

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

Edited by

María Martínez Lirola

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P U B L I S H I N G

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CHAPTER ONE

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

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1. Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. The Corpus of Examples

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

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

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

3. Theoretical Framework

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4. Results

4.1 General Description of Immigrants' Return in the Press

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2 Text Analysis

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



Portada > **España**

EL MINISTRO DE TRABAJO INCIDE EN SU CARÁCTER VOLUNTARIO

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

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

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

EFE

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

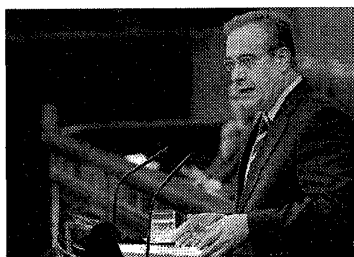
Durante la presentación de esta iniciativa en el Parlamento, el ministro de Trabajo e Inmigración, Celestino Corbacho, ha asegurado que se trata de una medida coherente con el ordenamiento jurídico, que no es improvisada y que pretende dotar al mercado laboral de **un instrumento para la gestión de los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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

Portada > **España**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- *Para IU es 'un mal mensaje' para los españoles e 'ingrato' para los Spaniards* and 'an unpleasant one' for immigrants).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Portada > **Baleares**

A CAUSA DE LA CRISIS

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

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

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

EFE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Portada > **Baleares**

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

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

crisis like the one experienced by Spain in recent years. This caption suggests that immigrants need help.

The headline is: *Se duplican las peticiones de inmigrantes de retorno voluntario en un año* (Immigrants' applications for voluntary return double in a year). Choosing the word immigrants establishes a division between the latter and the majority group because it has negative connotations as already mentioned. In the text they are referred to as immigrants and immigrant population, i.e., the journalist does not choose a more inclusive term such as foreigners.

The subheadlines are: *El programa ofrece ayudas económicas y burocráticas* (The program offers financial and bureaucratic aid), which emphasizes the idea that the program is created to help immigrants; therefore, they are placed in an inferior situation, dependent on the main group.

The second subheadline includes the number of immigrants who have taken advantage of the return plan in Baleares, one of the regions in Spain with the highest number of immigrants. In this way, it is highlighted that the return plan is working well since a large number of people have taken advantage of it: *En lo que va de año han viajado de regreso 65 extranjeros residentes en Baleares* (So far this year 65 foreigners living in Baleares have gone back to their native countries).

The headline, subheadlines, caption and photograph suggest the same idea of immigrants being in need of help and facing more problems than the majority group, Spanish citizens. Consequently, numbers are emphasized in this news item as a way of highlighting the increase in the number of immigrants without a job and, consequently, the increase in the number of applications to return home, especially among people from Bolivia, Argentina, Brazil and Honduras. Immigrants' voices are not present, there are just some statements pronounced by Marcelo Unamuno, the regional director of Social Inclusion in the NGO, the Red Cross (Cruz Roja), the organization most involved in offering information and financial aid to immigrants interested in going back to their countries of origin.

DE AQUÍ...

ENSEÑANZA

La Comunidad, tercera en alumnos extranjeros

El consejero de Educación, Alejandro Fort de Mea, destacó recientemente que la Comunidad es la tercera subvención española con mayor número de alumnos de otros extranjeros en sus aulas, que representan el 19% del total de estudiantes matriculados.



Alumnos matriculados en Alicante

REFUGIO

Piden que los países de la UE garanticen el derecho a pedir asilo en Europa

El Consejo Europeo de Refugiados y Exiliados (CERE) pidió recientemente que los países de la UE cumplan su obligación de aceptar solicitantes de asilo después de que Italia devolviera a Libia a varios cientos de personas interceptadas en alta mar sin comprobar si tenían derecho a pedir protección. En este sentido, la Unión Europea se intrin-

ta convenirse a Libia para que firme la Convención de la ONU sobre los Refugiados a fin de que las personas que busquen asilo no tengan que pasar el Mediterráneo de forma clandestina para lograr protección. «Vamos a hacer negociaciones con Libia», dijo el comisario europeo de Justicia, Seguridad y Libertades, Jacques Barrot.

ELCHE

El conflicto de Colombia, en el Casal Jaume I

El Casal Jaume I de Elche acogió hoy un acto sobre el conflicto armado de Colombia. A las 19.30 se proyectó el documental «Colombia, promesas y dolor». Posteriormente tendrá lugar una charla debate sobre por qué es necesario un acuerdo humanitario en Colombia.

EMPLEO

Alicante es la quinta provincia en inmigrantes acogidos al plan de retorno voluntario

Desde noviembre, 238 inmigrantes de la provincia han cobrado el paro íntegro y han regresado a sus países

PERO ALABARDA

Alicante es la quinta provincia española en número de inmigrantes acogidos al plan de retorno voluntario por el Ministerio de Trabajo hasta el 3 de junio se habían acogido a esta opción 238 personas en Alicante, lo que la sitúa en quinto lugar por detrás de Madrid, Barcelona, Murcia y Valencia. El plan de retorno está dirigido a inmigrantes no comunitarios en paro y permite que éstos puedan cobrar de forma íntegra y anticipada la prestación por desempleo a cambio de que regresen a su país. En este sentido, el pasado mes de abril se habían desdoblado en la provincia 1.845.211 euros para este retorno, lo que supone una cuantía récord de 9.500 euros. Esta cifra es la más baja de las principales provincias en cuanto a retorno de es-



El ministro de Trabajo, Cotochero

tranger, «lo que habla de los bajos salarios de esta zona o de lo poco que se cobra por ellos», explicó Salvador Riera, responsable de Comunicación del sindicato.

