems encountered in the analysis.

Many investigators have used content analysis on their researches as it is a valid method, reliable and replicable. Regarding our investigation, content analysis is a suitable method. It allows us to systematically record quantitative data from the chosen articles. This quantitative data will be compared and conclusions will as a consequence be drawn so as to see the way immigrants and the immigration is depicted by the neighbourhood press.

Following the works of Igartua et al. (2004) the sheet analysis will have three sections, each one of them covering a specific section of the information needed for the investigation. The sheet analysis, with its three sections will be as follows:

- a) Identification section: In this section basic information for the identification of the unit of analysis will be drawn. Information such as: the newspaper, the month of publication, the section where the unit of analysis was published and the genre of the unit.
- b) Formal information section: This section tries to discover the importance of the article regarding the formal format of the unit of analysis, or so to say, it can be

assumed that, by having stronger links with the cover, bigger formal information, etc. the article will be awarded with a higher importance index. The variables for this index are: Odd(0) even (1) page, whether the unit refers to the opening article/cover(1) or not (0), opening of the section where published(1) or not(0), size of the unit of analysis (1= less than a quarter of a page, 2= between one and two quarters, 3=between two and three quarters, 4= more than three quarters but not the whole page 5= whole page), graphic information(1) or not (0). To construct the importance index the results from these variables will be taken into account although the placement of the article in odd or even page will not be understood as relevant. The remaining dichotomic variables will award 0 or 1 points depending on the results, and the size of the unit of analysis will award between 1 and 5 points. Therefore the index will be a numeric one between 1 (minimum importance) and 9 (maximum importance). This index will show the importance given to the published articles allowing to cross it with other variable and check the situations in which the articles are more or less important (again, importance according to the created index).

- c) Immigration News Framing Analysis: The immigration news framing analysis pretends to unearth the main frames used by the neighbourhood newspapers studied in the analysis. It follows the idea coined by Igartua et al. (2004) of the ENI (Encuadres Noticiosos de la Inmigración). In this case the variables will not be completely taken from the author's research; rather, the variables will be based on the ones from the article. The reason to not do so is that their investigation is focused on nationwide press and, as presented before, the standpoint of this investigation is that neighbourhood press follows a different approach to the immigration issue due to the aforementioned conceptual differences between these two kinds of press. For that reason, although Iguartia et al. will be followed as a guide, the variables for the immigration news framing analysis will have to be constructed anew. In order to do that two main actions will be taken. First, the semiotic analysis will be taken into consideration, and second, a pre analysis of a smaller sample will have to be conducted. The aim of the pre analysis is to discover the main frames where the immigration is set. An analysis table of content will be constructed with the purpose of analysing

afterwards the whole sample. This table will show the following information:

- Geographic/physical spaces
- Temporal spaces
- Main characters
- Definition of the immigrants
- Actions by the immigrants
- Actions to the immigrants

All these variables will be filled with categories from the qualitative pre analysis and the semiotic analysis. The former will fill the geographical and temporal spaces, as well as the actions by and to the immigrants. The semiotic analysis will give information regarding the main characters interacting with the immigrants as well as the definition of the latter. Again, this pre analysis will provide categories to fill the variables with the aim of analyse the framing of the immigration in the whole sample. It is important to create the categories so as to be able to compare the results afterwards. In order to create the categories the researcher will have to insert units of significance into the categories.

One last variable was added to reveal whether immigrants are granted a chance to speak for themselves or not. This will be established by seeing if immigrants are quoted (1) or not (0) in the news article hence showing if immigrants have the oportunity to challende their depiction or they are simply passive agents.

4.3. Interviews

Not everything may be understood through semiotics and content analysis; some nuances may be lost in the process of analysing since, epistemologically, the vision of the researcher gets imprinted in the analysis and hence, if not careful, may show a lot more of the researcher than of the research.

Interviews then, give the option to understand and observe situations that cannot be otherwise learnt, as well as the opportunity to have an insight in the point of view of the interviewee. As Sampieri states: “(e)l proposito de las entrevistas es obtener respuestas sobre el tema, problema o t3pico de inter3s en los t3rminos, el lenguaje y la perspectiva del entrevistado (“en sus propias palabras”). El “experto” es el mismo entrevistado, por lo que el entrevistador debe escucharlo con atenci3n y cuidado. Nos interesan el contenido y la narrativa de cada respuesta” (Sampieri, et al, 2006: 599). Interviews show their full potential when used to explore and enter a communicative place where the spoken word is the main vehicle to understand and reach a biographical, intransferable and personalised experience (Alonso, 1998), which means that not only the context by the experience and the standpoint of the interviewee are of key importance, as well as the role of the interviewer as a facilitator of this process (Olabu3naga et al, 1998). Following Lindlof (1995: 166), seven goals of the interview can be identified:

Table 19: Goals of the interview

Learning about things that cannot be observed directly by other means
Understand a social actor’s perspective
Inferring the communicative properties and processes of interpersonal relationships
Verifying, validating, or commenting on data obtained from other sources
Testing hypothesis the researcher has developed
Eliciting the distinctive language – vocabulary, idioms, jargon, forms of speech – used by social actors in their natural settings
Achieving efficiency in collecting data

Different kind of interviews can be found. The first one is the structured interview where a guide and a complete set of questions lead the interview, which only covers the topics that have been decided beforehand, always following the guide and the order. The semistructured interview adds a bit of liberty in the interview, still having a guide and a set of questions but giving the interviewer freedom in regards the order or skipping and adding questions. Finally, the free interview is an exploratory technique that seeks to gather information when this is scarce. Hence the free interview is a perfect first approximation. It is carried out without a guide or preset questions and it intends to let the interviewee talk with as much freedom as possible, that is, as little interruptions as possible (Sampieri, 2006; Gaitán & Piñuel, 1998) which means that this situation has to resemble a conversation among equals without the constraints of a questionnaire and a guide to follow and it demands learning not only what to ask but how to ask (Taylor & Bogdan, 1992) and yet however free this conversation might be, it cannot be forgotten that an interview has a structure, in regards the topics to be discussed, and a purpose, gather information (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). These different forms of interview can facilitate, depending on the degree of structuring, the gathering of qualitative or quantitative data (Palacios & Díaz Noci, 2007).

Three approaches might be found regarding the three different interview. The sociological autobiography or history of life; where the interviewer learns from the interviewees of the main experiences of their lives through personal experience. And these experiences are constructed actively in the conversation, being the life, or rather the construction of the life, the final product as a result of the interview. The second approach seeks to learn about certain events or activities that cannot be learnt through direct observation. Hence, the interviewees are the informant, and instead of giving only their personal experience some other contextual information is expected. The last approach intends to give a panoramic view of different scenes and sceneries regarding a given situation. This is, this approach pretends to understand the context of an event and how it was experienced by the community instead of the personal experiences of single individuals (Taylor & Bogdan, 1992).

Interviews then contrast with the positivist conception of knowledge as a given fact than may be quantified and show an active process where both interviewer and interviewee

produce and construct knowledge (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). It is of key importance to be constantly conscious of the role of co-creator of the interviewer since it can affect, and it actually affects, the way this knowledge is produced, not only by conducting the interview but also by recording and analysing personal experiences through another personal experience as the interview is, which in a way limits the interview. But there are other limits to this method that need to be taken into account. The interview has to be preceded by a deep understanding of the medium and the context of the topic to study; otherwise information will be lost or misunderstood due to a lack of knowledge. There are limitations in time and space. Space is very important in order to reach the needed information and has to be set accurately, however, time has a major impact in the interview since it is obvious that, in most cases, the interviewee will have a given amount of time to dedicate to the interview and the interviewer will have to do with the time that is given. And again, the limit of having to make sense of personal experience, with the subjectivity that this implies is a very strong limit. Subjectivity is a constraint that forces the researcher to be very conscious and wary; people say and do different things in different situations. The artificiality of the interview may create artificial responses to the questions (Taylor & Bogdan, 1992).

However, this subjectivity also serves a purpose when what is wanted is self perception, or social perception, of an event or situation. Being aware of this knowledge construction and seeking personal experiences may not compromise the research but complement it when compared to more objective data. People live in a subjective world and we make sense of this world through subjective perceptions, understanding them is an important part of a social field research.

In the case of this research semistructured interviews were carried out. A certain tone of conversation was expected and desired, it was never supposed to be a questionnaire with no freedom to add or skip questions or to go more deeply into one aspect of the interview. The importance of the interviews laid on the capacity to add depth to the information and data that had already been collected and to ask opinions about situations and ideas regarding journalism. Hence the importance of a set of questions that guided the interview through the specific topics that needed to be addressed while at the same time keeping enough freedom to veer in a different direction.

RESULTS

In this new chapter the results drawn from the application of the three methods previously described will be presented. The results are also ordered following the goals as described in the goals chapter, that is, semiotic analysis, content analysis and interviews. As this order was not chosen randomly but carefully tailored for this research the application of the methods was also carried out in the same way. The semiotic analysis provided with the frames that were used in the content analysis, which in its turn provided with information of the depiction of immigration by the studied newspapers that was used in the interviews so as to unearth the journalistic practices and attitudes of the neighbourhood press journalists in order to study their journalistic field.

As it is, the first section of this chapter will present the results of the semiotic analysis. These results are shown separated by newspaper, a section for every newspaper, followed by a general analysis of the results. The same pattern is found for every one of the methods. Presenting the results in this manner may help the reader finding the information and shows raw results and analysis separately.

Finally, a last section will present the final conclusions. In this section the results will be contrasted with the theoretical frame providing with a detailed analysis of the meaning of all these results regarding the main goal and the theoretical frame.

5. Semiotic Analysis

This method is used for the first goal of this research. The first goal dealt with *frames* and was set to **see which frames are used by the neighbourhood press when referring to immigrants**. As the *frames* are uncovered they will be used for the next method, hence the importance of carefully study the sample. It is also important to remind that only editorial and opinion articles are studied here, a total of 72. As explained in a previous chapter this method seeks to find the narrative structure (disadjustment, contract, competences, performance and sanction).

5.1. Report Zona Sec

Zona Sec is Poble-sec's newspaper, a neighbourhood in Sants-Montjuic's district with a 28,7% of immigration in 2011, being the district's neighbourhood with the highest percentage. Poble-sec had a population of 40.919 in June 2010 in barely a squared km, making it a very highly densely populated neighbourhood compared to the density of the whole city, 43.227/km² in front of 15.903/km²¹⁵.

As for Zona Sec, this newspaper was created in 1997, thus covering the whole period of this research. Zona Sec publishes monthly with the exception of August, the only month with no monthly edition. This amounts to a total of 77 newspapers to study, out of which 11 editorial and opinion articles were found¹⁶, ten of them being editorial articles and only one being an opinion article, written by Alberto Villagrasa, a member of the Popular Party.

It is interesting to note that out of all these eleven editorial or opinion articles where immigrants and immigration are mentioned only in a few of them they are given an important role. In most of these articles their role is secondary at best since in most of the articles immigration is not the main topic but a side note to make a point. Although it is true that all these articles, except the opinion one written by the member of the Popular Party, have a sense of social fairness and unveiling injustice, topics in which immigration can be fitted. However, the fact that immigrants as a collective are always either just mentioned or given secondary roles may show something.

Only four out of the eleven articles are strictly related to immigration, and they all were written in 2010 (February, April, November and December). This is so because of the creation of the Taula de la convivència, a board of different associations where cohabitation problems could be dealt, extensively covered in February 2010 and again, although not as extensively, in April of the same year. The editorial article written in November 2010 follows the topic of the main interview of that month's issue, which is an interview to Rafael Crespo on the topic of integration. And December's editorial

¹⁵ Population of Barcelona in 2013 <http://www.idescat.cat/pub/?id=aec&n=250>

¹⁶ April 2000, February 2004, February 2008, April 2008, February 2010, April 2010, May 2010, June 2010, November 2010, December 2010 and July 2012.

article reviews the elections for the Catalan parliament, where an openly xenophobic party almost got representation.

The list of the main values expressed in these articles are, in chronological order:

- Social Justice – Social Injustice
- Remember – Forget
- Trust – Mistrust
- Effective Response – Ineffective Response
- **Cohesion – Exclusion**
- **Coexistence – Intolerance**
- Social Goals – Economic Goals
- *Help by Council – Disturb by Council*
- **Intercultural Treatment– Stereotyped Treatment**
- **Xenophobic Discourse – Respectful Discourse**
- Authoritarianism – Democracy

As seen, only the values in bold are the ones related to immigration, the opinion article is highlighted in italics. It is important to note that the four bolded editorial articles have values linked to negative situations. Not one of them refers to positive situations like educational success or any other situation that may be seen as positive. The four of them are related to problems with integration, although not on the side of the immigrants but on the side of the naturals of the neighbourhood.

The rest of the editorial articles use immigrants and immigration to state a point, but their topics are not strictly related to immigration. We can see how in the first one immigrants are depicted as cheap labour (*ja en vindrà un del Marroc i si no, hi ha milers de ciutadans de l'Europa de l'est esperant poder venir, per escàs que sigui el*

sou), as an abused collective by the government in the second one (*I la política amb els nouvinguts?*), as an integration challenge within other challenges in Poble-sec (*fenòmens com la immigració o la indigència han estat temes que sovint ens han arribat a la redacció en forma de crítiques cartes al director/clima de desconfiança [...] amb les generacions nouvingudes/ [...] la Plataforma Poble-sec per a Tothom, on un equip de voluntaris rep i escolta les persona immigrades per dotar-les d'eines per afrontar la seva nova vida*). In May 2010 immigration was presented as an example of news that need better coverage (*Qui són aquests immigrants? Per què aquestes persones vénen al barri? Per què abandonen el seu lloc d'origen? Com ens veuen? Què podem fer per conviure-hi sense problemàtiques? Totes aquestes qüestions no s'aborden. No hi ha temps, cal un reporter fent carrer i això és temps que es perd per repicar qualsevol teletip d'agència o qualsevol portal d'internet. No interessa.*). For Albert Villagrasa immigrants need better integration (*aquesta mostra ha de servir també per reivindicar [...] millor integració de la immigració...*), and for Pedro Venero, the main subject of the editorial article published in July 2012, immigration was something undesirable (*solia parlar amb displicència i arrogància de la nova realitat cultural del Poble-sec*).

Regarding the contract, none of the articles portray immigrants as a contractor of the mission; hence they never are the subject of action. Immigration is never depicted as the proponent of the mission, being always given a passive role, where they are neither the contractor nor the proponent. It can be argued that when *citizens* or *neighbours* are regarded as either the contractor or the proponent immigrants are included and hence in some situations they may be depicted in an active role. However, in these articles, immigrants are always portrayed as a different collective, as the *immigrants*, in a strong sense of *otherness*, even if this *otherness* is not used from a negative standpoint, so why would the newspapers separate them in a section of the editorial article and treat them then as an included collective in the *neighbours/citizens* concept? It is clear to us that in these articles *immigrants* and *neighbours/citizens* are thought as two different collectives.

As for the execution and the roles taken by the different characters shown in the articles, immigration and immigrants are almost never depicted as the subject of action. It may be argued that in the article *Si a la (taula de la) convivència*, published February 2010,

immigrants, as members of the Taula de la convivència, do act as subjects of action (*I fer seure en la mateixa taula tots els agents socials, veïns, tècnics i els mateixos immigrants és l'única manera d'aconseguir aquest propòsit. La participació dels nou vinguts serà clau. És el cas de l'Associació Cultural d'Honduras, l'Associació Intercultural Dos Mundos Mil o Atimca (Associació de Treballadors i Immigrants Marroquins a Catalunya). La seva participació té una triple funció, ja que demostra una clara voluntat d'integració per part de les organitzacions de nouvinguts; una clara predisposició al diàleg i al coneixement mutu; i, de retruc, elimina el discurs fàcil dels al·lèrgics a la immigració que subscriuen impunement que "els immigrants no es volen integrar"*). It seems clear that in this case immigrants are the subject of action, although it is also clear that they are the subject of action through the Taula de la convivència, with other collectives from the neighbourhood. Hence, although immigrants do act as the subject of action, they do it along with other associations and collectives and not on their own.

As for the Subject of State, that is, the character who benefits from the fulfilment of the mission, immigrants act as such in four occasions. It is in the four articles related to immigration, February, April, November and December 2010. In the first one, published in February, immigrants share the role with the neighbours. It is clear when the article mentions cohabitation (*L'objectiu és impulsar, consensuar i planificar iniciatives i strategies per tal de millorar la convivència i erradicar, poc a poc, alguns actes incívics.*) showing how the neighbours will benefit from a better integration, and also when talking about xenophobic attitudes (*i, de retruc, elimina el discurs fàcil dels al·lèrgics a la immigració que subscriuen impunement que "els immigrants no es volen integrar"*.) towards immigrants. The second article also splits the role between immigrants and neighbours. In this case it can be seen when the editorial article mentions the benefits of sport towards integration and cohabitation regarding immigration (*Cada cop més, molts joves nouvinguts aprenen les seves primeres paraules en català compartit equip amb nois i noies autòctons.*) and also in this part (*És clar que els nouvinguts que arriben al nostre barri ho fan en unes condicions poc idònies com per contagiar-se d'un projecte comú.*) showing how neighbours learning from sport and having a positive attitude towards immigration will help them integrate. Neighbours as the subject of state is shown in the idea of them benefitting from

immigrants integrating better so as to not suffer from the consequences of the not integration of these (*I és clar que els veïns del barri no tenen per què gaudir de la paciència suficient com per suportar segons quines conductes.*). As for the November article it is clear that the immigrants are the ones that would benefit from the intercultural journalism or treatment of the news. That way, by receiving an intercultural treatment the immigrants would not need to “*renunci(ar) al que són*”. The article published in December, regarding the election for the Catalan Parliament also shows immigrants as the subject of state. Again, in this article immigrants share the role with another character. In this case the Catalan Parliament because it would benefit from not having xenophobic discourses in it. However, immigrants are another character that benefits from the lack of xenophobic discourse, although it is not clearly referred to it is implied. Immigrants would be then a part of the population that would be treated, at least in parliamentary politics, respectfully without xenophobic discourses.

However, some other examples may be found where immigrants are regarded as subjects of state but within the broader concepts of the *neighbourhood, population, class*, as the whole group of people that live within the borders of Poble-sec.

In the first case the article published in April 2000, where immigrants are regarded as cheap labour (*ja en vindrà un del Marroc, i si no, hi ha milers de ciutadans de l'Europa de l'est esperant poder venir, per escàs que sigui el sou.*) and then included in a wider idea of “*nosaltres*” (*...només pensem que tots i cada un de nosaltres ens hem de plantejar si continuem amb el campí qui pugui particular o si no s'haurà de pensar en solucions col·lectives;...*). The fact that immigrants are included in this *us* as a class is easily seen through the parallelism of young workers accepting bad working conditions as well as immigrants accepting even worse working conditions, united as labour.

The article published in February 2004 shows immigration as the subject of state, along with the rest of the neighbourhood. In this article the newspapers encourages citizens not to vote for the Popular Party and reclaim their dignity. The attitude towards immigrants of the Popular Party government is one of the situations criticised by the newspaper (*I la política amb els nouvinguts?*), hence showing how the whole population would benefit from voters voting a different party than the Popular Party. Immigrants clearly are included within this concept of population.

The editorial article published in February 2008 gives three examples of associations that provide services that benefit the whole neighbourhood, that is, all the neighbours. Since immigrants are mentioned as part of the neighbourhood it is easy to understand that the article also refers to them when talking about the neighbourhood, (*Pensem que, de la mateixa manera que ens queixem d'allò que ens incomoda o ens preocupa, també cal valorar la vocació solidària de moltes agrupacions perquè, se'ns dubte, un barri també són les entitats, i en aquest cas, el Poble-sec té un tresor.*), as it mentions immigrants too as one of the examples of associations (*[...] la Plataforma Poble-sec per a Tothom, on un equip de voluntaris rep i escolta les persona immigrades per dotar-les d'eines per afrontar la seva nova vida.*).

The last example of immigrants as subjects of state within a broader concept is found in the article published in April 2008. This article discusses the role of the administration in solving problems and advocates for neighbourhood associations as the ones that have better knowledge of the problems faced by the neighbourhood, as well as the lack of funding for these policies. And one of the problems faced by the neighbourhood is the problem of immigrants' integration (*Les carències socials al barri es fan patents, per exemple, en la manca de presupost destinat a potenciar les relacions i la integració cultural. La immigració pren cada dia més importància, i aquest no és un problema, és un repte.*). A better funding and understanding of these situations, not only the integration of immigrants but also urban renovations, which is the other example given by the article, will benefit the neighbourhood, again understood as the whole group of people that live within the borders of Poble-sec.

As for the other roles it is important to note that only in two occasions immigrants get a different one, being helpers in both occasions. The helper is the character that helps or makes possible that the subject of action successfully achieves the mission. In February 2010 immigrants, or rather associations of immigrants, are portrayed as helpers that will make sure the Taula de la Convivència achieves and fulfils the mission. These associations are Associació Cultural d'Honduras, Associació Intercultural Dos Mundos and Associació de Treballadors i Immigrants Marroquins a Catalunya, all of them associations that are part of the Taula de la Convivència.

The second case is found in the article published in April 2010 where not immigration as a concept but specifically an immigrant is regarded as a helper. Kamal, the representative of the Associació de Treballadors i Immigrants Marroquins a Catalunya is shown as an example of an immigrant that wants to share a future with the rest of the neighbours of Poble-sec (*...el representat dels treballadors marroquins a Catalunya, en Kamal, un exemple més de predisposició per part del nouvingut a traçar un camí conjunt de convivència.*). Since the article talks about positivity towards the integration of the immigration, to show an immigrant who wants to be a part of the new society which he finds himself in and who is at the same time the representative of an association that deals, in part, with integration clearly gives the idea of Kamal as a helper towards this positive attitude towards the goal of integration.

In no case immigrants are ever depicted as a negative situation in the neighbourhood, which as seen before, it is a change from general and nationwide depiction of immigration. However, they are almost always portrayed as subjects of state, that is, the characters that will benefit from the fulfilment of the missions, or in other words, the ones to help and hence becoming a passive character. Also, in the articles where they are clearly mentioned, where the subject of the article clearly regards immigration, the main values always focus on cohabitation and integration or the lack of it. Even when they are not presented from a negative standpoint, the frame continues to be somewhat negative, since concerns for integration and cohabitation are problems and situations that might arise conflict.

Table 20: Semiotics Zona Sec

- Articles regarding immigration: 4 (11)
- Role: Subject of State (passive characters)
- Values: Linked to negative situations

Own elaboration

5.2. Report La Barceloneta

Barceloneta is one of the four neighbourhoods of Barcelona's historical centre, the district of Ciutat Vella. It has a population of 15.745 in 1.3 km², with a density of 11.984/km², below the density of the city and the district¹⁷. Its foreign population amounts to the 28,2% as of 2011. It is also the neighbourhood of Ciutat Vella with the lowest percentage of immigration. However it is still much higher than the average for the whole city, which is 17.3% in 2011, making Barceloneta one of the neighbourhoods with higher percentage of foreign population.

La Barceloneta is the newspaper of Barceloneta. It was created in 2002 and it does not cover the whole period of study, missing the year 2000. This newspaper publishes an issue every month, making it a total amount of 72 issues to study in which 16 editorial and opinion articles were found¹⁸. Twelve of these articles are editorial articles and four are opinion articles written by Lúdia García, Emilio Suárez, Vicens Forner and Pere Benito i Ruiz.

In most of these articles immigration serves a purpose in the argument, it is used to make a statement or to make a point, but it is not, generally, the main issue of the article. Immigrants are seldom given an important or active role although they are always shown and depicted from a sense or standpoint of social fairness and protection to them. Only three of these articles are strictly related to immigration, that is, there are only three articles in which immigrants and immigration are the main topic to discuss. The first one of them was written in October 2002, titled *La inseguridad ciudadana preside el debate de la pre-campaña electoral*, the other two were written and published in 2006, June and September, and are titled *Delincuencia e inmigración* and *Inmigración imparable*.

The list of main values shown in these articles are as it follows, in chronological order:

- Social Improvements – Social Worsenings

¹⁷ <http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/catala/dades/inf/barris/a2012/barri3.pdf>

¹⁸ January 2002, February 2002, May 2002, June 2002, July 2002, October 2002, November 2004, June 2006, September 2006, June 2008, November 2008, January 2010, July 2012 and October 2012.

- Change – Permanence
- *Change - Permanence*
- Negative Adjectives – Neutral Adjectives
- Selfblame – Exoblame
- Usefulness – Futility
- *Racism - Acceptance*
- **Truth – Lie**
- Hope – Hopelessness
- **Manipulation – Truth**
- **Uncertainty – Security**
- Economic Trust – Economic Mistrust
- Reality – Illusion
- Change – Stalemate
- *Good Piece– Bad Piece*
- *Neighbourhood – Theme Park*

The values in bold are the ones from the articles where immigration is the main topic and the values in italics are the ones from opinion articles, when values are in bold and in italics articles are both opinion articles and articles where immigration is the main topic. What is interesting about these three editorial articles is how the newspapers sides with the immigrants and defends them from the attacks of other agents. In the first article the newspaper demands a stop in using lies when right wing and extreme right wing parties use immigration as their scapegoat by linking immigration with crime. The second article, published in June 2006, follows the same idea, claiming that the idea of

immigration linked to crime is false and crime should be explained using different arguments other than the origin of people. The third article, published in September 2006, still follows the idea of lies regarding immigration but from a different point of view. In this case the article argues society should accept the change that immigration provides or creates by accepting the idea of immigration as a transformation process and less dramatic than what media show. As for the opinion articles where immigrants are the main topic we can see how two articles can be found. The first one published in February 2002, titled *Bienvenido Vecino* and written by Lía García, portrays the immigration as an important character providing positive change to the neighbourhood. It is also the opening article to a series of interviews to immigrants in order to give visibility to these new neighbours. The second article, published in July 2002 and written by Emilio Suárez, claims that Spaniards, and actually humanity as a whole, are fundamentally racists against poor people from other countries even though he asserts that immigrants are lazy and thieves are not true or at least as true as it could be said about the Spaniards.

The other articles use immigration to make a point, but the main topic is not strictly related to immigrants and immigration. However, it is close enough for them to be mentioned and given a role. A role that, as we said, is usually passive and secondary. The first article depicts immigrants as people who cannot be blamed for the lack of nursery vacancies (*La gente se queja de que la mayoría de plazas se las llevan los inmigrantes, ¡pero, si nunca ha habido suficientes plazas!*). The second one portrays immigration as the tool and the solution to change society and rejuvenate it (*Muy probablemente la solución pase por la llegada de inmigrantes.*) while the third one shows the word immigrant as an adjective that involves a social status by using it in certain contexts (*La inmensa mayoría (sic) de nosotros diría que había visto como un inmigrante borracho había agredido a un señor mayor.../ Pero al decir “un inmigrante” estamos extendiendo un tinte descalificador sobre todo un colectivo que nada tiene que ver con la conducta de ese señor./Lo que estamos diciendo es que la idea de relacionar inmigración y delincuencia es solo posible por el mecanismo de la comunicación que hemos explicado antes.*). In the fourth and fifth articles the newspaper continues with the idea of immigrants being given an unfair status by the Spanish government linking immigration to crime (*...este gobierno [...] culpa del*

aumento de la inseguridad ciudadana a los inmigrantes basándose en una estadística reciente según la cual el 80% de los detenidos son inmigrantes.), and regarding immigration as an occasional problema that will be attributed to agents other than the government (...y los problemas puntuales – terrorismo, inmigración, educación, sanidad, etc. – serán atribuidos a culpables que nada tendrán que ver con el Gobierno.), within the context of a general strike that attempts to fix real problems and not situations that occasionally result in problems, like immigration. The article published in November 2004 shows immigrants as the victims of an international situation (Mientras esto sucede, miles de millones de personas se ven en situaciones extremas de pobreza y explotación, testigos impotentes de la opulencia que las televisiones globalizadas del primer mundo les ofrecen. Es el caldo en el que se cultiva el impulso a la inmigración. Esa inmigración en busca de futuro que obliga a dejar atrás familiares y amigos, paisajes y costumbres, hogares y futuros sin futuro...). By June 2008 the economic crisis had already started and people were living with the consequences of it. That month's article depicts immigration as some kind of infraclass, to be used and sent back to their country of origin (En la última década llegan al país cerca de 5 millones de inmigrantes. Eso es un 15% de la población total. En Catalunya pasamos de 6 a 7 millones de vecinos./ La mano de obra llega a diario./Inmigrantes al paro./Tendrán que irse./Corbacho nuevo ministro ya negocia con gobiernos extranjeros el retorno de contingentes de inmigrantes: "oiga, se los mandamos de vuelta pero van con ahorros para invertir". "Ya bueno, responden, y no podrían quedarse y seguir mandando divisas?"/Por cierto, fíjense en el papel de los inmigrantes en todo esto... Y aún hay quien se queja de ellos.) The article published in November 2008 portrays immigrants as a collective hit especially hard by the economic crisis (Y donde más afecta el paro es entre el colectivo de inmigrantes.). However, by January 2010 the tone changed a bit and immigrants were depicted, again, as a means to change society (Globalización de las comunicaciones, imágenes que ciculan por todo el mundo sin posibles limitaciones, mejora de los transportes... ¿Por qué voy a vivir toda mi vida condicionado por el lugar en el que nací? Millones y millones de seres humanos procedentes de regiones menos favorecidas reciben las imágenes de la opulencia de los países ricos y se lanzan a la emigración. En la primera década de este siglo las corrientes migratorias humanas han sido tan importantes que están cambiando el

paisaje humano tradicional. Si las fronteras van perdiendo su sentido, las corrientes migratorias están sembrando lo que en los próximos años será habitual: sociedades monoculturales que pasan a ser multiculturales para acabar siendo sociedades sincréticas en las que razas y culturas de origen se mezclan, se interrelacionan y dan origen a una nueva realidad sociocultural que avanza hacia una más que predecible “cultura humana universal” que seguramente precederá a una “nación humana universal”...). In the opinion article written by Vicens Forner, July 2012, about the documentary shot in the neighbourhood, immigration, or rather immigrant kids, are shown as a problem for some neighbours because they do not recognise them as kids from “here” (*también ha habido quejas porque al parecer unas minorías opinan que los niños de la escuela Alexandre Galí son inmigrantes en lugar de salir los de aquí.*). Finally, the article written by Pere Benito i Ruiz, which is actually the opening speech for the Barceloneta festival, immigration is depicted as a situation that creates “*una realitat multicultural. La integració ha de ser un objectiu de tots, com ho ha estat sempre*”.

As for the contract, in no article immigration or the immigrants are given any important role. They are never the contractor, therefore they are never the subject of action, this is, the hero of the mission but at the same time they are never the proponent of the contract. They are in no situation given any active roles in regards the missions, hence, whenever they are given a role, this always has to be passive. It seems to be a constant not only in La Barceloneta but in the other newspapers. As with the other newspapers, it could be argued, sometimes, that the concepts of *society*, *neighbours*, *citizens*, even *neighbourhood* might include the immigrants, consequently giving them an active role. It is our believe that, in these cases, immigrants are always portrayed as a different collective, where *society*, *neighbours*, *citizens* and *neighbourhood*, and any other broad concept, refers to the nationals, the natural citizens of the neighbourhood, and immigrants are another collective within the neighbourhood.

Regarding the execution, immigrants are never depicted as the subject of action. The above statement applies for this situation. Broader concepts may be used, but it never involves immigrants as they are always mentioned as a different group. Immigrants are more often given the role of subject of state, in nine occasions out of fourteen articles.

Neither of the two opinion articles give immigration any important role, but just side notes to make a point of exemplify a situation. However, immigrants are usually subjects of state along with another character, in two of the nine articles immigrants are the only subjects of state. They, in most cases, have to share the benefits of the accomplishment of the mission. The articles in which immigrants are the only subjects of state are *La inseguridad ciudadana preside el debate de la pre-campaña electoral*, published in October 2002 and *Delincuencia e inmigración*, published in June 2006. The first article in which immigrants are the only subjects of state shows them as victims of stereotypes that link them to crime (*La raíz del problema no está en si nacieron aquí o allá.../La mentira consiste en acusar a los inmigrantes por su lugar de nacimiento/Para un país es mucho más cómodo acusar a los inmigrantes que asumir las verdaderas causas del problema: la desigualdad social entre países y la desigualdad dentro de los países ricos.*), and hence, through the eradication of those stereotypes, that is, the fulfilment of the mission, immigrants would be better off. The article published in June 2006, titled *Delincuencia e inmigración*, depicts immigrants as the victims of populist arguments in which lies are used to criminalise immigration (*...relacionar las nuevas formas de delincuencia con la inmigración es una forma impresentable de demagogia./Millones de inmigrantes se dedican a trabajar y a buscar un futuro para sí mismos y para sus familias. Que unos cuantos se dediquen a la delincuencia es solo la muestra de que en todos los colectivos hay un porcentaje de delincuentes./Pero de ahí a relacionar delincuencia e inmigración hay un paso que solo “delincuentes de la información” están dispuestos a dar.*).

Other articles in which immigration has to share the role of subjects of state are, for example *Viviendo en un mundo convulso*, published in November 2004, depicts immigrants as victims of an international situation that forces them out of their countries (*Mientras esto sucede, miles de millones de personas se ven en situaciones extremas de pobreza y explotación, testigos impotentes de la opulencia que las televisiones globalizadas del primer mundo les ofrecen. Es el caldo en el que se cultiva el impulso a la inmigración. Esa inmigración en busca de futuro que obliga a dejar atrás familiares y amigos, paisajes y costumbres, hogares y futuros sin futuro...*). If this situation changes, if hope is not lost in the possibility to live in peace is achieved, immigrants as the subject of state will receive the benefits of this mission's achievement. However,

hope, in a more philosophical point of view, is also the subject of state since it is the hope of a better world what is at stake. In May 2002 immigrants are regarded as subjects of state since the article advocates for not using *immigrant* as a negative adjective with negative connotations. In June 2002 the article claims *immigrant* as a category does not explain crime and other concepts and categories, like poverty, should be used instead. Hence immigrants benefitting from not being framed as criminals because of their origin. In July 2002 the newspaper shows immigration as an occasional situation that can be problematic but is used to hide real problems of Spain. The article published in September 2006 depicts immigrants as a transformation process less dramatic than what media and politicians show and affected by global inequalities and globalisation. In June 2008 immigration is shown as an infraclass that is used and sent back to their countries of origin as a consequence of the economic crisis, crisis that affects immigration especially as it is claimed in November 2008 (*Y donde más afecta el paro es entre el colectivo de inmigrantes.*). All these articles present immigration and society as subjects of state since both groups profit from the mission.

Out of the other roles only one can be found in these fourteen articles, which is the role of the helper, the character that helps the hero, the subject of action, achieve its mission. In February 2002, in the article titled *Nos estamos haciendo viejos*, immigration is depicted as the way to make changes in society through rejuvenating it (*Muy probablemente la solución pase por la llegada de inmigrantes. Millones de trabajadores que actúen como fuerza productiva capaz de equilibrar una situación evidentemente peligrosa para nuestro futuro. Gentes con otra mentalidad y otra predisposición – capaces de ocuparse de los trabajos desechados por los españoles y con la costumbre de tener mucho más que 1,4 hijos – pero que necesitaran un tiempo de adaptación y un tiempo para ser aceptados.*). It is clear here that immigrants will help society through their work force and their child bearing to change and overcome this aging and hence they take the character of the helper. Without the help of immigrants the mission cannot be fulfilled, which is to change society and rejuvenate it. The article *Comienza una década, la segunda del nuevo milenio*, published in January 2010 also portrays immigrants as helpers. This article claims political and social institutions are old and outdated and do not serve the purpose of helping humankind. For the article the only way to overcome this situation is to accept immigration as the drive to change and

recognise (*Si las fronteras van perdiendo su sentido, las corrientes migratorias están sembrando lo que en los próximos años será habitual: sociedades monoculturales que pasan a ser multiculturales para acabar siendo sociedades sincréticas en las que razas y culturas de origen se mezclan, se interrelacionan y dan origen a una nueva realidad sociocultural que avanza hacia una más que predecible “cultura humana universal” que seguramente precederá a una “nación humana universal”...*). Clearly immigrants will help creating this new societies in which race and nationality will not matter; therefore immigrants are given the role of helpers. Without them this essential transformation could not happen.

The only situations in which immigrants have an active role is when they are depicted as helpers. However, even if active it still is a secondary role. Then again, immigrants seem not to be able to have an active and central role when issues regarding their situations are discussed.

Nonetheless, immigrants are never portrayed in a negative sense. The newspaper seems to always side with the immigration and denounce unfairness caused to this collective, which links immigration to negative frames even though these frames are never attributed to the immigrants but to institutions, certain politicians or political parties and nationals from the country and/or neighbourhood.

Table 21: Semiotics La Barceloneta

- Articles regarding immigration: 5 (16)
- Role: Subject of State (passive characters)
- Values: Linked to negative situations

Own elaboration

5.3. Report El Raval

Raval as a neighbourhood has the highest percentage of immigration of, not only the district of Ciutat Vella but of Barcelona, with a 47.9% of immigration over the whole population. It is also the most densely populated neighbourhood of the city, with 42.787km² and a population of 46.595 in a 1, 1 square km¹⁹. Ciutat Vella is also the district with the highest percentage of immigration, 40.5% being Sants-Montjuic de second one with 19.2%.

El Raval as a newspaper was first published in April 1994, hence covering the whole period of our investigation. El Raval publishes monthly, with no exception, which gives us a total amount of 84 issues to study. Out of these 84 issues, 26 editorial and opinion articles were found, six of them being opinion articles and twenty being editorial articles.

Immigrants are given a role in fifteen out of these twenty six articles, which means that in eleven articles the immigration is used a note or to make a point. In El Raval, as it happens in the other newspapers, all of these articles tend to have a sense of social justice and side with less favoured and fortunate people. It is interesting as well how out of these fifteen articles in which immigrants have a role, only four of them give them active roles, either Subject of Action or Helper, while the rest of the articles confer passive roles to immigration.

Another interesting fact to point out is that there are no editorial articles where, at least, immigrants are mentioned in the years 2000 and 2002. Immigration is a very important phenomenon in Ciutat Vella, and especially in El Raval, as well as in Barcelona as a whole. Barcelona goes from a 6.3% of immigration in 2001 to a 16.5% in 2006. An increase of more than 10 points in five years, hence it is easy to see how from 2004 on immigration becomes a really important topic for El Raval. However, this is not to say that in the years 2000 and 2002 there are no news on immigration, it is only that there are no editorial or opinion articles regarding this topic.

The list of the main values expressed in these articles are, in chronological order:

¹⁹ <http://w110.bcn.cat/fitxers/comerc/estudieconomicravalarbarri.032.pdf>

- **Integration – Marginalisation**
- **Adaptation – Stalemate**
- *Integration – Marginalisation*
- **Coexistence – Intolerance**
- **Demagogue – Honesty**
- Restart – Stop
- **Uncertainty – Security**
- Critical Circumstances – Vanal Circumstances
- *Loss of Rights – Maintenance of Rights*
- **Mistrust – Trust**
- *Coexistence – Integration*
- *Right to Vote – Exclusion*
- New Culture – Old Culture
- **Economic Trust – Economic Mistrust**
- *Inclusive Democracy – Exclusive Democracy*
- **Developed Country – Developing Country**
- Crisis – Growth
- Uncertainties – Certainties
- **Change – Stalemate**
- **Threat – Advantage**
- Infantilism – Matureness

- Information – Disinformation
- Problematic Neighbourhood – Safe Neighbourhood
- Diversity – Uniformity
- Crisis – Prosperity
- Poverty – Crime

The values in bold are the ones related to immigration, the opinion articles are highlighted in italics, when values are in bold and in italics articles are both opinion articles and articles where immigration is the main topic.

Again, as it happened with the other newspapers, most the values of the articles where immigration is the topic or is mentioned are negative situations, linked to problems like crime, lack of integration, economic crisis, lack of rights, etc. However not all of them are strictly negative. The article published in April 2008, *Multiculturalidad, interculturalidad y nuevas culturas*, with Nueva Cultura – Vieja Cultura as the main values of the articles, does not dwell on a negative situation but on the future positive situation of a new society. Another article, published in July 2012, advocates for the creation of a new urban concept using the neighbourhood, El Raval, as inspiration. In this article immigration grants the possibility of this new concept since immigrants add important value to the idea of Raval as a neighbourhood and hence immigrants are not linked to a negative situation but to a possible future positive situation. The main values here are Diversity – Uniformity, being diversity a desirable outcome of immigration in Raval.

Regarding the articles where immigration is the main topic we can see how in the first one immigrants are depicted as an active part of the society and therefore in the process of integration as well as the natives (*Por otro lado, cada cual tiene la libertad de aplicar los preceptos religiosos, las costumbres de su tierra o las formas culturales que parezca siempre que se encuadren dentro del marco legal que todos hemos de aceptar./Curiosamente, el proceso de integración en una sociedad no es algo que afecte*

en exclusive a los individuos procedentes de otras culturas o de otras realidades sociales. Cada persona, incluyendo las pertenecientes a familias de aquí [...] ha de integrarse en la sociedad.). As for the article titles *Viviendo en un mundo convulso*, it can be seen how immigrants are portrayed as victims of two sides, the western side and the muslim side, both of them regarded by the article as extremists (*La guerra de Bush contra el terrorismo internacional, fundamentalmente contra el terrorismo de tintes islamistas, se produce en un momento de grandes movimientos migratorios [...] / En el lado contrario son las voces radicales de fanáticos dispuestos a morir, defendiendo causas en las que igualmente se mezclan elementos ideológicos con religiosos [...] / Mientras estos sucede, miles de personas se ven en situaciones extremas de pobreza y explotación [...] / Es el caldo en el que se cultiva el impulso a la inmigración.*). The article published in October 2004 shows immigration as a problem that requires neighbours to adapt and change, an especially hard situation in a neighbourhood that suffered many physical and social transformations as Raval due to its specifications and the policies that the council laid out (*El barrio del Raval es un caso especial por muchos motivos. En los últimos años, los vecinos tradicionales han debido adaptarse a cambios realmente importantes. Una transformación urbanística les está obligando a soportar las molestias de unas obras que se suceden desde hace años. / Este proceso ha coincidido con el boom de la especulación inmobiliaria que ha puesto los precios de los pisos por las nubes dificultando la emancipación de los jóvenes y generando un nuevo fenómeno delictivo al que se ha dado a llamar “mobbing inmobiliario” que afecta sobre todo a los más mayores. / [...] los vecinos del Raval han debido hacer un esfuerzo más para adaptarse a la llegada de miles de inmigrantes procedentes de diferentes culturas que han llegado al barrio en un periodo de tiempo muy breve.*). It is important to note as well that the article opens by mentioning the allegedly terrorists and the proposal to build a mosque in the neighbourhood.

