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**The Enemy Within:  
Media Discourses and Moroccans in Spain**

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# Table of Contents

<b>Acknowledgements</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>Acronyms</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Abstract and Key Words</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Chapter 1</b>	<b>8</b>
1.1 Introduction	8
1.2 Contextual Background	8
1.3 Immigration and Racial Prejudice	10
1.4 Moroccans and Immigrants in the Spanish Media	14
1.5 The Topic of this Research	15
1.6 Research Questions	18
1.7 Methods of Data Collection and Analysis	19
1.8 Paper Structure	20
<b>Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework</b>	<b>21</b>
2.1 Introduction	21
2.2 The Evolution of Hegemonic Racism	21
2.3 The Matrix of Domination and the Concept of Hegemony	23
2.4 Nationalism: The Will of the People, The Existence of a Nation	24
<b>Chapter 3: Locating Print Journalism in the Spanish Context</b>	<b>26</b>
3.1 Journalism and Capitalist Democracy	26
3.2 The Business of the Media	27
3.3 Political Reporting: Mainstream Newspapers	28
<b>Chapter 4: The Case of Torre Pacheco: Critical Discourse and Content Analysis</b>	<b>31</b>
4.1 Introduction: Discourse and Media Representations	31
4.2 The Torre Pacheco Raid: Political Reporting	32
4.3 Brief Analysis by Paper	32
4.3.1 Coverage by <i>El Pais</i>	32
4.3.2 Coverage by <i>ABC</i>	32
4.3.3 Coverage by <i>La Verdad</i>	33
4.3.4 Coverage by <i>The Cartagena Lighthouse</i>	34
<b>Chapter 5: Media Representations and Discursive Practices</b>	<b>35</b>
5.1 Introduction	35
5.2 Stereotypes & the Forging of the State's Boundaries	36
5.3 Securing Consent	44
5.4 Denial of Responsibility: The Public Apology	49
<b>Chapter 6: Conclusions</b>	<b>53</b>

<b>References</b>	<b>56</b>
<b>Appendix</b>	<b>60</b>

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## **List of Acronyms**

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**Atime** Association of Moroccan Immigrant Workers in Spain

**PSOE** Socialist Worker's Party in Spain

**PP** People's Party

## **Abstract**

This case study of media coverage of a police raid, a public apology and a protest demonstration in Southern Spain, examines the relationship between: anti-Moroccan discourse, the consolidation of national identity and journalism. The primary objective of this study is to provide evidence of how media representations, through the use of diverse representational strategies, are engaged in legitimizing the social exclusion of a Moroccan minority in Spain.

## **Keywords**

Immigration, Racial Politics, Media Studies, Politics of representation, Hegemony, Critical discourse analysis, Masculinity

# Chapter 1

## *1.1 Introduction*

This paper begins with the clear political intent of uncovering the role that journalistic discourse plays in the production and reproduction of the social exclusion of a Moroccan minority residing in Spain. The research proposed here aims to uncover the relationship(s) between hegemonic discourse, national identity and journalism. Chapter 1 is dedicated to establishing the contextual and methodological foundations that later on (Chapter 5) will allow us to analyse the ways in which discursive practices shape anti-immigrant sentiments in Spain.

## *1.2 Contextual Background*

This research is based on the idea that Spain is a contested category (Douglas, 1991). Despite the fact that the political arrangement known as the Spanish State was consolidated in 1469 (through the marriage of Isabel of Castile to Ferdinand of Aragon), many people in Spain feel ambivalent, at best, about the cultural category ‘Spain.’ The cultural category ‘Spain’ consists typically of having Spanish identity within the territory known as Spain. At present, all regions and autonomous communities in Spain recognize their participation and inclusion in the nation-state as Spanish citizens. However, this does not prevent some Spanish citizens from claiming other forms of non-Spanish identity in many respects (i.e. culture, language and a sense of history). Some citizens, members of minority communities identify themselves solely as Basque, Catalan or Valencian. For these groups, ‘Spain’ is regarded as nothing more than a construct into which their identity does not fit comfortably, if at all (Douglas, 1991).

General Francisco Franco tried to unify these multiple identities of Spain into a single and unitary ‘Spanish’ identity. He tried to enforce this artificially by forbidding the use of languages other than Spanish and allowing no semblance of regional autonomy during his 39-year dictatorship (Douglas, 1991). However, upon Franco’s death, in the mid-1970s Spain began its delicate transition from dictatorship to democracy (Meira Cartea & Caride Gomez, 1997). The period between 1975 and 1982 was characterized by



political turmoil and an economic crisis; a crisis of the state as well as of national identity in the post-fascist period. The national head of state during this period of transition was the King who attempted to counteract Franco's single 'Spanish race' ideology by using the much more pluralist (and perhaps eventually more successfully hegemonic) concept of the 'many Spains.' In his political rhetoric the King emphasized Spanish diversity and demonstrated this by speaking Catalan and Basque when he visits those regions (Douglas, 1991:128). Nevertheless, Franco's cultural ideology continues to resonate with some shades of nationalist political opinion, which would prefer a single national identity to be associated with the State (as can be evidenced in both *ABC* and *El Mundo* newspapers).