A nivel nacional se han recibido 5.049 expedientes de solicitud, de los que ya se han tramitado 4.753. De ellos se han aprobado 3.977. A lo largo del mes de mayo se han registrado una media de 181 nuevos expedientes cada semana, según los datos del Ministerio de Trabajo. Los inmigrantes latinoamericanos siguen siendo los principales solicitantes de esta medida con Ecuador, Colombia y Argentina a la cabeza. Para Salvador Riera, y a la luz de los datos de inmigrantes acogidos al plan, esta medida no está siendo efectiva y desde CC OO pedimos que se a pueste por medidas para mejorar la protección social de los desempleados. Además, a juicio de Riera, «debemos un debate pedagógico, en el que se esté vinculando la inmigración con la crisis».

» Para CC OO esta medida no es eficaz y pide una mejora de la protección social de los desempleados

ENSEÑANZA

Educación acuerda con el Gobierno de Rumanía la cesión de aulas para cursos de cultura rumana

REUNIÓN

La Consejería de Educación y la Embajada de Rumanía en España firmaron ayer un acuerdo de colaboración para que las aulas y material educativo de la Comunidad Valenciana estén a disposición del profesorado designado por el Gobierno rumano para impartir clases de cultura rumana.

El convenio se firmó ayer en Castellón, donde se celebró una rueda de prensa en la que la embajadora rumana, María Ligor, explicó que durante el último curso escolar las comunidades autónomas ya desarrollaron esta iniciativa, y se espera que sean nueve para el próximo año. La embajadora explicó que el Ministerio de Educación rumano está en este momento valorando las necesidades del alumnado rumano y la demanda de este curso escolar en la Comunidad Valenciana para establecer el número de profesores necesarios. Por su parte, el consejero de Educación, Alejandro Fort de Mea, explicó que mediante este acuerdo se situarían elementos de las aulas culturales de los alumnos para que al regresar que volver a su país estuvieran

completamente integrados.

También ayer Fort de Mea presentó la «Guía de Convención Rumano Valenciana», que permitirá que las aulas y material de la Comunidad puedan usarse «en el aprendizaje del valenciano» y anunció que las próximas ediciones de esta guía serán en chino, árabe y

» La Consejería edita una guía para que los inmigrantes se inicien en el aprendizaje del valenciano

portugués. El consejero afirmó que esta publicación es una «obra necesaria por la gran inmigración que tiene la comunidad de hablantes rumano en la Comunidad» que contribuirá a que estos ciudadanos puedan conocer y utilizar otras de las «formas de identidad» de la que los valencianos estiman más orgulloso: nuestra lengua propia.

Y DE ALLÍ

SOSPECHA DE FRAUDE

Nicaragua puede perder las ayudas de EE UU por no revisar el resultado electoral

El Estado Unidos considera «difícil aceptar el resultado oficial de la elección municipal de 2008, de lo que depende que Washington reanude la ayuda de la Cuenta Fidei del Milenio, según el embajador estadounidense en Managua, Robert Callahan. En declaraciones que el diario La Prensa de

Managua, el diplomático dijo que «la situación no ha cambiado (...)», es difícil reanudar. Callahan dejó entender, según el diario, que «en tres días no va a ocurrir lo que se ha estado esperando desde hace más de tres meses, una revisión de los datos oficiales de la elección municipal del 9 de noviembre del 2008, que la oposición rechaza».

COLOMBIA

Uribe eleva el pago por la liberación de un concejal

El presidente de Colombia, Álvaro Uribe, elevó ayer a unos 245.000 dólares (22.315 euros) la recompensa por ofrecer información que permita rescatar un concejal secuestrado por las Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC).

DISPUTA



Álvaro Uribe

Bolivia podría llevar a Perú a un juicio internacional

El Gobierno boliviano considera que tiene «amplos posibilidades de ganar» un eventual juicio internacional contra Perú, por haber dado asilo a uno de sus ministros acusados de «genocidio» en el llamado «oculto negro» de 2003 en Bolivia.

Figure 1-3. Text 3. Date: Date: 9 June 2009. Newspaper Información.

This piece of news (figure 1-3) appears in the centre of the page, on the left part. It consists on three columns. There is a small photograph of Minister Corbacho in the middle. He looks serious and appears to be concentrating, with his hands together to reinforce his message. This picture is small and framed. The background is blurred and new information appears in the foreground, i.e., the Minister himself. The caption is The Minister of Work, Corbacho, i.e., there is no doubt about who the person represented is. As regards colours, he is wearing a blue shirt, a dark blue jacket and a red tie, i.e. his clothes are smart as in the previous photograph. The background of the image is blurred. The image is not the most salient element because of its small size and because its frame is small.

As was the case in the first text, there is a vector between the Minister's hands, his mouth and the subheading and heading. This vector is important because it seems to connect the image with the words in the heading, pointing out that they are said by the Minister: *Alicante es la quinta provincia en inmigrantes acogidos al plan de retorno voluntario* (Alicante is the fifth province in terms of immigrants who have followed the return plan). The subheading is the following: *Desde noviembre, 238 inmigrantes de la provincia han cobrado el paro íntegro y han regresado a sus países* (From November, 238 immigrants of the province have earned the total amount of the money from the dole and they have gone back to their countries).