The next article is an opinion article published by a collective called *The Bishop's Voice* in which the general population is urged to treat immigrants as a person in need from a Christian point of view (*Ahi está este fenómeno nuevo para nosotros, reclamando de todos una postura inteligente y abierta. Para nosotros, creyentes, una postura hondamente acogedora: “fui forastero y me acogisteis”. Estamos llamados a colaborar en la integración.*). The article published in June 2006, *Delincuencia e inmigración*,

depicts immigration as a group recurrently linked to crime and the newspaper argues that most of immigrants are law abiding people that work and cause no trouble and the fact that there are criminals among immigrants shows that there are criminals among any other possible group of people (*Que unos cuantos se dediquen a la delincuencia es solo la muestra de que en todos los colectivos hay un porcentaje de delincuentes./Hay delincuentes entre los catalanes, entre los gitanos y entre los andaluces. Hay delincuentes entre los gordos y entre los flacos, entre los calvos y entre los melenudos, entre los hombres y entre las mujeres. ¿Cómo no iba a haber delincuentes entre los inmigrantes?*). The article published in September 2006 follows the idea of lies regarding immigration. The article argues society should accept the change that immigration provides or creates by accepting the idea of immigration as a transformation process and less dramatic than what media show (*En el caso de España y pese a la espectacularidad de la emigración Africana hay que tener en cuenta que la inmensa mayoría de los inmigrantes llegan a través de los pirineos y los aeropuertos.*). *Terrorismo* is the title of the article published in February 2008 where immigrations is depicted as people used to generate uneasiness in the neighbourhood (*Pero el hecho de que los detenidos sean islaistas, combinado con el recuerdo del 11-M [...] y combinado con el hecho de que en el barrio el mayor número de inmigrantes sea de religión islámica, ha producido un especial estado de temor y desconfianza.*).

The next article is an opinion article written by Javier Alegría, the editor of *El Raval*, in which immigrants are asked to actively integrate, and help integrate, in the new society they find themselves in (*Pero cuando hablamos de integración hablamos de otra cosa. Hablamos de que algo pasa a formar parte de una estructura distinta, generalmente mayor. En el caso de los inmigrantes del Raval, la integración significa que el grupo de los recién llegados pasa a formar parte de la estructura social que los recibe, de la estructura social que los recibe, de la estructura social del barrio./Integración no es sólo aprender a hablar la lengua (sea castellano o catalán)./Algunos colectivos llegados al Raval se han integrado mejor que otros. El colectivo pakistaní es de los que muestran más retraso en ese proceso./Llegar al barrio, abrir un comercio y sentarse a esperar clientes no es “integrarse”. Se puede considerar “convivir”, pero no integrarse. Integrarse es participar de las entidades del barrio, es rascarse el bolsillo para poner luces de navidad (no dejar que sean otros que iluminen mi calle) es*

rascarse el bolsillo (o mover el culo) para ayudar a financiar las comparsas de carnaval, o los equipos de futbol, es arrimar el hombro para organizar las fiestas del barrio [...] es... lo que hace los vecinos de aquí./ Algunos pakistaníes ya hacen todo eso, y lo hacen muy bien además. Pero son una minoría. Es a ellos a quienes corresponde instar a los demás a sentarse en las sillas que muchas entidades les ofrecen en sus reuniones.). SOS Racisme published an article in March 2008 advocating for the right to vote of the immigrants, portraying them as a group of people deprived of the fundamental rights of vote and political representation (*El proper 9 de març aproximadament un 10% de la població catalana, i vora el 15% que viu actualment a Barcelona no podrà decidir sobre el seu futur polític. Aquesta xifra posa d' manifest una crisi del nostre Estat de democràtic i de dret, que permet la discriminació en funció de l'origen de les persones. I això no només ho pateixen aquelles i aquells que no poden votar, sinó també la resta de la ciutadania, ja que aquest apartheid jurídic passa factura en un pla social.*). The next article, *1 de Mayo. Crisis*, shows immigration as an infraclass, used when needed and sent back to their countries of origin when not needed anymore (*Immigrants al paro. No podran pagar sus hipotecas. Tendran que irse./Corbacho Nuevo ministro ya negocia con gobiernos extranjeros el retorno de contingentes de inmigrantes: "oiga, se los mandamos de vuelta pero van con ahorros para invertir". "Ya bueno, responded, y no podrian quedarse y seguir mandando divisas?"*)/*Por cierto, fíjense en el papel de los inmigrantes en todo esto... Y aún hay quien se queja de ellos.*). The NGO SOS Racisme published another article, reinforcing their position towards the votes of immigrants in May 2008. Again, immigrants were portrayed as a group deprived of fundamental rights (... *las declaraciones del Sr. José Blanco como máximo portavoz del gobierno son una muestra del poco interés que en realidad suscita en el gobierno los temas que significan avanzar en la real integración de las personas inmigradas./El derecho al voto significa y simboliza este reconocimiento por parte del Estado.*).

The editorial article published in July 2008, titled *Immigrantes fuera*, depicts immigration as a result of international policies towards their countries and towards the access of these immigrants to the new countries (*El mundo está dividido en dos grandes grupos, los que tienen un nivel de vida más o menos satisfactorio, con avances tecnológicos, con servicios relativamente adecuados en sanidad y educación, en*

infraestructuras, transporte, etc. y los que no tienen casi nada./El resultado de todo ello es que vivimos un periodo histórico de movimientos migratorios masivos en diferentes partes del planeta./Los países europeos, celosos en el cuidado de su bienestar, aunque orgullosos de su sensibilidad humana, están tratando de dirigir el proceso: hay que dejar pasar mano de obra barata para atender el Mercado laboral, pero limitar la entrada para evitar problemas sociales internos./Se “comprende” que los inmigrantes son seres humanos, pero se les acepta solo en la proporción en que puedan ser “útiles”.) In January 2010 immigrants were depicted as a means to change society (*Globalización de las comunicaciones, imágenes que circulan por todo el mundo sin posibles limitaciones, mejora de los transportes... ¿Por qué voy a vivir toda mi vida condicionado por el lugar en el que nací? Millones y millones de seres humanos procedentes de regiones menos favorecidas reciben las imágenes de la opulencia de los países ricos y se lanzan a la emigración. En la primera década de este siglo las corrientes migratorias humanas han sido tan importantes que están cambiando el paisaje humano tradicional. Si las fronteras van perdiendo su sentido, las corrientes migratorias están sembrando lo que en los próximos años será habitual: sociedades monoculturales que pasan a ser multiculturales para acabar siendo sociedades sincréticas en las que razas y culturas de origen se mezclan, se interrelacionan y dan origen a una nueva realidad sociocultural que avanza hacia una más que predecible “cultura humana universal” que seguramente precederá a una “nación humana universal”...).* Immigrants were mentioned as a problem from Raval affecting other neighbourhoods and hence being something undesirable in those bordering neighbourhoods in an article published in February 2010 (*...sobre él (se refiere al Poble-sec) se cierne ahora la amenaza de “los vasos comunicantes” con el Raval).*

As it happened with the other newspapers, immigrants are used to state a point when used in articles that do not concern them directly. In *El raval crece* immigrants are depicted as a situation of the neighbourhood that deserves and needs more attention. Attention that gets when election times come in order to scare people and help the right wing parties get more votes as stated in *Elecciones*. However, immigration is shown as an important part in the creation of a new society in the article titled *Multiculturalidad, interculturalidad y nuevas culturas*. In August 2008, *Crisis en el barrio*, immigration is portrayed as a collective where unemployment is more prominent. In September 2008,

in an article titled *Incertidumbres en el raval*, immigrants are shown as a phenomenon that changed the internal composition of the neighbourhood and as a collective where the crisis is strongly affecting. In April 2010 immigration was depicted as the recipient of policies to stop racist attitudes, situation shown in August 2010, where immigrants learn what Catalonia is through direct contact with the neighbours of Raval. However, this direct contact might carry some problems, as mentioned in the article *200 meses contra corriente*, where immigrants are mentioned as another situation the neighbours have had to endure. In *Diversas diversidades* immigration is depicted as one of these diversities that make Raval an especial neighbourhood. Integration of these new neighbours is vaguely discussed in *En Azulgrana*, in October 2012, proposing FC Barcelona players as a way to help immigrants to integrate. And finally, in November 2012, immigrants, or rather mother immigrants, are depicted as caring and capable mothers; however the question of the role of women in their societies is raised.

Regarding the contract, only three articles give an active role to immigrants. These are *Integración y debates artificiales*, published in July 2004, with immigrants as a contractor along with original citizens, and therefore having an active and important role, the mission being to integrate, *Hablemos de integración*, published in February 2008, where immigrants are again given the role of the contractor, where the mission is to achieve integration and not only cohabitation, and the article *Inmigrantes fuera*, published in July 2008, with immigrants as proponents of the mission, Europe should decide the correct approach to the problem of immigration, whether a humane approach or a limiting one.

As for the roles given to the characters shown in the articles, we can see how immigrants are rarely given an active role; they only appear as Subjects of action in two occasions, and as helpers in two occasions as well. Immigrations are given a passive role as Subjects of state in twelve occasions and are never depicted as any other role.

The articles where immigrants appear as Subjects of action are *Integración y debates artificiales*, published in July 2004, where they are given the mission of integrating in the new society, and in *Hablemos de integración*, published in February 2008, where immigrants are again given the mission to integrate and not only cohabitare. The first article portrays immigrants as one of the subjects of action, along with neighbours, in

the mission of integrating in the new society. The abilities and competences these characters should achieve in order to fulfil the mission are: to want to be part of the society, to have to accept the change, to know how to integrate by complying with the rules, and to be able to respect the law and rules. Both immigrants and native neighbours have to attain these abilities in order to integrate immigration within the new society since both groups have to not only accept changes but to accept the new situation and the new rules derived from the new situation. The final sanction will be when in the future this new society is composed of citizens and not natives and immigrants through the effort of every part that composes it.

In *Hablemos de integración*, immigrants are given the role of Subjects of action on their own, not sharing it with any other character since the article claims that some immigrants simply cohabit and do not integrate in the society and compels the non integrated immigrants to integrate and the integrated ones to help the former to integrate. The necessary abilities to achieve this mission are, to want to be part of the neighbourhood, to have to “*arrimar el hombro*” (help the neighbourhood), to know how to be as the native neighbours, and to be able to require the non integrated immigrants to be part of the associations. Both, integrated and non integrated immigrants are compelled to acquire these abilities so as to achieve the mission of going from cohabitation to integration. The final sanction will be the moment when immigrants are normal participants of the associations and members of the society.

Immigrants find themselves fulfilling the role of helpers in two occasions the first one being the article just reviewed, *Hablemos de integración*, in which integrated immigrants are not only Subjects of action since the mission requires them to actively help integrate non integrated immigrants, but helpers as well since they are involved in helping the non integrated immigrants to go from merely cohabiting to integrating. In January 2010, *Comienza una década...*, immigrants are portrayed as helpers to the mission of changing with old structures and creating a new society in which immigration, as a novelty acts as a developer of change where the Subject of state is the whole society.

What is interesting about some of the articles found in El Raval is the fact that some of their editorial and opinion articles talk directly to immigration and requests an active

role in integration from them while at the same time understands the necessity of the native population to accept the change. In this case, unlike the other newspapers, El Raval understands integration as a double sided process, in which natives need to embrace the change provided by the new population come from different parts of the world and demands from these new people the will to accept the new society and understand that they will have to let part of their cultural background go in order to be an active part of this new neighbourhood.

Table 22: Semiotics El Raval

- Articles regarding immigration: 15 (26)
- Role: Subject of State (passive characters)
- Values: Linked to negative situations

Own elaboration

5.4. Report La Marina

La Marina is the newspaper of the Marina neighbourhoods. This newspaper comprises two different neighbourhoods, La Marina del Port and La Marina del Prat Vermell. These neighbourhoods had a 14.2% and an 8.8% of foreigners in 2011 which are low rates compared to the other neighbourhoods of this investigation. However, it represents a 23% when adding up both neighbourhoods, which is a rate much closer to the rates of the other neighbourhoods. Studying La Marina is relevant though, not only because its immigration rate is still higher than the Barcelona average, 17.3% as of 2011, but because of its proximity to the CIE (Foreigners Internation Centre) and the impact that this institution has in the neighbourhood. La Marina's geographical extension amounts to 1.3 km². With a population of 30.098 its density is 23.982/km²²⁰, higher than the average of the city, 15.903/km², and much higher than the average of the district,

²⁰ <http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/catala/dades/inf/barris/a2013/barri13.pdf>

7.949/km². This information gives information only about La Marina del Port, adding La Marina del Prat Vermell would distort the density of population due to its low density, 80/km² because of its extension and its population, 14.3 km² and 1.138²¹.

La Marina was created in 1994, which means that the newspaper covers the whole range of the investigation. La Marina publishes monthly with the exception of August, the only month with no monthly edition. This amounts to a total of 77 newspapers to study, out of which 19 editorial and opinion articles were found.

Most of the articles found in La Marina are opinion articles, only four of the nineteen articles are editorial articles. Also there are thirteen articles in which immigration is the main subject. However, there are other articles in which immigrants are given a role because the main subject concerns them. In this case sixteen articles have been found. In only four of these sixteen articles immigrants are given an active role, the role being the helper, whereas in thirteen articles they are given a passive role, subject of state in this case. In one occasion immigrants are given both the role of helper and subject of state.

The list of the main values expressed in these articles are, in chronological order:

- *Racism – Integration*
- *Integration – Backlash*
- *Renovation – Stalemate*
- *Reflection – Thoughtlessness*
- *Change – Stalemate*
- *Insights – Shallow Anàlysis*
- *Integration – Exclusion*
- *Active – Passive*
- *Racism – Respect*
- *Speak – Silent*

²¹ <http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/catala/dades/inf/barris/a2013/barri12.pdf>

- *People – Territory*
- Promises – Commitments
- **Integration – Exclusion**
- *Passivity – Activity*
- *Riches – Pooors*
- **Ensuring Rights – Loss of Rights**
- *Solidarity – Poverty*
- *Scial Progress – Social Setback*
- Crisis – Economic Improvement

As seen, only the values in bold are the ones related to immigration, the opinion articles are highlighted in italics, when values are in bold and in italics articles are both opinion articles and articles where immigration is the main topic. It is important to note that all of the articles refer to negative situations or situations with possible negative outcomes, which means that the main values tend to show these negative situations as well. All the values in bold are values linked to negative situations.

The articles in which immigration is not the main subject use the immigrants to state a point or as an example. Their subject might affect immigrants but immigration is not at the core of the topic and hence is not the main subject. The first article depicts immigrants as a group of people in need of a better approach by the media, among other situations with the same need (*Por dos veces la integración de los niños y niñas inmigrantes en nuestras escuelas han sido motivo de gran polémica mediática*), in the second one immigrants the CIE (Foreigners Internation Centre) is mentioned as an example of a situation to dealt with by the new mayor. The third article depicts immigration as victims of situations created by unfair capitalism (*Els immigrants amuntegats a l'aeroport*). Immigrants are depicted in the fourth article as people in need of help (*Sorgia un nou rostre: el dels immigrants*), as a subject to discuss (*I així, un*

llarg etcètera de propostes en temes com: la dependència, la immigració, la infància, la gent gran...) and as victims of the economic crisis (*Cada dia apareixen noves dades que ens recorden com l'actual context de recessió està castigant severament no només als més dèbils (infants, gent gran, immigrants, famílies en risc d'exclusió social...), sinó també a les classes mitjanes.*).

As for the contract, none of the articles portray immigrants as a contractor of the mission; hence they never are the subject of action. Immigrants are always given a passive role, where they are neither the contractor nor the proponent. As it has been mentioned, it could be argued that when *citizens* or *neighbours* are regarded as either the contractor or the proponent immigrants are included and hence in some situations they may be depicted in an active role. However, as it was explained it seems clear that in these articles *immigrants* and *neighbours/citizens* are thought as two different collectives.

Regarding the execution and the roles taken by the different characters shown in the articles, immigration and immigrants are never depicted as the subject of action. The fact that they are never depicted as Subjects of Action shows a situation in which immigrants never have the most important role and hence they can only be given a negative role, a passive one or a secondary role at best.

Immigrants are given the role of Subject of State, that is, the character who benefits from the fulfilment of the mission, in thirteen occasions, two of them along with the helper role. Being portrayed as the Subject of State relegates immigrants to a passive role, a role in which they can only wait for the Subject of Action to accomplish the mission, that is, they can only expect to benefit from a mission someone else has set and marched to fulfil. The article published in January 2000 by Xavier Sanz talks about a survey that reveals a somewhat veiled racism among university students (*[...] un 56% piensa que el gobierno debería impedir la entrada de más extranjeros en España, de los preguntados casi la mitad vinculan inmigrante a droga y delincuencia... Un 50% se considera "algo racista".*) and he argues that this racism has a fundamentally economic trait (*Un racismo fundamentalmente económico que solo puede ser neutralizado con la prevención, la integración social y la formación de la sociedad, son las únicas vacunas útiles, porque la memoria, el balance de nuestro trágico siglo XX no parece suficiente*

lección.) and that the best way to help this situation is to accept it (*Reconozcamos que todos llevamos un racista dentro un tipo al que le resulta más cómodo rechazar al otro, más fácil defender su privilegio que entender otras realidades; un ser escondido, amenazante que busca un resquicio para salir al exterior atravesando nuestra frágil conciencia.*) and by accepting it immigrants will be more fairly treated.

A second example may be found in the editorial article published in April 2004. In this article it is argued that the terrorist attacks in Madrid on the 11th of March of that same year may trigger racist attitudes towards a population that had nothing to do with the bombings and xenophobic and racist attitudes have to be fought (*D'entrada, hem de continuar lluitant activament contra el racisme i la xenofobia evitant la generalització i criminalització dels immigrants d'origen àrab que viuen prop nostre. No s'han de repetir els incidents que es van viure a la ciutat d'El Ejido.*) thus giving immigrants the role of Subject of State, that is, the role that benefits from the fulfillment of this mission.

One last example may be the article published in July 2012. There was a big controversy in 2012 regarding the CIE (Foreigners Internation Centre) and the death of a young immigrant. This article was written by Alba Cueva, the spokesperson of SOS Racisme and regarded the CIE as a place where immigrants lose their fundamental rights (*En aquest sentit estem, un cop més, davant d'una contradicció. Com es pot construir una Europa lliure i justa des de la idea de l'Europa de la fortalesa? Una Europa que redueix les garanties legals i els drets de les persones immigrants sense papers.*).

All these examples show immigrants in a passive role, a role in which immigration has no saying over their future, their situation, but can only wait and expect the result, a better outcome, from the resolution of the conflict.

Immigrants are regarded as helpers in four occasions. This role is to some extent an active one although it is clearly a secondary role. The four articles in which immigrants are given this role are *Els nous valors de l'educació*, published in September 2000 by Marina Subirats, *Europa, la de las cunas vacías*, January 2002 by Paco Candel, *El cuarto mundo*, March 2002 by Paco Candel and *Interculturalització* by Paco Candel

published in June 2006. In the article by Marina Subirats immigrants have the role of helper as well as subject of state.

The first article published by Marina Subirats talks about the new challenges of education and the new values it has to transmit. In this quest the immigration has an important role, the role of enabling this change of values due to its inherently difference, (*En un món en el que cada dia hi ha mes mobilitat i mes intercanvis, el coneixement d'altres formes de viure, d'altres cultures i d'altres sensibilitats, ens permet d'obrir la nostra propia mentalitat, [...] No n'hi ha prou amb la tolerancia que sempre suposa una posición dominant: cal anar mes lluny i, per tant, aprendre a compartir aquesta riquesa cultural que tenim la sort de que se'ns ofereixi directament a casa nostra*) and hence it is through the help of the immigrants that this new values will be transmitted and incorporated by the students.

The second article shows the immigration as the way to fix the problems that Europe is facing. The low birthrates of European countries (*Sin embargo, a nuestro viejo continente se le está llamando la Europa de las cunas vacías.*) are one of the problems that immigrants can help to fix (*Estas cunas, alguien las tiene que llenar. ¿Quiénes mejor que los prolíferos inmigrantes ante unos rancios pobladores esterilizados?*) but there are other problems and the immigration may be the solution for them (*Nuestros parados eluden los trabajos ominosos; mantienen la esperanza de la gran oportunidad. El inmigrante ya sabe, cuando viene, que tendrá que aceptar esos trabajos que nadie quiere ni desea...*).

As for the next article, published in March 2002 by Paco Candel, it ponders the difference between the first and the third world and how originally the third world was supposed to become a new social force (*podría representar aquellos países diferenciadísimos de los burgueses transformados en capitalistas y de los hipotéticamente socialistas, y que pudieran ser, además, una fuerza social emergente de nuevo signo.*). It portrays the immigration as a force that could change the first world and the unfairness of capitalism (*La inmigración que recibimos de este Tercer Mundo sería un signo de este signo anunciado. De momento sólo engrasan nuestro Cuarto Mundo, el de la pobreza dentro de los países desarrollados; dentro del capitalismo*

multinacional y de las grandes superficies, de las grandes fusiones también.) if the first world allows them to be.

The last article in which immigrants are given an active role, the role of the helper in this case, is the article published in June 2006 by Paco Candel. In this article Candel challenges the concept of country as a piece of land and introduces his idea of country as a group of people (*[...] hi ha hagut i hi ha gent sense territori que constitueixen un poblé, mentre que els països sense gent són deserts o terres inhòspites. Són més importants les persones que els territoris.*). Following this idea it can be understood that cultures are malleable because the people that live in a country change over time. As it is, countries recipients of immigration are reluctant to accept this change, a change that is desirable according to Candel (*En la diversitat es troba la interculturalització, la igualtat social, la solidaritat i la convivència.*) and hence immigrants will help introduce this desired situation (*Aquesta barreja de petjades, senyals i identitats és el que en català anomenem empremta, i està configurant el present i el futur, ho vulguin o no, dels països receptors d'immigració.*).

It is clear then that immigrants are never given an active and main role. They are in most of the cases the beneficiary of the action that the Subject of Action has to carry out, hence having a passive role that never allows them to define themselves. Even in the situations in which immigrants are given an active role, this role is secondary, the role of the helper, consequently not having an important role within the article. However, it is important to note that in no case immigrants were given a negative role even if the main values tend to have a negative meaning. The fact that the values have a negative meaning links them to negative situation although immigrants are not portrayed as negative. However, the values are still linked to frames in which concerns for integration and cohabitation are possible. Another interesting feature of La Marina is that most of the articles are opinion articles whereas the other three newspapers showed the opposite configuration.

Table 23: Semiotics La Marina

- Articles regarding immigration. 13 (19)
- Role: Subject of State (passive characters)
- Values: Linked to negative situations

Own elaboration

5.5. Analysis from the semiotic analysis

The semiotic analysis provided with insights of the way the newspapers portray immigrants through studying the roles given to this collective as well as the main *frames* through which immigrants are depicted. It is important to remind that this method fulfilled the first goal, discussed in the Goals chapter, which was set to **see which frames are used by the neighbourhood press when referring to immigrants**. These *frames* are of key importance since they set the tone and the general idea of the article, that is, *framing* refers to “the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation” (Entman, 2007: 164). As it was discussed in a previous chapter, *frames* lead people into thinking in a certain way and drawing predictable conclusions (Iyengar, 1990; Gross & D’Ambrosio, 2004; Entman, 2007). By unearthing the *frames* used by the four different newspapers in their editorial and opinion articles different categories for the content analysis will be found, or in different words, the *frames* found in the editorial and opinion articles will set the categories for the framing analysis of the content analysis of the news articles.

After the semiotic analysis of the editorial and opinion articles of the four analysed newspapers **four main frames were found**. These *frames* are: **Source of Concern, Victims, Source of Change** and **Neighbours**. Two other *frames* were found but deemed not relevant due to the lack of frequency as they were found only once each. It is important to state that these four *frames* are the foundation in which to base the content analysis but it does not mean that only four categories will be used as some other *frames* might be found in the content analysis. As researches have to be constantly epistemologically reviewing and challenging the conceptions of the research (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2005) other *frames* might be unearthed and used as a research category through studying the news articles. This is, there is a constant rethinking of the categories so as to not be pigeonholed. However, these four *frames* will be the *frames* on which all this epistemological challenging and reviewing will be based.

A total of 72 editorial and opinion articles were semiotically analysed. Zona Sec published eleven articles, four of which dealt directly with immigration. El Raval published twenty-six articles, of which fourteen had a topic regarding immigrants and immigration. La Barceloneta published sixteen articles, five of them regarding immigration. And La Marina published nineteen articles of which thirteen dealt directly with immigration. The frequency of the different *frames* is as it follows:

Table 24: Main frames

- Source of concern: 36 (49%)
- Victims: 16 (21%)
- Source of change: 12 (16%)
- Neighbours: 7 (9.5%)

Own elaboration

The total amount of *frames* that were found is 71. This is so because there is an editorial article published by La Marina that depicts the immigrants as both a source of concern of an unstable situation and a source of change as renovators of our society hence using two *frames* in one article. In total 70 articles of the 72 used the four main *frames*. A

review of each *frame* will explain the importance of the *frames* in terms of frequency, both total and each newspaper individually, and will show the way these *frames* were presented.

SOURCE OF CONCERN

Source of Concern is the *frame* with the highest frequency. It was found in 36 occasions, although one of them along with Source of Change, and it represents the 49% of the used *frames*. This *frame* was used in twelve occasions in El Raval and La Marina, eight times in Zona Sec and four times in La Barceloneta. It refers to possible negative situations in which the immigrants might be involved as a passive or as an active agent, this is, being in a position of receiving the negative outcomes of the possible situation or actually creating the situation. The word *concern* was chosen instead of the word *conflict* in the first place because these situations are not conflicts *inter paris*, which consequently, and due to the characteristics of this press, creates situations and attitudes somewhat paternalistic.

Table 25: Source of Concern

El Raval: 12
La Marina: 12
Zona Sec: 8
La Barceloneta: 4
Total: 36

Own elaboration

El Raval used this *frame* in twelve occasions, in which immigrants have a passive role as a subject of state or no role at all. The fact that immigrants are not given an active role is important since they are depicted as concerning people, this is people that might be in need of help. These *frames* are used in articles that link the immigration to

problems in the neighbourhood, to possible racist situations and to a lack of democratic rights such as the right to vote and representation.

La Marina also used this *frame* in twelve occasions. These twelve occasions give the immigrants again mostly a passive role as the subject of state and in two occasions the immigrants are given no role. Situations of poverty, need of help or unstable along with situations of possible racism and xenophobia are linked to this *frame*. These situations show immigrants in positions of need of help although one of the articles links immigration to a possible instability in the neighbourhood due to the coming of these new people pointing out possible cohabitation problems on both sides.

Zona Sec made use of the Source of Concern *frame* eight times, in which, as in the previous newspapers, immigrants are given either passive roles or no roles. In this occasion immigrants do not have a role five times, and three times they are given the subject of state role, which is a passive role. Articles regarding the integration of the immigrants, a better coverage in media, prejudices and their role as a cheap labour force are linked to the Source of Concern *frame*.

This frame is found in four occasions in La Barceloneta, being this newspaper the one with the lowest frequency in the use of this *frame*. The newspaper gives the subject of state role to the immigrants twice, articles linked to problems of cohabitation and abandonment by public institutions and to immigrants as affected by the economic crisis. The other two articles do not assign a role to the immigrants. These articles are linked to processes of stereotyping and integration in the neighbourhood.

These 36 articles in which the *frame* Source of Concern was found **do not give active roles to the immigrants and link them to situations of problems of cohabitation and integration, and affectation of the crisis or possible situations of racism.**

VICTIMS

The *frame* victims was used in sixteen occasions in total, representing the 21% of the *frames* used by the newspapers. La Barceloneta used this *frame* to depict immigrants in seven occasions, El Raval in five occasions, La Marina used it three times and Zona Sec

merely one time. The *frame* victims refers to situations in which the immigrants suffer the actual result and outcome of a negative situation, placing great importance in the fact that these situations are no longer possible by a reality. Victims is an important *frame* because it positions the immigrants as the recipients of the outcomes of negative situations directed towards them, showing them in vulnerable situations.

Table 26: Victims

La Barceloneta: 7
El Raval: 5
La Marina: 3
Zona Sec: 1
Total: 16

Own elaboration

La Barceloneta is the neighbourhood newspaper with the highest frequency of use of this *frame*, used in seven occasions. In the seven articles the immigrants are given a passive role, the subject of state role, a role in which the character takes no active part. These articles are linked to real situations of stereotyping by political parties, real outcomes of poverty and international situations.

El Raval used the *frame* victims in five occasions, four of which give the immigrants the role of subject of action. One of the articles grants them no role, which means that the article's main subject did not involve situations regarding immigrants. The topics linked to the *frames* are situations of stereotyping, use of demagoguery by political parties, international processes, social class as a result of their origin and the bad conditions that this class results in.

Victims as a *frame* is found in three occasions in the articles published by La Marina. Two of these articles give the immigrants the subject of state role whereas the other one

gives them no role. The topics of these articles linked immigrants to misrepresentations by the media, as victims of the CIE (Foreigners Centre of Internation) and as victims of actions by rich people.

Zona Sec only used this *frame* in one occasions. In this case the article portrays immigrants as victims of xenophobic discourses in the parliament of Catalonia. However the article's subject is not the immigrants, immigrants are another point which the article discusses hence immigrations is not given a role since it is not an active participant of the story depicted in the article.

Most of these articles give immigrants a **passive role as subject of state**. Immigrants have no role in only three articles, which might be explained by the fact that in the victims *frame* immigrants suffer the results of real situations and actions and they are not plausible situations anymore. **These articles link the *frame* to real process of stereotyping, xenophobic political discourses and situations of poverty.**

SOURCE OF CHANGE

Source of change as a *frame* is found in twelve articles, the 16% of the articles, four articles in El Raval, La Barcelona and La Marina. This *frame* was never used in Zona Sec. The particularity of this *frame* is that, **although it is a positive *frame*, immigrants as a source of change for society, it applies a purpose to a group of people without ever considering the fact that they might not share this purpose.** It also applies a purpose towards the in-group, it gives a job to the out-group to do to the in-group.

Table 27: Source of Change

La Marina: 4
La Barceloneta: 4
El Raval: 4
Zona Sec: 0
Total: 12

Own elaboration

El Raval used this *frame* in four occasions to depict immigration. In two occasions immigrants were given the role of the helper, which is an active role, subject of state in one occasion and no role in another occasion. The role of the helper is an active role but it still is a secondary role, not the role of the main character. These articles talked about processes of transformation, new societies and immigrants adding value to this new society.

La Barceloneta and its four articles that used the source of change *frame* gave the role of helper in two occasions to immigrants and the role of subject of state in two more occasions. Again, these articles link immigration to processes of transformation, enrichment of society and depicted immigrants as a solution to problems.

La Marina follows the same pattern although the four articles give immigrants the role of helper. One of the articles gives them also the role of subject of state. Immigrants then help the main character to change society, to renew it and to add value to it.

Even though immigrants are given in these articles active roles as helpers **this is still a secondary role**, helping the main character to achieve something, in this case a more diverse or better society. Also, as already mentioned, **it applies an idea of change to a group of people that might not share it, this is, it makes them have a purpose towards the in-group.**

NEIGHBOURS

Neighbours is clearly the most important *frame* to be used since it is the one that truly depicts immigrants as nothing else but members of their new society, with no purpose and no stereotypes, just as neighbours. **This, unfortunately is only found in 7 articles**, four in El Raval, two in Zona Sec and one in La Marina, representing a 9.5% of the articles.

Table 28: Neighbours

El Raval: 4
Zona Sec: 2
La Marina: 1
La Barceloneta: 0
Total: 7

Own elaboration

El Raval gives the main active role, subject of action, to the immigrants in two occasions, articles in which immigrants are depicted as an active part of the society through an active integration. The other two articles do not grant a role to the immigrants and depict them as part of the neighbourhood.

Zona Sec used the *frame* neighbours twice, both times giving the immigrants the role of subject of state and in one occasion sharing the role with helper- In both occasions immigrants are depicted as people who actively try to integrate in the new society and hence as a part of it.

La Marina used the *frame* in one occasion and it is an interesting article. In this article immigrants are given the role of subject of state and depicted as youngsters who use and participate in different activities happening in the neighbourhood. In this sense they are

given the role of subject of state because there is a claim for more activities for the young people of the neighbourhood, and as such they are depicted as young people of the neighbourhood from different origins.

As stated in the results of the semiotic analysis, and reinforced in this section, immigrants are usually given passive roles, as subject of state, and when immigrants are granted an active role it tends to be as helpers, the character that helps the main character fulfill the mission, a secondary role. As for the *frames*, it is clear how immigrants are mostly depicted through negative *frames*, even if these *frames* are well intended. **A 70% of the *frames* used in the editorial and opinion articles are negative *frames*, Source of Concern (49%) and Victims (21%). A 25.5% of the *frames* are positive *frames*, Source of Change (16%) and Neighbours (9.5%).** However, **Source of Change applies an intention, a purpose, a job, to this group of people.** A job towards the in-group. **Neighbours is the *frame* that better depicts the ideal situation**, a situation in which the origin and the social position of a person does not define the depiction by the press.

6. Content Analysis

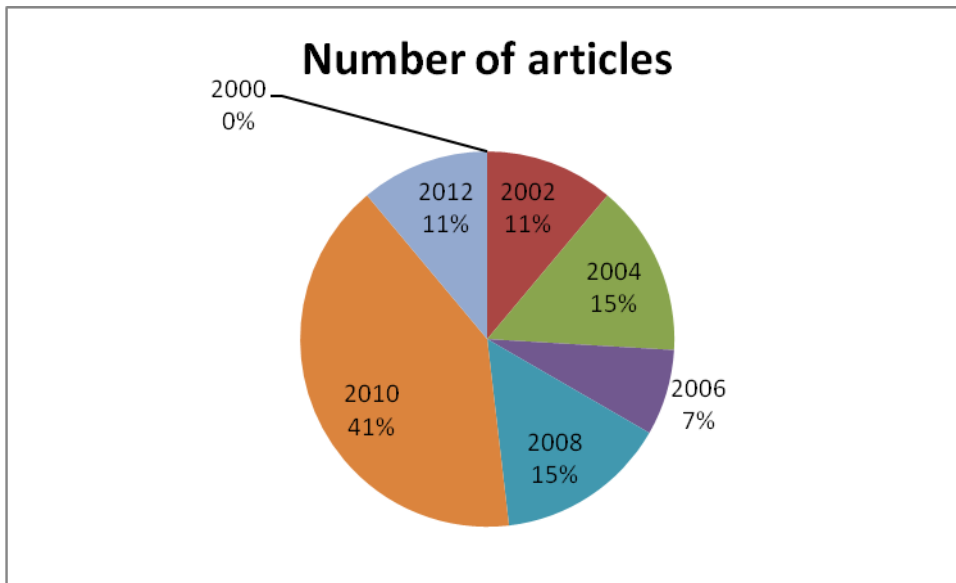
As explained in previous sections, each method fulfills a different goal. In this case content analysis tries to determine the degree of **visibility of the immigration and the immigrants in the neighbourhood press of Barcelona**. The *frames* found in the semiotic analysis were used as the baseline with which this visibility was studied. For this section only news articles were used, which amount to a total of 205 articles. It is important to state that some of the results add up more than the amount of articles, this is so because different values were found for the same variable. Variables such as Definition, Main Character or Location may provide several values per article.

6.1. Report Zona Sec

Zona Sec covers the whole period of the investigation, from the year 2000 to the year 2012. This newspaper publishes monthly except in August, which means that a total of 77 issues were studied, finding a total of 27 articles regarding immigration. Again, as it is the case of the other newspapers, only the even years of the period of the investigation were chosen, this is, the years 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010 and 2012.

As the graphic shows most of the articles were written in the year 2010, coinciding with the creation of the *Taula de convivència*. The newspaper offers an important coverage of this event and its immediate results with eleven articles. In the years 2004 and 2008 Zona Sec published four articles regarding immigration, followed by 2012 and 2003 with three and 2006 with two. Not a single article regarding immigration was published in the year 2000.

Graph 1: Number of Articles

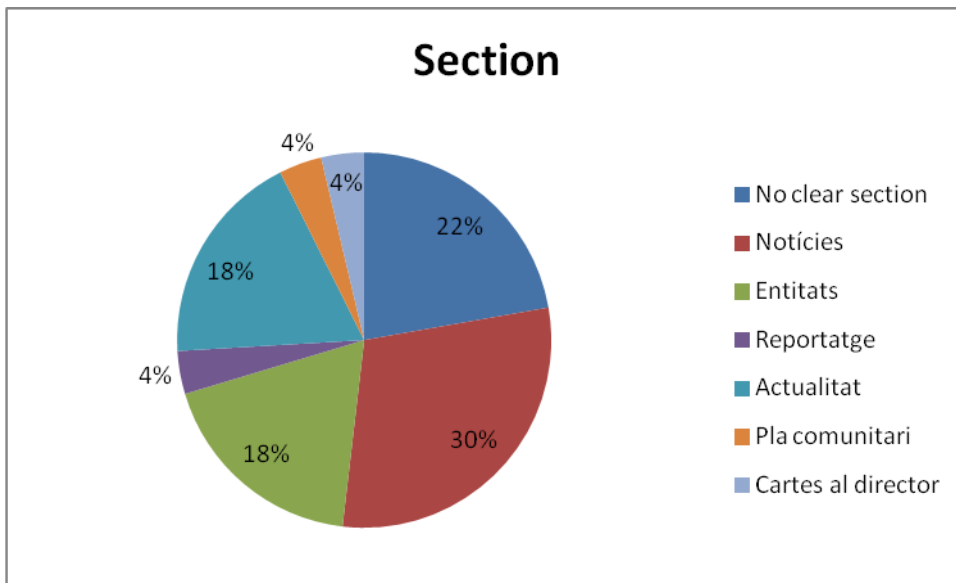


Own elaboration

All of the articles are news expect for two of them that are reports. These reports were published in April 2004 and May 2008. The first one deals with the Bona Voluntat en Acció association and its purpose of offering clothes to people without means some of whom are immigrants. The second one reports on the problems regarding noise and disturbance in Blai street, a street known for its night life and a gathering place for young people from Central and South America.

Regarding the section in which the articles were published it is interesting to note that up until April 2004, which means the whole of 2002 and three out of four articles in 2004, had no clear section. This was the case of six articles. Starting in December 2004 all the articles were clearly identified as part of a clear section. Eight of them were under the section named *Notícies*, five under *Entitats* and five more under *Actualitat*. *Reportatge*, *Pla comunitari* and *Cartes al director* only had one article each.

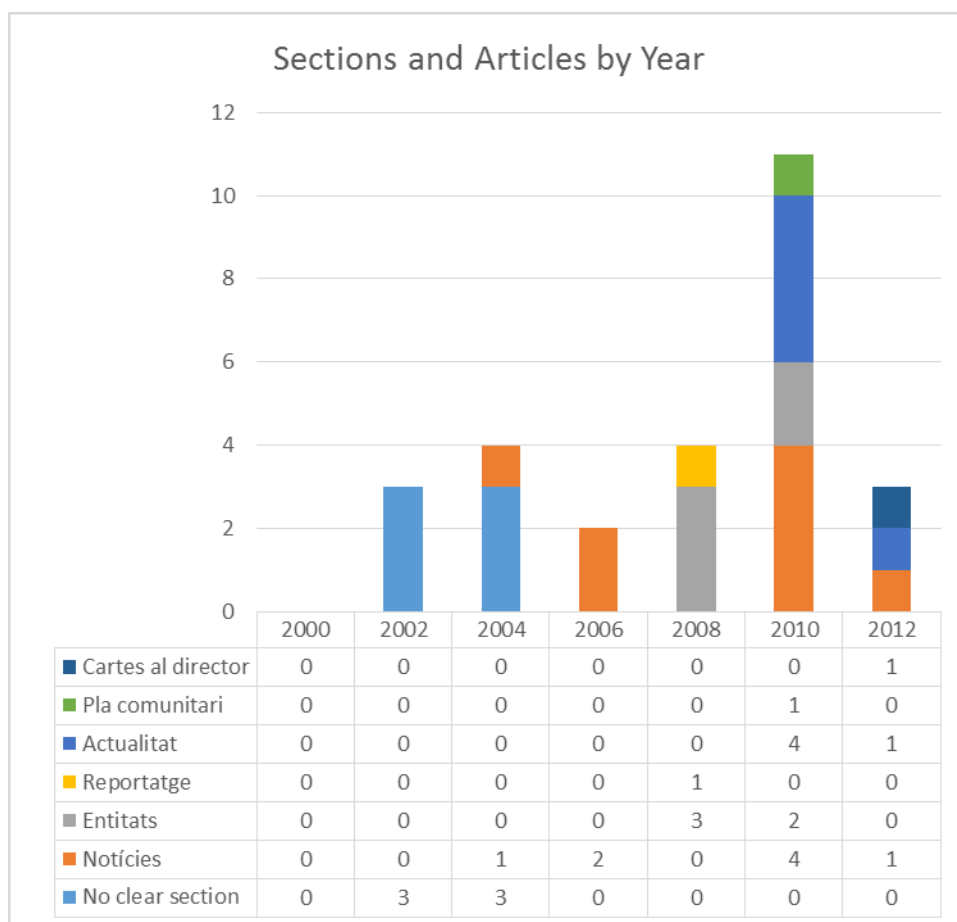
Graph 2: Section



Own elaboration

If we separate the sections by years we see how most of the articles found under *Notícies* and *Actualitat* were published in 2010, which is not surprising since 41% of the articles were published in that year. However, three of the five articles published under *Entitats* were published in 2008. In that year an important association like *La Formiga* celebrated its eighth anniversary and was awarded the Maria Aurelia Capmany award, a conference about communication and immigration and the *Mostra d'entitats del Poble-Sec* were held, making it an important year in regards neighbourhood associations and immigration. The section *Notícies* has other articles in 2004 (1) and 2006 (2). The section *Pla comunitari* only has one article in 2010 as well as *Cartes al director* with one article in 2012. The section *Reportatge* has one article as well, published in 2008. In 2006 only two articles were published and they were published under the *Notícies* section.

Graph 3: Sections and articles by year



Own elaboration

Zona Sec mainly published in the Catalan language but the report published in April 2004 was written in Spanish. It is the only of the articles that mention immigrants that uses the Spanish language. It is then a strange situation as Zona Sec published in Catalan.

The formal information section, as it was mentioned earlier, gives information of the importance of each article through the creation of an index. This index is created through different variables such as odd/even page, whether the unit refers to the opening article/cover(1) or not (0), opening of the section where published(1) or not(0), size of the unit of analysis (1= less than a quarters of a page, 2= between one and two quarters,

3=between two and three quarters, 4= more than three quarters but not the whole page
5= whole page), graphic information(1) or not (0).

As the table shows eight of the articles have an index of importance of 4, six of 2, four of 5, three of 3, two of 1 and one of 6 and 7. It should be noted that there are two articles with an importance of 8, which is a really high index, meaning that the articles were given a high degree of importance.

Table 29: Index of Importance

Index	Frequency
1	2
2	6
3	3
4	8
5	3
6	2
7	1
8	2
9	0

Own elaboration

These two articles were published in April 2004 and March 2010. The first one is a report. Reports generally tend to have a bigger space in a newspaper as they require and offer a more detailed explanation. As it has been mentioned, this report talks about the Bona Voluntat en Acció association and its purpose of offering clothes to people without means, some of whom are immigrants. It is an important topic and accordingly Zona Sec gives it an important coverage. The second article with an index of 8 is an article published in March 2010 about the *Taula de la convivència* and its implementation in the neighbourhood in its first month in action. The newspaper covers extensively throughout the year 2010 the implementation and activation of the *Taula de la convivència* and as a result this assessment of the first month is given an important space within the issue.

Both articles have the same formal section structure, published in an odd page but referring to the cover, opening the section, big articles with a size of 5 and with graphic information, in this case pictures.