Franco's imprint in Spanish media, politics and public opinion has yet to be erased. For instance, one important legacy of Franco's regime is its impact on trade unions and the political left in general. Their generalized organizational weakness and restraint under the hegemony of the fascist party has not yet been fully overcome (Fishman, 1989). The fact that a PSOE (Socialist Worker's Party of Spain) government was elected in 1982 did little to change this overall situation. Fishman best describes this paradox:

*An observer of the political experiences of a number of other West European polities might have anticipated that government by a Socialist party would lead to a strengthening of the union movement and policies clearly designed to improve the collective interests of workers. For whatever reason—and many explanations have been advanced—this was not to be the case [in Spain] (Fishman, 1989:8).*

Spain is thus, a relatively young democracy, and the political legitimacy of ruling elites and the State cannot be taken for granted. The unity of the nation-state must constantly be asserted. This implies that political elites (within the Spanish government, as well as in business and the media) are continuously (re)producing discourses and images that secure the population's consent to ideas of a Spanish national identity as distinct from that of other groups, especially non-nationals and immigrants. I will argue that media representations are a means of legitimizing these discourses and of enlisting public compliance with this 'official' view. In particular, discourses that link crime, 'illegal

immigration', drugs and terrorism end up educating and disciplining the Spanish public into conforming to elite rule (Richardson, 2007).

### ***1.3 Immigration and Racial Prejudice***

Once the PSOE was elected into government in 1982, they successfully focused on improving the competitiveness of the Spanish economy. As Spain's economy took off, the importance of immigrants from the global south increased (Castles, 1986). It is important to highlight here that migration has always been a universal feature of humanity, thus the magnitude of contemporary international migration is not as unprecedented as the mass media and politicians would like us to believe. Migration has merely kept the pace with global population growth. So, rather than a huge increase in global migration, the most fundamental change we can now observe has been the reversal of trans-continental flows which were dominant in the past. In other words, what we are witnessing now is a change in migration patterns resulting in an unparalleled influx of non-western migrants into the West. Moreover, as technology and travel infrastructures have improved and become more accessible, there is an increased possibility for migrants and their families to live transnationally and adopt multiple national identities (de Haas, 2007). As de Haas states:

*[t]his enables migrants to foster double loyalties, to travel back and forth, to relate to people, to work and to do business in distant places. This de facto transnationalization of migrants' lives has also challenged assimilationist models of migrant integration and the modernist political construct of the nation-state and citizenship (de Haas, 2007: 823).*

In the case of Spain this reversal in migration patterns is evidenced in the period from 1961 until 1974, due to the Guest Worker programs of North-Western Europe. Spain and other Mediterranean countries became transit countries for migrants from Northern Africa awaiting entry into Germany, Switzerland and France among others. The recruitment of temporary labour migrants (or guest workers) concluded after 1974. However, many migrants stayed on, becoming permanent ethnic minorities in a situation of economic and social crisis (Castles, 1986).

As Spanish nationals negotiated ethnic categories and identities vis-à-vis the end of Franco's dictatorship and European integration, a shift in immigration patterns emerged. In 1986, Spain joined the European Community and the wave of European integration. This admission into the European community, furthermore, solidified Spain's role as a southern gateway in to Europe, affected Spain's immigration policies as well as public discourses on immigration. Spain had previously been a source country for migration and as a result of this shift it instead became a recipient country for migrants (Ortega, 2003). In other words, Spain has been both a country of emigration into North Africa, The Americas and North Western Europe and a country of immigration due to its colonial and trade histories.

Given that the temporary worker programs led to permanent migration, the number of foreign residents in Spain has increased significantly. From 1992 to 2000 the numbers of people migrating to Spain from developing countries rose by 214 per cent annually (Ortega, 2003). A census taken of foreign residents in Spain as of January 1<sup>st</sup> counted over 4.5 million persons which represent practically 10% of the total population (Amnesty International, 2008). It is important to take into consideration that Spain is a country that is facing the dilemma of an aging population. This means that an influx of able-bodied workers into a country whose citizens are increasingly less able to work is at the very least beneficial (Botsford, 2002). Furthermore, there has been migration into Spain before the Guest Worker Programs. Between 1978 and 1988 the number of foreigners legally settling in Spain doubled (Meira Cartea & Caride Gomez, 1997). This migration was not considered to be a problem because the migrants were mostly retired pensioners or people who worked for multinationals and came from other European countries (Meira Cartea & Caride Gomez, 1997).