Immigrants are referred to as *inmigrantes* in this multimodal text. They appear as passive: *inmigrantes acogidos al plan de retorno voluntario de trabajadores extranjeros* (immigrants protected by the voluntary return plan of foreign workers), *se habían acogido a esta opción 238 personas en Alicante* (238 people had been protected by this option in Alicante), *inmigrantes acogidos al plan* (immigrants protected by the plan), *extranjeros* (foreigners), *inmigrantes latinoamericanos* (Latin American immigrants).

The fact that the word immigrants is the one that appears in the heading, the subheading and in most of the examples in the written text does not contribute to offering a positive representation of the immigrants because this word conveys negative connotations linked to poverty, discrimination etc., as already mentioned in the previous text. For example, choosing the word *extranjeros* ('foreigners'), which occurs in the middle of the text, can be considered euphemistic because it is more neutral and does not imply the connotations of the word immigrants.

¿PORQUÉ EL RETORNO VOLUNTARIO? VOLVER A ESPAÑA NO SERÁ FÁCIL... LOS PRESIDENTES TEMPORALES DE ESPAÑA Y DEL ECUADOR... Y HOY TRATAN DE CLARAR PAPA PERMANENTES

La plata es segura, e regreso

» Conversamos con dos personas que retornaron con el plan español

Reportaje Lirola

Una preocupación recurrente le involucrado en migrar a su país cobrando los prestaciones por desempleo. ¿Y a su vez, qué tan garantizada que allá me den la plata? ¿Desde la papa? ¿El regalo? En realidad, con dos de las inquietudes. La otra, me difícil de responder, gira alrededor del regreso: ¿Podrá volver luego de los tres años? Martha Carolina, una colombiana que regresó a su país después de 14 años en España, tiene su propia opinión. "No estoy muy satisfecha porque todo ha salido como me dijeron en Madrid, apunta. Una se



Fabiola Bustos todavía en Madrid cuando esperaba la confirmación de su viaje de regreso a Ecuador.

mana después de instalarse en Chimboña (coastalidad del este ecuatoriano), Martha viajó al Consulado español en Bogotá. En una ventanilla especial para el retorno voluntario, empezó a llenar el formulario de 14 años. Veinte días más tarde recibió en su casa un cheque "monstruoso" en dólares, por el 60% restante de su seguro de desempleo. "Cambiar se

cheque fue lo único complicado, pero el gerente de tránsito se aseguró el proceso y en poco tiempo ya tenía la plata en mi cuenta", cuenta Martha, que alzó un dedo alabando al banco con el dinero. "El momento no tengo planes de regresar a España, aunque me hayo dicho que no va a haber de que paean los tres años para poder volver".

¿Y EN EL ECUADOR? La ecuatoriana Fabiola Bustos también viajó a Bogotá con el Plan de Retorno del Gobierno español. Sin embargo, las cosas no fueron idénticas como pensaba, a la orden, le faltó el dinero de su seguro de desempleo, cuatro mil dólares que tardó tres meses en cobrar. Luego de regresar a N.E.E. en el Consulado español, ya se está acabando y a una vez

LOS QUE SE HAN IDO

■ Las últimas cifras del Ministerio de Trabajo e Inmigración sobre el plan de retorno voluntario son de junio de 2009.

■ 3 977 personas se han beneficiado del programa desde su puesta en funcionamiento en noviembre de 2008.

■ Los ecuatorianos son los que más: 1 749 personas. Siguen Colombia (771), Argentina (384) y Perú (350).

■ Por provincias, Madrid encabeza el ranking con 807 solicitudes aprobadas, seguida Barcelona con 464 y Murcia, 453.

■ Los ecuatorianos son los que más: 1 749 personas. Siguen Colombia (771), Argentina (384) y Perú (350). Por provincias, Madrid encabeza el ranking con 807 solicitudes aprobadas, seguida Barcelona con 464 y Murcia, 453.

que la cuenta quede en cero no sabe qué va a pasar. "Me dijeron que pasado tres años puedo entrar tranquilamente a España porque yo tenía tarjeta permanente. Espero que el tiempo pase rápido para poderme ir de nuevo".

NO SE TRATA SÓLO DE ESPERAR El regreso a España no será tan fácil para los residentes temporales. Pasados los tres años de compromiso, los aspirantes tendrán que tramitar la "autorización administrativa para viajar y trabajar en España", según indica la normativa del plan retorno. Es decir, se serán obligados a presentar una oferta de trabajo o ingresar en los cursos de capacitación, como si quisieran por primera vez. Respecto a los residentes permanentes, la ley admite que podrán renovar su estatus mediante un "procedimiento simplificado que se tramitará automáticamente". Todavía no existe, así que habrá que esperar para ver si se puede volver a España tan fácilmente como dice el Gobierno.