The article with an index of 7, which is still a very high number, was published in May 2008. It is a report that talks about the problems of Blai street as an important space of the night life in the neighbourhood. These situations carry some problems of cohabitation between the neighbours of the street and the people who enjoy its night life with some of these problems being related to immigrants from South and Central American origin. It is published in an odd page, refers to the cover and opens its section; it has an important size (4) and has graphic information. The only difference with the other two articles is the size, it is a bit smaller.

Almost the same situation is found with the articles with an index of 6. The article published in February 2010 is published in an odd page, refers to the cover and opens its section, it has a medium size (3) and has graphic information. However the article published in April 2008 is published in an even page, it does not refer to the cover but opens its section, it has a medium size (3) and has graphic information. Three articles have an index of 5, which is still an important number taking into account that most of the articles have an index below 5. Nineteen articles with an index of 4 or less opposed to eight with an index of 5 or more. Eight articles have an index of 4, three of 3, six of 2 and two of 1.

The immigrant news framing analysis will show the frames used to depict the immigrants and immigration. These are unearthed through the finding the physical locations and geographical spaces, temporal spaces, the main characters portrayed, the definition of the immigrants, actions done by and to the immigrants and whether immigrants were quoted or not.

The next table shows the geographical spaces and locations mentioned in the articles that were analysed. As it can be seen the most important location is the Poble-Sec, the neighbourhood covered by the newspaper, being mentioned in 20 occasions. The *Centre Cívic El Sortidor*, a civic centre based in Poble-Sec is also an important location, mentioned 6 times. This civic centre is home of different associations that deal with

immigration and some of the activities mentioned in the articles happened there. Barcelona is also mentioned in 6 occasions but it is the only location in one occasion, accompanied of other locations in 5 occasions. The article where Barcelona is the only location talks about a gathering of local and proximity media to discuss how to treat the immigration phenomena.

In two occasions specific streets of Poble-Sec are mentioned. The first one is the report published in May 2008 about the problems of cohabitation in Blai street. The second one is an article published in February 2010 about the important job of a Muslim association and its mosque in teaching their culture as well as collaborating with other neighbours in neighbourhood activities.

Other locations are Catalonia and the Province of Barcelona, mentioned in February 2004 in article about immigrants learning Catalan and in May 2006 in an article about immigrants moving to places of the province of Barcelona other than Barcelona.

Table 30: Locations

Locations	Frequency
Poble-Sec	20
District	1
C.C. El Sortidor	6
Barcelona	6
Streets	2
Other	2

Own elaboration

As for the main characters, it is interesting to notice how most of the characters are not immigrants even though the articles talk about immigration. That is not to say immigrants are not represented, they are mentioned in directly in 17 occasions, 11 of them under the vague concept of *immigrants* and 6 under specific names of people born elsewhere.

In 12 occasions characters that are not immigrants were mentioned. Most of them are politicians (Jordi Hereu, mayor of Barcelona, Imma Moraleda, member of the *Diputació de Barcelona*, Adela Ros, member of the Catalan government, Carles Martí, member of the council, etc.) others are presidents and members of associations (Màxim Montori, member of the *coordinadora d'entitats*, Miquel Carrillo, of one of the neighbours associations, Eudocio Gutierrez, of the retailers association, Josep Ferrús, president of the association *La casa de tots*, etc.) and some plain citizens can also be found in the report published in May 2008 about the problems in Blai street.

Table 31: Main Characters

Main characters	Frequency
Immigrants	11
Personalised	6
Non immigrants	12
Associations	19
Political institutions	3

Own elaboration

Associations are mentioned in 19 occasions, some of them are associations run by immigrants and some others are associations run by non immigrants. Associations run by immigrants are found in 5 occasions (ATIMCA and Amigos del Paraguay), while associations run by non immigrants are found in 16 occasions (La Formiga, Plataforma Poble-Sec per a tothom, Coordinadora d'Entitats del Poble-Sec, etc.). The total does not add 19 because in some article both types of associations are mentioned together as it is the case of, for example, the article published in February 2010, in which the treaty signed by the retailers association and the XIPS net (an association towards social integration in Poble-Sec) is discussed, with ATIMCA (an immigrants association) as a founder member of the XIPS net.

Table 32: Type of Associations

Type of associations	Frequency
Immigrants	5
Non immigrants	16

Own elaboration

There are two main definitions of immigrants found in the biggest amount of articles, although there are also other definitions. The two definitions with the highest frequency are *Source of concern*, 13 times, and *Neighbours*, 12 times. For *Source of concern* we find situations in which the immigrants find themselves in hazardous and problematic circumstances, such as using social services, but also in which they are regarded as a possible problem, as it is the case of the article regarding the possibility of promoting a higher degree of distribution of the immigrants within the province of Barcelona. As for *Neighbours*, the articles depict the immigrants in situations in which they act as another character of the neighbourhood disregarding the fact that they are immigrants, whether mundane situations, cooking food for the rest of the neighbourhood, or problematic situations, receiving help from associations as people from Poble-Sec and not as immigrants.

In three occasions immigrants are regarded as *Non integrated*. The first one was published in May 2006 in an article regarding a budget to fund projects that would promote immigrants' integration. The other articles are: the report published in May 2008 about the problems in Blai street, where immigrants are depicted as a source of conflict by being loud and not respecting the cohabitation norms, the article published in March 2010 where immigration is depicted as people that do not participate enough in the life of the neighbourhood and the article published in, also, March 2010, article in which the *Amics de la Unesco Association* tries to get immigrants to participate more in the associative life of the neighbourhood, implying that they do not and hence lack a degree of integration.

Immigrants are depicted as *Criminals* in two occasions. The first one being the report published in May 2008, in which some young immigrants cause trouble at nights by

being too loud and drinking, and the second one published in February 2010 in which some immigrants were arrested.

Table 33: Definition

Definition	Frequency
Source of concern	13
Neighbours	12
Non integrated	4
Newcomers	1
Criminals	2
Evangelists	1
Victims	1

Own elaboration

In one occasion immigrants are depicted as *Newcomers*. This definition was found in February 2004 in an article regarding Catalan lessons for people from other parts of the world that reside in Catalonia and want to speak the language. Definitions such as *Evangelists* and *Victims* are only found in one occasion each. Immigrants are depicted as *Criminals* in two occasions. The first one being the report published in May 2008, in where some young immigrants are depicted as a source of conflict by being loud and not respecting the cohabitation norms, as well as criminals by some scared neighbours, and the second one published in February 2010 in which some immigrants were arrested. It is also important to highlight the fact that immigrants are depicted as victims only in one occasion, as victims of discrimination by the society.

The actions done by the immigrants are closely related to the definitions of the immigrants. As the table shows *Concerning* actions and actions in which immigrants *Participate in civic life* are the most common ones, both found in 7 occasions. *Concerning* refer to actions in which the immigrant either creates or has a problem. This can be found in the article published in April 2004 where immigrants need to ask for help to clothe themselves. Another example is found in the article published in March 2010. In this article immigrants cause some kind of trouble with natives. This behaviour

may also be considered concerning and hence the action done by the immigrants falls under the tag *Concerning*. Actions under the *Participate in civic life* are those actions in which the immigrants are part of an association that takes part in activities for and by the neighbourhood and its citizens. An example may be found in January 2010 where immigrants participate in the immigration council. *Move/Reside* actions are the next in terms of frequency found in 6 occasions. These are actions in which the character migrates, moves to a new town or city, or resides in a specific place. Examples are both articles published in February 2004. Both articles have *Move/Reside* as the action done by the immigrants (arrive to the neighbourhood and leave their country). The *Mundane* actions are found in 5 occasions. *Mundane* actions are actions that do not require the character to be an immigrant. Actions such as cook a meal, learn to cook or go to church are found in the *Mundane* category. Again, these are situations in which being an immigrant does not explain the action, even if being an immigrant is an important part of the action as cooking a meal from their country is.

Immigrants do not perform an action in three occasions, December 2004, June 2010 and March 2012. In all these articles immigrants do not carry out an action but they are part of the subject of the article. From a visit by the secretary of immigration of the Catalan government (December 2004), to neighbourhood meetings in which to try to get immigrants involved in the neighbourhood (June 2010) and discuss cohabitation (March 2012). In these three articles immigrants are only talked about but never assigned an action.

The action *Integrate* is found in one occasion. The article was published in April 2008 and talks about Pakistani women learning skills to navigate in their new society as well as Chinese migrants learning Catalan so as to understand the Catalan society. In this article the immigrants provide and take the courses and hence the actions they do are actions towards integration.

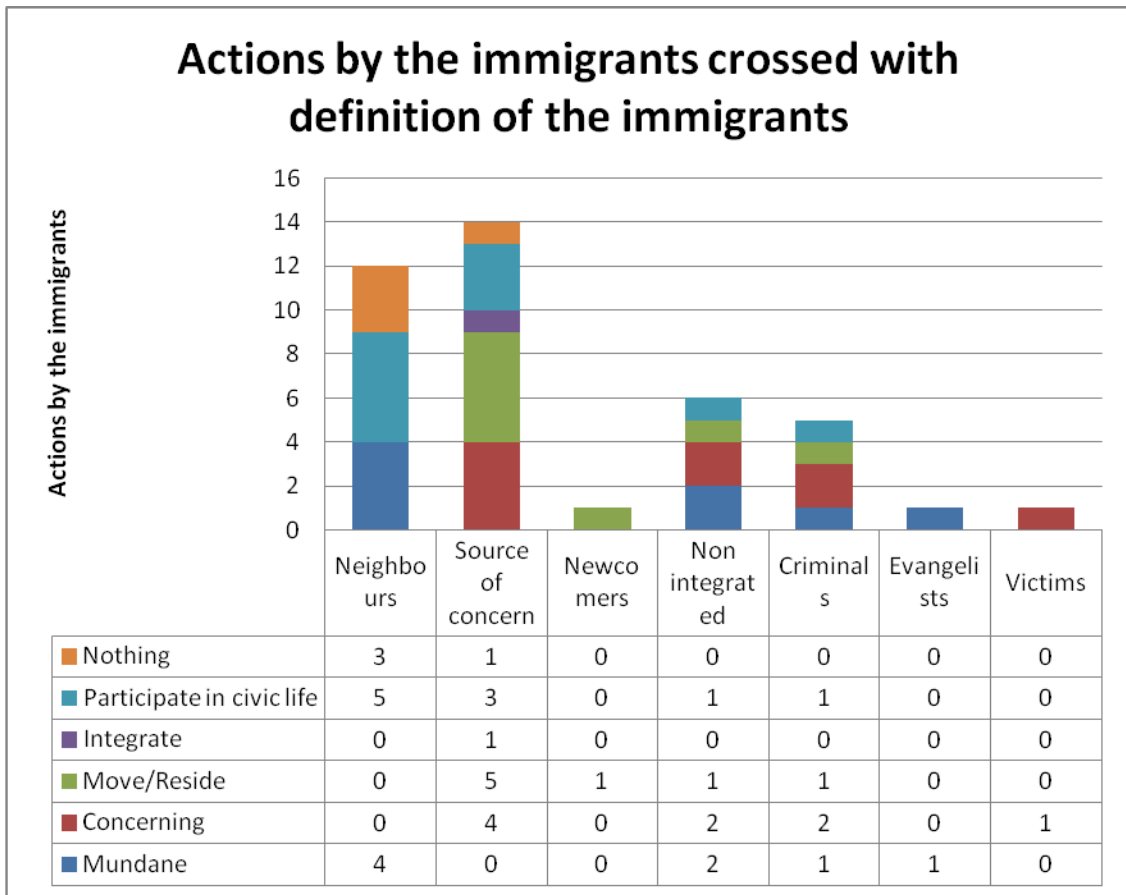
Table 34: Actions by Immigrants

Actions by	Frequency
Mundane	5
Concerning	7
Move/Reside	6
Integrate	1
Participate in civic life	7
Nothing	3

Own elaboration

If the actions by the immigrants are crossed with the definitions of the immigrants we see how immigrants are defined as *Neighbours* when they perform no action (3 occasions), participate in civic life (5 occasions) and perform mundane actions (4 times). The definition of *Source of concern* is found in one occasion when immigrants perform no action, in three occasions when they participate in civic life, in one occasion with action towards integration, five times when they are depicted moving or residing in a specific place and four times performing concerning actions. The definition of *Non integrated* is found twice in mundane actions and in concerning actions, and once in move/reside and participate in civic life. As for the other definitions, *Criminals* is found in five occasions, twice as performing concerning actions, once as performing mundane actions, as participating in civic life and moving/residing. *Newcomers* are depicted only once as moving or residing, *Evangelists* as doing mundane actions and *Victims* as performing concerning actions. All of these are only found in one occasion. It is important to note that this crossing increases the number of occasions in which a category is found due to the fact that articles presented a different number of actions by the immigrants as well as definitions of the immigrants, hence the mismatch between the single category tables and the crossed categories one.

Graph 4: Actions by the immigrants crossed with definitions of the immigrants



Own elaboration

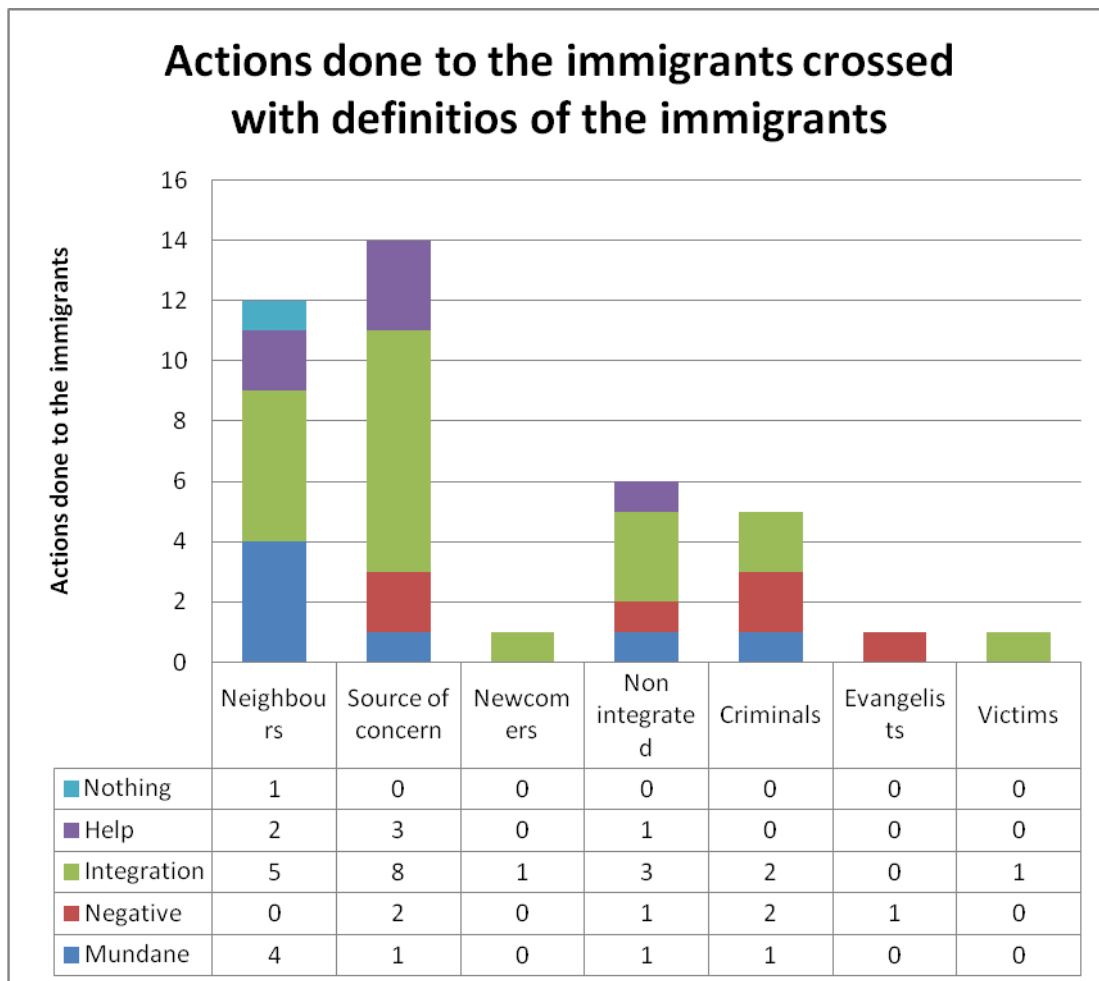
As the next table shows, the actions that are to immigrants are generally actions that lean towards integration and help, 15 and 5 occasions respectively. *Mundane* actions and *Negative* actions share the same frequency, found 4 times. And in one occasion nothing is done to the immigrants.

Table 35: Actions to Immigrants

Actions to	Frequency
Mundane	4
Negative	4
Integration	15
Help	5
Nothing	1

Own elaboration

Graph 5: Actions done to immigrants crossed with definitions of the immigrants

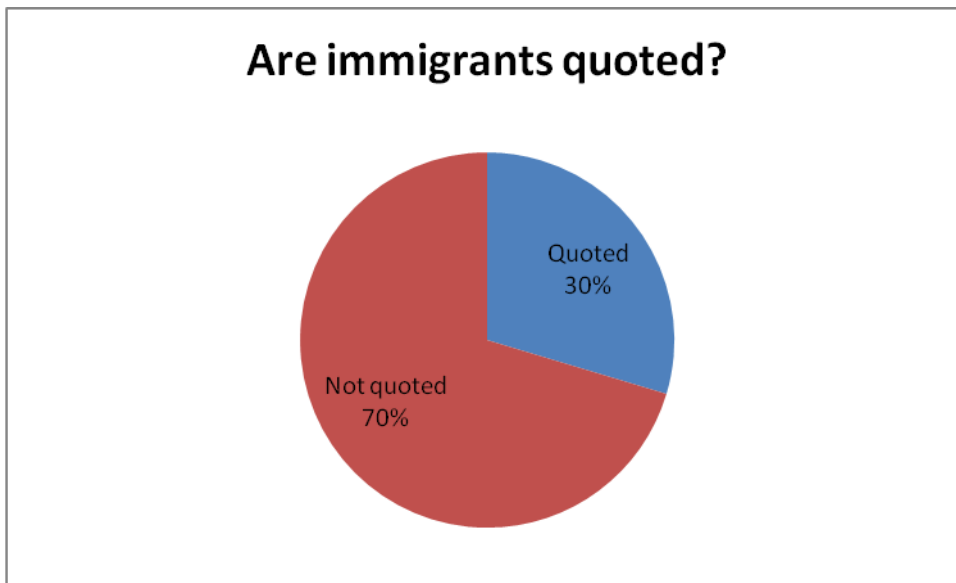


Own elaboration

Crossing the actions done to the immigrants with the definitions of the immigrants it can be seen how actions that lean towards *Integration* are linked, in the majority of cases (8 occasions), with immigrants being a *Source Of Concern*, followed by immigrants depicted as *Neighbours* (5 times), as *Non Integrated* (3), *Criminals* (2) and *Victims* (1). *Mundane* actions are linked to the *Neighbours* definition (4 occasions), source of concern (1), non integrated (1) and criminals (1). *Negative* actions are related to the *Source Of Concern* and *Criminals* definitions in 2 occasions, and *Non Integrated* and *Evangelists* in 1 occasion each. Actions that pretend to *Help* immigrants are distributed between *Source Of Concern* (3 occasions), *Neighbours* (2 occasions) and

Non Integrated in 1 occasion. Situations in which immigrants are not done any actions are linked to the definition of neighbours in 1 occasion.

Graph 6: Are immigrants quoted?



Own elaboration

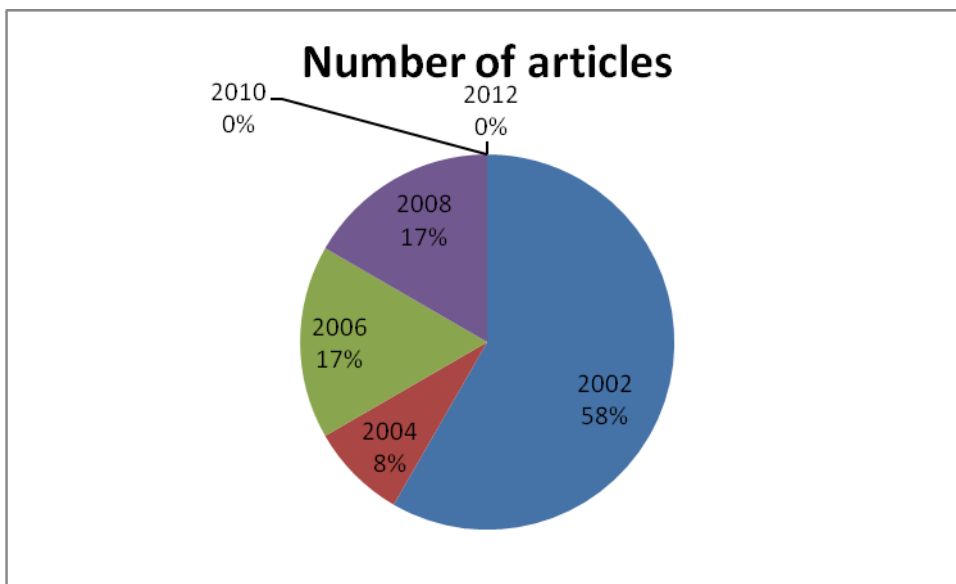
Lastly, it can be seen how immigrants were not quoted in nineteen occasions (70%), while only being quoted in eight occasions (30%), clearly showing that it is hard for them to get their message across and be heard, whether because newspapers do not reach out to them or because they do not know how to make themselves be heard, but the fact is that immigrants in the *Zona Sec* newspaper are not quoted in the 70% of the occasions.

6.2. Report La Barceloneta

La Barceloneta started publishing in March 2001 which means that the newspaper does not cover the whole range of our investigation, from the year 2000 to the 2012, hence our analysis started in the year 2002 reaching all the way until the year 2012. As it has been mentioned in other occasions, La Barceloneta publishes monthly which makes a total amount of 72 issues; that is every issue of even years covering from the year 2002 to 2012.

Out of these 72 issues twelve articles where immigrants were mentioned were found. Most of these were published in the year 2002 (7), with no articles were immigrants were mentioned in the years 2010 and 2012, only one in 2004 and two in both 2006 and 2008. It is worth it mentioning that both articles published in 2006, in July and October, are the same article.

Graph 7: Number of articles

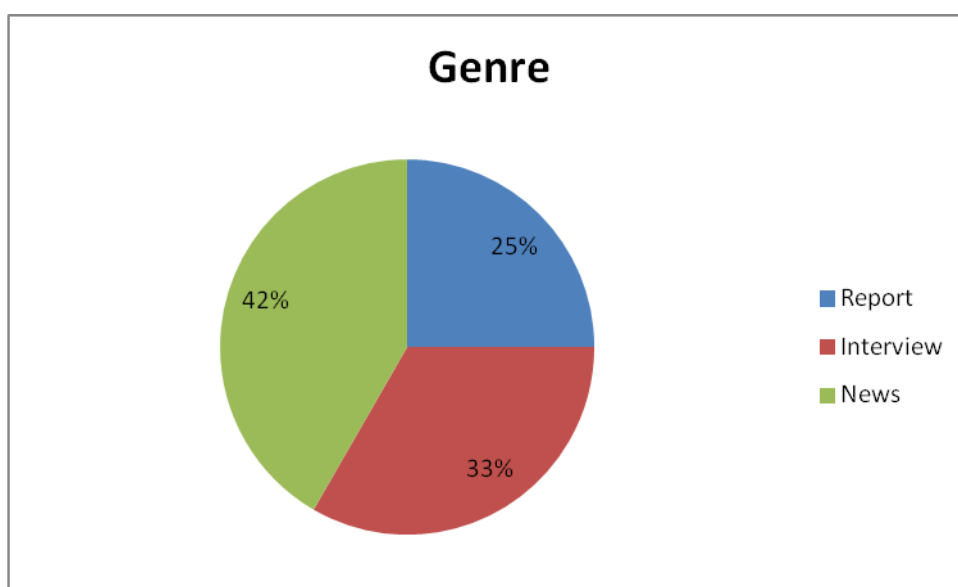


Own elaboration

As for the genres three of the articles were reports, four of them were news and five were interviews. It is important to clarify that in general interviews were not analysed in this research because it can be understood that in an interview what is shown is the position towards immigration of a subject in particular, the interviewee, and not the newspaper per se. However, the interviews analysed in this occasion pretended to giev

visibility to immigrants by letting them explain their lives, and they were complemented by an introduction with the position of the newspaper towards this subject. Taking this into account the analysis of these five interviews seemed appropriate and relevant. Also, it might be difficult sometimes to exactly assess the genre of an article due to the somewhat informal character of the newspaper, especially in the first years. This way the article published on February 2002 is considered a report because it gives an account of the first year of the new, at the time, immigration law. It isn't giving any news and, although it is clear that it is a personal account, it isn't signed or published in the opinion section, hence it is considered a report, even if *sui generis*.

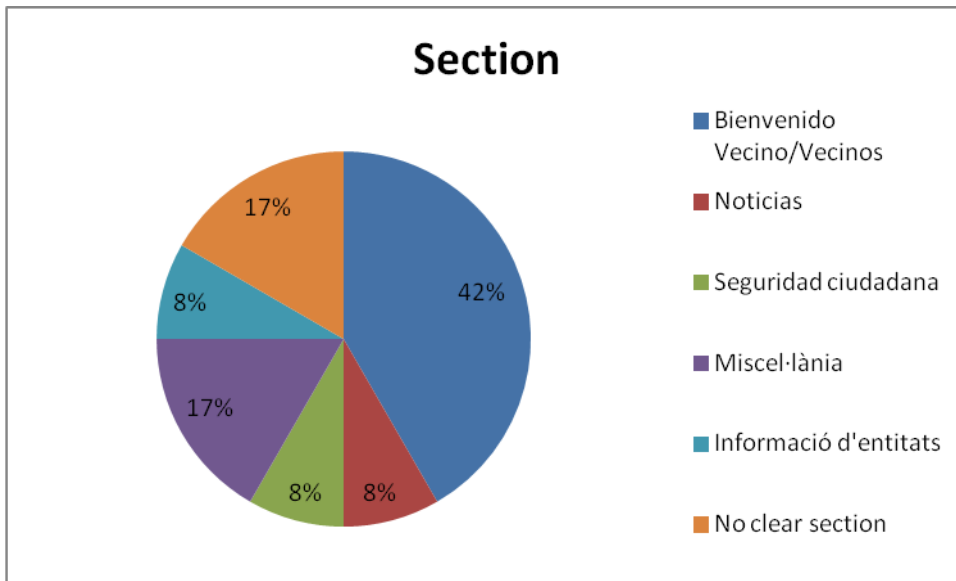
Graph 8: Genre



Own elaboration

Regarding the section where the articles were published, five of them were part of a section that was only found in 2002 named *Vecino*, although the first of them was under the name of *Bienvenido Vecino*. The section *Miscel·lània*, where different articles of diverse topics were published, had two articles. Two more articles were found under no apparent section. The rest only had one article each, this is, *Notícias*, *Seguridad ciudadana* and *Informació d'entitats*.

Graph 9: Section



Own elaboration

La Barceloneta underwent a change in the main language of publication, being Spanish the main language in the first years and changing to Catalan in more recent ones. However, since most of the articles where immigration is mentioned were written in the first years, 2002, 2004 and 2006, most of them use the Spanish language. Out of the twelve articles only three use Catalan, and two of them are the two articles published in 2008. The third one was published in November 2004.

The formal information section will give us information about the importance of the articles through the numerical index constructed with variables regarding the formal format of the unit of analysis. These variables were odd/even page, whether the unit refers to the opening article/cover(1) or not (0), opening of the section where published(1) or not(0), size of the unit of analysis (1= less than a quarters of a page, 2= between one and two quarters, 3=between two and three quarters, 4= more than three quarters but not the whole page 5= whole page), graphic information(1) or not (0).

As the table shows, six of the articles had an importance index of 4, situating them in the middle of the range. Two articles had an importance of 2, two more of 3 and two more of 7, being these two last ones the ones with the highest importance.

Table 36: Index of Importance

Index	Frequency
1	0
2	2
3	2
4	6
5	0
6	0
7	2
8	0
9	0

Own elaboration

The articles with an index of 7 were published in October 2002 (*Estadísticas relacionadas con la inseguridad ciudadana*) and January 2008 (*Dades generals del districte*). The first one, October 2002, was placed on an odd page (pg. 5), it referred to the cover and opened its section, had an important size (4) and contained graphic information. The second one, January 2008, was placed in an even page, it did not refer to the cover but it opened its section, it had a size of 4 and contained graphic information as well.

The rest of the articles tended to have a small size (2), except in two occasions where the article had an even smaller size (1). Seven times the articles are found in even pages, five of them contained graphic information and only one article (October 2002) referred to the cover. In eight occasions the articles opened their section, however, it is important to notice how most of these situations the article is the only article of the section.

The immigrant news framing analysis shows the frames used by the *La Barceloneta* newspaper when talking and referring to the immigration. These frames are seen through physical locations and geographical spaces, temporal spaces, the main characters portrayed, the definition of the immigrants, actions done by and to the immigrants and whether immigrants were quoted or not.

Although La Barceloneta is a neighbourhood newspaper, that is, it generally only covers news in and about Barceloneta as a neighbourhood, some of the geographical spaces shown in this analysis go farther than its natural coverage. In seven of the twelve articles Barceloneta is shown as a geographical space, and only in two occasions it is the only geographical space (July 2006 and October 2006), however it is in fact the same article published twice. In the other five articles, the interviews to the “new neighbours” (March, April, May, June and July 2002) Barceloneta is shown as well as other locations such as Colombia, Madrid, Italy, Morocco, and they serve the purpose of helping visualise the trip that the interviewee has taken. In the other articles the locations are basically Catalonia, whether mentioned directly (October 2002 and November 2004) or through mentioning the four provinces, Barcelona, Lleida, Tarragona and Girona (February 2002). The first two articles show statistics of population while the article published in February 2002 give a full account of the first year of the new immigration law.

The main characters are in ten occasions the immigrants, although in all the cases along with other characters. In the interviews we find the interviewee being the main character as well as their family or government offices. It is interesting how these articles personalise the figure of the immigrant and do not use a vague concept to describe a big heterogenic group of people as *immigrants*. As the table shows immigrants are depicted as simply *immigrants*, or eufemisms such as *people from different cultures and nations*, in four occasions. It is important to note that in one occasion the immigrants are the main character along with criminals as the other main character. Immigrants are personalised in individuals and their families six times, the interviews plus the article published in October 2008 where the newspaper reports on a table tennis tournament in which an immigrant performs well. In one occasion immigrants are not the main character although the article clearly refers to them. In this case they are just talked about and never given an active role. Immigrants are also portrayed as part of the district in an article referring to statistics of population of the Ciutat Vella District.

Table 37: Main Characters

Main characters	Frequency
Immigrants	4
Personalised	6
Non Immigrants	1
Part of the district	1

Own elaboration

There are three definitions of immigrants in the twelve articles analysed. The definition of immigrants as victims is found in three occasions, of neighbours in eight occasions and of foreigners in one. The five interviews portray the immigrants as neighbours since this is their main goal, stated in the title of the section and the title of the article (Vecinos and Bienvenido Vecino). The article reporting on the table tennis tournament mentions a person of immigrant origin but never revolves around his origin, thus not making the fact that he is an immigrant valuable and treating him as a member of the community. Lastly, an article in which immigrants are depicted as foreigners is found, but this article is simply a report on statistics of population.

Table 38: Definition

Definition	Frequency
Victims	3
Neighbours	8
Foreigners	1

Own elaboration

The actions done by the immigrants are closely linked to the definition of the immigrants although not only. As we have seen they are portrayed as *neighbours* eight times it can also be seen that immigrants perform mundane actions in six occasions, all of them occasions where immigrants were defined as neighbours. These actions are as mundane as winning a table tennis tournament, looking for jobs, having kids, starting a business, etc. In one occasion immigrants perform a concerning action, in the article published in February 2002. In this article immigrants simply wait to hear from their

employers to be granted residency because of the bureaucratic problems added by the new immigration law. Twice the immigrants perform an action that differentiates them from the rest of the population in that particular space, in the case of these two articles, from the population of Barceloneta. The actions are no other than speaking different languages and have different cultures. What is more concerning is the fact that in three occasions immigrants perform no action at all. Leaving them in an extremely passive position in which they are simply talked about with nothing to say. In an occasion this is due to the fact that the article simply reports statistics. In the other two occasions it is clear how immigrants are just referred to but never given an active role. In the article published in October 2002 the police force warns from blaming insecurity on the immigration without ever explaining why not and what it is that immigrants do. The other article, published in November 2004, follows the same pattern. Urges the public not to criminalise the immigration without giving an explanation.

Table 39: Actions by Immigrants

Actions by	Frequency
Mundane	6
Concerning	1
Differentiative	2
Nothing	3

Own elaboration

As for the actions done to the immigrants it is important to clarify that, because there are interviews, some of the actions that were found are responses to questions where the question might lead to a certain kind of response. That is, asking about a negative situation will draw a response linked to a negative situation, even if it negates the situation. For this reason actions linked to negative situations were found in which the situation is negated. However, the negation of a negative situation does not imply per se a positive situation. The negation of a problem means, consequently, that there is a problem in the first place, which is in itself a negative situation. Examples can be found when the interviewees are asked about racism and they claim to have never, or just mildly, found themselves in this kind of situation. Clearly a mild racist situation is a

negative situation, but negating having ever been in a racist situation means that racism is a problem that exists, which is clearly a negative situation in itself.

Mundane actions are actions that do not require being an immigrant, actions that could happen to every citizen, such as not being spoken to in Catalan or being given a trophy. Actions that pull towards integration were found in the article published in July and October 2006 in which an art exposition is offered to help with the integration of the immigrants. A situation in which an immigrant is helped to reside legally is found in one of the interviews. And lastly, the article published in January 2008 does not depict actions towards immigrants because it is simply a report of statistics of population.

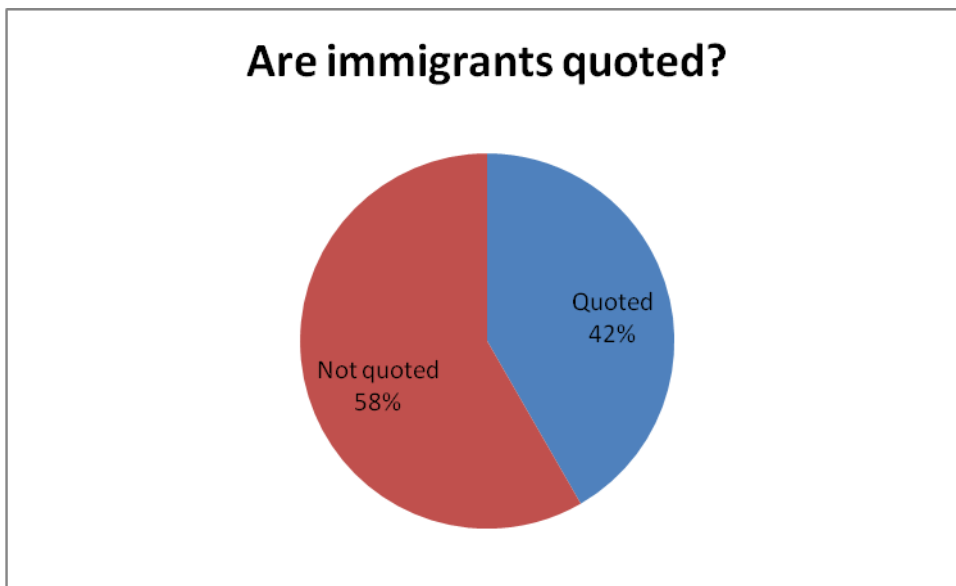
Table 40: Actions to Immigrants

Actions to	Frequency
Negative	6
Mundane	2
Towards integration	2
Help	1
Nothing	1

Own elaboration

Lastly, it can be seen how immigrants were not quoted in seven occasions (58%), while only being quoted in 5 occasions (42%). It should be mentioned that immigrants were only quoted in the interviews. They were never quoted in any other article that did not imply the necessity of actually speaking to an immigrant, which clearly distorts the percentages.

Graph 10: Are immigrants quoted?



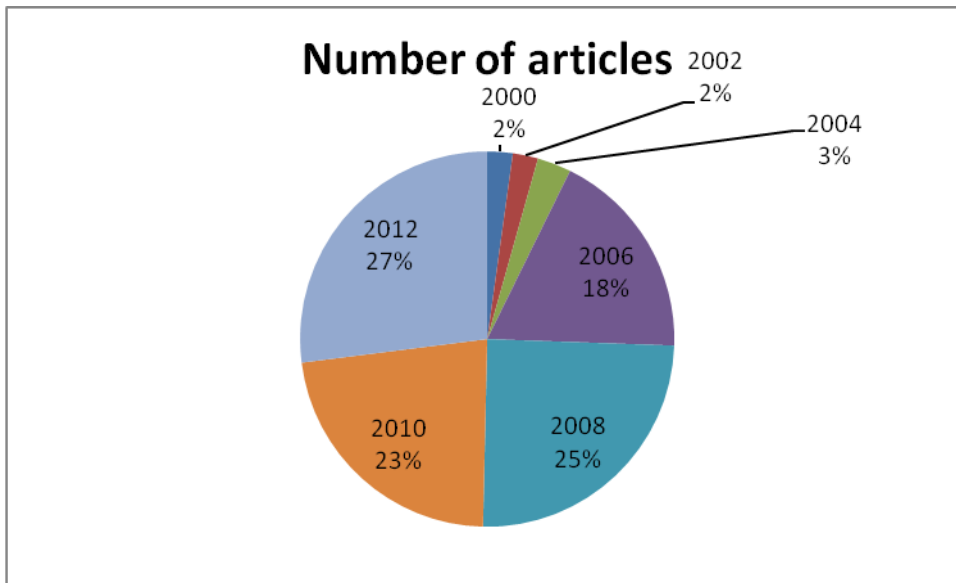
Own elaboration

6.3. Report El Raval

El Raval is one of the three newspapers that cover the whole period of the investigation. It actually started publishing in April 1994 and has, uninterruptedly, published every single month since its foundation. El Raval publishes monthly, which gives us a total amount of 84 issues to study, this is, every issue of every even year from the year 2000 to the year 2012.

A total of 137 articles were found regarding immigration. By far the newspaper with the highest number of articles, none of the other ones get anywhere close to this number. The first three years, 2000, 2002 and 2004, do not have many articles regarding immigration, 3 articles the first two years and 4 the third one. However, in the year 2006, the amount of articles where immigrants or immigration are mentioned spikes to 25, followed by 34 in 2008, 31 in 2010 and 37 in 2012. It is clear that, for El Raval, and probably for the neighbourhood, immigration is an important subject and it is discussed thoroughly.

Graph 11: Number of articles

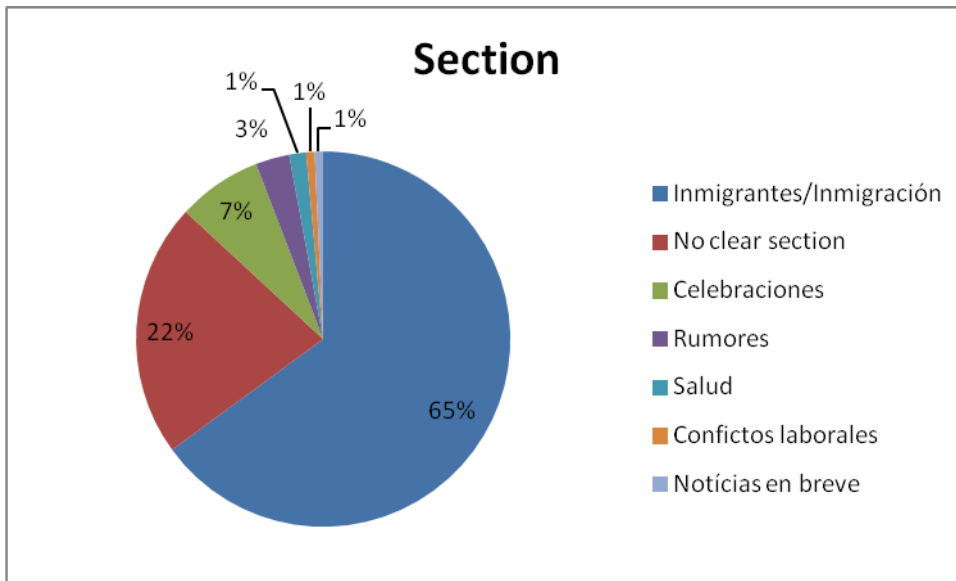


Own elaboration

All of the articles are news except two of them that are reports, this means 135 news and 2 reports. These reports were published in September 2000, a report about the state of immigration in Spain, and in March 2008, a report about women in Raval, some of them being immigrants.

As for the section, it can be seen that most of the articles were published under the section called *Inmigración*, which was at first called *Inmigrantes* but changed on September 2006. The *Inmigrantes* section is found in March 2006 and from then on it is a regular section. 89 articles were published under this section. This section is at a great distance from the other sections, which is understandable since the topic of immigration has its own section. The next sections is *Celebraciones*, with 10 articles, in which different celebrations that take place in the neighbourhood are listed. In 10 occasions at least one of the celebrations is a foreign one or is celebrated by immigrants. The next sections in importance is *Rumores*, with 4 articles. These articles debunk rumours regarding the immigrants. In 2 occasions immigrants are mentioned in the *Salut* section, 1 in *Notícias en breve* and 1 again in *Conflictos laborales*. It is interesting to note that 30 articles are found under no clear section, most of them in the first three years in which immigration was not a hot topic and hence did not have its own section.

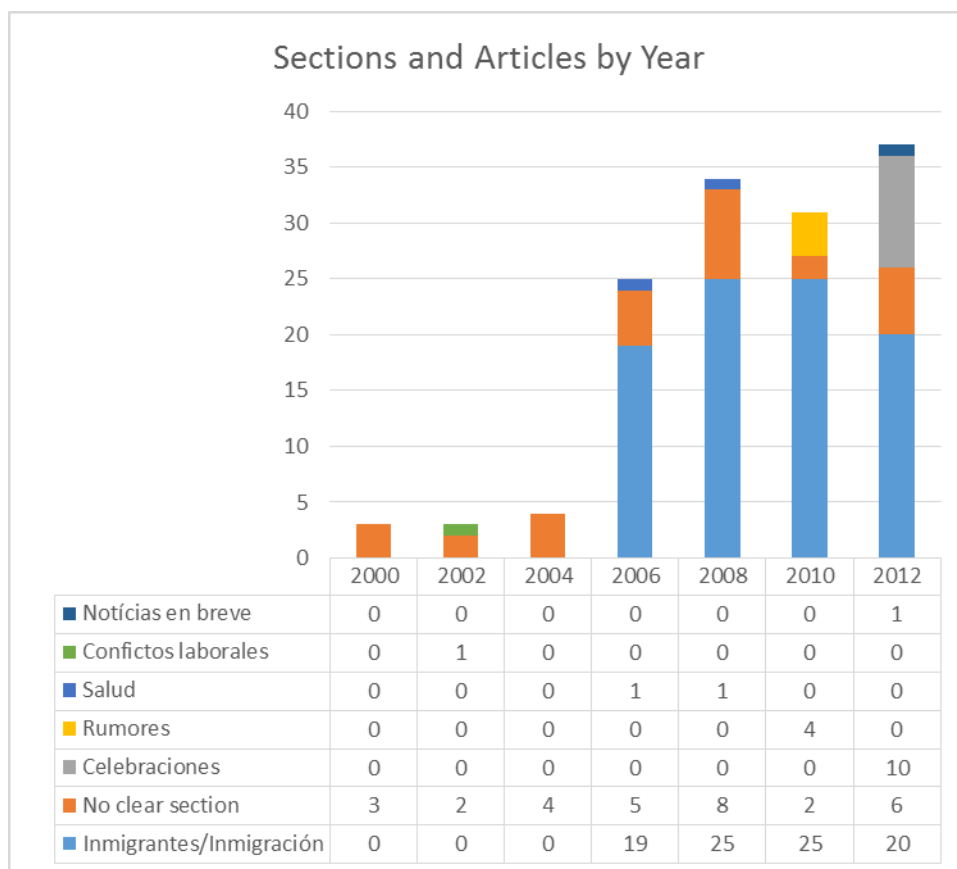
Graph 12: Section



Own elaboration

We the sections are separated by years it is possible to see how the two years with the highest amount of articles for the *Inmigración* section are 2008 and 2010, with 25, followed by 2012 with 20 and 2006 with 19. *Celebraciones* section was only published in 2012, hence all the articles are found that year. Something similar is found with *Rumores*, it was only published in 2010. Articles of the section *Salud* were found in 2006 and 2008 with one article in either year. As for *Noticias en breve* and *Conflictos laborales*, since only one article of each section was identified it is clear that they will only be present in one year, 2012 and 2002 respectively. It is interesting to note that the year with more articles falling under no clear section was 2008 with 8, followed by 2012 with 6, 2006 with 5, 2004 with 4, 2000 with 3 and both 2002 and 2010 with 2 each. It is interesting because by the year 2006 *Inmigración* was already a regular section and any news regarding immigrants could fall under that section.