The evolution of Spain's immigration laws goes hand in hand with the process of European Integration. As Spain joined the EU it was subject to Schengen and EU policies which implied that for Spain, for the first time most non EU entrants needed to have visas. As a result, the majority of immigrants who were already residing in Spain became 'illegals' over night. In recognition

of this situation, a ‘regularization program’ was established but this proved to be an insufficient response. Because of the bureaucratic nature of the Spanish legal system, Spanish law systematically reproduces illegality, marginality and precariousness of immigrants through the institutionalised ‘irregularity’ of the system. By ‘institutionalised irregularity’ it is meant that way the system is built makes it nearly impossible for an immigrant to remain ‘legal’ for the entire duration of his or her stay<sup>1</sup>. These ‘lapses’ in an immigrants’ ‘legal’ stay in Spain, further marginalize immigrants and consign them to an underground economy (Calavita, 1998).

The precariousness of immigrants’ situation in Spain is not limited to their exclusion from the legal job market. Immigrants face social exclusion from housing and other public services accessible to the Spanish such as education and healthcare. This marginalization is exacerbated by racism (xenophobia). What this means is that marginalized groups like immigrants, especially those who are in an irregular situation, are often the object of prejudice and racism on the part of the general population precisely because of the results of patterns of institutionalized racism that the very same marginalized groups, in this case undocumented immigrants face in the first place. (Perez Serrano, 2008).

Here it is important to note that xenophobia (a fear of or hostility towards foreigners) is not in itself a sufficient explanation for the emergence of antforeigner aggression (and violence against those who appear foreign) nor of the will to discriminate politically (Watts, 1996:120). For Watts, xenophobic

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<sup>1</sup> In order to secure legal status, foreigners must: 1) secure a work contract commitment from an employer, 2) take this pre-contract to the provincial Labour Department to apply for a work permit; 3) take this provisional work permit and other documents to the Department of Interior and the police for a residence permit; 4) finally secure a work/residence permit which authorizes them to live and work in Spain (usually expiring after one year). The work permit and the residence permit are all made inter-dependent when in theory they could be considered separately from each other. This means that possessing one of these documents is often a requirement in order to apply for any of the others (Calavita, 1998:552).

prejudice works through ideology<sup>2</sup> and threat (a real or perceived threat) to produce political discrimination. In other words, the feelings of helplessness, lack of orientation or fears of individual risk are not sufficient to explain or even motivate the desire to seek scapegoats on the part of government and the general population. More is needed to justify and incite people to discriminate both socially and politically. For Watts a real or perceived threat and political ideology are the catalysts that are needed to bring this about. (Watts, 1996:112) This is not to say that individual prejudice does not influence collective actions, xenophobia is only one part of an equation – political discrimination- that requires other factors. These issues will be further explored in Chapters Three and Four.

For Watts, prejudice is a construction that reflects biases, beliefs and perceptions but is unlike ideology in the sense that it lacks a high degree of organization and consistency. Thus, individual prejudices are more like proto-ideologies or quasi-ideologies that consist of fragments of ideology (stereotypes, beliefs) which serve to provide a guide to perception, help organize a world-view or even legitimize emotional evaluations of social objects. In this sense prejudices are politically relevant as part of the general political culture because they are a part of the mass belief system of a society and they support behaviour that is itself politically relevant. These proto-ideologies provide a functional equivalent for ideology that lends an aura of legitimacy to xenophobic prejudice (Watts, 1996:120).

A key study that provides useful background information for this research was carried out by the University of Cadiz and reports that ‘classic’ *manifest* prejudice against immigrants is on the decrease in Spain while *subtle* prejudice persists. *Manifest* prejudice refers to the direct rejection of a racial or ethnic group because they are perceived to be biologically inferior; whereas *subtle* prejudice refers to an indirect rejection which is justified through the defence

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<sup>2</sup> Given that the concept of ideology, as it is used in the media and social sciences is very vague, this paper applies the working definition of ideology as it is understood in

of traditional values that these immigrants or different ethnic groups question or simply do not share. Subtle prejudice also presents ‘us vs. them’ mentality with an exaggeration of cultural differences between the host and immigrant cultures. (Perez Serrano, 2008) Thus, the incompatibility of foreign/ other culture with Spanish/our culture is becoming one of the main legitimizing discourses that influence expressions of racism and xenophobia in Spain. (Rinkin & Perez Yruela, 2006: 9) Subtle prejudice, by its implicit nature, serves to mark and justify the social exclusion and discrimination that racial minorities are objects of.