RAZONES HUMANITARIAS DELEGACIÓN DE GOBIERNO RECIBIÓ EXPULSIÓN PARA QUE SIGA CON TRATAMIENTO MÉDICO

Libre del CIE por sufrir cáncer

Acceso Prensa / Lirola/Mercé

Ni el cáncer ni la Ley de Extranjería han podido con Cristian Salazar. La batalla contra la enfermedad la comenzó este octubre en 2006, cuando se diagnosticó un cáncer de testículo que se le extendió a los pulmones. Después de más de quince meses y una operación, Cristian tuvo que seguir esperando las medidas policiales mientras intentaba regularizar su situación en España y así tener a alguien más cerca de control. La vida se le volvió a complicar la semana pasada cuando la Policía lo detuvo junto a su novia paraguaya, a la entrada del metro de Alcorcón, en una de esas "vacaciones" de inmigrantes que el Gobierno asegura que ya no existen. De nada valieron sus argumentos en España ni la carta médica que tenía que cumplir el jueves 16 de julio en el Hospital Ramón y Cajal, donde se encuentra sometido a una serie de pruebas de diagnóstico por imagen en el Centro



Cristian Salazar y su novia Milán quieren regularizar su situación en España.

de Internamiento de Extranjeros (CIE) de Alhuclos. María, su pareja, y a la que Cristian llama "mi ángel", no tiene nada que ver con el asunto. Ella no era el único enfermo. Había un chico colombiano que se quedó la mano en un "botiquín" en el CIE. El médico solo le recetó el diagnóstico para el doctor. También conoció a personas portadoras de VIH que no recibían tratamiento", cuenta Cristian. "Yo ya había leído sobre lo mal que tratan en las

condiciones de inmigrantes", pero otra cosa es vivir".

TERMINA LA ESPERA Finalmente y tras la intervención de Páez y la diputada colombiana Yolanda Villavicencio, el martes 16 de julio la Delegación de Gobierno decidió revocar la orden de expulsión de Cristian Salazar y permitir su salida del CIE por "razones humanitarias". Una decisión que Víctor Sáez, no duda en calificar de "heroica". En cambio, dentro del centro de internamiento, Cristian no tenía tan claro que fuera a salir. "Mientras firmaba los papeles de la libertad, alguien policía me advertía que ya salía para el aeropuerto porque el avión a Chile despegaba a las 16:00 horas". A pesar de la incertidumbre, Cristian recuperó la libertad en la tarde del martes y recibió otro buen noticia: la Delegación de Gobierno le dio un caso para concederle una licencia por circunstancias excepcionales. Una promesa que había que vigilar para que Cristian pueda seguir luchando contra el cáncer y su modo a las medidas policia-

"HALLA MADRE PUEDE PROTESTAR PORQUE HAY NIÉDO"

Un colombiano busca justicia para sus hermanos asesinados



Alejandro no desea su identificación por lo que le animan que esté resuelto.

■ La vida de Alejandro Sánchez (con sus hermanas) se paró a la de cualquier inmigrante latinoamericano. Llevaba seis años trabajando como camarero en Valencia para enviarle dinero a su familia. Hasta que un día el teléfono sonó para decirle que Colombia, un país donde todo él vivió durante su infancia, estaba viviendo de la violencia. En el caso de Alejandro le había tocado el turno. Los cadáveres de sus dos hermanos fueron encontrados flotando en un río cercano a Medellín. En un momento de 24 horas y tres pedir plata para ir. Alejandro estaba en Colombia, posicionado al frente del entierro, el dolor y

las investigaciones criminales. ¿Investigación? "No hay un caso acusado, ni siquiera un informe, ni siquiera un informe judicial le recomiendo buscar el apoyo de una ONG europea para que presionen. Al regresar a España, contactó una cita con Ana María Dier nacional. En tres visitas a la sede central en Londres para buscar justicia para su hermano. "Porque creo que los inmigrantes colombianos no pueden o quieren de tener un caso con lo que está sucediendo allí", puntualiza.

Figure 1-4. Text 4. Date: 17 July 2009. Newspaper: Latino.

The main characteristics of this text (figure 1-4) are the use of figures to indicate the number of immigrants who have followed the norm and the amount of money invested in them. In addition, in this case, we find the direct voice of the person responsible for Communication in the Trade Union, CCOO, pointing out the importance of creating measures to protect people who have no jobs.

This item of news takes up the top half of the page. The headline is in black and red: *La plata es segura, el regreso no* (The money is sure, the return is not). The headline highlights the fact that immigrants will receive their dole money but it is not so sure that they will be able to come back to Spain; the uncertainty of returning appears in red, which is the most important part of the message. This idea is emphasized in the line before the headline, in which we find a question in red and the answer in black: *¿Funciona el retorno voluntario? Volver a España no será fácil: los residentes temporales necesitarán oferta laboral y no hay trámite claro para permanentes* (Does the return plan work? Coming back to Spain will not be easy: temporary residents will need a job offer and there is no clear step to be taken by permanent residents). From the beginning of the article, it is clear that it evaluates the return plan. Moreover, the subheadline makes it clear that authentic testimonies will be offered to demonstrate the reality of the plan: *Conversamos con dos personas que regresaron con el plan español* (We talk to two people who went back under the Spanish plan).

This news item has six columns of written text and a medium sized picture illustrating it. The picture shows a woman sitting in her home in Madrid, when she was waiting to return to Ecuador. The background is clear, and therefore the woman can be clearly distinguished. The beige background (the sitting room) contrasts with the woman's black dress. The woman looks serious and concentrated on what she is reading and does not look at the camera. The fact that her dress is black, a dark and serious colour, also adds formality to the photograph. She appears on the right of the picture, the place of new information, and therefore she is given importance. The picture is framed and the most important element is the woman, who covers approximately one third of the photograph. There is a vector between her head, her arm and the book she is reading. The image can be considered the most important element of this multimodal text. There is no doubt that the woman portrayed is one of the persons who offers her testimony on the return plan in the written text because the caption gives us her name: *Fabiola Bautista todavía en Madrid cuando esperaba la confirmación de su vuelo de regreso a Ecuador* (Fabiola Bautista still in Madrid waiting for confirmation of her flight back to Ecuador).