Graph 13: Section and articles by year



Own elaboration

El Raval publishes indistinctively in Catalan and Spanish although the latter has a greater presence throughout the newspaper. In the case of the articles regarding the immigration 30 of them were published in Catalan and 107 in Spanish, clearly showing a much greater presence of the Spanish language.

The information of the importance of each article is found by the creation of an index through the formal information section. This index is created through different variables such as odd/even page, whether the unit refers to the opening article/cover(1) or not (0), opening of the section where published(1) or not(0), size of the unit of analysis (1= less than a quarters of a page, 2= between one and two quarters, 3=between two and three quarters, 4= more than three quarters but not the whole page 5= whole page), graphic information(1) or not (0).

As the table shows, only one article has an index of 9, three of 8 and ten of 7. The highest indexes do not represent a good percentage of the total of the articles. The index with the highest number of articles is 3, with thirty-four articles, followed by 4 with twenty-five, 2 with twenty-four and 5 with twenty-two. These four indexes represent 105 articles out of the 137 total. Fourteen articles got an index of 6, which is still a good index in terms of importance. Fifty articles have an index 5 or higher and eighty-seven have an index 4 or lower.

Table 41: Index of importance

Index	Frequency
1	4
2	24
3	34
4	25
5	22
6	14
7	10
8	3
9	1

Own elaboration

The article with an index of 9 was published in September 2000. It is a report about the state of the immigration in Spain. The three articles with an index of 8 were published in March 2008, a report about women in the Raval neighbourhood, in an even page, it does not refer to the cover although it opens the section it was published, published full page and with graphic information, August 2008, publish in the *Salud* section, even page, referring to the cover and opening the section, more than three quarters of the page and with graphic information, and April 2010, an article published under the *Inmigración* section, in an even page, it does not refer to the cover although it opens the section it was published, published full page and with graphic information. The four article with an index of 1 were published in the same issue, March 2006, under the section *Inmigrantes*, and the only point they get is due to their size, the smallest possible.

The immigrant news framing analysis will show the frames used to depict the immigrants and immigration. These are unearthed through the finding the physical locations and geographical spaces, temporal spaces, the main characters portrayed, the definition of the immigrants, actions done by and to the immigrants and whether immigrants were quoted or not.

The next table shows the geographical locations in which immigrants were depicted by the newspaper. It can be seen how most of the locations fall under the category of others. This category includes any location that is not Raval, the district, Barcelona and streets of the district, and locations like Catalonia, Spain, other neighbourhoods and districts of Barcelona as well as other countries such as France, Morocco or Argentina can be found. This situation is found in 77 occasions, by far the situations with most locations. Barcelona is the location that follows, with 32 articles where immigrants are depicted in Barcelona. In this case it is the city that is mentioned and not one of its neighbourhoods or districts. The neighbourhood in which the newspaper is published, Raval, is the next location, with 31 articles. For this location the neighbourhood was mentioned and not a place within the neighbourhood, which is the case of the next location, *Streets*, where actual places of the neighbourhood, and in some occasions the district, were mentioned. This happened in 24 articles and it is important because it places immigrants in certain specific locations instead of a more general one like the neighbourhood. The district was mentioned in 18 articles, and in 2 occasions no clear location was found.

Table 42: Locations

Location	Frequency
Raval	31
District	18
Barcelona	32
Streets	24
Other	77
No clear location	2

Own elaboration

The main characters depicted in these 137 articles were divided into five categories. The number of times these categories were mentioned adds up to more than 137 times because more than one main character was mentioned in most of the articles. *Immigrants* as a category was mentioned 111 times, by far the category with the highest amount of mentions. This is followed by *Political institutions*, found in 61 occasions. The fact that *Political institutions* is the second category in terms of amount of mentions clearly shows immigrants as a political problem. The next category is *Non immigrants*, in which characters that are not of foreign origin are depicted, followed by *Associations*. *Associations* is a category where different kinds of associations are mentioned, whether NGO's, immigrants associations, neighbourhood associations or sport clubs. *Non immigrants* was mentioned in 35 occasions and *Associations* in 33 occasions. As for *Personalised*, the category in which immigrants are mentioned by their name, it was found in 13 occasions, the category with the lowest frequency.

Table 43: Main characters

Main characters	Frequency
Immigrants	111
Personalised	13
Non immigrants	35
Associations	33
Political institutions	61

Own elaboration

Crossing the characters *Immigrants* with *Political institutions* and *Associations* it can be shown the relationship between these. In 55 occasions *Immigrants* are mentioned in articles along with *Political institutions*. As for *Immigrants* and *Associations*, they are found 25 times among the 137 articles. In 80 occasions *Immigrants* are depicted along with another character that can have an impact in their life, whether *Political institutions*, which clearly has an impact in legal and political terms, or *Associations*, which provide relieve and help to the immigrants through their own associations as well as associations run by natives.

Table 44: Associations

Characters	Political institutions	Associations
Immigrants	55	25

Own elaboration

El Raval provides with a wider range of definitions of the immigrants as there are more articles in which to define them. The definition with the highest frequency is *Source of concern*, a definition where immigrants find themselves in hazardous and problematic circumstances without being victimised. That is, for example, the case of the article published in February 2006 in which the immigrants lack information about integration policies. A situation like the one that has just been described would not victimise immigrants but are clearly a source of concern in terms of finding themselves in uneasy situations. *Source of concern* is found in 45 occasions. Immigrants as *Neighbours* are found in 35 occasions. This definition depicts immigrants in situations in which they act as another character of the neighbourhood disregarding the fact that they are immigrants. An example of the definition *Neighbours* may be found in the report published in March 2008 in which women from Raval are briefly interviewed. There are immigrant women among them, completely disregarding the origin of those women as unimportant. The definition of *Victims* is found in 31 articles. This definition clearly portrays immigrants as victims of rumours, acts or policies that affect them directly. An example is found in September 2010, in an article that depicts immigrants as directly affected by the crisis and as one of its victims.

Table 45: Definition

Definition	Frequency
Source of concern	45
Neighbours	35
Victims	31
Criminals	8
Source of change	6
Muslims	6
Newcomers	4
Workers	3
Non integrated	2
Illegal immigrants	2
Senders of money	1
Solidary	1
Migrants	1

Own elaboration

Immigrants as *Criminals* may be found in 8 occasions, followed by *Source of change* and *Muslims*, found 6 times. *Source of change* is a definition in which immigrants are given the power to drive change into society. That is the case of the article published in December 2008 where immigrants are depicted as actors that bring interculturality and diversity into society. In 6 occasions as well, immigrants are portrayed as *Muslims*, being their religiosity the defining trait of this definition as it is shown in the article published in December 2010, where Muslim immigrants demand better praying venues. *Newcomers* is found in 4 occasions, *Workers* 3 times and *Non integrated* only in 2 occasions as well as *Illegal immigrants*. The rest of the definitions are only found in one occasion, these are *Senders of money*, *Solidary* and *Migrants*.

As for the actions done by the immigrants it can be seen how there is a big difference between three groups of actions. These groups have roughly the same frequency within each group. The first group, *Concerning*, *Move/Reside* and *Mundane*, have frequencies of 36, 27 and 26 respectively. *Concerning* refer to actions in which the immigrant either creates or has a problem. One of the 36 occasions can be found in the article published in February 2002, in which immigrants do not hear news of their work permits even though they have applied legally. *Move/Reside* are actions in which the character migrates, moves to a new town or city, resides in a specific place or relocates his or her family. This action was found 27 times. A perfect example of this last situation may be found in an article published in August 2008 where immigrants relocate their families so as to be together. *Mundane* actions are actions that do not require the character to be an immigrant and it was used in 26 occasions. The article published in February 2010 shows a *Mundane* action done by an immigrant character by simply studying at university.

Table 46: Actions by immigrants

Actions by	Frequency
Mundane	26
Concerning	36
Move/Reside	27
Participate in civic life	13
Religious matters	16
Nothing	12
Positive outcomes	4
Illegal actions	3
Other	5

Own elaboration

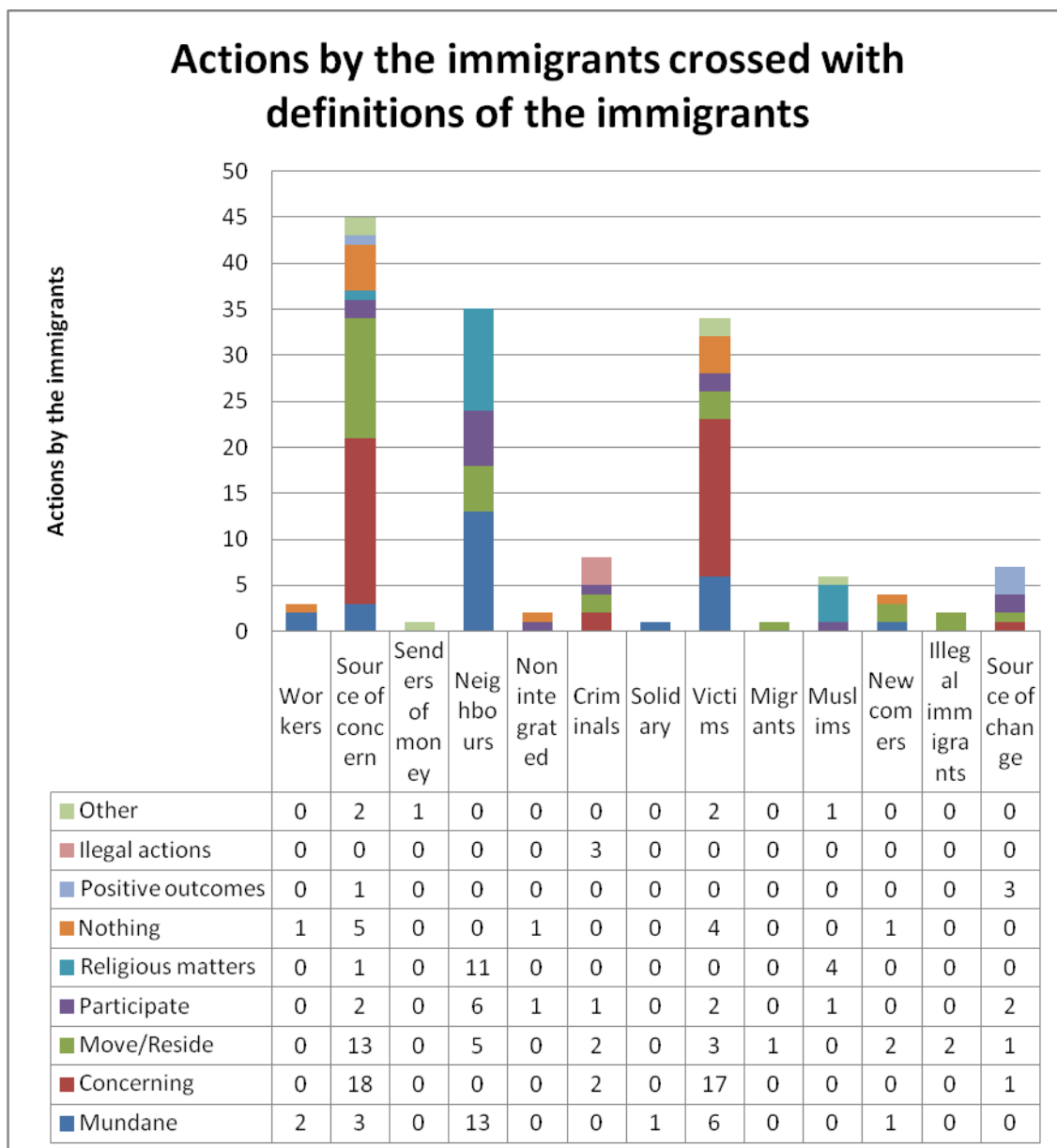
The second group of three actions has *Religious matters*, *Participate in civic life* and *Nothing*. For *Religious matters* it can be understood any situation that deals with

religion as a primary cause. This is found in 16 occasions and an example may be the article published in January 2012 in which immigrants celebrate the *Ashura* day. The *Ashura* day is an important festivity of the Islamic calendar. Actions under the *Participate in civic life* are those actions in which the immigrants are part of an association that takes part in activities for and by the neighbourhood and its citizens. An example may be found in January 2000 where immigrants take, participate and offer different courses and activities. Immigrants do not perform an action in 12 occasions. These sorts of articles depict immigrants but do not grant them the possibility of actually performing an action, hence depriving them of any kind of protagonism. An example was published in January 2010. An article in which the fact that the television depicts immigrants as criminals or victims as well as not being given enough air time

The last group of actions by the immigrants have a small frequency, 5, 4 and 3 for *Other*, *Positive outcomes* and *Illegal actions*. *Positive outcomes*, found in 4 occasions, are positive situations of the arrival of immigrants and an example is found in November 2006. This article states that immigrants help decrease the unemployment rate and stop the increase of prices, clearly a positive outcome or situation of the immigration. *Illegal actions* is self explanatory and it can be found in 3 occasions, one of them being the article published in December 2008 regarding the attempted bombing of Barcelona. As for the *Other* actions, different categories of actions were grouped. Categories such as “send money to their countries” or “value Spain and its institutions”.

When the actions by the immigrants and the definitions of the immigrants are crossed it shows the frequencies and the occasions in which certain actions are found in certain definitions of the immigrants. It is especially interesting to note how most of the occasions in which immigrants perform concerning actions fall under the *Source of concern* definition, 18 times, and *Victims*, 17 times, which frames migrants in a certain way. As for the *Move/Reside* action, it is found in 13 occasions under the definition of *Source of concern*. *Mundane* actions also are found in 13 occasions but this time under the definition of *Neighbours*, under which *Religious matters* are found 11 times as well.

Graph 14: Actions by immigrants crossed with definitions of the immigrants



Own elaboration

As for the actions done to the immigrants it is clear that most of them are *Negative*, found in 49 occasions, followed by actions towards *Integration*, 42 times. *Negative* actions are actions in which immigrants receive some kind of harm, whether discrimination or lack of knowledge. An example may be found in the article published

in February 2010 where a tougher immigration law is required by the Popular Party. Actions towards *Integration* are actions in which immigrants are offered help in situations that help them settle in a better way in their new society like for example the article published in December 2010 in which a cohabitation board (Taula de convivència) is implemented. There were 26 articles in which immigrants do not receive any action as it is the case of the article published in July 2004 in which immigrants organise an event and no other character performs any other action. This is followed by *Help*, actions in which immigrants get help in their daily lives, not leaning towards integration. *Help* has a frequency of 15, followed by *Mundane* actions with 8 and *Other* with 2.

Table 47: Actions to immigrants

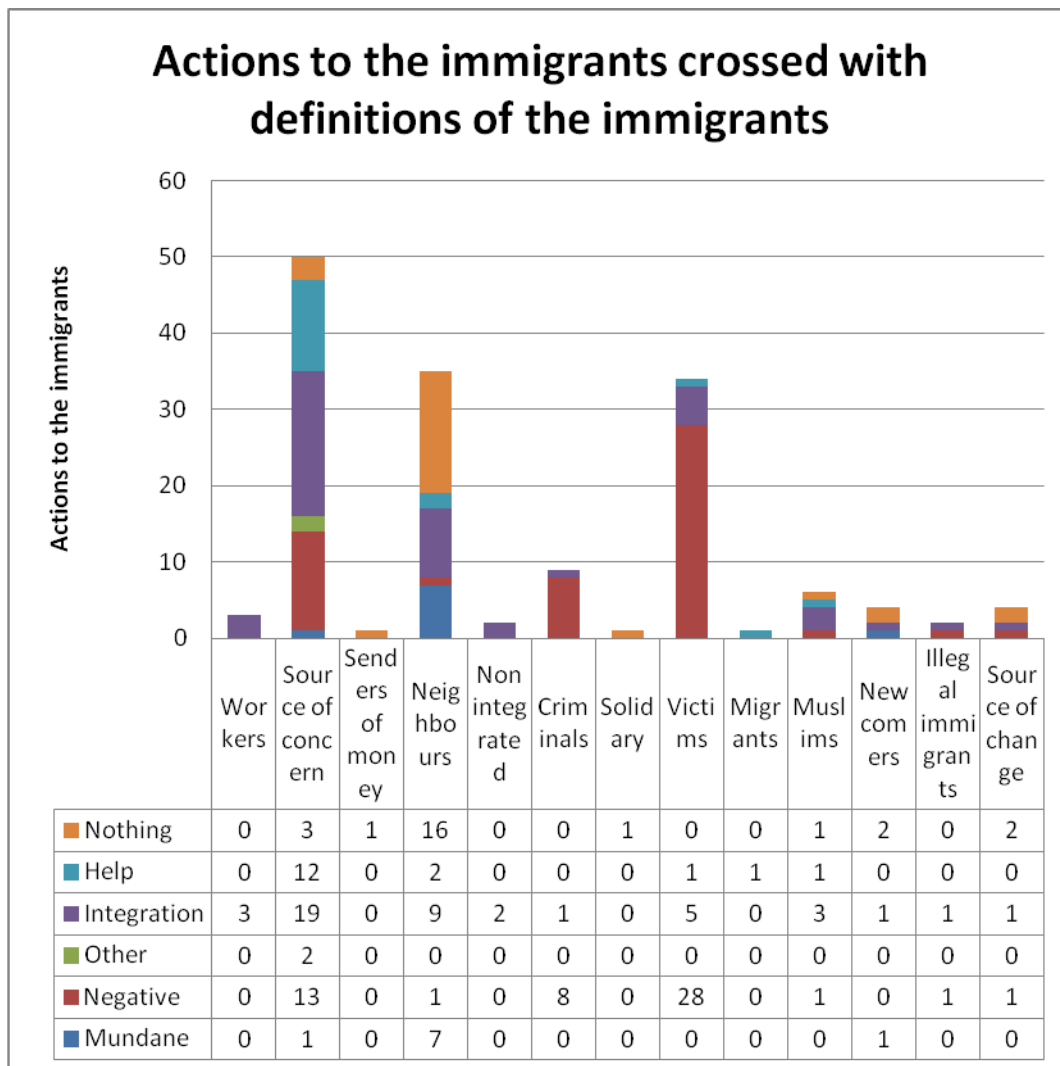
Actions to	Frequency
Mundane	8
Negative	49
Help	15
Integration	42
Other	2
Nothing	26

Own elaboration

Crossing the actions to the immigrants with the definitions gives an idea of which actions are linked to certain definitions. As this table shows *Negative* actions are performed in 28 occasions when the immigrants are defined as *Victims*. This situations is concerning as it frames migrants as victims of negative situations instead of pointing to the source of the situation. This is followed by *Source of concern* found 13 times and *Criminals* 8 times. *Integration* actions are linked to the definition of *Source of concern* in 19 occasions, followed by *Neighbours* in 9 occasions. The definition of *Source of concern* is linked to the action *Help* in 12 occasions. The definition of *Neighbours* is

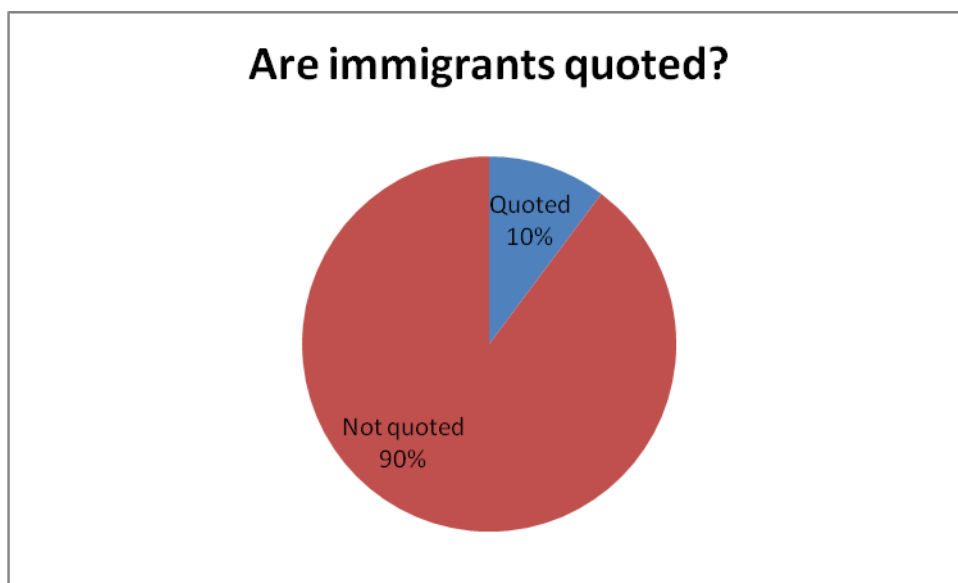
linked to *Mundane* actions in 7 occasions. There are 16 situations in which no actions is performed towards the immigrants linked to the definition *Neighbours*.

Graph 15: Actions to immigrants crossed with definitions of the immigrants



Own elaboration

Graph 16: Are immigrants quoted?



Own elaboration

Lastly, it can be seen how immigrants were not quoted in 123 occasions (90%), while only being quoted in 14 occasions (10%), clearly showing that it is hard for them to get their message across and be heard, whether because newspapers do not reach out to them or because they do not know how to make themselves be heard, but the fact is that immigrants in the El Raval newspaper are not quoted in the 90% of the occasions.

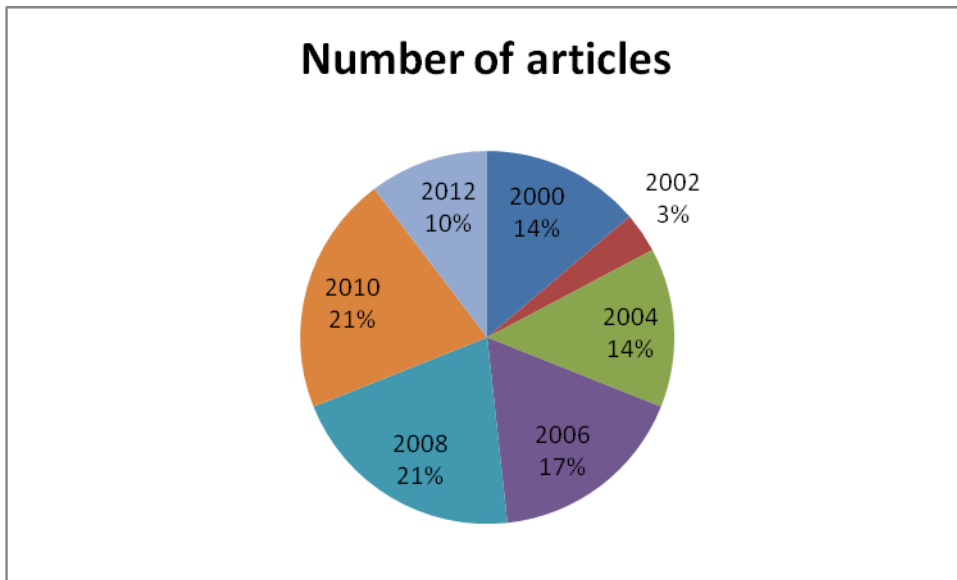
6.4. Report La Marina

La Marina started publishing in 1994 and thus it covers the whole span of this research. La Marina has always published monthly with the exception of August. July is a double issue, both in extension and coverage, trying to give visibility to events that will happen in July and August. A total of 77 issues were studied covering from the even years between the year 2000 and the year 2012.

Out of these 77 issues twenty-nine articles were found in which immigrants were mentioned or were the main topic. Six articles were published in the years 2008 and

2010, being these two years the ones with the highest number of articles. Five articles were published in 2006, four in 2000 and 2004, three in 2012 and only one article in the year 2002.

Graph 17: Number of articles



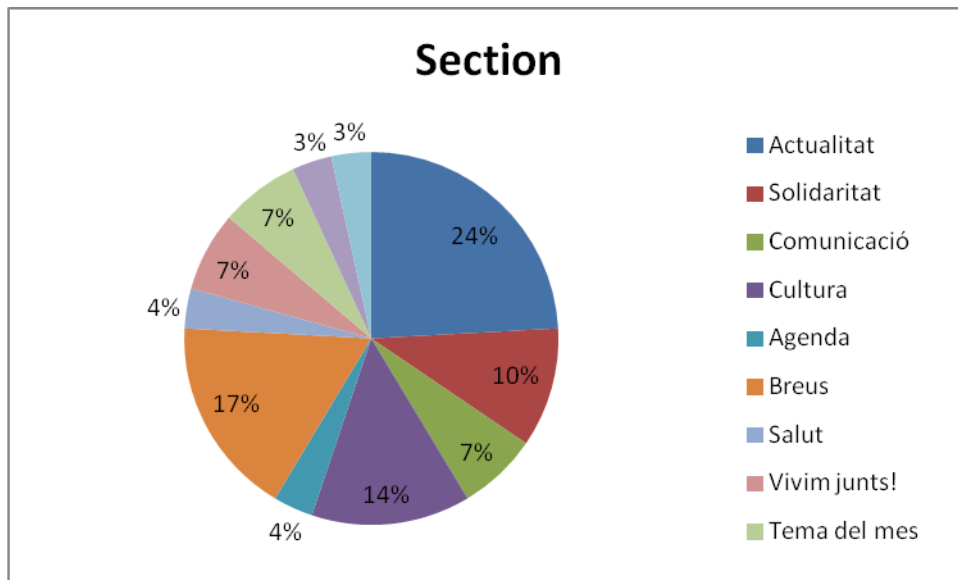
Own elaboration

Only three of the articles are a genre other than news. These three articles were reports. The first one was published in January 2010 and it was the main topic of that month. The second one was published in November of the same year and it was again the topic of the month. The first report dealt with the consequences of the economic crisis in the neighbourhood and how it affected a part of the general population like immigrants. The second one dealt with the educational system and the difficulties that schools have to face in la Marina neighbourhood. The third report, published in February 2012, talked about sports and its use as a means to integrate immigrants.

As for the sections there are three main sections in which articles regarding immigration were published. These are *Actualitat*, with 7 articles, *Breus*, with 5, and *Cultura* with 4. This classification gives us a sense of the way immigrants are depicted. *Solidaritat* follows with 3 articles, *Comunicació*, *Tema del mes* and *Vivim junts!* with 2 articles and *Agenda*, *Salut* and *Esports* with 1 articles each. There is also one article with no clear

section published in January 2012. It is important to note that both articles in the *Vivim junts!* section were published in the same issue, December 2008.

Graph 18: Section

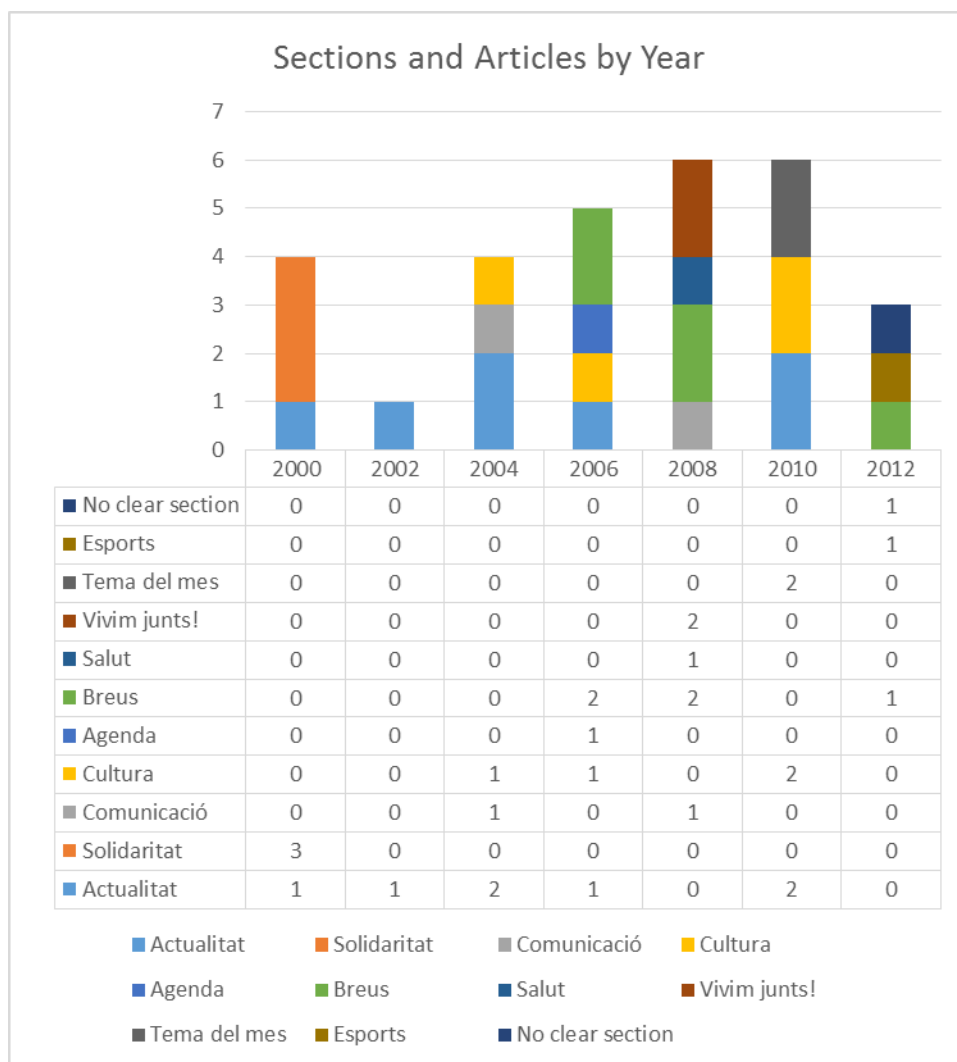


Own elaboration

If these sections are separated by years it is possible to see the distribution of each section within each studied year and interesting situations are found. Even though *Actualitat* is the section with the highest number of articles no articles were found in the year 2008, which is the year, along with 2010, with the highest number of articles. However two articles were found in 2010. *Vivim junts!* and *Breus* were the sections with most articles published in 2008, with two each. As for 2010, *Actualitat*, *Tema del mes* and *Cultura* with two articles each, were the only sections in which articles regarding immigration were found. In 2006 two articles were found in the *Breus* section, one in *Agenda* and one in *Cultura*.

Breus had two articles published in 2006, 2008 and then one in 2012. *Actualitat* did not have any articles in 2008 and 2012, but had two in 2004 and 2010, and one in 2000, 2002 and 2006. *Cultura* had one article in 2004, one in 2006 and two in 2010. As for *Solidaritat* the three articles published under this section were found in the year 2000.

Graph 19: Sections and articles by year



Own elaboration

Even though La Marina started publishing in both Catalan and Spanish by the year 2000 most of the articles were written in Catalan and so all of the articles regarding immigration, or where immigrants are mentioned, are written in this language.

As previously mentioned, the formal information section gives information of the importance of each article through the creation of an index. This index is created through different variables such as odd/even page, whether the unit refers to the opening article/cover(1) or not (0), opening of the section where published(1) or not(0), size of the unit of analysis (1= less than a quarters of a page, 2= between one and two quarters, 3=between two and three quarters, 4= more than three quarters but not the whole page 5= whole page), graphic information(1) or not (0).

As the table shows most of the articles fall the index of 4 or below, with 16 of the 29 articles. However, the index with the highest frequency is 5, with seven articles, followed by the index of 6 with five articles. The three highest index, 7, 8 and 9, only have one article, and it has the index of 7.

Table 48: Index of importance

Index	Frequency
1	2
2	5
3	3
4	6
5	7
6	5
7	1
8	0
9	0

Own elaboration

The article with the highest index, 7, was published in December 2008, under the section *Vivim junts!* It is found in an even page, refers to the cover and is the opening article of the section. Although it is of medium size, 3, it does have graphic information. This articles talks about an exposition at Palau Robert, in the centre of Barcelona, regarding the process of migrating and settling to a new place like Barcelona. It is interesting how the article with the highest index does not deal with something actually happening in La Marina neighbourhood even though immigration is an important issue there. Also, the size of the article might be misleading because the actual text is very short but it has a lot graphic information in the form of pictures.

The articles with an index of 6, still quite a high index considering that more than half of the articles have an index lower than 5, were published in February 2004, December 2008 and January, June and December 2010. All these have graphic information, a size of 3, expect the article published in January 2010 which has a size of 4.

As for the rest of the articles, seven of them have an index of 5, which again is above the majority of the articles and the index with the highest number of articles, six articles

have an index of 4, three an index of 3, five an index of 2 and two an index of 1. These last two are two really short article published in February 2002 and March 2008, the first one regarding Catalan language courses and the second one regarding the amount of complaints received by the neighbourhood government.

The immigrant news framing analysis will show the frames used to depict the immigrants and immigration. These are unearthed through the finding the physical locations and geographical spaces, temporal spaces, the main characters portrayed, the definition of the immigrants, actions done by and to the immigrants and whether immigrants were quoted or not.

The next table shows the locations and geographical spaces in which the immigrants are set or that are mentioned in the articles. As it shows the most important location is actually a group of locations. *Specific locations* is a label for different geographical spaces within the la Marina neighbourhood and it is found in 17 occasions. The most important space within this label is the Francesc Candel library which represents 6 of these 17 spaces. Other spaces are, *Perú* and *Enric Granados* schools or *La Casa del Rellogge*. Although the CIE (Foreigners Centre of Internation) is not located within the neighbourhood it is included in this label due to the importance given by the newspaper and the proximity to the la Marina as a neighbourhood.

The next location in terms of frequency is another label to define a series of different geographical spaces. *Other* is set of spaces that are not part of any of the other labels. It is found in 16 occasions and places like the *Col·legi de Periodistes* or the *Sahara* desert are found.

Barcelona is the main geographical space in 8 occasions. In this case, Barcelona as a city is mentioned but not one of its neighbourhoods or districts individually. Whenever this last situation is encountered it was referred as *Other* and not *Barcelona*.

Table 49: Locations

Locations	Frequency
La Marina	2
District	5
Zona Franca	1
Barcelona	8
Specific locations	17
Other	16
No clear location	1

Own elaboration

What is most interesting of this analysis is that La Marina as a neighbourhood is directly mentioned, that is by name, only in two occasions. The first one is the article published in December 2004. It is set both in La Marina and in the Francesc Candel library and it covered the presentation of the Francesc Candel association to promote the integration of immigrants. The second one was published in March 2012 and it talked about the death of a young immigrant in the CIE (Foreigners Centre of Internation) of Zona Franca.

The district, Sants – Montjuïc, is the main location in 5 occasions, Zona Franca in one occasion, and no clear location in one occasion too. This last situation is found in an article published in July/August 2004 in which awards for actions towards the integration of immigrants are opened to submission.

As for the main characters found in the articles it is very interesting to see how most of the characters are not immigrants. It shows how there is a tendency to portray immigrants through the vision of non immigrants rather than letting themselves depict their reality. In 33 occasions non immigrants are the main or one of the main characters of the article. Articles like the one published in February 2004 illustrate this situation clearly. In this article a series of non immigrants gather to discuss the way to portray the immigration in media. In an article published in November 2010 Josep M^a Torres, an artist, exhibits his paintings on immigrants as the main topic. Two situations in which

immigrants are portrayed while having no part at all and hence no being allowed to express their voices. This does not mean that immigrants do not have a part in any of the articles where non immigrants are one of the main characters, but it does mean that in a lot of occasions a non immigrant voice is used to define and portray the immigrants, even if immigrants do have a voice, which makes it harder for them to define themselves in their own terms.

Table 50: Main characters

Main Characters	Frequency
Immigrants	13
Personalised	7
Associations	14
Political institutions	11
Non immigrants	33

Own elaboration

Immigrants are the main, or one of the main characters, in 13 occasions. In 7 other occasions personalised immigrants are the main characters. That is 20 occasions in which immigrants, whether under the label *immigrant* or a real person, are the main or one of the main characters. Actually only in two occasions immigrants are the only character, two articles in December 2008. These two articles were published in the same month and in the same page. One of them talks about an art exhibition that pretends to show situation of the day to day life of immigrants. And even though immigrants are the main character because the article deals with their situation it is clear that they are still depicted through the vision of a third party. The second article shows demographic data of the immigration in Barcelona. It is again a similar situation. A situation in which immigrants are the main character but the nature of the article does not allow them to have a voice other than the position that the data shows.

An article where personalised immigrants are the main characters may be found in December 2010. This article talks about a debate around integration in which two

immigrants took part. In this situation two visible people of foreign origin are allowed to debate and give their opinion about immigration and integration policies.

Associations are the main character in 14 occasions. Two of these 14 are associations of immigrants, *Federació d'entitats llatinoamericanes de Catalunya* and *Coordinadora d'entitats d'immigrants de Catalunya* in March 2006. Most of the other associations are associations that deal with immigrants but are not run by them. Political institutions such as the district of the council are the main characters in 11 occasions.

There is one main definition of immigrants found in these articles, at a great distance from the other definitions. This main definition is *Source of Concern*, found 20 times. It is followed by *Victims* and *Neighbours*, found in 4 occasions each, and *Newcomers*, *Migrants* and *Source of Change* only found in one occasion each.

Table 51: Definition

Definition	Frequency
Source of concern	20
Victims	4
Newcomers	1
Neighbours	4
Migrants	1
Source of change	1

Own elaboration

It is clear that La Marina has a tendency to talk about immigrants in hazardous situations since for *Source of Concern* we understand situations in which the immigrants find themselves in hazardous and problematic circumstances. An example of this may be the article published in December 2000 in which the council, the neighbours and the association *Papers per a tothom* worry about the situation of immigrants and their possible integration as some of them are homeless. Another example is the article published in November 2010. In this article a school worries

about the outcomes of having too many immigrants and the possible implications for the education level they can receive and the image it gives.

Immigrants are portrayed as victims in 4 occasions. Two of these are related to the death of a young migrant at the CIE (Foreigners Centre of Internation) and the fact that some migrants are taken and locked for not residing legally but not actually having committed any crime. The other two occasions are linked to the situation of illegality in which some migrants find themselves. The first one, October 2000, talks about the term illegal when referring to the lack of permit of residency and how it diminishes these people. The second one is the article published in December 2000 where immigrants are depicted as victims of a situation that pushes them to be homeless.

Immigrants are portrayed as *Neighbours* in articles where they are performing actions that are not defined by their origin. Users of the library, November 2004, take part on carnival, February 2006, vaccinate their kids, September 2006, and take their kids to school, November 2010.

The definition of *Newcomers* was found in February 2002 and it depicts immigrants learning Catalan to integrate faster and better. *Migrants* was found in December 2008 in an article talking about an exhibition of the process of migrating. The same month showed an article depicting them as *Source of Change* illustrating the socio demographic data and changes Barcelona is going through by the migration wave.

As for the actions done by the immigrants it can be seen how there are two main groups. The first group with a high frequency, *Concerning*, *Mundane* and *Nothing*, and the second group with a much lower frequency, *Integrate*, *Move/Reside* and *Participate in civic life*.

Table 52: Actions by immigrants

Actions by	Frequency
Mundane	5
Concerning	12
Move/Reside	2
Participate in civic life	1
Integrate	2
Nothing	8

Own elaboration

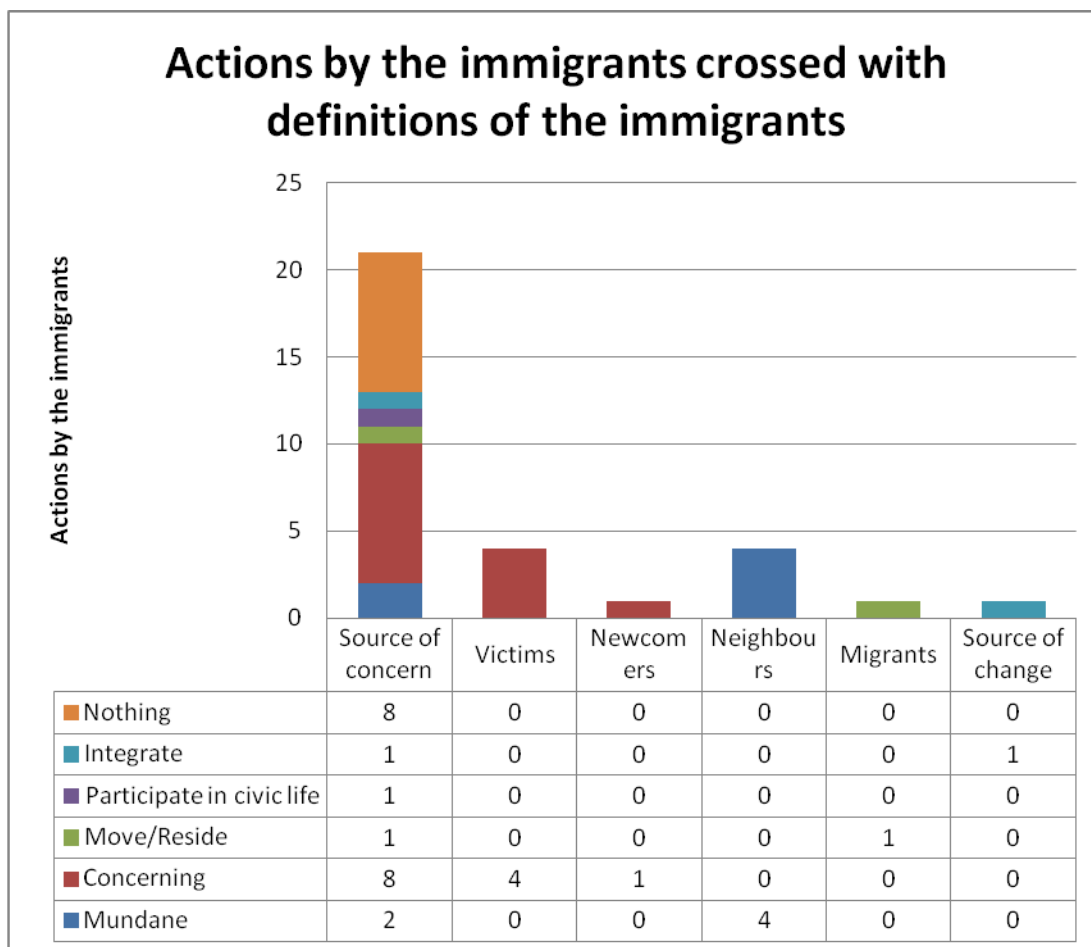
Concerning is the action with a higher frequency, found in 12 occasions. *Concerning* refer to actions in which the immigrant either creates or has a problem. September 2000 or January 2012 are clear examples of *Concerning* actions. In the first one immigrants seek the opportunity to find success in a new society but find it hard due to the difficult situation that being and immigrants carries. In the second article immigrants go on a hunger strike, and actually die.