#### ***1.4 Moroccans and Immigrants in the Spanish Media***

In the case of Spain, Moroccans have long been the object of prejudice, social exclusion and stigmatization. They are consistently reported in the media and by politicians as representing the largest and most sustained increase in immigration to Spain over the past 30 years (Ortega, 2003). Furthermore, Moroccans are generally treated by the written news media as Spanish ‘subjects’ who oppose Spanish agricultural or fishing interests and are enemies to Spanish territorial integrity (Granados cited in Perez Serrano,2008) . The media also refer to Moroccans as Muslims who are religious fanatics, conflictive, violent and sexist. Finally, the media note that as workers they take away jobs from locals and are ‘pre-modern’ opposed to European modernity (Perez Serrano, 2008).

The European Racism and Xenophobia Information Network (RAXEN), confirms that the media are perpetually referring to cases of violence in which foreigners and immigrants are involved, whether as victims or as attackers. Such media coverage is resulting in a media-driven perception that immigration is causing an increase in violence. The association between crime and immigration is evident in editorials and opinion articles of the press. For instance, RAXEN quotes the director of the right-wing newspaper *La Razón*,

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the work of Teun van Dijk, which is as follows: *an ideology is the foundation of the social*

who stated in his editorial on October 21 2003 that “70% of victims killed in violent attacks in Spain are either foreigners or their deaths have been caused in situation where somehow immigrants are involved” (RAXEN, 2003). This means that despite the fact that statistics point to foreigners in Spain as victims of violent crime, the press manages to turn these events into examples of the ubiquitous association between immigration and violent crime, resulting in immigrants coming across as perpetrators, rather than victims. This marginalisation prevents integration into Spanish society and the cycle of violence and social exclusion is perpetuated as their poverty and marginalization contributes to the increase in violence in general and to the rejection of immigrants by society. (RAXEN, 2003)

Violent manifestations of racism and xenophobia such as the three-day riots against Moroccan migrant workers in Almería in 2000 are just the tip of the iceberg when it comes to racism and xenophobia in Spain. However these acts enable one to study how instances of violence are written about in the press, and how discourses on masculinity, nationhood and violence are intertwined in these representations.

### ***1.5 The topic of this research***

This research aims to provide evidence of how hegemonic media institutions have used discursive tactics in language in order to: play on fears, create consent for the use of force and deny responsibility for the results of this use of force, all in function of legitimizing and locking-in the social exclusion of a Moroccan immigrant minority (either in a regular or undocumented situation). In order to empirically illustrate the use of discursive strategies that support this (re)production of power relations a case study of different media accounts of a police raid will be analysed. This study is also informed by wider debates in the context of the EU Return Directive on migration.

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*representations shared by a social group* (van Dijk, 2004).

After almost three years of tedious negotiations with member states, on June 18<sup>th</sup>, 2008 the European Parliament endorsed new EU-wide rules on returning foreign nationals back from whence they came. The 'Return Directive' forms part of the European Commission's Common Immigration and Asylum policy as outlined in the Hague Programme of 2004 (EurActiv.com, 2008). Tough clauses such as those permitting the detention of people for up to 18 months prior to their expulsion have infuriated human rights groups; hence the nick-name *Shame Directive*. The Spanish government insists that it will not change its immigration policy and will continue to apply less stringent measures than those stipulated under The Directive. As an example, the Spanish government claims that it will not detain an illegal immigrant for more than 40 days, although the directive's limit is 18 months (obtained from: <http://www.euractiv.com/en/mobility/spain-explains-directive-shame-latin-america/article-173727>).

A police raid took place on Friday June 27<sup>th</sup> at around 4p.m. in a small town called Torre Pacheco in the Autonomous Region (Province) of Murcia in Southern Spain. Although the news reports differ on the number of policemen and detainees involved, they all agree that both local and regional police officers were deployed into Torre Pacheco to detain and identify 'illegal' immigrants (mostly Moroccans). Local town squares were used to hold roughly 300 people for approximately four hours. The vast majority of those held were allowed to leave, as they were able to show documents that proved that their stay in Spain was 'legal.' As the raid concluded, 58 people remained in detention and were taken to government offices (there is some variation in the media as to the location where these people were taken) to begin their deportation process. As a result of this event, the Moroccan Immigrant Worker's Association (Atime) initiates a call for a protest demonstration against this police operation, and also demands an explanation from the government as to why this event took place. On July 2<sup>nd</sup> the Government Delegate for Murcia issues a public apology. On July 6<sup>th</sup> a protest demonstration with roughly 200 participants is carried out in the provincial capital.

In the period from June 28<sup>th</sup> until July 7<sup>th</sup> 2008 a total of twelve articles were published between mainstream media: *El PAIS*, *ABC*, *La Verdad* and *The*



*Cartagena Lighthouse* covering the raid in Torre Pacheco and subsequent events. Each paper's take on the Torre Pacheco raid structured the events that took place somewhat differently. Furthermore some papers evaluated some elements and ignored others that were highlighted as salient by others. The question this study seeks to answer is whether some hegemonic understanding of the 'problem' of Moroccan immigration can be arrived at from the papers' coverage of the raid. In particular, this study aims to analyse the media representations of the Torre Pacheco incidents in terms of the (re) production of dominant discourses on Spanish nationhood and its 'enemies.'