This news item starts with some of the questions that worry immigrants who would like to return to their countries of origin: if I leave Spain how can I be sure that I will receive the unemployment benefits I am entitled to? Where do they pay them? Is it quick? They also doubt whether they will be able to come back to Spain after three years.

After these introductory questions, this article offers the testimony of Marta Cardona, a Colombian woman who is happy with the procedure she

followed to return home and receive her Spanish unemployment benefits in Colombia. We find her voice: “*Yo estoy muy satisfecha porque todo ha salido como me dijeron en Madrid*” (“I am happy because everything worked out as they told me it would in Madrid”).

In this case the person is happy to be back in her country of origin and she does not have any plans to come back to Spain: “*De momento no tengo planes de regresar a España, aunque mi hijo dice que no ve la hora de que pasen los tres años para volver*” (“At the moment I do not have any plans to go back to Spain although my son wants the three years to pass quickly so that he can go back”).

On the other hand, this news item also offers the testimony of Fabiola Bautista, the woman from Ecuador who appears in the photograph. We can also hear her voice: “*Estoy arrepentida de haberme venido, yo por mí me volvería mañana mismo a España porque aquí no hay trabajo*” (“I regret having come back, if I could I would go back to Spain tomorrow because there is no work here”). She has spent almost all of the 60% of her unemployment benefits (almost 4000 dollars) which she received four months after arriving home and is waiting to return to Spain: “*Me dijeron que pasados tres años puedo entrar tranquilamente a España porque yo tenía tarjeta permanente. Espero que el tiempo pase rápido para poderme ir de Nuevo*” (“I was told that I can go back to Spain after three years since I had a permanent residence card. I hope the time goes by quickly so that I can go back to Spain again”).

In the last column it points out that coming back to Spain will not be as easy as the Government says because people will need to have a job offer before they can apply to return. This contrasts with all the news items that appear in the Spanish newspapers viewing the return plan positively, in which going back to the country of origin and returning to Spain once the three years are up seems straightforward.

Moreover, in this news item the number of people who have taken advantage of the return plan from November 2008 to June 2009 is specified: 3977 people, mainly from Colombia, Argentina and Peru. It is also mentioned that Madrid, Barcelona and Murcia are the three Spanish provinces with the highest number of applications.

As in the example already commented, the following news item (see figure 1-5) also occupies the top half of the page. It is made up of two news items which consist of six columns. It is interesting to find a small photograph in the middle of the article with three immigrants pushing a trolley at the airport; the frame is not strong but placing it in the middle, after the headline, makes it the most salient element in the multimodal text.

SE AGOTARON LOS FONDOS ECONÓMICOS DEL MINISTERIO DE TRABAJO MUCHOS INMIGRANTES SE SIENTEN ENGAÑADOS: YA LES HABÍAN PROMETIDO EL BILLETE AÉREO

El Plan Retorno se queda sin dinero para pagar los pasajes

» Los que regresen tendrán que gastarse parte de su paro

Ángeles Pizarro / Lince

Mónica González ha decidido regresar al Perú. Con necesidad y sin angustia se dio cuenta de que el sueldo de aquí sólo le alcanzaba para sobrevivir, que extrañaba a su familia como a nada y que la situación económica peruana ha cambiado mucho. "Me voy", como esta peruana que lleva casi cuatro años en España. "Aunque no me den el billete yo estoy decidida a irme, así me voy a pagar a mí. Lo que me da rabia es que el Gobierno le diga mentiras a los inmigrantes: es un incumplimiento muy grave", subraya indignada. Mía preocupada se encuentra la colombiana Luz Patricia Díaz. Ella ya hizo todo el trámite y la próxima semana le ingresan el primer pago del 40% del paro que tiene derecho a cobrar. A partir de ese

momento, Luz Patricia está obligada a abandonar España en 30 días para cobrar el 60% restante en Colombia. "Yo ya estaba cobrando el paro hacía tres meses, o sea que tampoco es que me quede mucho", asegura. Los casi 500 euros que va a recibir en el primer pago se los va a gastar en comprar



Un tiquete solo de ida a Latinoamérica cuesta más de seiscientos euros.

el pasaje. "Me parece muy injusto, ya hasta me da desconfianza lo que pueda pasar con la otra parte de la plaza", remata. **CON INCIERTIDUMBRE** Y es que un cambio tan importante en el Plan Retorno se ha hecho de la manera más directa

posible, sobre todo si se compara con el despliegue publicitario que se le dio a la presentación del Plan Retorno. En la página web oficial se sigue leyendo que "podrá complementar el abono anticipado de la prestación con ayudas para el viaje a sus países de origen". Eso sí, en el teléfono habilitado para información advierten que "actualmente no se están dando ayudas complementarias para el billete. Sin embargo, en septiembre se vuelven a recibir solicitudes, aunque no podemos garantizar ninguna fecha". Una persona responsable del proceso que prefiere guardar el anonimato asegura que "en el Ministerio de Trabajo reconocen que es altamente improbable que durante 2010 vuelva a haber ayudas para pagar el vuelo de regreso". Una estocada más para un plan que el presidente Zapatero prometió en su momento de implementar contra la crisis económica.