Mundane actions are actions that do not require the character to be an immigrant. These actions can be found in the article published in November 2004 in which immigrants are simply users of the library as one of the 5 occasions in which these actions are performed by immigrants.

What is important is that immigrants do not perform any actions in 8 occasions, not being granted the opportunity of being active subjects of their definition but, instead, being passive subjects and hence being defined.

When actions performed by the immigrants are crossed with the definitions of the immigrants the importance of the definition *Source of Concern* is suddenly even clearer. All the actions are linked to this definition at least in one occasion. *Concerning* actions and *Nothing* are highly linked, 8 occasions each, showing a pattern in the depiction of immigrants in which these are a completely passive actor in situations that deeply concern them.

Graph 20: Actions done by immigrants crossed with definitions of the immigrants



Own elaboration

It is important to see how in four occasions the *Mundane* actions are linked to the definition of migrants as *Neighbours* which shows migrants just performing everyday actions in a context in which they are seen simply, or importantly, as neighbours.

The actions performed towards the immigrants show a different picture. These actions are mostly actions towards *Integration*. Actions towards *Integration* are actions in which immigrants are offered help in situations that help them settle in a better way in their new society. This is found in 16 occasions and an example of this is the article published in July/August 2004 in which awards for associations that help immigrants' integration were opened for submissions, praising their work and encouraging them to continue.

Negative actions, actions in which immigrants receive some kind of harm, whether discrimination or lack of knowledge; are found in 8 occasions. One of them is the article published in March 2006. This article shows the discrimination some immigrants suffered by not having their driving license homologated.

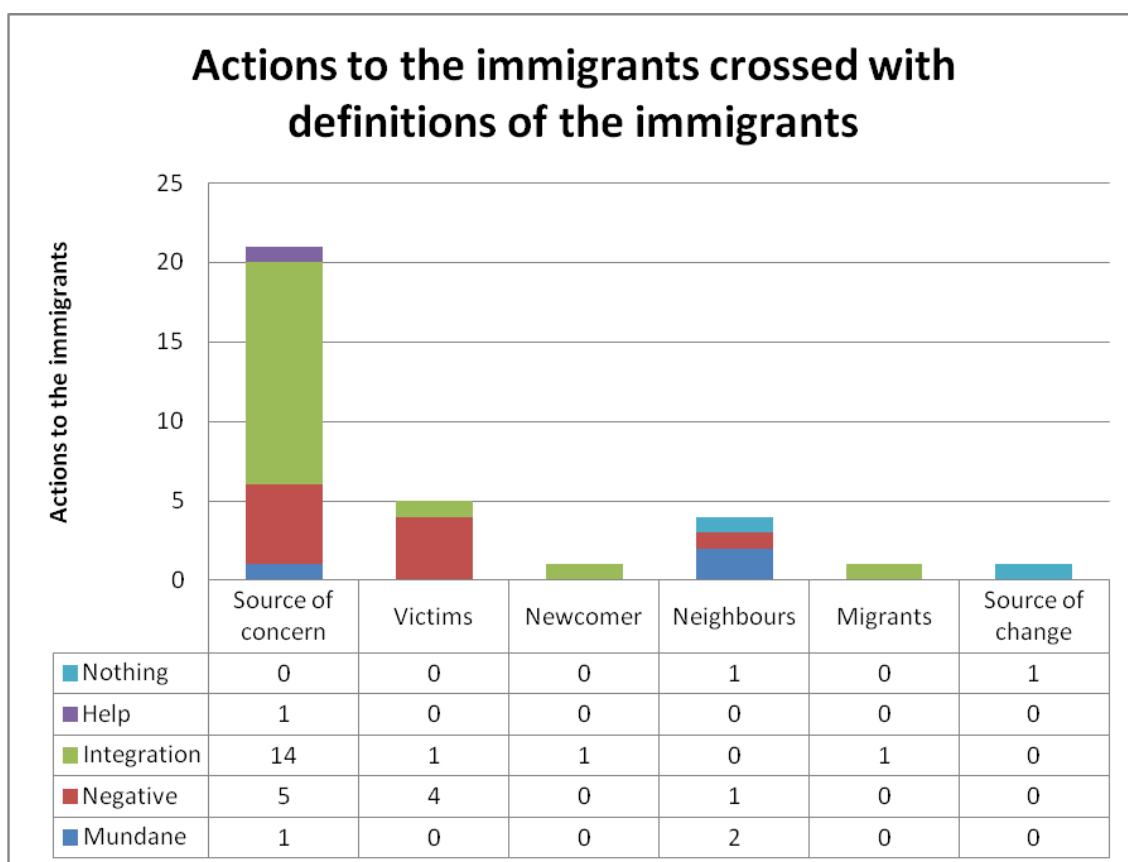
Table 53: Actions to immigrants

Actions to	Frequency
Mundane	3
Negative	8
Integration	16
Help	1
Nothing	2

Own
elaboration

Mundane actions are found in 3 occasions and *Help* actions in 1 occasion. *Help* actions are actions in which immigrants get help in their daily lives, not leaning towards integration. This the case of the article published in January 2010 where immigrants get help to mitigate the effects of the economic crisis. It is true that their situation within the economic crisis and their status of immigrants are highly linked and difficult to disassociate. However in this article immigrants do not get help because they are immigrants but because they suffer economic hardships.

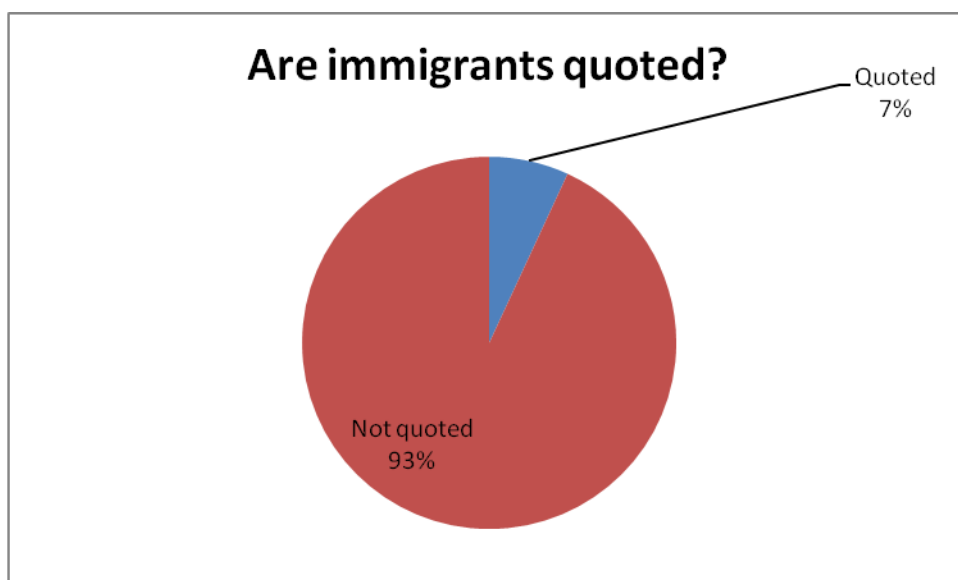
Graph 21: Actions done to immigrants crossed with definitions of the immigrants



Own elaboration

When these actions are crossed with the definitions it can be seen again that most of them fall under the definition of *Source of concern*. This is found 14 times with *Integration* actions, 5 with *Negative* actions, and one with *Mundane* and *Help* actions. 4 of the occasions in which immigrants receive negative actions are linked to the definition of *Victims*. The other time in which immigrants are defined as *Victims* is linked to *Integration*.

Graph 22: Are immigrants quoted?



Own elaboration

Lastly, it can be seen how immigrants were not quoted in twenty-seven occasions (93%), while only being quoted in two occasions (7%). The first one is the article published in September 2000 and the second one is the article published in March 2006, although in this last one it is two associations of immigrants that are used as sources. This clearly shows that it is hard for them to get their message across and be heard, whether because newspapers do not reach out to them or because they do not know how to make themselves be heard, but the fact is that immigrants in the La Marina newspaper are not quoted in the 93% of the occasions.

6.5. Results content analysis

A total of 205 articles were analysed for this content analysis, however, as stated before, some variables, such as Definition or Location, may have more than one value per article, making the final amount of values greater than 205, the total amount of articles. Twelve were published in La Barceloneta, a hundred and thirty-seven in El Raval, twenty-seven in Zona Sec and twenty-nine in La Marina. There is a clear difference between El Raval and the other newspaper in terms of the number of articles published and this difference clearly affects the outcome of the total number of articles. There is also a difference between the years with low numbers in the first years and growing until 2012 when La Marina, Zona Sec and La Barceloneta decrease the number of articles whereas El Raval keeps the increase.

Table 54: Number of articles

Year	Number of articles
2000	7
2002	14
2004	13
2006	34
2008	46
2010	48
2012	43

Own elaboration

The next table shows the amount of articles per year and newspaper.

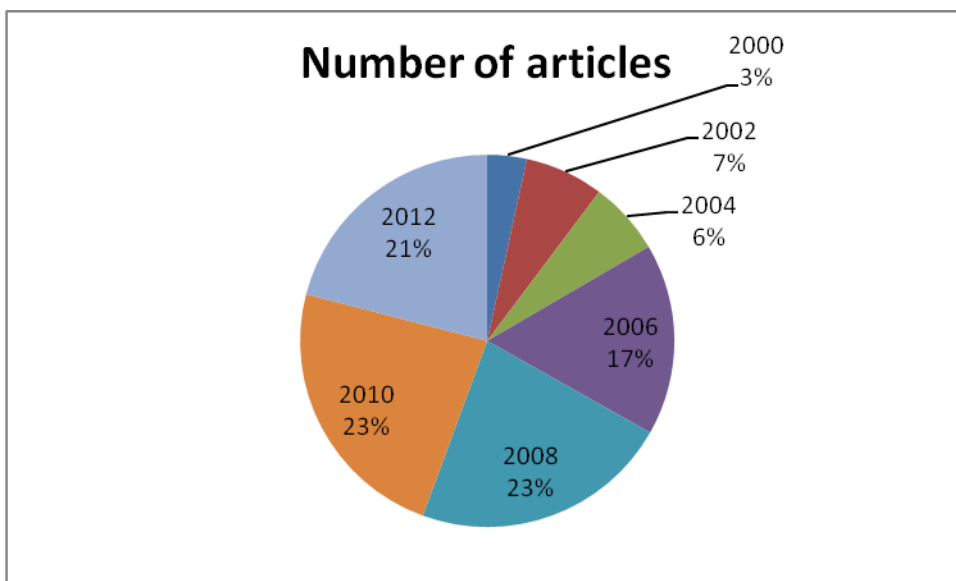
Table 55: Articles per year and newspaper

Newspaper	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	Total
El Raval	3	3	4	25	34	31	37	137
La Marina	4	1	4	5	6	6	3	29
Zona Sec	0	3	4	2	4	11	3	27
La Barceloneta	0	7	1	2	2	0	0	12

Own elaboration

Percentage wise both 2008 and 2010 represent a 23% of the total amount of articles. In 2012 a 21% of all the articles were published, followed by 2006 when the 16% of the articles are found. The years 2000, 2002 and 2004 represent the 3%, 7% and 6% of all the articles.

Graph 23: Number of articles



Own elaboration

Out of these 205 articles, 191 were news. Ten were reports, three of them published in La Barceloneta, three more in La Marina, two in Zona Sec and two again in El Raval. The four articles remaining are four interviews published in La Barceloneta. As explained earlier these interviews were analysed because of their purpose, to introduce some immigrants to the neighbourhood and because of their formal structure, a mixed article, half interview half article. The other interviews in the other newspapers were discarded because the interviews did not deal with introducing new people to the neighbourhood, instead the immigration was another topic covered. To sum up, these four interviews portrayed the immigrants through the vision of the newspaper, whereas the other interviews depicted immigrants through the vision of the interviewee.

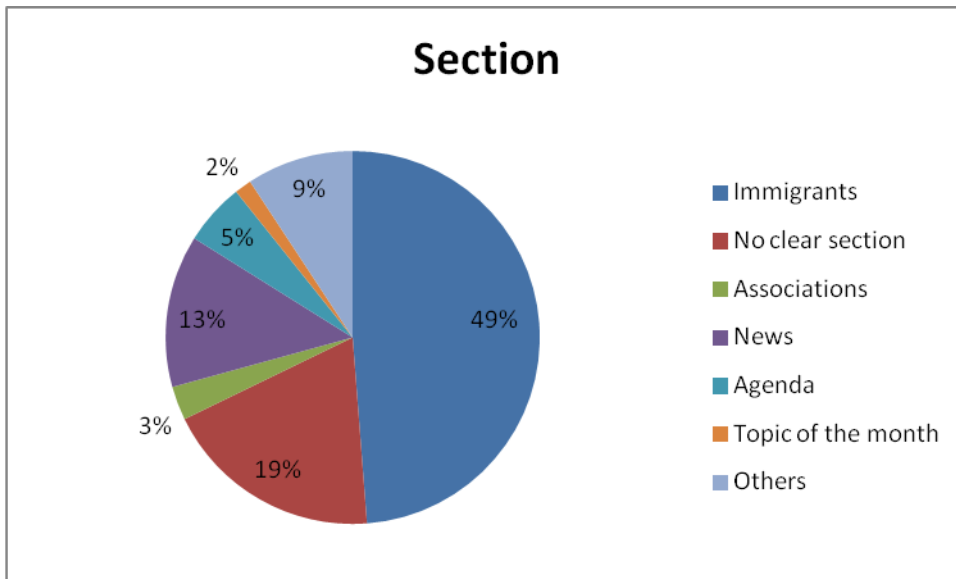
As for the sections, each newspaper has its own different sections but the sections have been added taking into account the main covered topic. The Immigrants sections results from adding the *Immigrantes* section of El Raval (89 articles), to *Bienvenido Vecino* of La Barceloneta (5 articles), *Vivim Junts!* of La Marina (2 articles) and *Rumores* of El Raval (4 articles). This section has a total of 100 articles. The News section is the result of adding sections like *Noticias* of La Barceloneta (1 article), *Noticies en Breve* of El Raval (1 article), *Noticies* and *Actualitat* of Zona Sec (8 and 5 articles) and *Actualitat* and *Breus* of La Marina (7 and 5 articles). The News section has a total of 27 articles. The Others section is the outcome of adding several scattered sections such as *Seguridad ciudadana* and *Miscel·lània* from La Barceloneta, *Salud* and *Confictos laborales* from El Raval, *Pla comunitari* and *Cartes al director* from Zona Sec and *Solidaritat*, *Comunicació*, *Cultura*, *Salut* and *Esports* from La Marina. All these sections together add up to 19 articles. Agenda is the result of adding *Celebraciones* of El Raval (10 articles) and *Agenda* of La Marina (1 article). Associations is *Informació d'entitats* of La Barceloneta (1 article) and *Entitats* of Zona Sec (5 articles). Topic of the month comes from adding up the *Tema del mes* of La Marina (2 articles) and *Reportatge* of Zona Sec (1 article). Finally, there are 39 articles with no clear section.

Table 56: Section

Section	Number of articles
Immigrants	100
No clear section	39
Associations	6
News	27
Agenda	11
Topic of the month	3
Others	19

Own elaboration

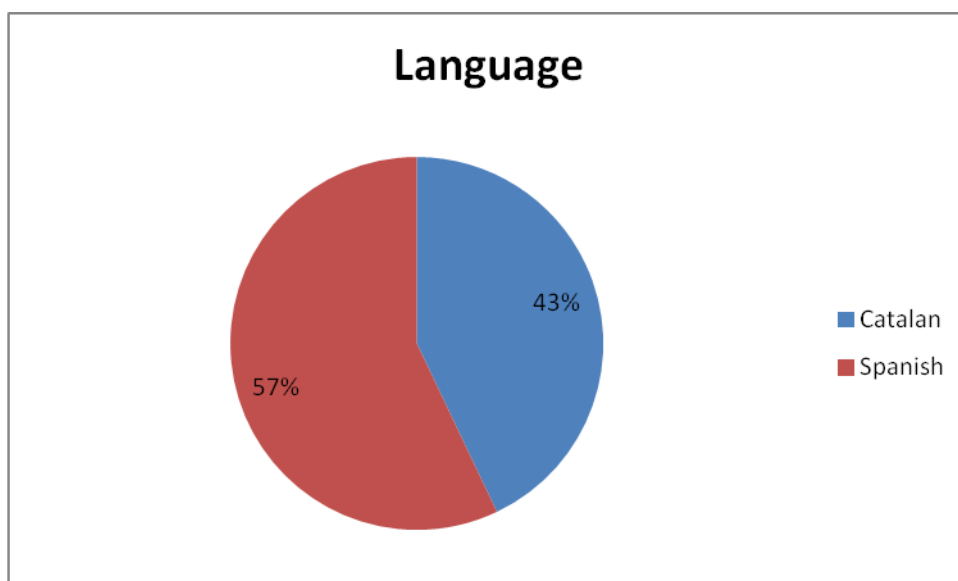
Graph 24: Section



Own elaboration

Again the amount of articles published by El Raval distorts the clear results from the individual analysis of the newspapers. La Marina published only in Catalan, Zona Sec published only one article of the twenty-seven in Spanish. La Barceloneta published three articles in Catalan and nine in Spanish. However, El Raval published thirty in Catalan and a hundred and seven in Spanish. This makes a total of 88 in Catalan (43%) and 117 in Spanish (57%). The choice in the language is important because it might difficult the access of some immigrants to the newspaper since the Catalan language is less widely spoken among the immigrant collective, at least at first when an important part of this group of people have Spanish as their mother tongue and probably no knowledge of Catalan. It is important to note that the use of one language or the other, in the case of these four newspapers, has a lot to do with the structure of the newspaper. La Marina and Zona Sec with a more professionalized structure publish almost completely in Catalan whereas La Barceloneta and El Raval, with a structure based only on one person, publish in a much greater percentage in Spanish.

Graph 25: Language



Own elaboration

The formal information section, as it was mentioned earlier, gives information of the importance of each article through the creation of an index. This index is created through different variables such as odd/even page, whether the unit refers to the opening article/cover(1) or not (0), opening of the section where published(1) or not(0), size of the unit of analysis (1= less than a quarters of a page, 2= between one and two quarters, 3=between two and three quarters, 4= more than three quarters but not the whole page 5= whole page), graphic information(1) or not (0).

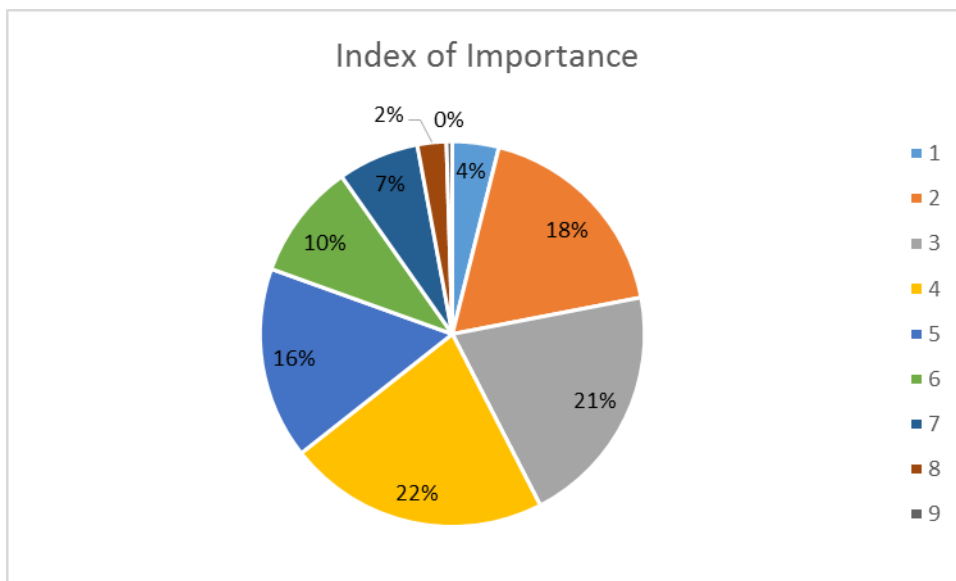
The highest frequency is found in the index of 4 with 45 articles (22%), followed by the index of 3 with 42 articles (21%) and the index of 2 and 5 with 37 (18%) and 33 (16%) articles respectively. The 77% of the total amount of articles, 157 of 205, have an index between 2 and 5. The indexes of 6 and 7 represent 20 and 14 articles, 10% and 7%. The lowest index has only 8 articles, which is the 4% of all the articles and the highest two indexes, 8 and 9, amount to 5 and 1 articles respectively, 2% and 0.5%.

Table 57: Index of importance

Index	Frequency
1	8
2	37
3	42
4	45
5	33
6	20
7	14
8	5
9	1

Own elaboration

Graph 26: Index of importance



Own elaboration

The locations in which the articles are set tend to be in their majorirt places other than the neighbourhood of the newspaper. In 106 occasions (36%) the location is a place far from where the newspaper might have influence. Places like Morocco, Madrid, Italy, etc. are found in this tag. The neighbourhood is the main location in 60 occasions (20%), however adding specific locations (found 53 times, 18%), it is clear that the

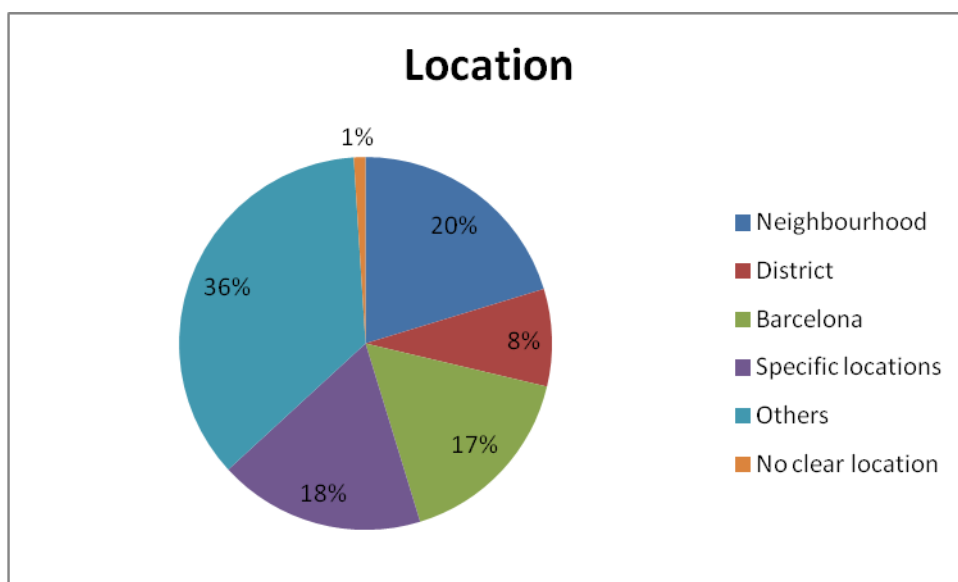
neighbourhood is the location with the highest frequency, 113 times (38%). Specific locations is a tag for spaces within the neighbourhoods that are directly mentioned. Barcelona as a whole is a location in 49 occasions (17%), followed by the neighbourhoods' districts, 25 times (8%). Only in three occasions no clear location is found, representing 1% of the total of locations.

Table 58: Locations

Locations	Frequency
Neighbourhood	60
District	25
Barcelona	49
Specific locations	53
Others	106
No clear location	3

Own elaboration

Graph 27: Location



Own elaboration

Immigrants are depicted as characters in 139 occasions (36%). In 32 more occasions (8%) personalized immigrants, that is, immigrants mentioned by name, are found as

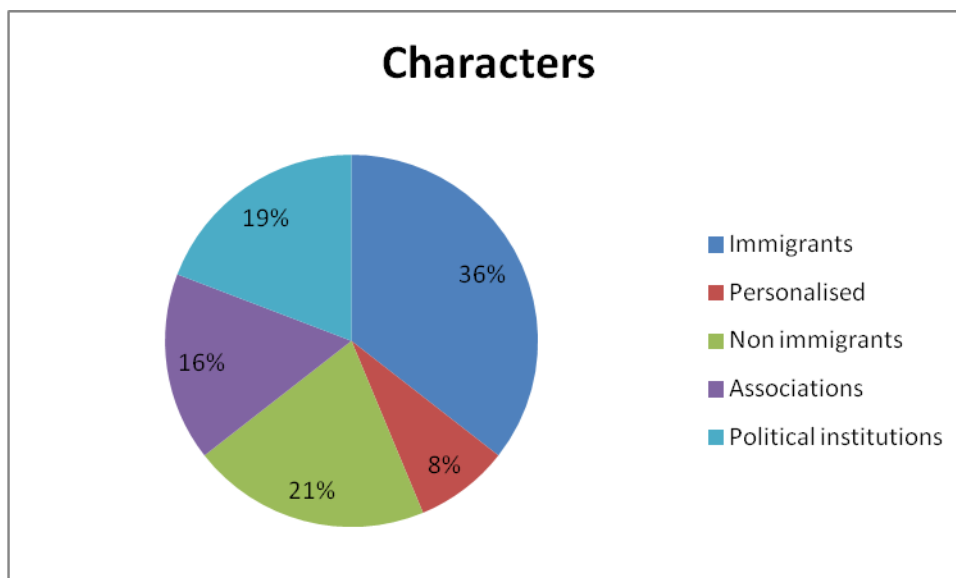
characters. Adding up these two labels, immigrants, whether as a general concept or personalized, were the main or an important character in 171 occasions (44%). This is a high percentage but it unfortunately means that the rest of characters, 56%, are not immigrants. Non immigrants characters were found in 81 occasions (21%), Political institutions 75 times (19%) and Associations in 64 occasions (16%). These characters that are not immigrants were found in 220 occasions, representing the 56% of the total of the characters.

Table 59: Characters

Characters	Frequency
Immigrants	139
Personalised	32
Non immigrants	81
Associations	64
Political institutions	75

Own elaboration

Graph 28: Characters



Own elaboration

The articles depict immigrants as a Source of Concern in the 35.5% of the articles, being this 78 occasions. In 59 occasions immigrants are depicted as Neighbours (26.6%). These newspapers define immigrants as Victims in 39 occasions (17.5%). This definition, although different, does have somewhat close sense to Source of Concern in the sense that both define immigrants in at least difficult situations. Both definitions combined represent the 52.7% of the definitions, found in 117 occasions.

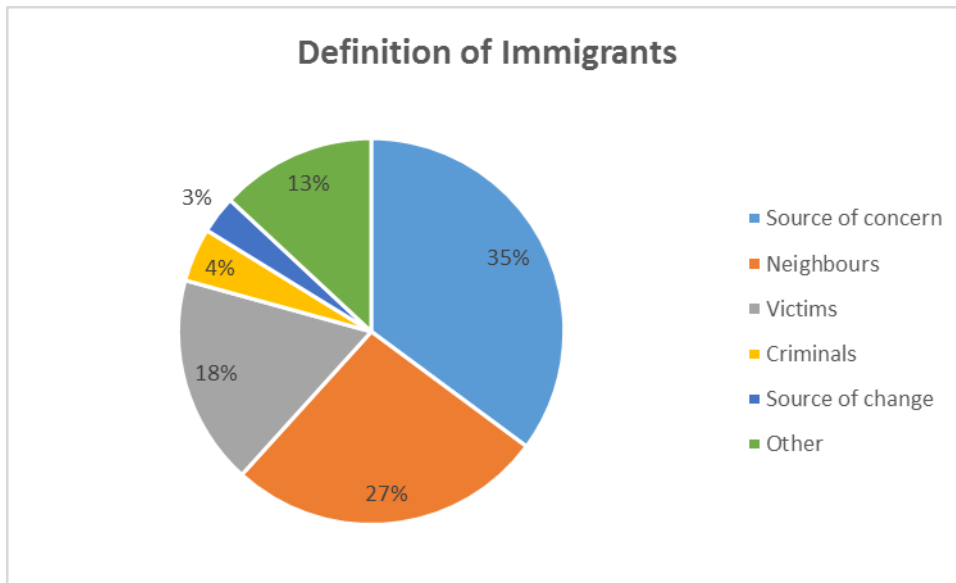
Table 60: Definition

Definition	Frequency
Source of concern	78
Neighbours	59
Victims	39
Criminals	10
Source of change	7
Other	29

Own elaboration

In 10 occasions immigrants are depicted as Criminals which represents the 4.5% percent of the definitions. Source of Change is found 7 times, representing the 3.1% of the definitions. And Other definitions are found 29 times, being the 13% of the definitions. This last label includes religious definitions, definitions of immigrants as workers, or as non-integrated, etc. Definitions that did not have a frequency high enough to be relevant.

Graph 29: Definition



Own elaboration

The actions performed by the immigrants in the articles found in the four newspapers are in 54 occasions *concerning* actions. *Concerning* actions refer to actions in which the immigrant either creates or has a problem. *Mundane* actions are actions that do not require the character to be an immigrant and these are found 45 times. In 35 occasions immigrants are linked to *move/reside* actions. In these actions immigrants simply live in a particular place or move to live somewhere else. Immigrants are linked to *participate* actions in 21 occasions. In these actions immigrants are depicted as members of associations or taking part of activities. In 16 occasions immigrants are linked to *religious matters*, actions linked to religion and its practices. In 18 occasions immigrants are depicted as doing *other* actions such as illegal actions, actions towards integration, etc. Actions that did not have a frequency to be deemed relevant.

What is interesting is the fact that in 23 occasions immigrants were depicted as not doing an action, which portrays them as passive agents. This passivity takes away from them the capacity to define themselves and to grant them an active role in their depiction.

Table 61: Actions by immigrants

Actions by	Frequency
Mundane	45
Concerning	54
Move/Reside	35
Participate	21
Religious matters	16
Other	18
Nothing	23

Own elaboration

As for the actions done to the immigrants in 75 occasions immigrants are linked to actions towards their integration. Actions to help immigrants are found 22 times. Altogether, actions that lean towards helping immigrants settling in their new society or helping them with possible problems they might have are found in 97 occasions. Negative actions are found 63 times, most of them in articles published in El Raval (49 of the 63). Mundane actions are found 20 times. And in 31 occasions no action is done to the immigrants.

Table 62: Actions to immigrants

Actions to	Frequency
Mundane	20
Negative	63
Integration	75
Help	22
Nothing	31

Own elaboration

Finally, immigrants are given an opportunity to speak only in 29 of the 205 articles analysed, which means that in 176 articles someone else gets the opportunity to define the immigrants. In terms of percentages, immigrants are quoted in merely the 14% of the articles analysed, with the remaining 86% of articles where immigrants are not quoted. By not having the possibility to challenge these definitions immigrants are

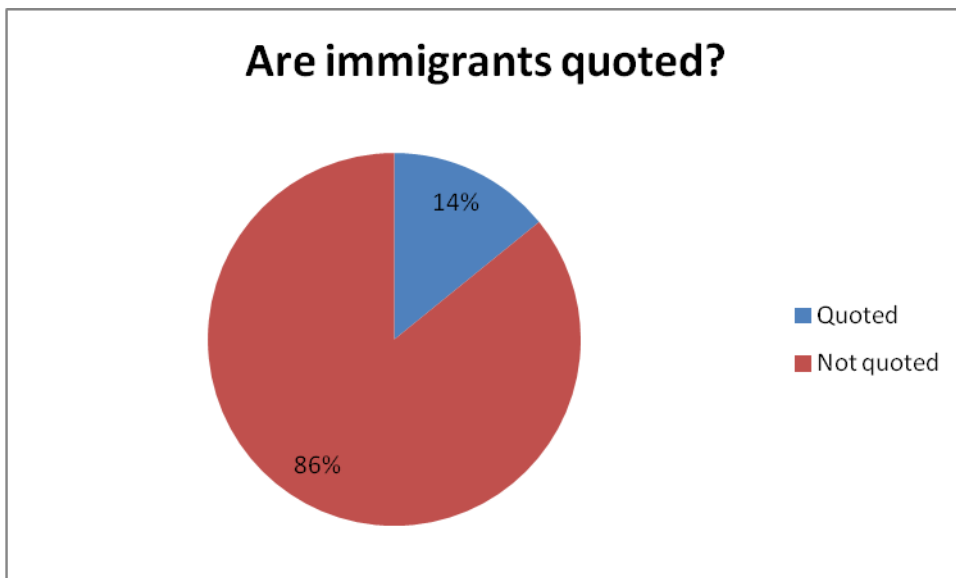
placed in a passive situation or role in which they not only do not have the possibility to define themselves in their own terms but cannot dispute these definitions.

Table 63: Are immigrants quoted?

Are immigrants quoted?	Frequency
Quoted	29
Not quoted	176

Own elaboration

Graph 30: Are immigrants quoted?



6.6. Analysis Content Analysis

The results of the content analysis shed light into the approach to immigration by the four studied newspapers. It is important to clarify the difference in the amount of articles published between El Raval and the other three newspapers. Although this difference might come down to differences in perception, after all the four neighbourhoods have a high rate of immigration, it shows a certain predisposition to integrate these issues within the newspaper. Clearly El Raval, with a 50% of immigrants, has strong and direct experiences regarding this issue, and it shows with 137 articles. However La Marina, with a 13.6%, the lowest percentage of the four neighbourhoods, but the second highest amount of articles published, has two characteristics that make the newspaper especially sensible to this issue. On the one hand the newspaper is constantly aware, and arguably proud, of its own history, this is, of being a neighbourhood with a longstanding history of immigration. Francesc Candel as one the moral leaders of the Spanish immigration, and a resident of the neighbourhood, wrote op-eds, focusing on the issue of immigration on a number of times. On the other hand the fact that the CIE (Foreigners Centre of Internation), which is a focus of debate regarding human rights, is situated very close to La Marina allows the newspaper to give importance to the immigrant issue even if the issue is not as prevalent, percentage wise, as in the other neighbourhoods. La Barceloneta is the newspaper with the lowest amount of articles published regarding immigration although it had a rate of 30.6%, which again suggests either a difference of perception or a lack of willigness to address the issue.

In the cases of El Raval and Zona Sec, the increase of articles is explained by the creation of a specific section in 2006 and the coverage of the *Taula de Convivència* in 2010 respectively. The former creates an abundance of articles every month with the need to fill a whole section whereas the latter covers the *Taula de Convivència* and its consequences through follow up articles. As for La Barceloneta 7 of the 12 articles are found in the year 2002 with an effort to present migrants to the native population, however this effort is lost in the following years. Lastly, La Marina shows a steady flow of articles throughout the whole period.

There is a strong link between the *frames* used and the sections in which the articles are found. Although it is true that mainly El Raval uses a specific section for immigration topics, *Inmigrantes*, both La Barceloneta and La Marina use at one point a section to address this kind of issues. All together 100 articles were found in this kind of sections, all aggregated under the name *Immigrants*. This way the *frame* with the highest frequency was Source of Concern, a *frame* under which immigrants are found in difficult situations. In all those situations the newspapers positioned themselves besides the immigrants, that is, immigrants were not blamed but understood and the situations of difficulty and maybe discrimination were pointed out. However the fact that there is a section under the name of *Inmigrantes* in which immigrants are portrayed in difficult situations might help foster *othering* processes. Especially if the characters portrayed in the articles are taken into account. In this case it can be seen how, although in 139 occasions the main character is an immigrant or immigrants, and in 32 occasions immigrants mentioned by name, it only represents the 44% of occasions, which leaves a big percentage of situations in which immigrants might not be the main characters of articles regarding the topic of immigration, taking away the power and capacity of talking about these issues from immigrants and handing it to other people.

The index of importance contributes with relevant information although it needs to be clarified taking into account the characteristics of the newspapers. The index shows that 77% of the articles, 157 of 205, have an index between 2 and 5, being the index of 4 the one with the highest frequency, 45 articles (22%), followed by the index of 3 and 2, which shows a tendency to give a mid-low importance to the articles. This mid-low index of importance agrees with other results of the content analysis, especially with the relatively low visibility if the immigration rate is taken into account. An important factor should be considered here. This is the specificity of the newspapers, which may have a tendency to publish small articles due to their formal characteristics, a factor discussed to a certain extent in the interviews. It is also important to state that although it is true that the *frame* with the highest frequency is Source of Concern, representing the 35.5%, and if the *frame* Victims is added, 17.6%, the percentage increases to a 53.1% of hazardous situations. If other negative *frames* are added, Criminals, Non Integrated and Illegal Immigrants, a better figure towards the understanding of this negative depiction is found and the percentage rises to a 60.8%. However, the fact that a

26.6% of the articles portrayed immigrants through the *frame* Neighbours, a figure that rises to a 27% if the *frame* Solidary is included, shows a difference when compared to other studies, pointing towards a fundamental difference in the approach to defining immigrants and also suggesting that the theoretical distinction between proximity press and the mainstream press may be seen through this divergence in the depiction. This point will be discussed in more detail in the conclusions chapter.

As for the actions done by the immigrants and the actions done to the immigrants a clear link can be seen, which also is in agreement with the results commented up until this point. The actions done by the immigrants with the highest frequency are actions under the tag Concerning, which refers to actions in which the immigrants either creates or has a problem. The actions done to the immigrants with the highest frequency are actions under the tag Integration, which refers to actions towards the integration of these immigrants. Another action can be found along the same lines under the tag Help. It is clear then that according to the four newspapers, and the way immigrants are depicted by them, immigration tends to perform actions which place them in problematic situations while the characters and the actions done to the immigrants try to ameliorate these problematic situations. However, and just as important, the fact that in a high frequency Mundane actions, actions in which the character is not required to be an immigrant, are performed by, and to a certain extent to, the immigrants, shows again the possible divergence between proximity press and mainstream press in the sense that, although the social position of the character as an immigrant is mentioned, it is not an explanatory feature of the article.

Nonetheless immigrants are given voice in only 29 occasions out of the 205, that is, only in 29 article immigrants are directly quoted which means that in 179 occasions another character is given the possibility of defining immigration, when, given the high rate of immigration in the four neighbourhoods, finding an immigrant voice to define themselves should be not only easy but mandatory.

7. Interviews

With the interviews as a method we pretend to unearth attitudes and dispositions towards journalism by the neighbourhood journalists. Four interviews were carried out, one for each newspaper, and each interview lasted for about an hour. In the case of El Raval and La Barceloneta Javier Alegría and Esther Marín were interviewed as owners and only members of the newspaper's staff. Jordi Molina, as the journalist of Zona Sec, was interviewed as he was in charge of writing the editorial articles. As for La Marina, Sara Torremocha was interviewed as chief of content, although Juan Antonio Reyes, editor of the newspaper, responded to the historically oriented questions. The journalists were asked questions regarding four different topics of interest. The four topics are highly relevant to the investigation.

The first topic deals with the newspaper itself and the formal structures of it, that is, a historical review, number of journalists working, funding, relation with politics and neighbourhood associations, etc. The second one pretends to understand the journalistic practices of the neighbourhood newspaper. Through asking questions about the journalistic production, the collaborations, the selection of the news and the editorial subjects, among others understanding the journalistic practices is sought. The third topic asks about journalistic values and the opinion about general and proximity journalism. The fourth and last topic deals with the depiction of immigrants by the newspaper and the opinion of the journalist of the state of the immigrants in the neighbourhood.

Through these interviews hidden attitudes, opinions, values and journalistic practices were uncovered so as to understand the approach to journalism and the production of news by these journalists. Two of the newspapers had a higher degree of professionalization, that is, a more formal structure with paid journalists and a hierarchy with a director/editor, different journalists in charge of different sections, etc. The other two have a much smaller structure, with one journalist/editor/director in charge of everything with a few collaborations helping creating content. Different structures provided with different opinions and practices. The interviews were carried out in Catalan and in Spanish as they were the journalist's languages. The guide was also written in Catalan. The guide of the interviews can be found in the annexes section of this dissertation.

7.1. Report interview Jordi Molina, journalist of Zona Sec

Technical information about the interview: The interview was carried out on the 17th of January 2015 at 18:00 at the interviewer's home. It lasted 68 minutes approximately.

Jordi Molina works as a journalist for the neighbourhood press Zona Sec, based in Poble-sec, since the year 2007. He marks that year as the start of the professionalization of the newspaper. Zona Sec started publishing in the year 1997 as a platform for some neighbours to give voice to associations and neighbours demands. It started merely as one sheet but developed to become a newspaper, although with limitations. By the year 2000 Zona Sec was already newspaper-like and publishing regularly, although not monthly. *"El Zona Sec sortia quan podia fins a l'any 2007 que vam començar a disciplinar-nos molt per a que sortís un cop al mes, exactament a partir del dia 15 de cada mes surt el Zona Sec. Això passa des del 2007. [...] surt sempre cada 15 de mes, menys el mes d'agost que fa vacances"*

Zona Sec started as a platform for the neighbours but soon intended to be more than that, however it has always tried to maintain the essence of its inception, *"suposo que al cap de tres o quatre anys s'incorporen periodistes, i és un diari que sempre ha intentat mantenir l'essència de la proximitat, però a l'hora poc a poc ha anat agafant un to més professional, sense abandonar mai que molts dels articles els puguin escriure els mateixos protagonistes. Però una gran part l'escriuen els periodistes que som els que filtrem. Sí que t'asseguro que des del 2007 això és així."*

The newspaper is delivered by an association member of the *Coordinadora d'Entitats del Poble-sec*, of which Zona Sec is also a member. This association helps with labour reintegration and distributes the newspaper to different corners of the neighbourhood, such as *"centres públics, com sobretot biblioteca, coordinadora, el centre el sortidor, el centre cultural Albareda. Allà n'hi han un bon plec i a més a més els comerços del barri, els forns els bars, allà se'n deixen també uns quants"*

The *coordinadora* offers help in terms of space and accounting but the newspaper does not belong to it. Zona Sec belongs to Zona Sec Comunicació, a nonprofit organization that published Zona Sec as well as Paral·lel OH!. Zona Sec also is a member of the

Taula de Comunicació de Barcelona. One of the reasons why the newspaper does not belong to a media group or association is to keep its independence, *"el diari sempre ha intentat no pertànyer a cap grup, tenir una certa independència, però si que és veritat que estar associats a la coordinadora ens dóna algunes avantatges com per exemple, que ens cedeixin algun espai per a fer les reunions, molt importat perquè el Zona Sec no té una redacció pròpia, i a l'hora ens porta la comptabilitat."*

The newspaper has a director, Enric Mestres, a head of advertisement, Ernest Millet, and three journalists, Albert Hernández, Anna Pruna and Jordi Molina. As for collaborations, Zona Sec is open to any kind of collaboration by the associations based in Poble-sec. These collaborations are already scheduled to avoid lack or excess of articles. It is important for the newspaper to incorporate these voices from the different associations, as Jordi Molina stated, it is key for Zona Sec to give visibility to the people of the neighbourhood. When the newspaper needs to find an opinion or verify some information it may contact an association or an individual for an occasional collaboration. This collaboration may become regular or not.