The media's exercise of power is evident from the outset in the discrepancies in versions of the Torre Pacheco events. Some differences may be accounted for by the use of different sources (interviewing people for numbers and timing is imprecise). On the contrary, differences such as where the detainees were taken, clearly point to an omission of information. Due to the fact that they are considered to be 'legitimate news sources' newspapers are agents that play a key role in engendering political and social legitimacy (Fralely & Lester Roushanzamir, 2006). Moreover, evidence from British studies shows that local newspapers are more trusted than any other journalistic medium - especially compared with national newspapers (Jackson, 1971; Murphy, 1978). Trust is a significant factor that contributes to the legitimization of actions and ideas.

Besides enjoying their readers' trust, local newspapers *La Verdad* and *The Cartagena Lighthouse* enjoy a much greater circulation within their particular distribution areas than national alternatives *ABC* and *El Pais* (Franklin & Richardson, 2002). Equally important, the audience of national papers tends to be differentiated by class and political commitment whereas local newspapers are generally constrained by their geographic distribution, thereby having the possibility to appeal to a much more diverse audience than the nationals (Richardson, 2007: 117). Not only does *La Verdad* have a greater possibility than a national paper to reach across boundaries of ethnicity, class, education and political belief; but *La Verdad* is written in a smaller locality where chances are that its audience has witnessed the event and will be able to notice if the

paper has failed to mention something crucial like the police entering the local mosque. As an illustration, *La Verdad's* June 28, 2008 story clearly states: "Police officers descended from the bus and burst into the Mosque which is located on this avenue." (La Verdad, June 28, 2008 – National Police Detains Dozens of Irregular Immigrants during a Great Raid in Torre Pacheco) Alicia Rubio, the reporter who wrote the article, does not hide this information behind reported speech; she uses active voice (so the action's agent is not hidden but evident).

The political commitment of a newspaper plays a significant role in the way an event is framed and analysed. In a country with wide variations in ethnic and political leanings, such as Spain, discursive differences at the national and regional level will manifest themselves.

Regardless of the discrepancies that are present in the coverage throughout the case study, this study will argue that the fact that the media have linked the raid to the question of national identity and the *Shame Directive*, is a symptom of a greater conflict involving wider social, political and economic interests which can be recognized in media representations of these events.

Discourses of manhood and violence play an interesting intersecting role in media accounts and these too will be considered in the research. I will argue that media representations are engaged in legitimizing harsher and more coercive government and EU policies by using diverse representational strategies, to create the impression of 'balance' in coverage. The outcome and goals of this 'balance' in media coverage will be questioned.

## ***1.6 Research Questions***

***Main Question:*** In what way do media discourses on the incident in Torre Pacheco in Spanish newspapers reveal a hegemonic or contested understanding of the meanings of nationhood, masculinity and identity?

### ***Sub questions:***

- a. How do media images relate to dominant discourses on nationalism and practices of exclusion of migrants in Spain?

- b. What are the images of Spanish nationals (men and women) as victims and perpetrators in these articles?
- c. What discursive strategies are employed in the production of these images and what do these strategies tell us about journalism as a social practice?

### ***1.7 Methods of data collection and analysis***

The analysis and collection of data in this research paper follows an iterative process that constantly alternates between analysis and data collection. By sampling 12 texts from relevant and 'legitimate' news sources both at the national and regional level and comparing their different versions of the same event (the Torre Pacheco case study) this study provides a general background that will serve to reconstruct and/or establish the links between discourse on national identity and its manifestation through legitimization of power and government policies- namely the Return Directive.

The non-linear research process that this study follows is based on the methodological approach of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Given that there is no one way of carrying out CDA, this research has chosen to examine the structure of mediated discourse such as: the use of active and passive syntactic structures; biased lexical choice; pronouns; primarily *us* and *them*; internal coherence of arguments and implications that compose the newspaper coverage of the Torre Pacheco raid. This research additionally extends the analytic focus to examine the broader features of production and consumption of discourse in a capitalist society (Woofit, 2005). This approach is informed by the works of J.E. Richardson and Norman Fairclough. The analysis was carried out in three dimensions: text, discursive practice and social practice taking into consideration that newspapers are the product of specific people who work in specific social contexts and their work (news articles) has social effects.

Intersectional analysis and its recognition that there is no one source of oppression also informs this research, especially when taking into consideration the social circumstances that inform news stories and racial/xenophobic violence against Moroccans.