PLANES DE RETORNO



Existen dos planes de retorno de inmigrantes:

El del Ministerio de Trabajo, que permite que los inmigrantes cobren la prestación contributiva (si paró) en dos pagos. Como contraprestación exige que la persona no regrese a España en tres años. Si quiere volver pasado ese tiempo tendrá que cambiar el permiso de residencia desde el comienzo, con un contrato de trabajo. Ya no hay fondos para pagar los billetes de regreso.

La OIM y la Cruz Roja gestionan planes de retorno para personas en situación de vulnerabilidad. Dada la escasez de fondos, se están focalizando en familias con hijos menores y en personas que se encuentran en centros de acogida o que carecen de vivienda.

LAS FOTOS DE EDU LEÓN HAN SERVIDO PARA PROBAR LOS CONTROLES A INMIGRANTES LLEVA DOS SEMANAS SIN SU HERRAMIENTA DE TRABAJO POR ORDEN DE UN JUEZ

Decomisan la cámara al fotógrafo de las redadas

Una imagen vale más que mil palabras. El fotógrafo Edu León lo sabe y por eso se ha dedicado a documentar las redadas de inmigrantes en Madrid. Así, muestra al ministro del Interior Alfredo Pérez Rubalcaba agarrado al teléfono cuando se le incautaron los controles, el catálogo de fotos de León no ha parado de crecer en el último año con nuevas estaciones de metro "calientes" y calles "prohíbicas" para los sin papeles. El sábado 24 de julio, León transitaba por un pasillo de la estación de metro de Legazpi cuando se encontró con una redada típica: dos agentes de paisano le pedían la documentación y los viajeros con rasgos extraños. Sacó su cámara. Justo cuando iba a disparar lo descubrió un guarda de seguridad. Avistó a los policías. "Me pitaron que les enseñara las fotos, pero no había tomado ninguna", cuenta León. Los agentes no se hicieron de los vivos a la comisaría de Sol. Le retiraron la cámara y la tarjeta de memoria. "El Comisario me dice: he hablado con el juez y me ha dado autorización para quitarte la cámara", narra el fotógrafo. Los hicieron firmar un papel y de-



Los protagonistas de las imágenes son trabajadores con rasgos étnicos que trabajan por sus comunidades.

LA VERSIÓN POLICIAL La Policía Nacional tiene su propia versión de los hechos:

"Los dos agentes estaban desarrollando un operativo contra el hacinamiento en Legazpi y este señor llegó a obstaculizar su trabajo. Los policías se comunicaron con el juzgado de guardia y se el juez ordena que les requieran la cámara". A la pregunta de por qué un juez puede decretar la retención de una cámara fotográfica, el fuente policial responde que "un juez no tiene que explicar sus actuaciones a un periodista ni a la propia policía".

ESTADOS UNIDOS ALERTA SOBRE RACISMO Obama y la discriminación en España

Como en una tragedia, la visita de Michelle Obama a Berlín ha coincidido con la polémica por las redadas raciales de la Policía española. A comienzos de la semana salía a la luz pública una advertencia del Departamento de Estado de Estados Unidos dirigida a los turistas afroamericanos que parecían viajar a España. "Hemos recibido reportes aislados de que

los perfiles raciales podían haber contribuido al arresto o detención de algunos afroamericanos que se encontraban en España. Recientemente, dos funcionarios afroamericanos del Gobierno de Estados Unidos fueron interrogados por la Policía en Barcelona sin causa aparente", recalca el texto. La alerta ha eliminado a los pocos días argumentando que se refería al 2009.

El abogado Gustavo Fajardo, que lleva la defensa jurídica de Edu León, alega que las autorricciones judiciales nunca se dictan por teléfono. "Eso no existe, son prácticas policíacas franquistas. Los señores de un juez tienen que estar por escrito, estamos en un sistema de garantías", argumenta. "¿Añadir? ¿Qué es lo que se quiere ocultar? La Policía no puede pretender que sus actuaciones no sean vigiladas por los periodistas. El trabajo de investigación de León ha demostrado que existen las identificaciones de inmigrantes por sus rasgos físicos, tal y como

es lo que les molesta". Manuel Mediavilla, del Sindicato de Periodistas de Madrid, también defiende el derecho a la información. "No me parece normal que le quiten su herramienta de trabajo a Edu León. Un periodista tiene la obligación de informar lo que sucede en las calles. Está dejando testimonios de unos hechos", apunta. Por el momento, el derecho a la información de Edu León lleva quince días parado en una comisaría. Ahora las redadas sí son invisibles porque como dice "Unfeto Euro" "lo que no aparece en los medios no existe".

Figure 1-5. Text 5. Date: 6 August 2010. Newspaper: Latino.

It can be deduced that the immigrants are flying to Latin America because the caption says that a one way ticket to Latin America costs more than seven hundred Euros (*Un tiquete solo de ida a Latinoamérica cuesta más de setecientos euros*). The three immigrants are walking and they look

serious, they do not look at the camera but down at the trolleys with their luggage. The background is a section of the airport and the immigrants are clearly distinguishable. They appear on the right of the photograph, the area of new information, and therefore they are given importance. They are wearing clean clothes and their faces are not very expressive. The picture is framed and the most important elements are the three immigrants themselves. There are different vectors that join the three men represented: in their heads, in their hands, in the feet and in their trolleys. Joining them through vectors is a way of pointing out that they belong to the same group and that they are in the same situation.