Zona Sec gets funding through the neighbourhood commerce, the small shops that buy advertising spaces. It does not receive public funding because the newspaper actively seeks to keep its independence from political pressure as well as media groups. *"Per una qüestió de buscar aquesta independència de qualsevol grup, mai ha rebut cap subvenció de l'ajuntament i el seu finançament en gairebé la seva totalitat es dels comerços de la zona. El mateix comerç del barri és el que finança el diari. Cal dir que quan el districte vol posar una publicitat d'unes jornades que farà o el que sigui i posa una plana al diari ho admetem, però sempre com si fos una publicitat més"*. Jordi Molina also states that the newspaper has always been aware of its economic situation and has made sure the budget stayed balanced, which provides not only independence but future prospects, allowing for an increase of the journalists' salaries. These salaries are *"simbòlics"*.

The relationship of the newspaper with political institutions and neighbourhood associations is, in Jordi Molina's words, close but it is not too close. In order to maintain their independence Zona Sec cannot be held back by trying to keep everyone happy. *"Ens convé mantenir certes distàncies perquè el veïnat del Poble-sec és molt*

susceptible i és molt complicat mantenir a tothom satisfet. I com que és impossible preferim mantenir una relació molt allò cordial però en cap cas que ens lligui de mans perquè la llibertat del diari depèn absolutament d'això. Hi ha conflictes oberts al barri que han dificultat que el diari pugui mantenir aquesta distància perquè se l'han volgut apropiat". As for the council "amb l'ajuntament cordialitat absoluta i amb esperit crític".

The process of publishing and editing the newspaper starts a little after publishing the newspaper on the 15th of each month. Once a month the journalists meet with the director and together decide the new topics to work, evaluate the last issue and the visits on the website and get feedback from the neighbours. Each journalist, as well as the director, suggests topics and once the content of the next issue is decided and the articles are assigned to each one of them the process of making the newspapers starts. It is important that in this meeting for every attendant to bring topics to discuss, hence there is a pre process of selection of topics and subjects to propose before the meeting. The week before the publishing date is the most active week of the month, *"hi ha una setmana que s'intensifica molt la feina, que és la prèvia al tancament que és molt de bojos però intentem que la setmana anterior, dues setmanes abans del tancament ja hi hagi allò, ja ens intercanviem propostes. Ens ho enviem per corregir entre els companys, però és inevitable i és interessant. perquè així el diari és el més actual possible, que la última setmana és la de més treball"*.

The labour division within the newspaper is done naturally, not by imposition but by the interests of each one of the journalists. Albert Hernández covers social and political topics, Anna Pruna cultural ones and Jordi Molina writes the editorial articles, the interviews and the opening article, found usually in the cover and developed in page three. However, *"això no vol dir que jo puntualment no pugui fer cultura, que l'Anna pugui fer convivència, puntualment, el que sí que no fem es opinió. Tots podem fer tot però sí que hi ha unes àrees que cadascun controla més i s'ha fet d'una forma natural"*.

As for the editorial articles, the subject is decided by the whole staff at the meeting, director and journalists, but Jordi Molina, the journalist in charge of writing them, proposes some topics that concern the neighbourhood *"a les reunions que fem el comentem, jo porto una sèrie de propostes i la que ens sembla més adient, i si abans del*

tancament del diari passa alguna cosa que ho canvia doncs canviem l'editorial. Truco al director li consulto i ho aprova".

Zona Sec does not have a stylebook. There is some consensus when it comes to certain situations but there is no stylebook. Zona Sec finds that being only three journalists, and with the way they all comment and correct each other's articles, it is easy to find an agreement in the style of the newspaper.

The way Zona Sec approached its sources has a lot to do with each journalist. Zona Sec as a newspaper does not have a protocol to deal with sources but each journalist has his or her own sources and approaches them when the article requires it. As Jordi Molina stated it, he approached his sources by *"trucant a qui sigui. Cada periodista té també la seva pròpia agenda. Jo se que si estic tractant un tema d'evolució de la participació veïnal se que tinc un sociòleg, un activista, un polític, que són com de capçalera i que a més a més son veïns del barri que em van bé en aquell tema. Però normalment cada tema és molt diferent i demana veus diferents i per tant, en aquest cas, trobar l'entitat que treballa en aquell tema i trobar un expert o responsable i també els seus protagonistes. De vegades no cal parlar amb el director de no se què si no amb persones que per la seva experiència siguin prou vàlides per donar la seva opinió".* Zona Sec *"no som un diari que cregui especialment en la objectivitat. En el periodisme no existeix. Però sí en ser molt honestos, sí posar en context el que diem i parlar amb diverses fonts, que no tenen sempre perquè sortir al diari però que et confirmen que allò que estàs dient és així".* It is interesting then to see the distinction between objectivity and honesty drawn by Jordi Molina and the use of sources.

The journalists of Zona Sec do not live in the neighbourhood. According to Jordi Molina *"els periodistes del Zona Sec haurien de viure al barri, havia estat així".* Nowadays only Anna Pruna resides in Poble-sec but *"com que una gran part dels col·laboradors viuen al Poble-sec, col·laboradors o columnistes, el diari mai ha perdut del tot aquesta connexió amb el barri."* However, the relationship of Albert Hernández and Jordi Molina, and the director, Enric Mestres, with Poble-sec is very close, to the point that Molina states, *"tots els articles que es fan en el diari es fan des del barri, no hi dormim però hi passem moltes hores".*

As for the quality control, it is interesting to note how Jordi Molina relies heavily on self evaluations and self control making it clear though that he sees no difference between his work as a proximity journalist and a mainstream or general journalist when it comes to determine whether an article complies with the quality controls. *"No passem per cap mecanisme de qualitat"* he says when asked about controls, *"el codi deontològic de cada periodista que formem el diari és el mateix que el codi de qualsevol periodista de qualsevol mitjà de masses, els responsables dels articles som els responsables que aquells articles estiguin prou contrastats, que sigui veraç i que sigui honest"*. However, Molina leaves the final decision in the hands of the reader, *"al final el jutge que això sigui així és el lector"*.

Their relationship with political institutions, as stated earlier, is respectful but not too close. Zona Sec does not receive any public funding although it does sell space to the council when the council wants to publicize something. When asked about pressure by the council to change the standpoint of the newspaper or about any possible complaints by the political institutions Jordi Molina makes clear there has never been a real quarrel and only occasional diversity of opinions, but never pressure to change anything. *"L'ajuntament, sigui de quin color que sigui, ha sigut respectuós amb el diari i sí que han manifestat en algun moment la seva opinió, però manifestar la opinió. No ha condicionat que el següent numero fos diferent"*.

Zona Sec does not intend to primarily use their website as a means to inform, their website is merely a way to add to their coverage. This website was launched about three years ago and it *"acompanya el format paper amb el digital"*, trying to update it regularly with the articles that are found in the newspaper. Only when there is a special situation the website takes control over the physical medium, *"si passa algo molt heavy o molt rellevant doncs aprofitem i ho expliquem primer a la web i després al diari, però sempre mana el diari perquè de fet la web es un acompanyament, no és el nostre fort, ni tenim intenció de que ho sigui"*.

As for the possible relations with other neighbourhood newspapers, ways to collaborate or work together, Zona Sec maintains its influence zone and interacts with other press from Poble-sec and rarely with press from other parts of the city.

Jordi Molina sees proximity journalism as the sort of journalism that *"té la responsabilitat de donar veu a tots aquells col·lectius que al periodisme de masses o generalista no acostumen a sortir. Per tant visibilitzar tota aquella feina de barri que contribueix a la cohesió social, que de per sí no tindrà una plana a La Vanguardia o un TN a TV3 però que és vital per a la qualitat de vida d'aquell barri"*. Because of the characteristics of the proximity journalism it *"és una gran escola per als periodistes"* where journalists learn skills that come in handy in other professional situations. The fact that he considers this kind of journalism as a school and not as a profession on itself is important and interesting, implying that it is another stage in a professional life. This situation could possibly be given because of the low salaries found in this journalism. His experience is that *"per a gran part dels periodistes que lideren els mitjans de barri no és la seva única feina, i fa que això no sigui un negoci tradicional, que sigui un complement"*.

He understands the general or mainstream journalism as a tool to protect the citizens rights and as a democratic tool, *"el mitjà generalista és vital per a garantir el dret a la informació de la ciutadania per a que la gent tingui eines per a valorar i per posicionar-se en el món, tant políticament com socialment."* However, this journalism carries some important downsides due to its structures and characteristics. *"El problema que és bastant comú en tots és que són molt, estan massa vinculats a l'economia d'aquell diari, i això fa que alguns dels seus professionals estan massa condicionats a l'hora d'escriure i crec que el poder empresarial és una amenaça per a la llibertat de premsa més que no pas el polític."* The role of financial institutions is important for him as providers of funding and hence with power to control what is published, *"és molt complicat parlar de desnonaments al País o a Público quan l'empresa que hi ha darrera dels desnonaments es Bankia o La Caixa [...] si tu tens la meitat del teu pressupost en mans d'aquests entitats et costa molt tractar aquestes notícies"*. He thinks that this funding system creates a problema of freedom for the journalist in the sense of *"una mena d'autocensura que et condiciona la tria de notícies o l'enfocament"*. Nevertheless *"el propi ofici ha generat espais on aquest poder econòmic te menys incidència en el diari. Són els lectors els que paguen, els que financien el mitjà, i aquest és el futur, que els lectors siguin prou conscients que necessitem mitjans lliures per a una millor democràcia"*, believing in some sort of way out of the system by including

the readers within the whole system and making them an important part of the creation of news by providing with funding so as to be informed and excluding big corporations and businesses. This new system also *"garanteix no estar tan sotmès a les crisis econòmiques que son imprevisibles i per tant empoderar el lector i fer-lo còmplice d'una informació lliure"*.

Local journalism in Barcelona has a bright future according to Jordi Molina. The city, due to its design and its numerous neighbourhoods with strong characters, helps create this sense of community that links well with the philosophy of local journalism. Nevertheless, this sort of journalism suffers from some of the same problems as mainstream journalism, although to a different scale. This is *"la crisi econòmica condiciona molt el comerç de proximitat que financen aquells diaris i per tant quan han de reduir partides pressupostàries de les seves botigues ho facin per publicitat en els diaris. Però crec que la salut actual és bona"*.

Jordi Molina is a member of the Col·legi de Periodistes. He is generally satisfied with it but has a critical approach to the role of this institution in the defence of the profession, *"penso que al Col·legi de Periodistes li passa com a moltes organització anteriors a la crisi econòmica liderades per gent que no ha viscut la transformació del periodisme per les noves eines digitals i per tant s'ha quedat una mica antic. Sobretot en abordar la crisi actual de l'ofici des d'una perspectiva més jove", "estic satisfet, quan he tingut algun problema laboral m'ha atès bé però penso que hauria de fer molt més per la professió, per protegir als col·legiats i als periodistes. Un aprovat justet des del meu punt de vista"*. According to his vision of the profession and the role of the Col·legi de Periodistes, and not being entirely happy with it, Jordi Molina seeks what he expects from the professional institution in other places, *"m'interessa més el Grup Barnils o el Sindicat de Periodistes. Hi formo part i hi col·laboro. Son iniciatives que trepitgen molt més la realitat del periodista que no pas el col·legi. El col·legi està bé per a formar-te, per a tenir garantia que si tens un problema laboral hi haurà gent que t'assessorarà. Però en aquest cas no han llegit tan bé el que està passant en l'ofici"*.

He is worried about the labour market for journalists. He states that the economic crisis has left journalism as the second profession in terms of destroyed jobs, changing the market conditions and pushing journalists to self employment, *"cada cop és més*

habitual que un periodista es faci autònom i vengui els seus articles als mitjans, i per tant el periodisme en solitari és una sortida. No se si és la desitjable però és una bona sortida per a tenir grans dosis d'autonomia, i és la que a mi de moment m'ajuda més a equilibrar tot".

Jordi Molina studied journalism at the Universitat de Vic and took a masters degree in political communication at Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB). He understands journalism from a sense of social justice standpoint, *"sempre he estat una persona políticament inquieta i amb un sentit de justícia social bastant pronunciat i el periodisme és la meva manera d'expressar-ho, d'intentar donar veu a aquells que no sempre en tenen"*. He started his career as a sports journalist but he soon decided he wanted to cover social and political issues. *"A mi em el que em tirava, el que em semblava un repte, era fer política i fer societat. I tot va començar quan em coneixen al Cambio 16. Hi vaig estar tres anys i d'allà vaig anar a parar al .cat, un altre mitjà polític. Vaig marxar a Argentina, des d'allà vaig col·laborar amb Nació Digital, amb La Directa, vaig fer unes col·laboracions puntuals amb un diari del País Basc. Al final m'interessava molt el Diario.es com a projecte. Els vaig proposar alguns temes, els vaig vendre algun tema i al final se'm van quedar. Tot i que com a autònom"*.

When asked about the results of the content analysis, Jordi Molina gives very interesting insights of the way Zona Sec has changed, and is still changing, through the years and its struggle for professionalization. The reason for the lack of importance of the article regarding immigration is that *"el diari, sobretot des de l'any 2000 i fins el 2009 és un diari molt intuïtiu, molt pres d'unes dinàmiques que no tenien en compte algunes paràmetres per a determinar si una notícia és més important o no. El diari no havia redistribuït per seccions, per qüestions de maquetació temes importants quedaven comprimits en una columna"*, it is now that Zona Sec, having a new layout, has a section that deals with immigration, *"les seccions no s'ordenen fins al nou disseny, en l'actualitat hi ha una secció de convivència"*.

Jordi Molina agrees that Zona Sec tended to stigmatize immigrants using positive frames, as opposed to general press that uses negative frames, but he justified by saying: *"la nostra intenció al diari no és fer un periodista bonista de protegir l'immigrant però tampoc criminalitzar-lo. Ara bé, en l'intent de no criminalitzar perquè ja ho feien prou"*

alguns col·lectius del barri, hem pogut caure en protegir-lo en excés. En un barri popular, on va arribar molta gent de cop, sobretot entre el 2001 i el 2006, i entre el 2006 i el 2009 amb el reagrupament familiar, feia que constantment hi hagués al barri una sensació d'invasió, d'inseguretat, i nosaltres intentem dir això està passant però també pot portar coses bones. Explicar les coses bones i explicar les dolentes des d'un punt de vista no d'assenyalar l'immigrant, si no de fer una reflexió conjunta de la situació en la que es troba un barri envellit fins al 2001 que de cop i volta rep a tanta gent. Per tant anem anar a la contra amb la opinió molt crítica amb el nouvingut. Parlar d'això en aquell moment es molt complicat perquè encara no s'han recollit els fruits, i ara en el 2013/14 ja hi veiem com moltes associacions que han sortit noves tenen com a pal de paller la interculturalitat", "m'ha costat molt que els mateix immigrants tinguin discurs en el diari. De vegades no acabaven d'entendre si anaves per a donar un cop de mà i que poguessin explicar la seva situació o si anaves allà o eres una mena de policia i tenien certa inquietud. Ha estat molt difícil parlar directament amb ells, però molt més fàcil parlar amb associacions seves", "ens sabia molt greu que s'estigmatitzes un barri com el Poble-sec com a barri no digne quan hi havia tanta gent treballant per a la cohesió social". As it can be seen, Zona Sec actively sought to not criminalise the immigrants and chose to oppose the standpoint of the mainstream media regarding this subject. The fact that not enough time had happened and hence it was hard to see the positive outcomes of the immigration process made it hard for them to not end up stigmatising the immigration as those people who need help.

The approach to immigration by the journalists working at Zona Sec was somewhat errant, *"els professionals del Zona Sec hem anat aprenent sobre la marxa. No tenien una formació específica sobre interculturalitat, però com que vèiem que el repte al barri suposava que de vegades no tinguéssim prou eines per a informar de la millor manera hem fet cursos per a poder informar millor".* However there was a some thought behind this approach as the term used to define immigrants changed through the years *"el terme immigrant de vegades té connotacions negatives. Nouvingut que és una paraula que utilitzem molt no té aquesta connotació i l'hem intentat prioritzar. Tot i que son collonades, però ho hem intentat fer. Nosaltres no hem parlat mai de problemes, hem parlat de conflictes, no hem parlat mai d'inseguretat que és una conseqüència*

possible de la diversitat cultural.” The newspaper did attempt to break some misconceptions regarding the immigrant population, *“al barri hi havia sensació d'inseguretat però el que hi havia era un conflicte de convivència, en alguns mitjans es cau en etiquetar la nacionalitat quan no és necessari. Es pot explicar al cos del text perquè dóna una certa informació però no és necessari al titular perquè contribueix a estigmatitzar a un col·lectiu”*. In this regard Zona Sec has a clear understanding of their role within the neighbourhood and embraces it. The newspaper enthusiastically tries to engage in civic conversation and democratic participation.

The newspaper finds it hard to engage the immigrants within the newspaper, both as readers and as collaborators. They know some immigrants read the newspaper and follow it but it is by no means the majority. Jordi Molina thinks the language might be a barrier and Zona Sec had a section introducing some immigrants to the neighbourhood to try to compensate for this problema, *“durant un temps vam fer una peça que tenia veu pròpia que era Els Nous Catalans. Una persona no catalana ens explicava la seva realitat”*.

The taula de convivència was widely covered by the newspaper not only because it was an important situation in Poble-sec but also because Zona Sec was a member of it. *“Arran de la Taula de Convivència el diari hi va anar com a eina, com un agent més. Els col·lectius d'immigrants s'enduien el diari a les seves associacions. Costa molt en segons quines cultures entrar-hi”*.

Nonetheless, there is a fluent and active relationship with people working with and for the immigrants, *“les persones que han treballat per la integració des d'aquests col·lectius ens coneixen, això segur, però és difícil entrar al col·lectiu d'immigrants”*.

The last question, regarding the state of immigration in the neighbourhood shed some light regarding the situation of immigrants since the migration process started and it was especially interesting coming from someone very involved in a neighbourhood with a bi immigrant population. Molina said: *“del 2000 al 2012 era una situació de supervivència, complicada i d'exclusió social. Ara el barri té problemes diferents. Ara tenen a veure més amb el turisme i amb un tipus de gent que no havia vingut mai al Poble-sec que no pas amb els immigrants”, “els immigrants que no van trobar feina se'n*

van tornar perquè ha baixat moltíssim l'index d'immigració. Hi ha alguns problemes a les escoles, amb ràtios del 80% d'alumnes immigrants. La situació és millor, el coixí social del barri ha ajudat a tota aquesta gent però hi ha problemes com per exemple aquest de les escoles”.

7.2. Report interview to Esther Marín, editor, director and journalist of La Barceloneta

Technical information about the interview: This interview was carried out on the 19th of March 2015 at 18:30 in d'Antoni Genescà i Coromines square in the neighbourhood of La Barceloneta as a request of the interviewee. It lasted 52 minutes approximately.

Esther Marín is the only person publishing the newspaper La Barceloneta. She was the only founder back in the year 2001 and she still is the only journalist, editor and publisher. Marín founded the newspaper basing it on the structure of El Raval and its main purpose was to give voice to the neighbours of the Barceloneta neighborhood, *"empiezo yo sola. Primero me doy a conocer a las entidades, entidades públicas, asociaciones de comerciantes, de vecinos y demás. Empiezo contando un poco la historia de los vecinos, es el primer numero"*. This newspaper was and is published with a very small infrastructure, *"un ordenador y una imprenta"*. The newspaper has changed in these fourteen years since its publication started. The first issue *"eran 12 páginas en blanco y negro y hemos llegado a tener hasta 24. Ahora mismo son 16 en color. Hace un año que tenemos color total"* which shows a desire to improve the newspaper and offer more as the years pass.

La Barceloneta prints and distributes 5000 copies of the newspaper every month, its distribution is very simple, *"con un carro"*. It is important for the newspaper to reach every corner of the neighbourhood regardless of whether the shop collaborates with La Barceloneta or not; *"se dejan en todos los puntos, primero se dejan en los sitios grandes como son los clubs de natacion, museo de historia, cap barceloneta, biblioteca y centro cívico. Esto con coche porque son bloques de 500 periódicos. Y después carro. Se reparten en todos los sitios, se anuncien o no se anuncien. Donde se anuncian se dejan más ejemplares"*.

La Barceloneta is not a member of any media group or association, or as Esther Marín puts it; "*es mio y es independiente*". However it is worth mentioning that, even though there is no formal connection, La Barceloneta owes its design, philosophy and general idea to El Raval; "*es un poco como el hermano pequeño de El Raval. Físicamente es como El Raval, lo que pasa que son diferentes. Aunque estamos en el mismo distrito son diferentes*". Both newspapers share a similar design, some issues have shared the same editorial article, the structure, this is, the fact that both newspapers are a one person job and sometimes the same articles. It is clear though that they are not the same newspaper, as the time passes La Barceloneta deviates from El Raval, assuming a higher degree of autonomy.

Even though the newspaper is solely published by Esther Marín, as she is in charge of every aspect of the edition of La Barceloneta, there are collaborators that publish content regularly. These collaborators might not be strictly staff of the newspaper but according to Marín they do have an important role due to the idea of a newspaper for the neighbourhood. These collaborators are "*mensuales, trimestrales, etc. Hay algunos que escriben alguna vez y otros que no vuelven a escribir nunca mas*". Esther Marín states that anyone who is interested in writing in La Barcelona can do so; "*el periódico está abierto a todo el mundo que tenga algo que decir siempre que no sea violento. Digamos que el periódico La Barceloneta lo hacen los vecinos, las entidades, los vecinos, y el que tenga algo que decir. Yo simplemente me encargo de hacer el tema del mes, las editoriales, y reportajes fotográficos, encargarme de la publicidad, de la maquetación, del cierre y repartirlo*".

La Barceloneta is only funded through advertising and publicity "*exclusivamente publicidad. No hay subvención*". The fact that its only income comes from advertising has made the newspaper vulnerable to economic crisis; "*hemos pasado de veinticuatro páginas a dieciseis*" due to the fact that shops that traditionally funded the newspaper closed down; "*además sobretodo en éste barrio que han cerrado muchísimos comercios tradicionales*".

The relationship of La Barceloneta with the institutions of the neighbourhood, political or civic, is, according to Marín, cordial although she thinks she is sometimes used; "*yo me relaciono con todos, tanto con el centro cívico, la biblioteca, además da la*

casualidad que casi todas somos mujeres. Soy la amante de todos y la novia de ninguno. Cuando quieren algo de ti se acercan un poquito más, pero mantengo muy buena relación con todos". These institutions do collaborate with the newspaper by writing articles "*escriben en el periódico*" as she states that the newspaper is written by the neighbours and associations of the neighbourhood; "*yo siempre doy prioridad a las asociaciones y a los vecinos, aunque algunos son muy repetitivos. Si mi metodología es que son ellos los que escriben, no voy a ser yo la protagonista*".

. As for the relationship with the political institutions of the neighbourhood, district and city she affirms "*el distrito cuando quiere publicar alguna cosa me la manda. Normalmente hay una entrevista al regidor. Una si los consells de barri son regulares y se aprovechan bien las preguntas. Entonces por dudas solicito otra.*".

The process of publishing and editing the newspaper starts right after the distribution of the copies; "*el periódico yo intento que salga el día 6. Una semana de reparto, y después de ahí reuniones*". The news selection course of action is developed in accordance with the planned events of the neighbourhood rather than reporting what actually happened in the Barceloneta; "*en un mes normal tu sabes el calendario, sabes los actos que va a haber, y las fiestas. Reuniones, cosas importantes o que quieres resaltar o fiestas. Depende los meses sabes si hay consell de barri, vas viéndolo, conforme vas repartiéndolo vas viendo las entidades y vas sabiendo que noticias van a ser mas importantes. Pero sobretodo al final, cuando se hace, ahí hay veces que se tienen que quitar, substituir unas por otras. Yo he quitado muchos artículos míos para poner o cartas de lectores o entidades que han escrito artículos mas largos*". Sometimes La Barceloneta publishes articles from other newspapers or websites; "*también hemos publicado noticias de otros medios de comunicación, siempre citando la pagina web, el nombre del periodista y el periódico*".

When La Barceloneta was founded some of the editorial articles were written by Javier Alegría. Presently all the editorial articles are written by Esther Marín. She has a clear way of writing these articles; "*a mi me gusta hacer, del mundo, de España, y si es posible de la Barceloneta, si no de Barcelona. Intento hacer los tres, si algún tema es mas largo intento hacer de la Barceloneta o Barcelona, o de España, sobretodo del gobierno central que tantos palos no esta dando*".

Proximity is a very important situation for Esther Marín in order to reach information sources, as she puts it; *"el reparto es muy importante para mí, estás cercano a comerciantes, cercano a vecinos, y te paran y te dicen. Pero te van contando"* She mentioned the problema the Barceloneta neighbourhood suffered in summer 2014 with the flats for tourists and their behaviour around the neighbourhood as an example of how her walking the streets of the neighbourhood every month led her to have information and know the sources; *"y lo de los pisos nos hemos estado quejando desde hace casi 10 años"*. Through this knowledge of the neighbourhood Marín asserts she became an important source of information for other media.

La Barceloneta does not have a stylebook and the quality controls are somewhat feeble, probably due to the fact that the newspaper is a one person job among other factors. When asked about quality control Esther Marín replied *"yo intento. Aquí también ha habido problemas entre algunas entidades que se han llevado muy mal entre ellas y yo he tenido que hacer como de defensora del diablo. Esto está muy bien que lo penséis así pero por otro lado me cuentan otra cosa. Yo lo que creo es que el periódico tiene que hacer barrio. Entonces contrastar, te cuentan que el ayuntamiento quiere hacer no se que no se cuantos, pues llamas al ayuntamiento y aunque digan que no siempre te queda la duda. Intentas contrastar y algunas veces la dejas un poco en el aire y si tienes dudas la dejas para el mes siguiente hasta que tengas más información"*. Her answer shows a lack of knowledge of journalistic routines but, as will be shown shortly, the journalistic practices are not something that concern Esther Marín in excess, possibly because of the way the newspaper is not only run but conceived.

Marín values the independence of her newspaper, this is one of the reasons for not receiving public funding from public institutions but this independence might come with a price. According to Esther Marín the council punishes her independence by not advertising in La Barceloneta. To the question of whether she has had political pressures she answers; *"sí, por eso el ayuntamiento no me pone publicidad. Si veo algo que no me gusta intento decirlo. A mí me han castigado bastante"*.

La Barceloneta does not use a website to supplement its printed version. Marín would like to have a website but she has some reservations, *"tenemos colgado el periódico. Estoy en ello, pero yo no domino. Lo tengo colgado en el portal Issu. Quería hacer un"*

blog pero el control, temo los comentarios. El no poder dominarlo yo y ofender a alguien". Probably the reliance on her informal sources explains the reluctance Esther Marín has towards implementing a blog and offend someone.

Esther Marín does not have an elaborated discourse regarding proximity journalism, she found it hard to answer the question and simply, although eloquently, answered that it is "*cercano. Con contacto con la gente. De tu a tu con la gente*", which fits the general publishing philosophy of the newspaper.

As for the general journalism Marín states; "*yo creo que ahora mismo el periodismo... hay demasiada información y a la gente se la va tanto la boca como los dedos*" reinforcing her fears of offending someone online by not filtering the comments. However, this definition dealt with the idea of mass media journalism. Marín, as a journalist herself, has had contact with these journalists and it seems as if her experience has not been all too pleasant; "*la diferencia es que ellos se ven más profesionales que una. En las ruedas de prensa la Barceloneta es un medio de barrio, yo no me comparo en absoluto con El Periódico o La Vanguardia, pero si que es como... En cambio algunos en los plenos del ayuntamiento algunos llegan tarde y te preguntan. O lo de este verano, te piden con quien pueden hablar. En cambio cuando ellos tienen información...*".

When asked about the most important problems that journalism has to face she insists on the idea that there is too much information but adds other ideas that deal with the velocity at which information travels; "*hay demasiada informacion, sin contrastar, que se habla muy rapido, y que estan muy sometidos algunos a su medio. Pero en el caso por ejemplo de lo que han hecho La Vanguardia y El Periódico del caso de Jordi Pujol, sabiendo que el Maragall dijo lo del 3%, que nadie investigara... A mi me choca el contraste que en Cataluña nadie publicara nada*". It is interesting though how she criticizes the passivity of the mainstream Catalan press. Her insinuation implies that general journalism has two problems, the speed of news that hampers the necessary quality control of information and the servitude of the media towards the economic and political fields.

The problems that she has to face, as a local journalist, differ from the general journalism problems while at the same time revolving around the relationship between media and the economic and political field. The relationship between La Barceloneta and these two fields of power is linked not only to the idea of what proximity journalism should be regarding independence and a certain political activism but also to the logistic and formal structure, that is, its size. "*Ahora mismo yo me he encontrado problemas con el ayuntamiento, pero yo creo que es el funcionamiento de CIU. Si no les haces la pelotilla no te invitan, no te convocan a ruedas de prensa, queda un poco como feo. Yo entiendo que no me den importancia, pero tampoco le están dando importancia a los vecinos de la Barceloneta. Porque si el periódico lleva 14 sera por algo*". Other problems La Barceloneta encounters are of economic nature; "*ahora mismo el gran problema es el económico. Si hubiera más pasta para poder sacar más páginas, se podrían hacer prácticamente 8 páginas más. Ya te digo, cada vez hay más información y a la gente le gusta mucho escribir, opinar. La gente también quiere decir cosas*".

Marín's relationship with the Barceloneta neighbourhood is a close one. Although she does not live there anymore she grew up in Barceloneta. "*Yo soy de Granada y vine de niña, como la gran mayoría de los de aquí. He ido a la escuela, al instituto. El primer día que me presenté, ¿como está tu madre y tu padre?*". The fact that she grew up in the neighbourhood probably helped her with the newspaper. Her intimate relationship with the neighbourhood, her neighbourhood, perhaps eased her finding of sources and people to write for the newspaper. It is also interesting to note how she defines herself as a sort of immigrant as well. Stating that she *is* from Granada implies to a certain degree that she *is not* a hundred percent from Barcelona. The idea is not that Barcelona is not her neighbourhood but by setting her roots in a different place in this clear way the implication that she is also from somewhere else is plain.

She is not a member of the *Col·legi de Periodistes de Catalunya*, and she sets it clear by saying; "*no, yo no soy periodista*".

Esther Marín studied "*literatura e historia. A mi escribir siempre me ha gustado*". She also had never worked as a journalist before she founded La Barceloneta; "*trabajé para el ayuntamiento hace muchos años, en comunicación, pero nunca de periodista*". The fact that she didn't study journalism may explain her preferences towards certain

journalistic practices. Her opinion about the main purpose of journalism is; *"la de informar pero una información sin manipulación por los medios. Por ejemplo la agencia efe es un modelo que me gusta, dar noticia por la noticia, que sea importancia la noticia, no el que la da"*. However, when it comes to her main reasons to publish La Barceloneta her discourse is slightly different. In this case what is most important is not the news but the voice of the people while maintaining the neutrality; *"el barrio y su gente. Lo que pasa que hay veces que digo que quiero desaparecer de La Barceloneta y no volver nunca más. Pero si, ser neutro y poder... no se como decir"*. This double goal, give voice to the neighbours of Barceloneta, perhaps empowering them, while at the same maintaining a journalistic neutrality seems hard to balance but it also seems to be of extreme importance to Esther Marín.

La Barceloneta is the newspaper with the lowest amount of articles regarding immigration. When asked Esther Marín responded; *"es donde menos inmigración hay. Aquí hay árabes y sobretodo italianos. Es un colectivo muy pequeño. Lo que pasa es que tienen más niños. Hay, pero no es muy grande"*. This is true to a certain extent. It is true that, out of the four neighbourhoods of the district of Ciutat Vella, Barceloneta is the one with the lowest percentage of foreigners. However, it is not true that the foreigners/immigrants collective is a small one. It represented the 30.3% of the population in 2013²², a percentage much higher than the average of Barcelona as a whole. It is also true that Italians were the biggest collective, 695 people, but there were 455 Pakistanis and 362 Moroccans. The number of Italians is not that much bigger as to give the impression that they are an overwhelming majority. The mistake of confusing Pakistanis and Moroccans for Arabs is also worth noting.

Marín believes it is hard to reach the immigrants because *"los inmigrantes aquí no están agrupados o asociados. Si que hay un grupo de dones paquistaneses, que son seis o siete, pero no hay una entidad que se reúna y eso también influye en la información del periódico"*. She also criticizes certain attitudes by the immigrants, this is, a certain passivity of the immigrants when it comes to make their voice be heard; *"no tienen que llegar a ellos, son ellos los que se tienen que mover, si tu crees que en este barrio falta no se que igual que se queja el vecino de toda la vida tu que llevas dos años... si no*

²² <http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/catala/dades/inf/barris/a2013/barri3.pdf>

entiendes porqué hablan rápido y no entiendes muy bien el idioma, solicitas a una entidad oye mira estoy preocupado por este tema. Es el que viene el que se tiene que integrar y el que está intentar que la otra persona, intentarlo ayudar a que entienda, y a incorporarlos a la sociedad. Forma parte de los dos, uno que tienda la mano y el otro que la quiera coger". However there have been situations in which this collective has tried to participate in the newspaper *"he tenido unos cuantos que han querido publicar algunas notas, lo que pasa que he tenido problemas con las traducciones porque yo quiero saber que quieren decir y te tienes que fiar. Por ejemplo, postales de navidad escritas en todos los idiomas"*. It seems, though, as if there is some sort of reluctance. The fact that she remembers publishing Christmas cards, which is an innocuous situation, might highlight an attitude. Nonetheless she persists in her quest; *"yo les invito siempre a que escriban. No te preocupes yo te lo corrijo, yo no cambio las cosas pero te lo corrijo. Lo que pasa que les da corte. Pero hay mucha gente que La Barceloneta es suya"*, or; *"yo por ejemplo me muevo por... tomaba cafés y algunas cervezas y voy a bares donde hay marroquíes. A veces opinan y todo, de política"*.

Some immigrants do read the newspaper; *"sí, hay algunos que sí"*, but there are problems with immigrant shops and businesses advertising in La Barcelona; *"sí, dos. Hay pocos, pero la gran mayoría son de los mismos"*.

When asked about the use of the word immigrant instead of some more specific words that might better define a collective she has a response based on her own experience; *"sí aquí hemos hechos inmigrantes a los mismos españoles, yo era una inmigrante cuando era niña. Yo creo que está muy arraigada al carácter español"*.

For Esther Marín immigrants *"viven como cualquier otro vecino, y ¿cómo la vive? Como su barrio. La gente vive mucho en la calle. No creo que haya muchos problemas"*. However, the peculiarities of Barceloneta affect the relationship between immigrants and natives. According to Marín there are not big xenophobic or racist problems *"no, graves hay como cualquier otro hijo de vecino que se dedica a las drogas y le han increpado. Aquí el problema que hay ahora son los pakistanís que venden drogas. Que se pasean en bicicleta y claro, no es porqué sea pakistaní. Aquí en este barrio se han vendido drogas toda la vida, pero si lo haces disimuladamente como que... como es un barrio marinero. Pero que lo hagas evidentemente, sin control, y a la*

cara. A la gente eso le molesta, por sus hijos y por la imagen que da a la gente que viene. No es porqué sea pakistaní es simplemente el hecho de que lo ofrezcan de esta manera". Another source of conflict was *"aquí también ha habido polémica, hace unos años, sobretodo los que vienen a robar a la playa son marroquíes pero no son de aquí. Es que este barrio siempre ha sido de inmigrantes. Aquí nos hemos encontrado todos. Si el boom en los 70 y 80 eran andaluces y murcianos, en los 90 argelís y marroquíes, pues siempre... Lo que pasa que luego están los que tienen prejuicios, en todos los sitios los hay, y culpan de todos los males de su escalera a estas personas. Aquí nos integramos bastante bien. Si aquí todos somos vecinos".* Again, the fact that Barcelona was historically a neighbourhood of immigration plays, for Marín, an important role. And this will continue *"aquí seguirán viniendo, como ha sido siempre, a no ser que la Barceloneta se vuelva turística y nos vayamos todos"*.

7.3. Report interview Javier Alegría, editor, director and journalist of El Raval

Technical information about the interview: The interview was carried out on the 24th of January 2015 at 17:00 at the interviewee's home which is also the newspaper's newsroom. It lasted 65 minutes approximately.

Javier Alegría is the editor, director and only journalist of El Raval. There are some collaborations in the newspaper but he is the only staff member of the newspaper and hence everything that is published goes through his hands. He was also one of the founders of the newspaper, which was intended to be the newspaper of the humanist movement in the Raval neighbourhood, in the year 1994. This movement *"en el año 2000 se disuelve y yo sigo con el periódico."*

El Raval started as a magazine *"din a4, me parece que 12 páginas pero eso duro unos pocos meses y luego ya paso a formato prensa y creo que eran 12, luego a 16, luego a 20 y luego a 24."* It is important for El Raval to keep improving the newspaper, or at least to increase the number of pages. The last change happened in 2012 *"las 24 páginas empezaron en setiembre del 2012"*.

Since its beginning El Raval *"siempre ha sido mensual, los 12 meses del año, al principio era en blanco y negro y después paso a ser en color"*. This is also important for Javier Alegría since he makes the effort to publish every single month of the year, never taking August off in part because the party of the neighbourhood is held in July, being August the month when it gets covered.

Alegría is not only the only member of the newspaper but he also delivers every single copy of it personally. As he explains, El Raval *"se reparte con carrito, comercio por comercio del interior del barrio del Raval."* This distinction of inner Raval and outer Raval is important, as he states *"no se reparte en la periferia ni ramblas ni pelayo, sólo el interior del Raval que es donde están los vecinos, también instituciones, entidades"* El Raval is delivered to any place that is willing to be a point of distribution, without distinction, as long as it *"tenga una puerta abierta a la calle en el barrio del Raval puede recibir el periódico, y lo reciben unos 450 lugares del barrio"*. El Raval is a fairly small neighbourhood making 450 locations, especially if the fact that only Javier Alegría delivers the newspaper is taken into account, quite a remarkable number.

A detail that seems to be of extremely importance for El Raval is the state of its independence as subjected to any political or economic constraints that could be avoided *"en la portada lo pone, publicación independiente de comunicación barrial, y el independiente es porque no depende de nadie ni esta en ningún gremio asociación ni colectivo de nada"*. Even though El Raval started as the voice of the humanist movement, since this movement disappeared the newspaper *"no está vinculado a nadie"*.

As stated above, Javier Alegría edits, directs and publishes the newspaper on his own; however, the newspaper does have some regular collaborations in terms of articles *"hay 5 colaboraciones fijas, la psicóloga, la columna de corner, de un comerciante del Raval, el culé del Raval que hace una columna culé sin complejos y es la única mota deportiva, la historia del barrio la lleva María Casas, y muy recientemente la columna de salud antes la hacía yo mismo y ahora la hace el CAP Raval sud"*. When asked how these collaborations started he says *"de algunos hace tantos años que no me acuerdo como empezaron pero en general es gente conocida que tiene la posibilidad de hacerlo y bueno, hazlo."* Alegría opens the definition of collaborator to some of the advertisers

as well, making a clear distinction between people who help the newspaper and people who simply advertise their business; *"todos los anunciantes son colaboradores, excepto algunos pocos que son anunciantes anunciantes. La diferencia es psicológica, unos pagan por publicidad y otros para que sala el diario."* Other institutions that publish articles in the newspaper are *"el MACBA, el CCCB, la biblioteca, el Ayuntamiento, etc. tienen su espacio que han comprado un espacio y publican cada mes"*.

As the only journalist of El Raval *"todo lo que se publica pasa por mis manos y yo les doy forma etc, pero hay muchos artículos que vienen de agencias y es mensual, yo hago una recopilación de noticias aparecidos en los medios de comunicación referidas al Raval en ese mes"*. Hence almost everything that is published in the newspaper has been dealt by Javier Alegría, or as he states it *"de hecho esas noticias, más las colaboraciones de las entidades más las columnas son el 90% del periódico"*.

Following the idea of keeping El Raval's Independence safe the newspaper is only funded through its advertisers, *"no pedimos subvenciones"*. It is a fair question to ask if, because this newspaper is mostly funded by small businesses, the crisis has affected the funding. *"Más que la crisis, la crisis influye en que no se puedan subir precios en que no se pueda mejorar el periódico, invertir mas dinero porque es más difícil de conseguir, no se pueden ampliar mas las páginas , pero el número de anunciantes está en función de los yo sea capaz de trabajar y de la temporalidad. El trimestre octubre diciembre es el mejor, el de enero a marzo es el peor, en realidad es navidad semana santa, luego viene el de primavera y luego viene el del verano que son las fiestas del barrio entonces tienen mas interés"*. However, this way of funding the newspaper requires a constant follow up on the shops and businesses that buy a space to advertise because some fluctuations is inevitable, *"en la primera semana del mes hay que ir a visitar comercios, cada año hay una fluctuacion comercios nuevos y comercios que se borran"*.

As for its relationship with the political institutions of the neighbourhood El Raval tries to be equidistant with the political parties and to not get involved or side with one of them. Its way to reach this goal is to offer a free column every month to all the parties found in the district's council *"los partidos representados en el distrito tienen un espacio cedido para que hagan una nota de prensa de 200 palabras cada mes, y con los"*

demás nos llevamos muy bien, muchos colaboran en el periódico y tienen su espacio.”
There is, though, one party that was banned from publishing in the newspaper. *“Salvo con el PP, el periódico no censura nada, salvo xenofobia y violencia. Entonces el PP esta censurado porque tienen declaraciones y actitudes violentas y xenófobas constantemente.”*

The process of publishing and editing the newspaper is as it follows: *“el calendario es, primera semana del mes reparto y cobro los anunciantes, la segunda semana del mes, cuestión de envío de facturas, cosas por correo, publicación de la versión digital en el blog, envío de mailing a 750 direcciones de correo. Cuando acaba eso estamos a mitad de mes y ahí se avisa a todos la fecha tope de cierre de la siguiente edición, pues es el 25, 26, 27 según como quede el calendario y ahí se empieza la edición del siguiente número. La cuarta semana es donde se cierra todo y hay que meterlo en imprenta, la imprenta es una rotativa muy grande que esta en Manresa, y volver a empezar el ciclo, 12 meses al año.”*

What is interesting about the way El Raval is published is the approach to its articles. Its interest is not to publish original articles, although it does happen, but to offer a series of news about things that affect the neighbourhood. In order to do that Javier Alegría uses articles written by associations or institutions; *“la mayoría de artículos son comunicados que me envían las entidades de cosas que van a hacer y tal, otras son de la oficina de prensa del Ayuntamiento, del distrito”*. El Raval, also hardly ever publishes interviews or reports, *“en el periódico el Raval no hay ni reportaje ni entrevista, muy muy raramente hay alguna entrevista”*. All this is explained by its approach to publishing the newspaper, summarised in this line; *“la prioridad en el periódico no es una noticia que se produce en el Raval, la prioridad es que interese o afecte a la gente del Raval”*.

As for the quality control; *“doy por buenas las noticias de las instituciones porque son comunicados. Cuando hay alguna cosa que hay que hacer preguntas y averiguar un poco más, pues averiguo un poco más”*. It is important to remember that most of the articles are written by institutions and associations and agencies, hence the need to control and double check the facts decreases.