As mentioned earlier, the sources of data collection are based primarily on the articles published by: *El Pais*, *ABC*, *La Verdad* and *The Cartagena Lighthouse* even though an effort is made to capture other relevant sources such as The Association of Moroccan Immigrant Worker's in Spain's statements and independent media sources.

The contextual verification and triangulation of sources of information is provided by secondary data. Qualitative data for triangulation comes from the diagnostic study "Opinions and attitudes of the Andalusian population towards immigration- OPIA" carried out by Sebastian Rincken and Manuel Perez Yruela which collects information from 35 in-depth interviews, 6 focus group discussions and a telephone poll taken in June 2005 with a sample of 3020 and a 2% margin of error (Rincken & Perez Yruela, 2006: 2). Data also comes from the Cadiz University Report "The Moroccan Immigrant in Andalusian Society: Reconstructing the Collective Imaginary" (Perez Serrano: 2008). And from Maria Naredo Molero's (Amnesty International Spain) paper on "Urban Security and Fear of Crime" (Naredo Molero, 2001). Finally, Juanjo Medina's paper "Citizen Insecurity, Fear of Crime and the Police in Spain" (Medina, 2003).

### ***1.8 Paper Structure***

Accordingly, this methodology has shaped the structure of this research into the following 3 parts: Chapters One and Two provide the contextual and theoretical groundwork which will allow us to understand the social conditions under which these discursive practices operate. Chapters Three and Four extend our analytic focus to the institution of the media and its function within the Spanish social context as a purveyor of discursive text for mass consumption while introducing the mediated Torre Pacheco case study. Chapter Five contains the textual analysis using CDA methodology. Finally Chapter Six concludes the paper and ties the previous chapters to the original research questions.

## Chapter 2

### Theoretical Framework

*This is not only the immigrant's problem: it is a process that starts with them and will end up extending itself to the reduction of the fundamental rights of the entire working class~*  
Fernando Orenes (Quoted in *Cartagena Lighthouse* story: 'Immigrants march against police raid')

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter is dedicated to exploring the complex relationship between politics, racist/ nationalist ideology and hegemonic discourse. Van Dijk notes that politics is one of the social domains whose practices are for the most part exclusively discursive (van Dijk, 2004). This means that ideologies do not only have the general social functions of providing a common ground for socio-culturally shared knowledge, they also serve political functions. Ideologies play a significant role in the legitimization of power abuse by dominant or hegemonic groups. To illustrate this, as was noted in Chapter One, the social practice of racial discrimination is informed by a racist ideology, prejudice alone is not enough to catalyse the social practice of exclusion and marginalization that 'the racial Other' is subjected to (Watts, 1996: 120). Racist and nationalist ideologies (as all other ideologies), in turn, are acquired, expressed, learned, propagated and contested through discourse (van Dijk, 2004). The role of the media (explored in depth in Chapter Three) is to provide a platform to mediate of the relationship between the ruling class and their objects of power.

#### **2.2 The evolution of hegemonic racism**

The political role of racism has evolved. The older belief systems that stressed the alleged biological inferiority of non-whites is said to have given way to more 'symbolic' forms of racism (Henry & Sears, 2002). Constructivism is a methodological response to this 'evolution' in the manifestation of racism because for Constructivism, the appeals to essentialism found in the older, racist belief systems explain very little of political and social significance (Goodin & Tilly, 2006).

Constructivism sets forth the proposition that markers such as race, ethnicity and religion (as well as class, gender and sexuality) are constituted by politics and by particular historical processes that have resulted in the organization of access to power and resources in ways that forge boundaries of exclusion and selective inclusion (Goodin & Tilly, 2006). Once categories such as race, ethnicity and religious identity, to name a few, are used to allocate social and economic power they develop into a tangible 'reality' and have the potential of becoming political identities. A good example of this forging of boundaries in operation can be found in the changes in laws to control immigration and migrants' status that took place in Spain.

The bureaucratic labyrinth of 'institutionalised irregularity' that characterises the Spanish legal system, reinforces a vicious cycle which ensures that legal status is temporary at best for often racially defined non-Spanish populations. Boundaries between legal and illegal populations are also in constant flux; someone who is 'legal' can become 'illegal' overnight. This results in a control of the immigrant as opposed to control of borders and immigration (Calavita, 1998: 552).

Racism and xenophobia both play a part in this situation by keeping immigrants in the most undesirable and arduous jobs, thus ensuring that their wages are beneath those paid to Spanish workers in every sector. Furthermore, if immigrants are in irregular situations, they come to be discriminated against at an institutional level on racial and national grounds because they are not entitled to any of the benefits of Spain's generous welfare state (social security, education, and universal healthcare). This confines immigrants to whatever work they can find and generally they end up working for employers who prefer their employees to remain in an undocumented status. This ensures further stigma, vulnerability and dependence which create enclave economies that employ 'illegals.' To better illustrate this situation Calavita cites the case of a Moroccan woman who was in an irregular situation, working as a domestic servant. She had to turn down a better-paying job when her employer threatened to report her to the police; legal sanctions can thus reinforce patterns of institutionalized racism (Calavita 1998: 556).