The headline is in bigger letters and combines red and black in order to emphasize the information explained in the article. This news item explains the headline of this newspaper on page one: *Plan Retorno sin pasajes. Se acabó el dinero para pagar lo billetes aéreos de los inmigrantes que se acogen al programa de regreso voluntario; ahora tendrán que comprarlos con el primer pago del 40%*” (The return plan with no tickets. No money for flight tickets for immigrants taking advantage of the voluntary return plan. Now they must buy them with the first 40% of their unemployment benefits).

The headline of this news item is *El plan retorno se queda sin dinero para pagar los pasajes* (The return plan has no money to pay for flight tickets) and the subheadline is: *Los que regresen tendrán que gastarse parte de su paro* (Those who go back will have to spend part of their unemployment benefits). Consequently, they highlight the fact that immigrants willing to return home will have to pay for the air tickets themselves. This implies a criticism of the plan and that many immigrants feel deceived because they do not get a free ticket as they were told, as the line before the headline makes clear: *Se agotaron los fondos económicos del Ministerio de Trabajo. Muchos inmigrantes se sienten engañados: ya les habían prometido el billete aéreo* (Ministry of Labour funds exhausted. Many immigrants feel cheated: they were promised a ticket home).

The main characteristic of the written text is that immigrants’ voices are present and they express their opinions about the return plan, which contrasts with the news items in the newspapers *Información* and *El Mundo*. The first part of the article starts by saying that Mónica González has decided to go back to Peru (*Mónica González ha decidido regresar a Perú*), “*Me voy*”, *pensó cuando terminó su último contrato de trabajo* (“I’m going”, she thought when her employment contract finished).

The voice of this woman appears in the article criticising the Government because when she asked about the return plan in the National Employment Institute (INEM), it was presented as being straightforward

by the Government employee and then she realized that there was no money to pay for the air ticket home:

“Me dieron un listado con ocho asociaciones que me podían gestionar lo del billete. Arranqué a llamar: en la primera me dijeron que ya no tenían fondos, en la segunda igual y en la tercera ya perdí la paciencia “Aunque no me den el billete yo estoy decidida a irme, así me toque pagar a mí. Lo que me da rabia es que el Gobierno le diga mentiras a los inmigrantes: es un incumplimiento muy grave”, subraya indignada” (“I was given a list of associations that could help me to get my flight ticket. I started phoning: In the first they said they didn’t have any money left, in the second, they said the same, and with the third I lost my patience. Even though they won’t give me a ticket, I have decided to leave so I’ll have to pay for it myself. What makes me mad is that the Government lies to immigrants: that’s a very serious breach of promise”).

This article also offers the testimony of a Colombian woman, Luz Patricia Díaz, who has to leave Spain in 30 days because she is going to get 40% of the unemployment benefit she is entitled to next week: *“Yo ya estaba cobrando el paro hacía tres meses, o sea que tampoco es que me quede mucho”* (“I have been getting money from the dole for three months so there is not much left”). She intends to buy her flight ticket with this money. For this reason, she also criticises the Government and does not trust it: *“Me parece muy injusto, ya hasta me da desconfianza lo que pueda pasar con la otra parte de la plata”* (“It is very unfair and it even makes me have misgivings about what might happen with the other money”).

This news item offers a contrast between reality – i.e., the fact that there is no money to pay for the air tickets of immigrants who want to go back to their countries – and the information that appears on the web of the Spanish Ministry of Labour. On this web page it still says: *podrá complementar el abono anticipado de la prestación con ayudas para el viaje a sus países de origen* (Financial help for the journey home may be available in addition to advanced payment of unemployment benefit). However, this news item also points out that when you ring the telephone number provided to obtain information about the return plan, you are told that nowadays no such additional help is being given for the return ticket (*“Eso sí, en el teléfono habilitado para información advierten que “actualmente no se están dando ayudas complementaria para el billete”.*.) This information has not appeared in the media, which contrasts with all the advertising given to the return plan when it was created to highlight that it was a good measure to favour immigrants’ situation.

The article finishes with a very strong criticism of the Government: *Una estocada más para un plan que el presidente Zapatero presentó como una de sus medidas estrella contra la crisis económica* (Yet another blow to the plan presented by Zapatero as one of the main measures taken against the economic crisis). In addition, to the right of this news item, there is another short item on the return of immigrants. It also has a small photograph above it with the head of a woman looking very seriously at the camera saying “*Si estás pensando en regresar... Existen dos planes de retorno de inmigrantes*” (“If you are thinking about returning home there are two return plans for immigrants”). Information is provided about the return plan offered by the Ministry of Education and that offered by NGOs. There is interaction between this woman and readers because she looks directly at the camera.

5. Comparison of Texts

Although immigrants are the protagonists of the return plan, they do not appear in all the photographs in the articles on this subject in the newspapers *El Mundo* and *Información*; their voices appear in only 14.28% of the texts analysed. In most cases, we find the photographs of politicians. Immigrants are not referred to by their names. On the other hand, photographs of immigrants appear in all the news items on the return plan in the newspaper *Latino*. Moreover, immigrants appear with their names and surnames in *Latino*, which is not common at all in the other newspapers.