The editorial articles are also written by Javier Alegría and they are the only article in which he indulges himself to state the newspaper, and therefore his, opinion; *"la opinion del periódico se expresa en la editorial"*. Understanding that most of the article are either written by associations and institutions or news agencies the editorial article is *"una columna de contenido más ideológico, lo demas es muy neutro"*. Alegría chooses the subject of the editorial article based on his idea that the newspaper should not look into the things that happen in the neighbourhood but that affect it instead; *"como el periódico es barrial pero la gente es multidimensional, si hay alguna noticia de actualidad nacional e incluso internacional que pueda afectar a la gente del barrio y es relevante pues es la pincelada de contenido no barrial que hay, y si no pues temas barriales, las fiestas, la campaña de navidad"*.

El Raval does not have a stylebook, it is clearly unnecessary when Alegría hardly writes anything in the newspaper. The question was relevant, nonetheless, because of the collaborations. Could there be a stylebook for what is actually original in the newspaper? The answer again was no, *"yo les corrijo cosas gramaticales, si no textualmente lo que ellos digan"*.

The way sources are approached, *"es raro pero de vez en cuando soy yo el que hace de periodista"*, is simply by *"pateando barrio. Yo pateo el barrio por obligación una semana al mes y ahí ya hablo con todo el mundo, con los vecinos, comerciantes, instituciones, pero ademas voy a las reuniones de coordinadoras de entidades, fundaciones, eventos, actos del distrito y ahí tomo contacto con todo el mundo, y durante muchos año"*.

El Raval does not primarily use a website to distribute or make available the newspaper but it has a blog in which the pdf of every month's edition is uploaded to. From there the newspaper can be downloaded or read. This website is not supposed to complement or enhance the printed newspaper but it is simply an online place where old editions may be found, read or downloaded.

Javier Alegría maintains a relationship with some other neighbourhood journalists. He helped creating the newspaper La Barcelona, *"el periódico La Barceloneta es una imitación del periódico El Raval dirigido por mi ademas"*. La Barceloneta is edited by

Esther Marín alone, however, in the first years Javier Alegría provided help and knowledge. A situation like that has happened in other occasions *"en su momento algún otro periódico me ha venido a preguntar como hacer"*. Alegría states that *"en general El Raval y La Barceloneta son un modelo de prensa que no encontraras similar, en el sentido que lo hace una persona. Esta estructura del responsable, unos cuantos colaboradores es un invento mio y tiene su referente en el hombre que mato Liberty Valance"*. It is definitely true that, when compared to the other two newspapers studied in this research, El Raval and La Barceloneta stand out as a completely different model. In his interest to keep El Raval free from any political and economic constraints, Javier Alegría is very conscious of other press that might have political interests, *"otros diarios, como los Linia, tienen interés político"*.

The interviewee never thought about what proximity journalism stands for and what it implies in terms of professional practice, *"no se lo que es el periodismo de proximidad. Tengo 55 años y sobre periodismo de proximidad he reflexionado en toda mi vida unos 10 segundo que es desde que tu me has hecho esta pregunta"*, but he does have a distinct opinion on the difference between the kind of journalism he practises and the journalism mass media offers. To him the differences are based on practical constraints that derive from different professional and economic structures, that is the differences are *"las que derivan de la periodicidad"* and it translates *"a nivel de páginas y movimiento de dinero"* but *"en cuanto a los contenidos es lo mismo"*. So for Alegría *"la diferencia fundamental es que sale una vez al mes y eso la cambia todo. Porque hay una cuestión de plazos que no tienes en el periódico diario. En el diario es la noticia al dia. Aquí hay noticias que se van a producir dentro de tres semanas. Entonces lo que hay es un anuncio de algo que va a suceder o una crónica de algo que ya ha sucedido pero ya hace días y si ha sucedido ya ha sido publico por los medios de comunicación grandes"*. It seems as if Alegría deminishes the role of El Raval as a newspaper into being a simple transmitter of information that could be deemed relevant simply because it affects the neighbourhood, with no thought behind it.

His critique of the mainstream media is based on its loss of Independence because of its ties with the economic power; *"son empresas. Estén creadas para ganar dinero informando. Algunas han evolucionado y el ganar dinero han crecido mucho y el"*

informando no ha crecido. Otras ha crecido mas el informar que el ganar dinero pero en seguida desaparecen. Mantener un equilibrio es muy difícil y de un tiempo para aquí en cuanto a los medios grandes es lamentable, son realmente parciales. Dependen del financiador".

He links the principal problems which journalism encounters with the loss of independence and the rise of internet and the new technologies also connecting it with the emergence of alternative media. *"La revolución tecnológica que ha coincidido con la... mientras o paralelamente al mismo periodo de tiempo en el que se produce la revolución tecnológica, que eso condiciona la economía de los medios de comunicación, se ha producido la evolución de los medios de comunicación hacia el partidismo. Complacer a los financiadores. Eso ha hecho que al mismo tiempo que perdían credibilidad la mayoría de los grandes medios ganaran credibilidad los medios alternativos a través de las redes sociales e internet en general. Eso ha producido un cambio en los hábitos de los lectores. Si antes era lo típico, salgo de casa me compro el periódico y me lo leo desayunando, ahora la gente ya no pasa por el quiosco. El resultado de todo eso es problemas de financiación que acentúa el problema de la parcialidad".* This change of patterns when it comes to receiving information makes people deal with news in a different way; *"la gente cada vez lee mas a través de redes sociales enlaces a noticias concretas y cada vez lee menos el bloque de un periódico. Antes tu leías El País, ahora tu lees noticias sobre algo".* When asked about the Col·legi de Periodistes, as the institution in charge of protecting and defending the profession, he simply states *"no tengo opinión"*.

As for the problems faced by the neighbourhood press, and particularly El Raval, they are not so different from the ones faced by mainstream media, according to Javier Alegría, but their material conditions shift the repercussion of these problems. *"El problema principal es la limitada financiación. Si la financiación va por subvención ya vas perdido, porque ya te van a condicionar. Y si vas libre de subvención lo que no puedes hacer es cobrar el periódico. Si vas libre y vas a la financiación del comercio del barrio pero la mayor dificultad son las dificultades económicas que tienen los financiadores. Y luego el alcance del periódico al ser barrial y con una tirada limitada,*

digamos que la tirada del Raval en comparación a la tirada de La Vanguardia en relación a su población es mayor, pero la repercusión el beneficio que puede obtener el que invierta en publicidad es menor porque es una población pequeña y en el caso del Raval es una población pobre". Again, the main problem is maintaining the newspaper's Independence. And this problem is shared by both types of journalism. However, size limits imposed by the structure of the neighbourhood press does compel a different sort of consequences to the actions taken in order to keep the Independence; *"es un problema que condiciona la estructura del periódico y que vaya creciendo, pero si no contratas a gente y vas creciendo poquito a poco eso quiere decir que va bien pero dentro de ese contexto".*

Alegría does not live in Raval, although he does not live far from it, *"estoy a diario en el Raval, todos los días el mes"*. This is important because he casts a great importance in the fact of being in contact with the neighbourhood.

The interviewee thinks the social role of journalism is not achieved and this is so because of the complexity of the world; *"la que debería ser es informar a la ciudadanía de todo lo que sucede, si es posible explicando además pq sucede. Y no se cumple. Se cumple en parte, se hace como que se cumple pero es evidente que pasan tantísimas cosas y los porqués son tan complejos que da pie a que cada periódico elija de todo lo que sucede lo que quiere informar"*.

The way Javier Alegría came to practice journalism might explain the way he practises journalism. He did not study journalism *"soy psicólogo, licenciado por la universidad de deusto en 1982 en la especialidad de escolar y clínica"*, and so he might lack a certain degree of theoretical background when it comes to journalism in an abstract point of view. As it is, his reason to practice journalism is *"vivir de ello"*. That simple. However, he does elaborate *"luego ya van entrando otros matices. Ya que haces un trabajo, que te guste y cuando ya le coges el gusto hay intereses que no son el primario"*. It seems he refuses any kind of romantic idealisation of the journalistic profession while still accepting and embracing the responsibility of this same profession *"si mañana me toca la primitiva seguramente ya no haría el periódico. Así que cualquier declaración declamativa se borraría inmediatamente. Pero, si es cierto que*

como no me toca la lotería y hago el periódico del Raval eso me impone una relación muy estrecha con el Raval, y el roce hace el cariño, y mas porque el Raval seria como personaje, maltratado, me despierta esa solidaridad de los perdedores, el Raval como barrio es un barrio muy injustamente trato, donde hay mucha gente que sufre pudiendo sufrir la mitad de la mitad. Procuro ayudar a que el Raval sienta mas orgullo del que tiene. La imagen típica del Raval esta creada hace muchísimos años y la arrastra el raval como aquellos presos de las viñetas avanzan con esas bolas de hierro. Pero decir que yo trabajo por el Raval, no no, trabajo por el Raval porque tengo que trabajar y le pongo gusto".

Alegria might not have thought much about what journalism is but his close relationship with a neighbourhood that has about 50% of immigration rate does give him insights and an elaborated discourse about immigration. He explains the distribution of news in the newspaper, that is the fact that in the first years of the sample not many articles were found but later on a great number of them were published, through the process the neighbourhood suffered *"a medida que la ola migratoria fue tomando peso en el barrio, fue tomando peso en el periodico. A partir de que aparece una sección fija aumenta el numero de noticias sobre inmigración"*. The fact that most of the locations are places other than the neighbourhood is explained by the way he understands the newspaper. Not a newspaper that not only explains the neighbourhood but also situations that affect it even if they are set somewhere else. *"Son cosas que afectan a los inmigrantes del Raval pero no porque sucedan en el Raval, normalmente son medidas del gobierno, legislaciones, etc que les afecta"*. The roles given to immigrants, *source of concern* is the role with the highest frequency, and actions performed by and to the immigrants, *concerning* and *negative* actions are the most frequent ones, are explained by the fact that *"el colectivo de inmigrantes esta dentro del colectivo mas amplio de personas que necesitan ayuda, no son un problema, son una solución, se plantean como un problema por intereses políticos que manipulan la realidad, la realidad es que este país necesita muchos inmigrantes y va a necesitar muchos mas. Otra cosa es que la crisis ponga dificultades para encontrar trabajo. Pero como inmigrantes son gente que llega desde un medio social cultural distinto y necesitan un proceso de adaptación, eso es un problema para cualquier persona. Por otro lado, si son inmigrantes, vienen porque*

tienen problemas en su lugar de origen. En el transcurso se suman dos problemas, el problema que ya traes contigo, normalmente de pobreza, de incultura, mas el problema de la situación del periodo de adaptación. Así que efectivamente es un colectivo que tiene problemas, pero esta en el caso del Raval encuadrado en un colectivo mayor que tambien tiene problemas, como es el barrio del Raval. No son un problema, ellos tienen un problema y necesitan ayuda, y ademas, por una cuestión de ético y sentido de la vida es necesario ayudarles". He believes that immigrants are thought of as recipients of help because *"en el caso del raval, el inmigrante es un receptor del periodico, un vecino mas"*, thus helping creating bonds between different colectives, and *"en el raval los vecinos tradicionales son inmigrantes de la primera oleada"*, which helps understanding the situation of the immigrants and, again, creating bonds between peoples from different origins.

Alegria also has an elaborated discourse about the use of the word immigrant and why he thinks it is the correct word. *"Cuando hablo de inmigrantes hablo personas que han venido hace poco y tienen estas dificultades. Una vez que se instalan, la segunda generación de inmigrantes no son inmigrantes pero si tienen problemas propios de la inmigración como por ejemplo el rechazo por color, por costumbres, rechazos xenófobos. Cuando vas a analizar más en profundidad inmigrantes es un colectivo muy distinto. Se tiene que adaptar lo mismo un sudamericano que un pakistaní, pero es evidente que no es el mismo problema de adaptación porque ya hay un factor que es el idioma que ya es muy distinto. Hay otro factor que es la distancia, no es lo mismo venir de América que venir del Magreb. Un magrebí puede viajar pero a América cuesta más. Hay ciertas cosas que unen al colectivo de inmigrantes por ser. Es un nombre, inmigrantes, todos los que tienen esta problemática, y luego en otro nivel de análisis es muy diferente y ahí ya no se puede hablar de inmigrantes, hay que hablar de otras cosas"* His opinion about other euphemisms regarding the word immigration is very clear; *"no me gusta nouvinguts y todas las palabras que buscan los políticos y desde la política para ser politicamente correctos, hay un hecho que es muy relevante, que es el mas determinante de todos, que ha tenido que, o ha querido, cambiar el lugar de residencia de un país a otro. Eso se llama inmigrante. Se es inmigrante hasta que se deja de serlo. Pero cuando se deja de serlo, eso daría para 300 o mas folios de análisis"*

The relationship of El Raval with the immigrants, in terms of collaborations or advertising is small. Not problematic but Alegría finds it hard to convince them to collaborate; *"hay unos cuantos comerciantes que se anuncian en el periódico, y los hay de los dos tipos, pero son muy poquitos. Una vez me preocupe de calcularlo y andaba por el 10%"*.

As for xenophobic situations in the neighbourhood; *"hay anunciantes que se han borrado porque consideran que soy un defensor del inmigrante. Es un ejemplo de situación donde se une una actitud xenófoba hacia el inmigrante y la consecuencia directa sobre el periódico, pero situaciones sin consecuencia directa sobre el periódico, multitud. No es que el barrio sea muy xenófobo, yo creo que es modélico, deberían tomar modelo tanto franceses como ingleses. Es muy distinto al modelo francés y modelo inglés y funciona muchísimo mejor. En parte también ayuda que la población receptora también era inmigrante, esto les hace más tolerantes, y esta mayor tolerancia facilita la comunicación y a través de la comunicación viene el cariño"*. The last idea reinforces the conception expressed earlier, that the roles and actions that define the immigrants are strongly linked to the composition of the neighbourhood as a place where immigration is a long term process, whether Spanish or foreign immigrants.

Some of the most interesting insights were left for the last question. The future of immigrants in the neighbourhood is *"dejar de ser inmigrante"*, which is quite a simple answer, however, *"en el Raval hay una situación de pastoreo. Pastores del Raval hay, los que pastorean a las prostitutas, pero luego hay un pastoreo tremendo de las comunidades de inmigrantes. Por ejemplo primer pastor, la Generalitat de Cataluña, quiere que se integren básicamente por la vía del aprender catalán, pero que no se integren demasiado, solo que aprendan catalán. Si eres un hijo de un pakistaní o un magrebí te encuentras que también te pastorea los representantes de tu comunidad que quieren velar para que no te alejes de los valores y la identidad de su comunidad, entonces te encuentras un magrebí que tiene que aprender castellano, catalán, árabe y el idioma de su país. Pero es que además les van transmitiendo esa idea de que tu eres quien ha de llevar la antorcha de generaciones anterior aun cuando estés lejos, Luego esta el pastor religioso, que están los dos, los musulmanes y los cristianos, en el Raval hay un montón de centros del Opus Dei que atienden a jóvenes y chavales, luego hay*

otros católicos que también velan por los valores católicos, en paralelo están los pastores musulmanes que controlan férreamente a su comunidad, hasta situaciones tan ridículas como las elecciones internas del partido socialista. Ese tipo de pastoreo es una dificultad añadida. La fundació tot raval creó la taula intercultural y la taula inter religiosa. En la taula intercultural estaban prácticamente los mismos que en la inter religiosa más los ateos, que eramos muy poquitos. Esta taula intercultural dejó de reunirse, entre otras cosas, por presiones de la taula inter religiosa". This last idea or recollection of a situation shows, by means of illustrating the state of immigrants in the present, the obstacle that must be overcome by the neighbourhood as a whole in order to achieve the goal of "*dejar de ser inmigrante*".

7.4. Report interview to Sara Torremocha, journalist of La Marina

Technical information about the interview: The interview was carried out on the 6th of February 2015 at 16:00 in the newspaper's newsroom located in the *espai musical 'La Bàscula'*, which although it is technically located within the Park of Montjuïc it sits a few metres away from the neighbourhood of La Marina del Port, and a few blocks from La Marina del Prat Vermell, neighbourhood to which La Marina belongs. The interview lasted 108 minutes approximately.

The interview started with Juan Antonio Reyes, one of the founders and the director of La Marina, and Sara Torremocha, journalist, chief of content and responsible of the newspaper's website. Juan Antonio Reyes answered a few questions regarding the history of the newspaper as he has been a part of it since the very beginning. However, most of the questions were answered by Sara Torremocha who is much more in touch with the day to day routine of La Marina.

La Marina was founded in 1994 with a clear idea, "*la iniciativa del diario surge de la necesidad de los barrios de la marina, en aquel momento estos barrios se llamaban Zona Franca pero si nos remontamos a la historia es la Marina. El objetivo era rescatar para la identidad de los barrios su nombre real y cohesionar al máximo los barrios.*". The newspaper is one of the branches of a media association inscribed within

the Zona Franca neighbourhood *"esta iniciativa surge en el marco de la asociación de medios de comunicación local. Antes de la marina surge la iniciativa de radio zona franca con el objetivo de que un numero importante de jóvenes de la zona franca que habían entrado en la lacra de las drogas tuvieran un tipo de terapia a través de la emisora."*, *"la misma junta directiva que compone la AMCL son los mismo impulsores de la marina"* and the *"apoyo de la federación de vecinos de la marina"*.

As every other newspaper, La Marina goes through several changes in its history. *"En el inicio era en castellano y en catalán, y ademas en blanco y negro"*, and the number of pages varies as well, *"comença amb 12 pàgines, al 1999 ja tenim 16 pàgines. Depèn dels continguts, per exemple juliol i agost els fem junts i ampliem. Ara per exemple el que fem és que tenim 20 pàgines, i son 16 més un suplement que són 4 pàgines. Hem fet 24, hem fet 31 però normalment ens mantenim en aquesta dinàmica de 16 pàgines nostres i 4 del suplement. El suplement és de caràcter social impulsat per una associació de suport a la infància."*. Other changes La Marina has suffered are the introduction of colour, a decrease of the number of issues, *"la impressió era de 8000 exemplars i ara per exemple són 6000"*, *"canvis en la capçalera del diari per a emfatitzar la cohesió dels barris"*, and a very important change that affects directly the journalists, *"en aquell moment hi havia professionals de la comunicació que cobraven un sou i en l'actualitat no estem cobrant res."*

There are two different ways to distribute the newspaper; *"es distribueixen amb una furgoneta i es distribueix als establiments associats a l'associació de comerciants. A l'associació els deixem unes 800 o 900 marines i ells s'encarreguen de la distribució dels establiments associats a la seva associació. Nosaltres repartim també a tot el barri. Enviem també a través de correu a diverses associacions amb les quals tenim una relació. Els el portem en mà a les diferents institucions polítiques. De vegades arribem a llocs puntuals, centres cívics, etc. d'altres barris del districte, però molt limitat. Al mercat de la Marina està ple de marines per tot arreu, i als caps."*

As already mentioned, La Marina is one of the branches of the Associació de Mitjans de Comunicació Local, or AMCL, which also founded the radio Zona Franca, now Sants-Montjuïc Ràdio. Some of the journalists that work for La Marina also work for Sants-Montjuïc Ràdio and both the newspaper and the radio get funding through the AMCL.

As for the newspaper *"el diari rep unes subvencions però bàsicament es financia amb la publicitat. La subvenció és mínima. Això significa que la situació econòmica de la nostra publicació depèn tant de la publicitat que de vegades no sabem si podrem sortir. Els anuncis varien depenent del més, hi ha campanyes de tres o quatre mesos i després cauen."* Because La Marina is a member of the AMCL a special department is in charge of the funding and it distributes the income depending on the needs of both each media. In recent times *"la situació ha estat molt crítica"* and there are always economic constraints.

AMCL and La Marina have a close relationship with the political institutions of the district, which entails some problematic situations; *"nosaltres rebem uan subvenció de l'ajuntament, també el districte participa amb la nostra publicació a través de publicitat i aleshores aquesta és una certa ajuda. També estem en un lloc que no és nostre, dins d'un centre cívic. Aquestes circumstàncies fan que algun cop els polítics es creguin amb el poder de dir-te el què pots dir i el què no pots dir. No son grans pressions però si que ho han manifestat algun cop."*

La Marina is by far the newspaper with the highest number of journalists employed. However it definitely has its own particular labour structure and it nurtures itself mostly from students and only from unpaid collaborations. *"Hi ha tres periodistes i la resta de col·laboradors estan estudiant periodisme"*. The newspaper understand the collaborations as way to further the journalists' education; *"la gent que estem aquí treballant estem continuant amb la nostra formació"*. It has a very high number of journalists considering the size of the other analysed newspapers; *"tenim ara unes 19 persones. Som 19 persones però de vegades un més es col·labora molt activament i un altre més no tant. Comptem amb 5 fotògrafs, la cosa és que 3 son becaris que estaran fins al juny"*, but only three of them actually have a degree in journalism.

Because La Marina has a big newsroom staff Sara Torremocha and Eva Albiol as chief of content and chief of newsroom, have a meeting with Juan Antonio Reyes, the director; *"fem una reunió prèvia la meva companya i jo amb el director"* where the basic guidelines of the next issue are set. *"Quan surt la marina publicada, ens reunim la setmana següent amb els col·laboradors, fem una valoració i proposem una bateria de temes. Nosaltres ja ens hem informat prèviament. Hi ha coses que estan clares, com*

la celebració de carnestoltes, o coses puntuals que també deixem un espai per a coses que poden succeir" but in general "depèn de l'actualitat, depèn del que passi. El parametre és que sigui de proximitat i que tingui certa rellevança. Per proximitat també entenem a nivell de districte, sobretot del nostre barri i alguna cosa puntual que sigui del districte. Realment la cobertura principal és el nostre barri".

Once the coverage is decided the articles are assigned; *"hi ha una certa tendència a vincular temes a determinades persones. Per exemple hi ha dos companys, el Miquel i la Carme que fan temes de política del districte i del barri. Ells tenen un programa de radio d'actualitat socio política i parlen amb els consellers que hi ha al barri i amb el regidor. Això fa que ells tinguin més coneixement sobre temes polítics".* However there are other criteria to assign a story *"a vegades és per disponibilitat. He d'anar a cobrir aquest acte, qui va?"* also the main article is consigned to a different person every month; *"intentem que tothom tingui el dret a poder treballar en una peça de gran cobertura."*

Right now La Marina is implementing some organizational changes in the process of editing the newspaper; *"fins ara hem estat treballant molt juntes i ara volem fer un tipus de divisió tot i que realment els continguts son els mateixos perquè jo vull publicar al web el mateix que a la marina".* It is interesting to see how this newspaper is trying to emulate, to a certain extent, the type of organization that could be found in a bigger paper but keeps finding obstacles in its labour and economic structure, that is, La Marina tries to divide and adapt the organization to a professional setting but the fact that the journalists are still students and are not receiving a salary for their jobs makes it difficult to stick to this organizational structure. Another example of this situation is the following; *"els redactors venen diferents dies a la setmana, hi ha diferents torns. N'hi ha que per disponibilitat no poden venir però jo els truco i els demano fes això ara".*

As for the editorial articles *"els editorials els escribia una persona que es membre de la junta de l'associació i que estava molt vinculada a la publicació perquè havia estat directora durant uns mesos. I a partir d'ara els escribim nosaltres, o els escric jo o els escriu la meva companya".* La Marina seeks to link the editorial article to the main article *"que és el tema que obra la portada".* This article *"el decidim nosaltres quan estem reunits".*

It is interesting to note that La Marina is the only newspaper that considers the stylebook as something important, although at the moment it does not have one; *"teníem però va quedar una mica anticuat, i ara estem intentant adaptar-lo però és un procés en el qual encara estem amb lo qual ara mateix ens regim per les normes del DIEC"*. As for quality controls *"no tenim així cap mecanisme establert, és bàsicament confiar en els professionals que contrasti les seves fonts. S'exigeix com a part molt important de la seva formació perquè realment aquí estan fent un curs intensiu de la seva formació"*. The fact that La Marina is providing with an important part of the journalists training seems to be an important point within the newspaper.

The way La Marina reaches its sources is strongly linked to the importance it gives to cohesion, *"de vegades hi ha gent que truca i diu: m'agradaria parlar d'aquest aspecte. Si tu creus que és rellevant per poder donar-li cobertura és molt fàcil accedir-hi. Et deixen el seu correu o el que sigui i és molt fàcil aquest accés. Intentes parlant amb varies fonts"*, basically its proximity to the neighbourhood is an asset to gain access to the sources and at the same time it serves the purpose of creating a feeling of belonging. Nonetheless La Marina is trying to expand its sources and contact some more professional ones; *"ara estem treballant per exemple a donar cobertura a especialistes per a determinats temes"*.

This proximity to the reader and neighbor, though, has its downsides in terms of maintaining the newspaper's independence; *"la proximitat amb el veí es bona i també és dolenta. També has d'imposar una certa distància. Et veuen com a veïna i tu has de demostrar que també ets una professional. I aleshores hi ha aquest vincle que et diuen no se com a veïna pots publicar o no donar empuje a un tema. Tens una dicotomia una mica d'intentar separar la part emocional amb la part professional"*.

The website is a very important tool for La Marina and the fact that Sara Torremocha is in charge of it, due to the labour division between online and physical newspaper, shows AMCL sees it as a means to attract new readers; *"és la forma d'obrir-nos a un públic diferent. Hem d'intentar crear un lligam amb un públic més jove a través de la web"*. The website has its own pace *"la dedicació a la web és constant"*, and its own logic *"això va sorgir al 2006 i era un bolcatge del pdf. Ho vam intentar solucionar l'any passat i vam decidir que era un gran moment per a donar-li més cobertura als aspectes"*

del nostre barri. És una alta forma de treballar completament, perquè suposa un gran treball constant".

Sara Torremocha understands proximity journalism as *"és la millor expressió del periodisme"*. She places great importance in the relationship between the journalist and its readers and neighbours; *"és un periodisme de veritat en el sentit que et conecta directament amb les persones, estàs treballant amb elles, et posa una gran pressió el fet de fer-ho bé, d'actuar d'acord amb els teus valors també perquè estas implicat emocionalment en un espai, si no perquè com que tens un territori petit a cobrir"*. According to Torremocha local media have a special purpose that drives the motives of the journalists; *"treballar en un mitjà local té una pressió afegida. A la Marina succeeix una cosa i tu li has de donar cobertura. Si no li dones cobertura passa"* it also has an important job as a debunker of false stereotypes; *"es molt fàcil perpetuar estereotips i tu has de lluitar contra això"*. For Sara Torremocha one of the most important aspects of proximity journalism is giving voice and paying attention to normal people and small situations.

Opposedly, mainstream journalism focuses on big stories and important people, hence it becomes *"un periodisme molt ambiciós. Crec que de vegades el periodisme generalista es perd en moltes coses, entra en les dinàmiques dels grans poders i es perd unes altres, que son les de veritat, que son les més socials. Els problemes petits de la gent que no té res, que no és ningú però que son el reflex de la situació de moltes persones i per tant haurien de ser ells els protagonistes"*. She believes that, because of the importance of big stories in the mainstream journalism, the Marina neighbourhood is under and misrepresented by these same newspapers; *"els mitjans generalistes la única cobertura que donen al nostre barri és vinculat al tema de la drogodependència, a la prostitució, al tema de alguna cosa puntual com la voluntat política de l'Ajuntament i la Generalitat de traslladar aquí els tres centres penitenciaris que té la ciutat de Barcelona"*.

When asked about the biggest problems which journalists have to face in the fulfillment of their profession Sara Torremocha does not doubt the technology plays a big part. Although she understands technology helps improve the quality of journalism by offering new tools she also glimpses the perverse side of this coin; *"en primer lloc la instantaneïtat del mitjà digital. Això fa que tinguis la obligació de publicar el més*

ràpid. Junt amb això podem dir que està el menyspreu de la societat cap a la professió del periodistes. Es considera que qualsevol persona pot ser periodista. Qualsevol persona pot publicar una cosa a twitter i pot convertir-se en periodista. Òbviament no és necessari tenir una titulació, però no tot allò que surti publicat pot ser una notícia". In other words, the need for instant publications, through the newspapers website, deminishes the quality of journalism, as well as the possibility offered by new technologies of becoming a citizen journalist lowers society's image of journalists by making believe that a simple device connected to the internet can make one become a journalist. Also *"la situació econòmica actual"* is an important problema.

The conflict between the journalistic practices and the need of funding is clearly depicted by the interviewee; *"a mi m'emprenya haver de treure un article per a que entri una publicitat. Però em diuen que ha d'entrar la publicitat perquè necessitem els diners. I ja tens un conflicte moral".*

As for the problems faced by journalists of La Marina; *"les condicions amb les que es treballava amb un bon sou no eren... era la producció d'aquesta publicació, però ara s'exigeix cada dia el diari i estar publicant a la web".* Political pressures seem to be important for La Marina; *"les pressions polítiques que poguem rebre, aquesta situació que t'imposen d'inferioritat costa resistir, perquè clar, la lluita no és d'igual a igual".* This is especially interesting because the other newspaper did not seem to have problems with political pressures, probably due to the fact that they did not accept public funding as opposed to La Marina; *"nosaltres en aquest aspecte no podem caure. Estem en un lloc públic, si, però hem de fer la nostra feina com nosaltres concevem que hem de fer la nostra feina. El que no farem es publicar un panfleto".* Another big challenge to face by the newspaper's journalists is *"el nostre servei es parlar sobre la realitat del nostre barri, com que el territori és molt petit la gent pensa que hem de publicar el que ells volen. Això trenca una mica la proximitat, perquè si que som molt proxims, si que jo vull fer el servei de jo com a veïna publicar el que sigui rellevant però el jo com a professional tiene que prevalecer. La proximitat que ens nodreix moltes vegades acaba sent una arma de pressió".*

Sara Torremocha's main motivation for practising journalism is *"m'agrada molt parlar amb la gent, m'agrada molt el contacte amb la població, sortir al carrer i que t'expliquin històries petites, aleshores m'agrada tant que em produeix molta satisfacció i és la meva gran vocació. Crec que en una carrera com el periodisme has de tenir vocació perquè lo que va siendo molt rentable no seria. No pots arribar a grans reconeixements, però és la meva forma d'entendre el periodisme"*.

She thinks *"el futur del periodista està molt complicat però també depèn dels parametres que una persona tingui de l'èxit. Jo no aspiro a ser un super gran periodista super reconeguda. Per a mi el gran reconeixement és sortir amb una carxofa i preguntar a la gent. És molt complicat, si que és molt complicat"*, again seeing the practice of journalism as giving voice to the modest peoples while accepting the difficult situation that journalism is going through.

Torremocha has been working with La Marina for four years, all through her studying her degree although she took her compulsory professional training at SER Catalunya. She studied journalism at Universitat Pompeu Fabra finishing in June 2014. She also is not a member of the *Col·legi de Periodistes de Catalunya*.

Her view of the use of the word immigrant in media is very interesting and shows understanding of the capacity of media to shape ideas; *"jo intento resoldre aquests aspectes perquè la societat té molts condicionaments de caràcter racista que està fomentats per institucions que intenten cercar en ells uns culpables. En una conjuntura econòmica com l'actual es fomenta la competència entre les persones que som iguals, es fomenta que l'altra és el culpable de la meva situació. Fins a quin punt és important parlar de si una persona és immigrant si ha comés un delictes? De vegades no ho és. Serveix per a contextualitzar o per a perpetuar un estigma que ja està vinculat a determinats col·lectius. Nosaltres intentem no caure en certs estereotips. Jo no crec que sigui rellevant parlar d'immigrant"*.

The difficulty reaching out to immigrants and using them as sources to talk about themselves is a common situation in all the newspapers. However Sara Torremocha points out a possible situation created by the media itself; *"hi ha unes persones que estàn disposades a fer-ho. Però també jo crec que tenen molta pressió social perquè*

han de respondre bé. Se'ls posa a l'extrem i no se'ls fa partíceps d'una situació mediàtica, en el moment que surtien van a ser dardos. El veïns de vegades han trucat per a que els facin fora i a mi em veuen com ells, com al seu enemic. S'intenta treballar en això". Hence the immigrants see the newspaper as the local's voice and do not feel included making it harder for La Marina to use them as sources and incorporate them as readers or as advertisers as well.

La Marina is in a special location when it comes to the situation and the image of immigration since the CIE (the Foreigners Internation Centre) is located within the district. This affects the vision of the immigration and the possible topics the newspaper can deal with when talking about the immigration, giving a lot of coverage to the CIE. This is the opinion of Sara Torremoché about the situation of the immigrants in the Marina neighbourhood; *"és una situació complicada. També perquè nosaltres vivim en un barri que presenta una situació socio econòmica molt baixa i aleshores hi ha la tendència de radicalitzar i responsabilitzar de la nostra situació als immigrants. No crec que sigui una situació única del meu barri però. Aquest és un problema amb el que hem de lluitar com a mitjans de comunicació per a trencar els estereotips, ja que com a persones tenim la obligació de fer-ho. El tema del CIE, les associacions de veïns consideraven que se li havia de donar tanta rellevància. Però el CIE està dins del territori de la Zona Franca que està vinculat al nostre barri i s'està parlant de la vulneració dels drets humans a unes persones que són d'origen estranger. S'ha d'imposar una forma de mirar a l'actualitat que no només ens mira a nosaltres, vull dir, com no ens pot afectar el fet que en un centre s'estigui maltractant a determinades persones pel fet de ser estrangers? Com no ens pot importar? Hem de fomentar que siguin importants aspectes de la humanitat. Hem d'ensenyar a la gent a mirar a la comunitat com és, una comunitat formada per moltes persones de cultures i orígens diferents".*

7.5. Analysis of the results from the interviews

The interviews were divided in four different sections covering four different aspects of interest for this research. The first section covered the history and the characteristics of the newspapers, asking questions about the origins and the current situation of the newspaper. The second section of the interview covered journalistic routines of the neighbourhood newspapers and questions about the way news articles are produced, schedules, sources, quality control, autonomy and use of new technologies. The next section tried to unearth values, opinions and attitudes towards journalism with questions regarding proximity journalism, mainstream journalism, the main problems in journalism, autonomy, qualifications and professional trajectory. The last section covered the relationship between the newspaper and the immigration. The results were shown to the journalists and a discussion about the depiction of this collective was engaged.

These interviews provided with a wide understanding of the professional situations, from practices and attitudes to structural and environmental characteristics, and helped revealing the causes of the immigrants' portrayals. This information, along with the results from the semiotic analysis, the content analysis and the historical background, will allow for a deep understanding of the journalistic field of the neighbourhood press of Barcelona.

The results will be presented by section, focusing on the essential parts of the discourse.

Historical review and formal structures

It is very important for the social field analysis to know and understand the historical context and the formal structures of the objects of study, in this case the four neighbourhood newspapers of Barcelona, since these characteristics show and explain current constraints and help understand and contextualise the interviewee's discourses.

The four newspapers were founded in a span of seven years. La Marina and El Raval were founded in 1994, being the first one another medium within the AMCL (Local Media Association), an association that also supports a radio station, while El Raval was

founded as the medium for the humanist movement of the Raval. Although La Marina has kept the same status all through these years El Raval was refounded into an unaffiliated newspaper in the year 2000 and was solely owned by Javier Alegría. Two of the AMCL's purposes were to reestablish the right name of the neighbourhood of the zone and to help the neighbours with the problems of the moment, at the time mainly drugs. Zona Sec was founded in 1997 under the idea of it being a medium for the neighbours to communicate. By the year 2000, after adding a staff of journalists, Zona Sec was already a newspaper with the main purpose of informing its readers. La Barceloneta was founded in 2001 with the idea of giving a communicational space to the people of the neighbourhood. In fact the first number published a sort of history of the neighbours of the Barceloneta. La Barceloneta was founded under the guide of El Raval, both newspapers share characteristics and have shared articles in the past. It is important to stress the idea that three of the four newspapers, La Marina, Zona Sec and la Barceloneta, were founded under the premise of serving as a medium for the neighbours to communicate and express their voice as well as a way to unite and cohere their respective neighbourhoods. Another important aspect is the idea that all four newspapers are committed to improving the physical medium of the newspaper by offering more pages and going from black and white to colour.

Three of the four newspapers have a small workforce. El Raval and La Barceloneta are published by only one person, Javier Alegría and Esther Marín respectively. Zona Sec in its turn is published by a slightly bigger staff, three journalists, a director and a sales representative. The odd one in this case is La Marina, which has a much bigger workforce with nineteen people publishing the newspaper. However only three of them are qualified as journalists whereas the rest are studying journalism, photography or collaborating. La Marina also has a bigger structure as a member of the AMCL which allows for a transfer of journalists and collaborators between the radio station and the newspaper.

The four newspapers place great importance in the autonomy and independence of their medium. They intend to do that by funding the newspaper through the neighbourhood commerce and not through public funding, which might compromise its independence and autonomy from the political field. However, again, La Marina does receive funding

from the council and their headquarters are in a civic centre which is publicly owned, although its main way of funding is through the neighbourhood commerce as well. This way to fund the newspaper creates a somewhat financial instability that reverts on the low or non-existent wages of their journalists.

These two situations sometimes put a strain on the relationships between public institutions and the newspapers. El Raval, La Barceloneta and Zona Sec are very conscious of their relationship with public institutions, working with them but not for them and sometimes feeling the weight of political retaliation as in the case of La Barceloneta. As for La Marina, their situation is slightly more complicated although a conscious effort to not succumb to possible political pressures is always kept.

Journalistic routines and practices

An essential way to understand the social field of the neighbourhood journalists of Barcelona is through learning the journalistic routines and practices developed in the process of publishing the newspapers. These routines and practices might show specific characteristics linked to the formal structures or to the values and opinions of the journalist. Values and opinion that are discerned in the next section of the interview.

The publishing schedule is very similar in the four newspapers. Here the formal structure affects the way the newspapers may be published. There are two different groups when it comes to the schedule, both due to different formal characteristics. El Raval and La Barceloneta can be found in the first group. Two newspapers published by solely one person each. The first week is a week of distribution. The second week is a week of meetings, payments from the ads, and gathering information. The third week is when the editing begins and by the fourth week this editing is in full motion to publish the newspaper by the end of the month. The case of Zona Sec and La Marina, without being completely different, has some distinctive characteristics. The first week starts with a meeting to evaluate the last issue and think of the next one. The second and third weeks are weeks in which the journalists work alone. Finally the fourth week is when all the editing takes place.

This same division in groups is maintained in the elaboration of the editorial articles. Again the formal characteristics affect this elaboration for the simple fact that two

newspapers have staff and two do not. Zona Sec and La Marina hold meetings in which the editorial article and the subject of it are discussed among the journalists, in the case of Zona Sec, and among the director and the chiefs of content in the case of La Marina. As seen the editorial article is not the decision of one person but an agreement by several people. The case of El Raval and La Barceloneta differs from the case of Zona Sec and La Marina. In this situation, and because these newspapers are only published by one person, the editorial articles are written and decided by Javier Alegría and Esther Marín respectively.

Only La Marina has a stylebook, although outdated and in need of renewal. The other newspapers rely, in the case of Zona Sec, on the proximity of the journalists, that is, it is easy to reach a somewhat informal agreement when there are only three journalists, or rely on the lack of journalistic knowledge, as is the case of El Raval and La Barceloneta. The same goes for quality controls. Zona Sec and La Marina rely on the knowledge of their journalists and a process of shared control whereas El Raval and La Barceloneta trust the articles they publish.

Sources are usually found through the profound knowledge of the neighbourhood the journalists work in. One thing the four journalists had in common was the knowledge of the neighbourhood and the amount of hours spent in it. Most of the time the sources are found through knowing who to ask by just knowing the neighbourhood. However, Jordi Molina from Zona Sec did stress the need for specialised sources and the resources of the journalist, depending a bit less on the knowledge of the neighbourhood.

As for the use of technology by the newspapers, it might be regarded as scarce. Both El Raval and La Barceloneta offer the newspaper as a pdf through a blog and an Issuu account. Zona Sec does have a website, it is used however, merely as a digital platform of the physical newspaper. The only one of the four newspapers that uses a website and offers regular updated content is La Marina, which places great importance in this digital tool.

This knowledge of the neighbourhood is reached by spending a great amount of hours in it and not, in three of the four cases, by living in it. Only Sara Torremocha from La Marina lived in the neighbourhood. Jordi Molina, Javier Alegría and Esther Marín do

not live in Poble-sec, Raval and Barceloneta. It is important to mention that Javier Alegría lives in a contiguous neighbourhood and Esther Marín grew up in Barceloneta. Living or not living in the neighbourhood might affect the sense of membership, or belonging, to the specific neighbourhood. Only in the case of Zona Sec the journalist might not feel this sense of belonging since the other three journalists, even in those cases of residence in other neighbourhood, do feel a sense of attachment to the neighbourhood they cover.

Beliefs and values

Not only the journalistic routines are important to understand the journalistic processes, the beliefs and values regarding journalism that neighbourhood journalists hold also bring up important information that complements the more practical routines. That is, the values and the routines, in conjunction, might explain the approach to journalism by the neighbourhood journalists.

This section started off with a question regarding the journalists' opinion regarding proximity journalism. Two distinctive groups could be seen throughout this whole section. The first one with Jordi Molina from Zona Sec and Sara Torremocha from La Marina and the second one with Javier Alegría from El Raval and Esther Marín from La Barceloneta. The first group had a clear opinion over proximity journalism. Jordi Molina understands it as a great school and as a way to give voice to collective that would not be heard otherwise whereas Sara Torremocha thinks proximity journalism is the best expression of journalism, its purest form. However, Javier Alegría did not have an opinion and the main differences he could see were formal, differences in budget and periodicity. Esther Marín understood proximity journalism as close to its readers, which is not a very elaborate way to explain the concept of proximity.

The four journalists share the same concern over mainstream journalism. Their main concern was over autonomy of the journalists working in mainstream media and the relationship of these media with the field of power. However, each one of them had a specific concern that showed their values towards journalism. Jordi Molina worried that journalism might compromise its value as a democratic tool, Javier Alegría thought

media should inform without a trace of opinion, showing nothing but facts, Sara Torremocha understood mainstream journalism as ambitious and focused on too big issues and Esther Marín thought there is too much information and a lack of quality control. These concerns were linked to real situations that worried the journalists regarding the future of journalism. Self employment was a way forward for Jordi Molina to stay in the journalistic sector. He doubted whether self employment was beneficial for the profession but had no doubt it was what the current situation demanded. Sara Torremocha was afraid the current demand of instantaneous news diminishes the quality of journalism, which is linked to the concerns Javier Alegría had towards the new technologies and the relationship between the readers and these new technologies. Esther Marín's concern was in a way similar although, like Alegría's concern it focused on the reader side. She was afraid these new technologies enable readers to say anything they want and use them for their own benefit. This is one of the reasons for which La Barceloneta does not have an online version of the newspaper.

These differences might be explained by the fact that Jordi Molina and Sara Torremocha are qualified journalists, with degrees issued by Universitat de Vic and Universitat Pompeu Fabra, whereas Javier Alegría studied psychology and Esther Marín literature and history. Both groups are seen again in the motives of their involvement with proximity journalism. Molina and Torremocha have strong beliefs and vocation on this type of journalism whereas Alegría sees his role as journalist as merely a job and Marín pretends to inform from a strictly neutral point of view with no formal education regarding journalism.