### ***2.3 Matrix of domination and the Concept of Hegemony***

*[T]he worker must always remember that the bourgeois newspaper is an instrument of struggle motivated by ideas and interests contrary to his. Everything that is published is influenced by one idea: that of serving the dominant class and which is ineluctably translated into combating the labouring class (Gramsci, 1916).*

Patricia Hill Collins' contribution to the understanding of oppression is useful when analysing the case of Torre Pacheco. Hill Collins posits that oppression cannot be reduced to a single fundamental type. There are multiple systems of oppression (i.e. racism, sexism, class discrimination, etc) that simultaneously influence one another and the lives of every person in a society (whether they are disadvantaged or not) and work together in producing injustice (Hill Collins, 2000:18). Hill Collins refers to this as a *matrix of domination* and further argues that four interrelated domains of power organize any given matrix of domination. These are: the structural domain – which organizes oppression (the Spanish government plays this role); the disciplinary domain- which manages oppression (in the Torre Pacheco case this is the police); the hegemonic domain- which justifies oppression (the role of the media); and finally the interpersonal domain which influences everyday lived experiences and individual consciousness (found in the aforementioned studies of racism and xenophobia) (Hill Collins, 2000:276).

Hill Collins draws her notion of the hegemonic domain from the Gramscian concept of hegemony. Gramsci was overwhelmed by the apparent “indifference of the masses” (Bates, 1975). This apathy and indifference of the masses to the appeals of Marxist revolutionaries was evidence for Gramsci of the masses' subordination not only to the force of the state, but also to the world-view of the ruling class. (Bates, 1975) For Gramsci, this is where the role of the intellectuals (in our case the media), who serve as functionaries of the complex of superstructures that make up the entire fabric of society, comes in (Gramsci, 1971: 12). Gramsci states:

*The intellectuals are the dominant group's 'deputies' exercising the subaltern functions of social hegemony and political government. These comprise:*

1. *The 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production.*
2. *The apparatus of state coercive power which 'legally' enforces discipline on those groups who do not 'consent' either actively or passively. This apparatus is, however, constituted for the whole of society in anticipation of moments of crisis of command and direction when spontaneous consent has failed (Gramsci, 1971: 12).*

For Gramsci, the 'normal' exercise of cultural leadership, or hegemonic power, in a particular regime is characterized by a combination of force and consensus variously equilibrated. The constant tension between the use of force and consent as the basis for hegemony can be seen in recent Spanish political history. Where hegemony is defined as political leadership based on the consent of the led, those who possess political hegemony make it appear that their use of force is based on the consent of the majority to let the regime govern (Gramsci, 1971).

#### ***2.4 Nationalism: The will of the people, the existence of a nation***

*National self-determination is, in the final analysis, a determination of the will [of the people]; and nationalism is, in the first place, a method of teaching the right determination of the will (Kedourie cited in Berberoglu, 2004:7)*

Cultural leadership has often relied on the ideal of the nation to secure the consent of the led to their government. Given that nationalist ideology is a subjective, idealist conception that (for the most part) is a product of the mind, the media serve as agents of nationalism when they help to skew public opinion in favour of this conception (Berberoglu, 2004). Nationalism is a form of modern symbolic activity that characterizes the nation and the division of the world into nation-states as natural (Kedourie cited in Berberoglu, 2004). The *naturalization* of this world- division is engendered by the intellectual



apparatus of a society (the media belonging to this apparatus) and results in the recognition of the nation-state as the 'ideal' form of political organization.

Nationalism is thus, a state of mind that gives birth to nations and not the other way around. Moreover, nationalist ideology utilizes the social construction of culture to rally the masses behind this nationalist banner.

The persistence of a plural cultural identity in Spain, given the ambivalent nature of the internal ethno-territorial relations present within its territory, is thus, problematic due to the nation-state's need for a unified cultural/national ideology with which to ensure its legitimacy and ultimately its existence (Moreno, 1997).

This study will explore the crucial link between public opinion and political control through examining a hegemonic nationalist political project as it is expressed in the media within the Spanish context. Public opinion (and the media in particular) is the point of contact between civil society and political society, between consensus and force (Bates, 1975). This study shows that civil society can often aid the public to attain more political consciousness. But in the end, freeing workers, or the public, of ideological fetters imposed on them by the cultural organizations of the ruling class is not always an easy matter. When the state and its allied media institutions 'manufacture consent' among the governed, the news becomes a crucial vehicle of the cultural construction of political hegemony (Herman & Chomsky, 1988).