Most news items in *El Mundo* and *Información* see the return plan as something positive, whereas immigrants’ voices in *Latino* (women and men) express their opinion about the return plan, they criticise the Government and the reality of the plan, and how it affects immigrants is contrasted with the information that appears on the web page of the Ministry of Labour. For example, *Información* highlights the amount of money the Government has invested in the return plan, which contrasts with the news items in *Latino* that say there is no money to pay for the one way tickets so that immigrants can go back to their countries of origin.

The position of the news items vary. In *Información*, most appear on the left and on the bottom half of the page, whereas in *Latino* the news items analysed cover the top half of the page. In addition, the news items in *El Mundo* and *Información* do not refer to the socio-economic situation of the immigrants’ countries of origin, to which they are supposed to return and start a new life. On the contrary, *Latino* refers to the social situation of different Latin American countries and points out the difficulty

of starting a new life there. In addition, *El Mundo* and *Información* talk about immigrants, whereas *Latino* not only talks about immigrants but also talks to immigrants, hears their voices, their opinions and their personal experiences of the return plan.

6. Discussion: Media and Racism

Immigrants are presented as stereotyped in the press because their main characteristics are reduced and simplified. This gives power to the majority group, i.e., the white elite. This process of stereotyping implies that the positive aspects of immigrants are silenced, for example, their cultural richness, their qualifications (a great number of immigrants have university degrees) and their importance for the economy of our country.

The discourse used by the media in the texts analysed can be considered ‘elite racism’ because there is a clear division between ‘we’ (the main group, white people) and ‘they’ (the minority group, immigrants) (van Dijk 2003, 2006, 2007, 2008). In addition, immigrants’ voices are hardly ever heard (Alonso, McCabe and Chornet-Roses, 2010; Retis, 2006). However, ‘elite racism’ denies that it is racism and it is presented as being democratic and respectable.

Elite discourse represents the majority group in a positive way, whereas immigrants are represented negatively; moreover, this discourse points out that the measures to control immigrants benefit the main group (van Dijk, 2005, 28). The media audience are invited to establish a clear difference between whites and other ethnic groups, between ‘citizens’ and ‘foreigners’, and what predominates is the negative representation of immigrants, as Bañón (2007, 45) makes clear: “The non-positive valuation of immigrants has become the fundamental axiological framework for those who, from the political or socio-economic Spanish elites take part in the social debate on migratory processes”.²

When paying attention to the characteristics of the different linguistic and visual choices that appear in the selected texts, readers are aware of the power of the press to influence knowledge, values and social relationships, in other words, it is observed that language and power coexist. Moreover, since journalists themselves belong to a society with prejudices, they create the items of news transmitting their own worldviews, prejudices or racist ideas (ter Wal, d’Haenens and Koeman, 2005, 938). For this reason, it is necessary for readers to assume an active role in the process of deconstructing the meaning of immigrants’ reality presented by the press and question the credibility of the press discourse

because, as in the case of elite discourses, they are considered true because they come from people with power.

7. Conclusions

The texts analysed show that there are two different discourses on return: on the one hand, the one transmitted by white elites (politicians, journalists, etc.), which highlight the positive aspects of the return plan; on the other hand, immigrants' discourse, which appears mainly in their newspapers. They criticize the Government and different immigrants describe the plan's reality with its positive and negative aspects.

The analysis done in this article points out that the media have power to modify or shape our attitudes because each image and each linguistic component is not chosen at random but, on the contrary, is motivated and created as a result of complex phenomena, capable of specifying meanings.

This implies that it is essential for readers to assume an active role in the process of observing how immigrants are represented and of interpreting the ideas and values associated with them in the multimodal texts analysed. Normally the press represents immigrants as "the others", as those that are not like us, the majority group, and that cannot be like us.

On the one hand, the two newspapers produced by Spanish people give power to the majority group since the return plan is presented as something positive, created by the Government to support immigrants in a vulnerable situation. However, immigrants' voices are not heard and their opinions of this plan are not taken into consideration, which gives power to elites. Moreover, the promotion of immigrants' return avoids referring to how they enrich our society by paying social security, sharing their culture and doing their job for years. On the other hand, *Latino* highlights immigrants' voices and makes visible immigrants' contribution to society since the news items found in this newspaper highlight the fact that immigrants enrich Spain through their work, by paying social security and through cultural exchange with people they come into contact with.

Choosing Critical Discourse Analysis and Visual Grammar as theoretical models offers the possibility of studying the texts paying attention to discursive forms of domination; in addition, they are appropriate frameworks because they are interdisciplinary since they give importance to the relationships between discourse and society, especially when they analyse the relationships of power, domination or inequality through the linguistic or visual characteristics of texts.

The return plan has not been a success because not as many immigrants as expected have taken advantage of it and because the Spanish Government

designed it without taking into consideration the socio-economic situation in the countries of origin of the immigrants concerned. The plan's failure is a way of pointing out that the migratory politics of the Government needs to be improved. In addition, the plan does not take into consideration the personal and vital life projects of immigrants or the social networks they have created in Spain throughout the years; on top of this, the terrible situation in some of their countries of origin is disregarded.

Notes

1. The original quotation is: “La función de los medios de comunicación como transmisores de otros discursos, como apoyos a esos otros discursos o como generadores de discursos propios es determinante en lo que se refiere al tratamiento público de la inmigración” (Bañón, 2002, 283).
2. The original quotation is: “La valoración no positiva de los inmigrantes se ha convertido en el marco axiológico fundamental para todos los que, desde las élites políticas o socioeconómicas españolas, participan en el debate social sobre los procesos migratorios” (Bañón, 2007, 45).

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