Immigrants' depiction

Finally, the last section deals with the depiction of immigrants by the neighbourhood newspapers. This set of questions started off with a review of the results of the content analysis with three of the four journalists. By the time the interview with Sara Torremocha was carried out the results from La Marina's content analysis were not available yet due to problems gathering the sample. It is also worth noting that reviewing the results with the neighbourhood journalists was a very useful suggestion of

Dr. Krippendorff. These questions allowed for an understanding of the results of the content analysis and a discussion of the reasons for these results.

Jordi Molina blames the lack of importance of the news and the low visibility to several factors. The first one was the formal problems of the newspaper in terms of sections and stability of the sections. Zona Sec did not, for a long time, have clear sections. This lack of sections made it hard for the journalists to have a clear idea of the real importance of some news. The lack of knowledge on intercultural treatment of news is another factor that led to a low visibility and stereotyping processes. According to Molina the journalists simply did not know how to deal with these news. Finally, the last factor deals with the temporal proximity to the immigration wave. That is, it was hard for the newspaper to actually see the positive results of the cohabitation and focused on fighting the negative stereotypes. In general it is hard for the newspaper to approach immigrants as these do not generally read or participate in it.

El Raval started publishing a section dedicated exclusively to immigration in 2006. According to Javier Alegría the increase of immigrants explains the increase of visibility and the creation of the section. He explains the frames used by his newspaper as not a way to stereotype immigrants but as a way to point out their problems. He believes immigrants are not a problem, immigrants have problems, and some of them are a consequence of the process of migration. That is why he encourages the use of the word immigrant, as a way to simply state this process in a first level of analysis. As for the relationship between the newspaper and the immigrants collective, the number of shops and businesses that contribute to the newspaper with an ad is around 10%, a low percentage that has caused him problems with other shop owners.

It was not possible to discuss the results of the content analysis with Sara Torremocha due to problems with the process of gathering the sample. However, Torremocha did have an elaborated discourse regarding immigration. She believes media can easily stereotype the immigrants as the ones to blame for different situations in the society and she tries to fight these stereotyping processes. At the same time she finds difficulties reaching immigrants because of linguistic problems but also because of cohabitation problems as she is seen as another native that wants to blame them instead of as a journalist. Also, the CIE (Foreigners International Centre) distorts the whole discussion

about immigrants and affects its covering since it is an important source of conflict within the neighbourhood.

Finally, La Barceloneta, was the newspaper with the weakest discourse about the immigration. Esther Marín believes the percentage of immigrants is small and not very relevant, even though the percentage of Barceloneta almost doubles the Barcelona one. For her immigrants are hard to reach because of a lack of organisation around associations. She believes associations would make it easier for her to give voice to immigrants the same way other organisations publish in her newspaper, but at the same time she is critical with the immigrants and thinks they should seek being published instead of waiting for her to approach them. She understands this seeking as a sign of integration. She has no ads from immigrant shops or businesses but knows some people within this collective do read the newspaper.

It is clear that, as shown in this analysis, the formal characteristics of the newspapers condition their relationship with the political institutions as well as their internal organisation. The lack of power of these newspapers forces them to walk a fine line in regards their relationship with the political institutions both in terms of their financial situation, no or little public funding but publishing paid ads by the council, and in terms of access to information. Their internal organisation is also conditioned by their formal characteristics, this is, because of their size and lack of funds the newspapers with staff pay nothing or very little to their journalists and this same characteristics allow for a newspaper to be published by one person. The studied newspapers can be clearly separated in two distinct groups. In the first group, with Zona Sec and La Marina, the newspapers follow journalistic routines purposefully closer to the routines of mainstream media, this is, meetings, hierarchy and a journalistic knowledge due to their education which, at the same time, allows them to have founded opinions regarding proximity and mainstream journalism. The second group, with El Raval and La Barceloneta, is only published by one person each newspaper which does not grant a very journalistic approach to the publishing routines, and the lack of formal education in journalism of both publishers makes them not have founded opinions, or have none at all, over proximity and mainstream journalism. However, both groups are concerned about the autonomy and independence of both journalists and their newspapers. Finally,

this same distinction is also seen towards the immigrants' depiction. The first group, with Zona Sec and La Marina, is critical with the journalists' approach to the portrayal of immigration, both self-critical, accepting gaps and holes in their depiction, and critical of mainstream media. The second group, El Raval and La Barceloneta, has no real opinion on the journalists' depiction of immigrants. Nonetheless, the differences in the approach to the immigrants' depiction of the four studied newspapers may be explained by the distinct perceptions and environments in which the journalists are immersed.

CONCLUSIONS

General analysis of the results

As explained, different methods are designed to answer different questions and goals. The results from the three different methods give clear results and successfully provide answers that help explain the different goals the research had set.

The first goal was to see which frames are used by the neighbourhood press of Barcelona when referring to immigrants. In this case two different methods were used. The semiotic analysis provided with the foundations for the frame analysis, which was carried out with the content analysis in order to understand the salience of these *frames*. **The semiotic analysis offered four different and statistically significant frames. These frames are: Source of Concern, Victims, Source of Change and Neighbours.** ‘Source of Concern’ refers to situations in which the immigrants find themselves in hazardous and problematic circumstances, such as using social services, but also in which they are regarded as a possible problem. ‘Victims’ clearly portrays immigrants as victims of rumours, acts or policies that affect them directly. ‘Source of Change’ is a definition in which immigrants are given the power to drive change into society, or given a task to fix some of the foster society's problems, such as low birth rates. The *frame* ‘Neighbours’ depicts the immigrants in situations in which they act as another character of the neighbourhood disregarding the fact that they are immigrants. Other *frames* were unearthed through the content analysis, *frames* that were discussed in the content analysis results. These four *frames* remained the *frames* of reference although **the *frame* Criminals proved of importance as well.** As it was shown in the content analysis results, 52.7% of the *frames* referred to difficult or hazardous situations, only counting in this case the *frames* Source of Concern and Victims due to their statistical significance. The figure increases to 60.8% when the *frames* Criminals, Non Integrated and Illegal Immigrants are added. However, in a 26.6% of the articles was the Neighbours *frame* used. When compared to the articles by Checa and Arjona (2011), and Cheng et al. (2014) some differences may be observed. In the first place negative *frames* represent the 69% and the 61.4% of the *frames* respectively, whereas our investigation shows a 60.8%. As for positive *frames*, it is important to point out the increase between the 21% found in Checa and Arjona (2011) and the 26.6% of

Neighbours *frames* found in this investigation, a finding along the lines with those of Cheng et al. (2014), with a percentage of positive *frames* of 25.1%. If the *frame* Solidary is added to the *frame* Neighbours the percentage rises to 27%. **These findings do suggest that proximity induces a less negative *framing* and possibly a more positive one.**

Again the theoretical characteristics of the proximity press should foster understanding between groups and democratic discussions as well as participation. It is clear that the higher use of negative *frames*, even if from a positive standpoint, this is, *frames* that do not pretend to discriminate but try to help, still stereotypes immigrants reproducing certain elite discourses (van Dijk, 1988, 1991). Proximity press, as all media, has the power to create ideas and attitudes over a less powerful group or institution (van Dijk, 1994, 1995). It is true though that due to its size, reach and formal characteristics, proximity press cannot be understood as mainstream press and it, as it was shown in an earlier chapter, responds to a particular set of attributes (Ahva, 2012; Faina, 2012; Ferreira et al, 2011; Fontcuberta, 1997; Kaufhold et al., 2010; McDevitt, 2003) but it is also true that it shares some mechanisms of reproduction of elite discourses, like *white perspective* or *social cognition* among others, with mainstream media (van Dijk, 1991, 1993b). *Framing* promotes a particular interpretation of a given fact that leads people into thinking about a certain something in a certain way thus drawing predictable conclusions (Entman, 2007; Fryberg et al., 2011; Gross & D'Ambrosio, 2004; Iyengar, 1990). Hence the use of certain *frames*, such as Source of Concern and Victims, but others like Criminals or Source of Change as well, lead people into thinking of the immigrants as people that need help, as some kind of infantilised people. Even though mainstream media stereotype immigrants using negative *frames* (Bauder, 2008; Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2007; Brader, Suhay & Valentino, 2008; Catto, Gorman, & Higgins, 2010; Checa & Arjona, 2011; Cheng et al., 2010; Igartua et al., 2004; Rodrigo & Martínez, 1997;) and **our results show that proximity press use positive *frames*, both types of press stereotype immigrants.** The fact that an immigrant is regarded as anything other than just a neighbour of the neighbourhood is a stereotyping of a group of people, understanding that through mechanisms of subtle prejudice in which there is a rejection of negative stereotypes towards the out-group and an explicit or implicit assignment of positive stereotypes towards the in-group

(Echebarría & Gonzales, 1996; Echebarría & Fernández, 2003; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995, 1997, 2001). In the case of the neighbourhood press of Barcelona these positive stereotypes are not explicit although clearly implied. However, when compared to the findings of Elsrud (2008), it is clear that the neighbourhood press of Barcelona is not trying to portray an ideal type of citizen of its neighbourhood by comparison with the immigrants. This *framing* process highlights the lack of control that immigrants have over the discourses that define them (van Dijk, 1989, 1993a, 1995, 1999). Immigrants are defined through the process of *framing*, a process controlled by the journalists and reinforced by the fact that in the majority of occasions immigrants are not given the opportunity to be an active part of the news by being seldom quoted which also highlights the power relationships between the in-group and the out-group (van Dijk, 1989, 1991, 1994, 1999). If immigrants need to be helped it is clear that it will be the in-group, the *us*, the ones to provide help, even though the in-group is also the one that caused the problem in the first place, carrying out an apparent process of *otherness* (Rodrigo, 2000, 2006, n/d). **To sum up, where proximity press should be treating immigrants as neighbours it is reproducing mechanisms that still stereotype immigrants, where proximity press should include immigrants in this general *us* it is still excluding them as an out-group, as the others, although, proximity seems to help reducing the effects of these mechanisms.**

The second goal was to see the degree of visibility of the immigration and the immigrants in the neighbourhood press. As it was reviewed in the state of the art, visibility is of key importance because of its potential to foster good understanding between communities and groups and decrease the level of prejudices through what is known as extended contact. Findings regarding this subject have shown that the higher the visibility and the contact the lower the anti-immigrant attitudes and prejudices (Boomgarden & Vliegthart, 2009; Koopmans & Olzak, 2004, Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew et al, 2011; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005a, 2005b). The neighbourhood press, as part of civic and public journalism and proximity press, has a set of characteristics and logics that allow for a wider coverage of their citizens. This type of press, due to this set of characteristics, can initiate on board democratic discussions and processes, engaging citizens in these public processes and discussions, challenge traditional journalism and focus on hyper-local topics (Ahva, 2012; Faina,

2012; Ferreira et al, 2011; Kaufhold et al., 2010). In neighbourhoods where immigration represents between 13.6% up to almost 50% of the total population a high visibility of immigrants should be expected. However, given these characteristics it is surprising to find that **immigration does not have, in fact, a high visibility in the neighbourhood press of Barcelona**. Theoretically these people, namely the immigrants, should be considered just neighbours by the newspapers and be granted, as a rule of thumb, the correct visibility in proportion to their presence within the neighbourhood. Surprisingly though, immigration is still given a low visibility in three of the four newspapers. La Marina published a total of 29 news articles, Zona Sec 27 news articles and La Barceloneta 12 news articles in the span of seven years. It is clear that a maximum of 27 articles in seven years cannot be considered high visibility in a neighbourhood where immigration represents the 13.6% of the population. Zona Sec and La Barceloneta offered an even lower visibility taking into account the percentage of immigrant population and the number of articles regarding this topic. There is a 30.6% rate of immigration in Poble-Sec and 30.6% again in La Barceloneta and only 27 and 12 news articles respectively regarding immigrants. There is an average of less than one article per month regarding immigration and they are often linked to *real-world events* such as the Taula per la Convivència in Zona Sec or problems with the CIE (Foreigners Internation Centre) in La Marina, which is important to point out taking into account the findings of Vliegienthaart and Bloomgarden (2007) where these *real-world events* are used as journalistic prototypes and help these subjects pass the news threshold. If the number of articles is taken into account to contextualise the visibility it is clear that it is very low. La Barceloneta published 15 articles in January 2012, La Marina 13 and Zona Sec 25 in the same month of 2012. Assuming the number of articles remains more or less constant in 2012 La Barceloneta published 180 articles, La Marina 143 and Zona Sec 275. In that year three articles were published by La Marina and three more by Zona Sec regarding immigration, which represents a 1.7% and a 1.1% of the total of articles published. La Barceloneta did not even publish an article in 2012. On the contrary, El Raval does give higher visibility to immigration in their newspaper. Immigrants are a very big group of the population in El Raval, representing 50% of the population, and they are granted monthly visibility in a section of the newspaper, for a total of 137 news articles, starting with a low visibility in the years 2000, 2002 and 2004

and increasing in 2006 with the creation of the *Inmigrantes* section. Despite this higher visibility, it is clear that reducing almost half of the population in a neighbourhood to merely a section means stereotyping and reducing a big collective to an *outer group*, and it is clearly a form of *otherness*. If immigration is understood as a *social position* (Calvet, 2004; Parella, 2003, 2005) which carries along a high number of *stereotypes* reinforced by media (Abu-Laban & Garber, 2005; Bernárdez, 2007; Martínez-Brawley & Gualda, 2009; Rodrigo, 2006; Zanfrini, 2004) strong links with the concept of a *stigma* (Goffman, 1963) can easily be accepted. Hence El Raval is applying a *virtual social identity* through the process of *cognitive recognition*. This is, El Raval is prescribing immigrants an identity, with the tag *Inmigrantes* as the header of the section that might not be the *actual social identity*, the identity that people recognise in themselves (Goffman, 1963). **El Raval clearly misses out a chance to help and foster a natural inclusion and integration within the neighbourhood** by defining a group of people which infers two differentiated groups, the in-group and the out-group (Howarth, 2002; Nicolinni, 1999) which in turn carries along a status stratification (Echebarría & Fernández, 2003; Echebarría & Gonzales, 1996;).

The third goal had to do with the journalistic field. The social field of journalism is, as any other social field, a space of social positions determined by common practices and assumptions, a social world patterned with regularities that allow to predict to a certain extent social responses and are hierarchically structured while, at the same time, structuring (Benson, 2005, 2006; Bourdieu, 1987, 1991, 2005; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2005; Krause, 2011; Thomson, 2008). Fields have their own rules and norms that create homogeneity within the field (Benson, 2006; Compton & Benedetti, 2010) and that position the agents by weighing their social, cultural and economic capital (Dickinson & Memon, 2012). The journalistic field is a struggle between commercial journalism and pure journalism (Bourdieu, 1994), a struggle often lost by pure journalism (Bourdieu, 1997, 2005). The fact that commercial journalism is, in many cases, the dominant force within the journalistic field helps this field to lay within the dominated fields, this is, a field controlled by the economic field. As part of the bigger field of cultural production the journalistic field mostly lies on the right side of this field, the one produced for general audiences, whereas the left side maintains some degree of autonomy because it produces for a restricted audience (Benson, 1999, 2006; Bourdieu, 1994; Thomson,

2008). This creates a growing contradiction between the necessity of making journalism profitable and maintaining the correct intellectual work (Champagne, 2005), which has led to a small autonomy of the journalistic field in front of the field of power, being subjected to the economic field and the strains of the market by accepting the demands of scoops and competence (Benson, 2009; Bourdieu, 1994, 2005).

The interviews with the journalists of the neighbourhood newspapers clearly highlighted the contradictions and differences between the mainstream journalism and the proximity journalism in terms of the social field. The newspapers Zona Sec and La Marina are two newspapers with a semi professionalised structure, with qualified journalists, division of labour and hierarchy, even if flexible, whereas El Raval and La Barceloneta have a completely different structure having no qualified journalists and being published by just one person. These differences cause different discourses and attitudes towards journalism. As seen in the interviews analysis, Zona Sec and La Marina journalists have an elaborate and critical discourse about journalism, with a high concern about the independence and autonomy of their newspapers. Their concerns regard the social responsibility of journalism and the importance of free information in a modern society. El Raval and La Barceloneta have a rather simple discourse about journalism, improvised at times even, but they still maintain a high concern about the independence and autonomy of their newspapers. However, this concern shows an interest about their work rather than a responsibility towards the implication of journalists and the importance of free information as it is shown by their lack of discourse in that matter.

This shared concern about the independence and autonomy of their newspapers by the four journalists, and the active moves and actions to keep them the way they are, such as not accepting public funding even when in need (with the exception of La Marina, which receives public funding although it is not the biggest source of economic resources), positions this press clearly **on the left side of the *field of cultural production*, on the border of the journalistic field. It shows a great distance between the journalists and the field of power**, and in the case of La Marina where there is contact, big concerns and worries arise. However, this distance was felt at times through retaliations by the political institutions according to La Barceloneta and La Marina. However, this position in the *field of cultural production* does not stop the

newspapers from using stereotypes, even if the stereotypes are still explained by their position in the *field of cultural production*.

Final conclusions

It is clear, after reviewing the results and analysing the implications that the neighbourhood press, and assuming that the peculiarities of the four newspapers can be extrapolated to a certain extent to the proximity press because of the match in the theoretical characteristics, does imply a higher degree of positive frames than the mainstream press. Checa and Arjona (2011) found a 21% of positive frames in their research while Román, García and Álvarez (2011) found a 19.09% of positive articles. Two similar figures even though it must be said that Román, García and Álvarez focused of immigrant women whereas Checa and Arjona studied immigrants as a whole. In both cases the object of study was mainstream press. When compared to the 27% of the use of the Neighbour and Solidary *frames*, which are the *frames* that better match the purpose of the positive *frames* of the two aforementioned researches, the pattern is clear, and it is in tune with the findings of Cheng et al. (2014), with a 25.1% of positive *frames* in regional press of Castilla and León. **Proximity implies a higher degree of positive frames.** In the same sense, mainstream newspapers have a higher degree of negative *frames*, 69% in the case of Checa and Arjona's research and 80.91% in Román, García and Álvarez's case. Interestingly the number of negative *frames* declines in the case of the regional press of Castilla and León, which represent a 61.4%. The negative *frames* in the studied neighbourhood press represents a 60.8%, which is a substantial decrease of negative *frames* from mainstream press, especially if the fact that, although the *frames* might be negative the newspapers regularly take the immigrants's side, is taken into account. The results align with those of Cheng et al. (2014). Again, as seen through the results and when these are compared to other findings, **proximity implies a more positive framing but also, and perhaps more importantly, less negative frames.** Or put it in a different way, while elite newspapers tend to show immigration as a problem (Rodrigo, 1997) proximity press see immigration in a different light. In fact it can be said that proximity, which in this case clearly implies contact, fosters understanding and reduces negative feelings towards the

out-group (Boomgarden & Vliegenthart, 2009; Checa & Arjona, 2011; Koopmans & Olzak, 2004, Pettigrew, 1998; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew et al, 2011; Tropp & Pettigrew, 2005a, 2005b). This fostering can be seen in situations as shown by Catto, Gorman and Higgins (2010), with mainstream press propagating inaccurate views linking immigrants to diseases. In this situation the studied neighbourhood newspapers openly fought rumours, misinterpretations and blatant lies regarding immigrants with sections and articles in which these myths and rumours were debunked. Sections like Rumores, found in El Raval, with articles debunking rumours about immigration, and reports trying to portray accurately the state of some immigrants in regards certain situations, like unemployment, not blaming them but contextualising, are good examples.

However, Torun Elsrud (2009) shows a strong process of *othering* in local newspapers in Kalmar, Sweden, placing great importance on the negative side of this process through brutalising the immigrant. It is clear, following these results that comparative research between countries should be carried out in order to reach a better understanding of the reasons behind these divergences. These distinctions are probably due to political, cultural and economic differences, however, the fact that the four studied neighbourhoods are historically immigrants' neighbourhoods should also be considered. In the case of Elsrud's research (2009) the results are similar to the research carried out by Concepción, Rodrigo and Medina (2008). What is surprising though is the fact that Elsrud researched local newspapers and Concepción, Rodrigo and Medina studied a mainstream newspaper, which contradicts the findings of our investigation. However, in terms of processes of *othering*, it is clear that well intended discourses, such as the neighbourhood newspapers', also create *stereotypes* (Rodrigo, 2006). **Hence the importance of the *frame* Neighbours, 26.6%, as a neutral *frame* that disregards the origin of the characters and focuses on the situation.**

As for the visibility it has been shown how three of the studied neighbourhood newspapers clearly miss out on the chance to offer more visibility. **La Barceloneta, La Marina and Zona Sec offer a very small visibility to a big portion of their population.** Using, in the case of Zona Sec and La Marina, very discernible *real world events*, such as the Taula per la Convivència and the CIE (Foreigners Internation

Centre), as a way to talk about the immigrants. These events openly raised the prominence and salience of the subject in the newspapers and, as Vliegthart and Boomgaarden (2007) pointed out, not following up with *real world developments*. These *real world events*, and the salience that they carry along, clearly linked to specific situations, also have an important role in the process of *othering*. This process of *othering* can be seen through two different approaches within the four studied neighbourhood newspapers. In the first place the low visibility and the linkage to certain *real world events* creates a *social representation* (Rodrigo, 2006) that can be, in terms of visibility, compared to the attitude found in the mainstream press. This *social representation*, which trails a big number of *stereotypes* that are bolstered by media (Abu-Laban & Garber, 2005; Bernárdez, 2007; Martínez-Brawley & Gualda, 2009; Rodrigo, 2006; Zanfrini, 2004), enhances and promotes the process of *othering* since the situations in which immigrants are portrayed cannot be felt as personal situations by non immigrants in Barcelona. Regarding the second approach, the one carried out by **El Raval, the creation of the section *Inmigrantes* reduces half of the population of a neighbourhood to a simple section of the newspaper not allowing for a more in depth representation of a massive portion of the Raval neighbourhood** that might not have many things in common other than their social position as immigrants (Calvet, 2004; Parella, 2003, 2005). El Raval, by alloying 50% of its population under the tag *Inmigrantes*, adscribes a *virtual social identity* as a result of the course of *cognitive recognition* (Goffman, 1963). A process reinforced by the high visibility given to immigrants due to having an entire section devoted to them in every single issue since 2006. It must be mentioned that El Raval does not use *real world events* as its main means of raising the salience of this particular subject. The necessity of filling up an entire page every month removes the need of these kind of events but it no way negates the use of them.

The interviews suggested that visibility may be linked to the perception of the journalists, especially clear with La Barceloneta, with a 30.6% of immigration and the lowest amount of articles in regards of this topic, where Esther Marín claimed the neighbourhood does not have a high degree of immigrants. However, it is important to take into account the fact that visibility relies upon the amount of channels as well as the inclusion of the message (Koopmans & Olzak, 2004), that is, the number of

channels that talk about a certain issue, in addition to actually talking about it, is part of the process of giving a topic visibility. Hence, the fact that there aren't a big number of regular publications that fit the description of a journalistic publication or a newspaper within these neighbourhoods may help explaining the low visibility in three of the four cases.

The journalistic practices of the four newspapers show distance with the field of power and reinforce the idea of the proximity press positioned on the border of the journalistic field. The fact that two of the four journalists have no journalistic qualifications or any kind of education in this field and show no interest in furthering their theoretical knowledge clearly reinforces this position, diminishing the importance of the work of journalism as something anyone willing to do can do. It is apparent that El Raval and La Barceloneta's journalists are not in possession of the correct habitus or an understanding that journalism requires more than gathering some news and publishing a newspaper. Habitus as a system of dispositions and the link between the field and the practices structures the processes, sets the limits of the fields and limits what is understood as correct behaviour (Bourdieu, 1993, 1996; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2005; Fernández, 2003; Maton, 2008). Neither are they in possession of the correct cultural capital as the symbolic capital that legitimises culture, processes, practices and attitudes (Bourdieu, 1991, 1991; Moore, 2008). It is also clear that this discrepancy between the habitus, their lack of cultural capital and the field of the El Raval and La Barceloneta journalists does not place them outside of the field, but rather on the border of the field, because they reproduce journalistic practices, even if mechanically and not in a theorised way. The structural constraints of the journalists of La Marina and Zona Sec, in terms of time and resources, might affect the journalistic practices but in no way shows a mismatch between their habitus and the field. The accepted journalistic practices are strongly embedded in their journalistic processes, as shown in the interviews, but they are also to a certain extent stretched by the structural constraints, small or non-existent salary for example, which necessarily makes them have to spend time earning money elsewhere. Structure that clearly sets these newspapers on the border of the field, especially again El Raval and La Barceloneta since they are published by just one person, Javier Alegría in the case of El Raval and Esther Marín in the case of La Barceloneta. In both cases their practices involve gathering news or

articles, El Raval from news agencies or other newspapers and La Barceloneta from associations and neighbours, in large part due to their lack of a professionalised structure as well as an active personal approach to journalism, this is, news gathering responds to a sense of practicality as well as an attitude towards newspaper publishing. At this point it is important to bring back the idea that **public journalism engaging in civic activism diminishes its ability to question and its independence (McDevitt, 2003), explaining to a certain extent this reproduction of the framing process.**

Another situation that shows the bordering position of the proximity press is the fact that these newspapers do not follow the norm when talking about immigration. As it has been shown the neighbourhood newspapers use, although stereotypical, good willed frames. As it was also reviewed in the state of art, mainstream newspapers tend to use negative frames when talking about immigration (Bauder, 2008; Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2007; Brader, Suhay & Valentino, 2008; Catto, Gorman, & Higgins, 2010; Checa & Arjona, 2011; Cheng et al., 2014; Igartua et al., 2004; Rodrigo & Martínez, 1997). As Cheng et al. (2014) stated, proximity press has a tendency to be more community service oriented, and this seems to be exactly the case of the studied newspapers. The four journalists, although the discourses varied depending on their journalistic knowledge, had a strong sense of community, which was definitely part of the editorial line and translated into the published issues. Media are constantly looking out for each other thus creating a general consensus of the right approach to a given topic, with ratings and audience research as big mechanisms that increase the importance of the markets (Bourdieu, 1997, 2005), this is, media do not deviate from the norm so as to keep the audience and maintain their ratings. In the case of the proximity press, and particularly in the case of the depiction of immigrants as it has been researched here, this kind of press does not, by using good willed *frames*, follow the general norm. Which shows a **lack of struggle between commercial journalism and pure journalism**. Proximity journalism, although in need of funding and subject to a small degree of constraints by their funders, does not yield to commercial journalism since it is not only distributed for free but they place great importance in maintaining their newspaper independence, sometimes even having problems with their funders, as was the case of El Raval when it was accused of helping immigrants. Other characteristics that show this bordering position are the lack of scoops, publishing

monthly does not allow for a scoop based journalism, as Javier Alegría pointed out when the newspaper comes out everything has already been said, the reproduction of news and articles published by other media, El Raval and La Barceloneta publishing mostly compilations of other medium's and associations's articles, and the difficulty classifying this press within the three models of regional publications (Guillamet, 1983), with a low frequency of publication, a medium sized territorial diffusion and limited contents.

All in all it is easy to distinguish **two clear groups of newspapers in regards to their structural characteristics and their approach to journalism**. In the first group the more professionalised, correctly qualified, theoretically savvy journalists and newspapers are found. These are Zona Sec and La Marina. Newspapers in which the accepted journalistic practices are followed, with notable aforementioned constraints, and where journalists match the habitus required by the field. The second group includes El Raval and La Barceloneta, two newspapers published solely by one person respectively, with no theoretical knowledge of the accepted journalistic practices showing a clear mismatch between the habitus and the field. However, both groups end up stereotyping immigrants through the process of *framing*, although as already mentioned there is a decrease of negative *frames* and an increase of *positive* ones when compared to other researches.

Future research

This research has reached strong and clear conclusions that lead to new questions. These questions may be turned into future researches that may expand and further the knowledge on this particular topic and shed some light to understand more deeply this particular *field* and the practices of these journalists.

Following the lines of this research, and understanding as it was done here that the neighbourhood press of Barcelona is part of the regional Catalan press which is a differentiated type of press, a future line of research would be a comparison between this neighbourhood press and another kind of regional press. This idea follows the work of Rodney Benson and his comparison between the US and the French press and the

questions raised by the research carried out by Elsrud (2009). A comparison between the neighbourhood press of Barcelona and the press of a city like, for example, Birmingham in the United Kingdom, which is similar to Barcelona both in population (1.101.360 for Birmingham and 1.602.386 for Barcelona in 2014) and in percentage of foreigners (22% in Birmingham and 16,7% in Barcelona), might provide useful information so as to understand the nuances of not only journalistic practices in different environments but also the diverse depictions of immigrants.

To carry out the same research but using a different topic, the immigration in this case, might also shed more light upon the journalistic practices of the neighbourhood journalists. The choice of immigration as the subject to study so as to understand the journalistic field of the neighbourhood journalists was justified in the introduction, however, a different topic might also be valid and might help unearth other practices and attitudes.

Another possible line of research could be a study on the reception of the neighbourhood press messages by the neighbours. Although this line might be problematic when studying immigration due to the most probable lack of data regarding readers reception, behaviour and attitudes towards immigrants in the period between the years 2000 and 2012, a specific future event, located in a certain neighbourhood, and lasting for a given period of time, might prove valid, giving information about the actual strength of the message of the neighbourhood press. As Cogo and Huertas et al. (2008) show in their research how migrants see themselves criminalised and stereotyped in mainstream media it would be interesting to compare the reception of the neighbourhood press messages to the reception of the mainstream one.

A particularly interesting question is whether the conclusions reached in this research are limited by the urban environment. Following the works of Saskia Sassen (1998) where cities are presented as an agent attracting immigration, going further than the idea of migration processes being the result of poverty and overpopulation in the countries of origin but instead the result of economic and cultural involvement in a global scale, due to foreign investment and military interventions that create cultural and economic linkages, placing cities as a major factor in this calling effect as transnational agents that create the right situation for industries that employ migrants such as caretaking or

service related jobs. If global cities are an important agent within the migrant processes, and Barcelona may be considered a global city, would the processes of journalists be affected by the urban environment? Would journalists of more rural environments show different practices and attitudes?

A different line that this research may also spawn is the consideration and creation of guidelines to avoid the processes stated here. This researched has shown the stereotyping processes and practices carried out by the proximity press, in this case the most important newspapers of the neighbourhood press of Barcelona. However, it was not the intention of this research to create guide lines to avoid these processes. Future research might focus, instead of on the processes and practices, on the improvement of these and hence create some sort of guidelines to avert the stereotypisation of immigrants.

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ANNEXES

Annex1: Interview guide

Bloc 1 (Introducció, història del diari, característiques del diari i relació amb el barri)

Historia del diari

Relació amb el barri

Qui sin i quants col·laboradors hi ha

Finançament

Relació amb polítics

- Quin any comença el diari?
- Quina era la infraestructura del diari al principi? Numero de pàgines, col·laboradors, com i on s'imprimia
- Quina ha sigut la evolució del diari en aquests anys? Augment de número de pàgines, periodicitat, canvi d'impressor
- Com es reparteix el diari? A quins punts del barri es pot trobar?
- Forma part el diari d'algun grup de comunicació? Quina és la relació amb aquest
- Forma part el diari d'alguna associació de publicacions? Quina és la relació
- Té el diari col·laboradors? Qui son, quants hi ha, com s'estableix la relació, com es fan arribar les col·laboracions, cobren el col·laboradors?
- Quants periodistes treballen al diari? Qui son?
- Quin és el procés de finançament del diari. Hi ha hagut canvis en els anys, baixada dels ingressos degut a la crisi, augment d'aquests els anys abans de la crisi, ajuts públics
- Relació del diari amb les institucions polítiques del barri. Quina és la relació amb l'associació de veïns, amb el regidor del barri, associacions de comerciants, etc.

Bloc 2 (Producció notícies, rutina periodística, diferències premsa de proximitat/premsa generalista)

De quina forma es produeixen les notícies

Rutina periodística

Opinions sobre el periodisme dels grans mitjans

Opinions sobre el periodisme de proximitat

Relació amb els altres diaris de barri i possibles diferències

- Quin és el procés de selecció de les notícies? Organització del temps
- Quan es comença aquest procés tenint en compte que són diaris curts i mensuals, és a dir, el periodista dedica tot el mes a la producció de notícies o només uns certs dies.
- Si hi ha més d'un periodista, quina és la divisió del treball?
- Com s'incorporen i se seleccionen les col·laboracions?
- Qui escriu els editorials?
- Quin és el criteri de selecció de temes dels editorials?
- S'utilitzen llibres d'estil?
- Com s'arriba a les fonts d'informació?
- Com s'utilitzen i es tracten aquestes fonts?
- Quins són els criteris de qualitat i rigor en les notícies?
- Quins són els criteris de contrastació de notícies?
- Quin és el grau de llibertat del diari en l'exercici del periodisme?
Condicionaments polítics i/o econòmics?
- Quin és l'ús de les noves tecnologies per a la difusió del diari?
- Quina és la relació del diari amb la resta de diaris de barri? Hi ha diferències periodístiques, hi ha col·laboracions, contacte?

Bloc 3 (creences i valors del periodista, autocrítica i crítica amb el periodisme)

- Com definiria el periodisme de proximitat?
- Diferències amb el periodisme generalista?
- Quina és la opinió sobre els diaris generalistes?
- Quin és el grau de llibertat del periodisme en l'exercici de la seva feina?
- Quin creu que són els principals problemes amb els que s'enfronta el periodisme en el present i les perspectives de futur?
- Quin creu que són els principals problemes amb els que s'enfronta en l'exercici de la seva feina com a periodista de barri?
- Relació del periodista amb el barri? Hi viu, hi fa vida, etc.
- Està col·legiat el periodista? Forma part d'alguna associació? Opinió sobre el col·legi de periodistes i la seva funció
- Quina és la funció social del periodisme i del periodista?
- Quina és la opinió sobre el mercat laboral del periodista?
- Quina és la motivació principal per a l'exercici del periodisme?
- Quina és la trajectòria professional del periodista?
- Quina és la formació del periodista? Saber si el periodista va estudiar periodisme o no, potser pot explicar en certa forma les opinions respecte al periodisme.

Bloc 4 (resultats investigació, relació immigrants, relació amb el barri)

Opinions sobre els resultats de la investigació

Relació del diari amb els immigrants. Si hi col·laboren, si el llegeixen, etc

Relació del diari amb col·lectius d'immigrants

Relació del diari amb comerciants immigrants

- Vistos els resultats (en principi que es reproduïxen els mateixos comportaments que la premsa generalista però d'es d'un altre punt de vista tot i que no es dirà d'aquesta manera per a no ferir sensibilitats) quina creu que és la raó per la qual

- els immigrants continuen sent estereotipats?
- Perquè s'usa en moltes ocasions el concepte immigrant i un d'altre com podria ser nou vingut, marroquí, bolivià, o simplement veí?
 - Que s'entén per immigrant? Quan s'utilitza la paraula immigrant de que s'està parlant en realitat?
 - Degut a què són els immigrants una font en tan poques ocasions? És difícil parlar amb ells, contactar-los, entendre's per problemes d'idioma, etc.
 - Llegeixen els immigrants el diari?
 - Financen el diari comerços d'immigrants?
 - Col·laboren els immigrants d'alguna forma en el diari? Com a periodista, com a repartidor, com a columnista ocasional, cartes al director, etc.
 - Quina és la relació del diari amb col·lectius d'immigrants? Se'ls fan arribar exemplars del diari, etc.
 - Quina creu que és la situació dels immigrants al barri?
 - Quina és la posició del diari respecte a la situació dels immigrants si n'hi ha (de posició).
 - Quina és la opinió del periodista sobre polítiques migratòries?
 - S'han vist actituds xenòfobes o racistes al barri?
 - Quina creu que és l'actitud del barri respecte als immigrants?
 - Quin creu que és el futur del barri respecte als immigrants?

Annex 2: Fitxa històrico-hemerogràfica: Zona Sec

- Nom de la publicació.

Zona Sec

- Lloc d'edició.

El Poble-sec. Sants-Montjuïc, Barcelona

- Periodicitat.

Mensual

- Llengua o llengües.

Català. Si els articles dels col·laboradors (entitats i/o veïns) estan en castellà no els corregim.

- Data del primer número.

23 d'abril 1997

- Contingut. Urbanisme, interculturalitat, política, opinió, teixit associatiu.

Notícies

Cartes al director

Actualitat

L'entrevista

Economia/Opinió

Entitats

Cultura

Varietés

- Orientació política.

El Zona Sec és un diari crític amb el Govern de la ciutat. Ho ha estat amb el PSC i ho és amb CiU. Dóna veu als moviments socials, entitats, associacions i veïns. Com a objectius principals té fomentar el coneixement entre les diferents associacions del barri.

- Editor.

És una publicació que edita l'entitat sense ànim de lucre ZONA SEC Comunicació. El president és l'Enric Mestres, que també fa de director del diari.

- Director.

Enric Mestres

- Redacció.

Jordi Molina, Ernest Millet, Elena Berlanga, Marta Tello, Enric Mestres

- Col·laboradors habituals.

Xavier Rodríguez, Maribel Craus, Núria Beltrán, Jordi Llaboré, Josep M^a Torremorell, Enric

Ruiz, Castellars Poble Sec, Geganters Poble Sec, Diables Poble Sec

- Impressor.

Gràfiques Canigó

- Format i presentació.

Mides: 29cm d'amplada i 40cm de llargada

- Nombre habitual de pàgines.

Ara 16. abans 24 i 32.

- Tiratge.

6000 exemplars

- Preu de venda

Gratuït

- Edicions extraordinàries.

Dues. En ocasions excepcionals.

- Incidències.

Suspensions.

Multes.

Altres.

- Col·leccions conservades.

A Internet es troba des del número 57.

- Referències.

El diari s'inspira en la premsa de proximitat de Barcelona, que des de fa anys ha contribuït a visibilitzar la indentitat dels seus barris i a retrar el teixit associatiu de la ciutat. Josep Maria Huertas Claveria és el nostre principal referent.

- Observacions.

Pàgina web www.zonasec.cat. El diari forma part de la Taula de Comunicació de Barcelona i de la Coordinadora d'Entitats del Poble-Sec.

Font: Jaume Guillamet i altres: *Catàleg general històric de la premsa en català (1641(1810)-1939)*, Institut d'Estudis Catalans (PT2008-50502-GUILLAMET01)

Annex 3: Fitxa històrico-hemerogràfica: La Barceloneta

- Nom de la publicació.

La Barceloneta

- Lloc d'edició.

Barceloneta, Ciutat Vella, Barcelona

- Periodicitat.

Mensual

- Llengua o llengües.

Català i castellà

- Data del primer número.

Març de l'any 2001

- Contingut.

Foment de Ciutat Vella

Editorial

Informació d'entitats

Opinió

Informació d'entitats esportives

Psicologia

Passatemps

- Orientació política.

- Editor.

Esther Marín

- Director.

Esther Marín

- Redacció.

Esther Marín

- Col·laboradors habituals.

Casal gent gran de la Barceloneta, Associació de veïns de la Barceloneta, T. Fernández, Patricia Serra Arráez, Clun Natació Atlètic la Barceloneta, Club de futbol Barceloneta, Centre Esportiu Marítim, Associació Esportiva Barceloneta, M^a José Hernando, Anna Orench, Vicens Forner

- Format i presentació.

Mides 29cm d'amplada i 40cm de llargada

- Nombre habitual de pàgines

16 pàgines

- Tiratge.

5000 exemplars

- Preu de venda

Gratuit

- Edicions extraordinàries.

- Incidències.

Suspensions.

Multes.

Altres.

- Col·leccions conservades.

A Internet es troba des del número 123

- Referències.

- Observacions.

Pàgina web <http://issuu.com/diaridelabaroneta>

Font: Jaume Guillamet i altres: *Catàleg general històric de la premsa en català (1641(1810)-1939)*, Institut d'Estudis Catalans (PT2008-50502-GUILLAMET01)

Annex 4: Fitxa històrico-hemerogràfica: El Raval

- Nom de la publicació.

El Raval

- Lloc d'edició.

El Raval, Ciutat Vella, Barcelona

- Periodicitat.

Mensual

- Llengua o llengües.

Castellà i Català

- Data del primer número.

Abril 1994

- Contingut.

Editorial

Información actualidad barrial

Foment Ciutat Vella (obras en el barrio)

Inmigración

Actividad de las entidades

Salud

Psicología

En Azulgrana

Un barrio con historia

Humor

- Orientació política.

No en té

- Editor.

Javier Alegría

- Director.

Javier Alegría

- Redacció.

Javier Alegría,

- Col·laboradors habituals.

Fundació Tot Raval, SOS Racisme, Maria Casas, M^a José Hernando, Josep Guzmán, etc

- Impressor.

Imprintsa SCCL

- Format i presentació.

Mides: 29cm d'amplada i 40cm de llargada

- Nombre habitual de pàgines

20

- Tiratge.

5000 exemplars

- Preu de venda

Gratuït

- Edicions extraordinàries.

No

- Incidències. No

Suspensions.

Multes.

Altres.

- Col·leccions conservades.

A Internet des del número 204 d'Abril del 2011 a més de tres exemplars de cada número a la seu del diari i a l'arxiu de Barcelona.

- Referències.

- Observacions.

Pàgina web www.periodicoelraval.blogspot.com

Font: Jaume Guillamet i altres: *Catàleg general històric de la premsa en català (1641(1810)-1939)*, Institut d'Estudis Catalans (PT2008-50502-GUILLAMET01)

Annex 6: Fitxa històrico-hemerogràfica: La Marina

- Nom de la publicació.

La Marina

- Lloc d'edició.

Barris de la Marina, Sants-Montjuïc, Barcelona

- Periodicitat.

Mensual

- Llengua o llengües.

Català

- Data del primer número.

Gener 1994

- Contingut.

Mirades

Tema del mes

Opinió

Salut

Actualitat

La Marina del Comerç Associat

Agenda

Cultura

Motor

Esports

Comunicació

- Orientació política.

Publicació independent

- Editor.

Associació de Mitjans de Comunicació Local (AMCL)

- Coordinador general

Juan Antonio Reyes

- Redacció i fotografia

Eva Albiol, Dani Fernández, Agustín Forteza, Carla Genís, Jordi Gispert, Sònia Maza, Martí

Molina, Tomás Morgenstern, Carla Palomo, Sara Torremocha, Rafel Vidal i Iris Vieiros

- Col·laboradors habituals.

Ramon Anglés, Felipe Ayala, Juan Bibián, José-Manuel González, David Gràcia NO, Oriol Granados, Anna T. Herrera, Mertxe Liroz NO, Pepe Caracoles "Macondo", Antoni Pons, Carlos Reyes, Míryam Reyes, Xavier Sanz, Albert Soler i M. Jesús Valderas

- Impressor.

Gest XXI

- Format i presentació.

Mides: 29cm d'amplada i 40cm de llargada

- Nombre habitual de pàgines

16 pàgines

- Tiratge.

6000 exemplars

- Preu de venda

Gratuït

- Edicions extraordinàries.

Edició especial Festa Major de la Marina (juny). 20 pàgs + 4 de suplement especial

Edició especial Nadal (desembre). 24 pàgs

- Incidències.

Suspensions.

Multes.

Altres.

- Col·leccions conservades.

Tota la col·lecció

- Referències.
- Observacions.

Pàgina web www.lamarinadigital.org

Font: Jaume Guillamet i altres: *Catàleg general històric de la premsa en català (1641(1810)-1939)*, Institut d'Estudis Catalans (PT2008-50502-GUILLAMET01)