As members of the intellectual branch of hegemonic civil society the work of journalists and other media representatives is to mediate the relationship between the ruling class ideology and the objects of power. This is done through news content that supports the hegemony of the ruling class by naturalizing it and the actions associated with its enforcement along with taking for granted the inequalities of contemporary capitalism. (Richardson, 2007) Thus, the form and content of the messages and discourse that journalism conveys should be questioned.

## Chapter 3

### Locating Print Journalism in the Spanish Context

*[T]he conscious and intelligent manipulation of the organized habits and opinions of the masses is an important element in democratic society* (Chomsky, 1999:53)

#### ***3.1 Introduction: Journalism and Capitalist Democracy***

Public journalists believe that the ‘proper’ function of journalism in a democracy is the promotion of reasonable and informed dialogue among its citizens. *If democracy requires deliberation, then equal access to the terms of deliberation becomes central to the entry of persons into the social world of democracy* (Haas & Steiner, 2001: 126). Thus by encouraging public debate, journalists allow for the true ‘will of the people’ to be expressed. For Richardson, the role of journalism is to provide information to help people understand the world and their position in it (Richardson, 2007:83).

Ironically, the more ‘free and popular’ a government, (in other words, the more democratic a government) the more it becomes necessary to rely on coercive and manipulative forms of control of public opinion in order to ensure submission of the ruled to the rulers. It is imperative to secure the consent of the ruled to hegemony, as force always resides with the masses (Chomsky, 1999). This explains the central role that the media has come to play in the creation of political identities in most capitalist democracies (as well as in most totalitarian governments). In a world of concentrated wealth and major conflicts of class interest, the expansion of the free-market has been accompanied by ‘an industrialization of the press’ (Herman & Chomsky, 1988).

One of the recent significant trends for the press in Spain, since the transition to democracy, is the move towards privatisation of the media industry whereby many small newspapers that were created upon Franco’s death merged to form larger media conglomerates <sup>3</sup> (Chabran, 2001).

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<sup>3</sup> During the dictatorship, art forms such as literature and cinema were heavily censored. Furthermore the government had complete control over all forms of press and media. Not only was dissent not tolerated in press and other media forms, but

### ***3.2 The Business of the Media***

As the media has integrated itself into the market system, in Spain as elsewhere, it has been forced to search for new markets. Technological improvements and the need for large audiences have both tended to increase the scale and capital costs of newspaper production. Advertising therefore has become a vital *necessary evil* for the survival of most newspapers today. Before advertising became prominent, the price of a newspaper had to cover the costs of doing business. With the advent of advertising, only the newspapers that could attract sufficient ads could afford to sell, usually at a copy price well below their production costs. Papers that lacked advertisers are at a serious disadvantage, as prices would have to be higher (or at least equal to their production costs) and they would have less surplus to invest in improving the paper's saleability (promotion, image, features) (Herman & Chomsky, 1988).

The reality of Journalism, under the current conditions of Capitalism, is that newspapers are businesses and they exist to make a profit either from their readers or those who choose to advertise with them. A newspaper's continued existence depends on its ability to continue selling its product (Herman & Chomsky, 1988).

The pursuit of profit results in advertisers' interest in audiences who will buy their products. The working classes, because of their lack of disposable income to buy their papers or products are thus, excluded from advertisers' market segment. This results in a situation where the wealthiest segments of the population have several daily papers to choose from whereas the working classes, who make up most of a country's population, have less papers written with them in mind (Richardson, 2007).

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they had to undergo additional censorship from the Catholic Church to censor for materials that were deemed immoral or a sexually explicit nature. The Constitution of 1978 represents the culmination in Spain's transition to democracy as it guarantees the rights and freedoms of press and outlaws prior censorship.

Thus, reality for the working classes is far from journalism's purpose 'to inform them of their place in world' and is more about informing them about the views and practices of the powerful which are being portrayed as the views and practices that they should aspire to by virtue of the fact that they are the views and practices of the powerful (Richardson, 2007: 86).

### ***3.3 Political Reporting: Mainstream Newspapers that Covered Torre Pacheco***

Newspapers are more than just business enterprises in search for commercial gain. They are social institutions. As such, in order to understand the social role that newspapers play one must first ascertain their functions. Given that newspapers write about political issues and essentially (re)produce political discourse, political ideology cannot be divorced from the media and its news coverage.

As an illustration, with regards to the Torre Pacheco raid and subsequent events, newspaper's political alignments played a significant role in their coverage. *ABC* is the oldest newspaper still operating in Madrid and is part of the Catholic and monarchist press which survived Spain's transition to democracy. *ABC* considers the catholic faith to be one of the foundations of the Spanish state in addition to the monarchy which it considers to be a historical instrument of national unity (Gimenez Aleman, 2002). *ABC* is a constant critic of the PSOE party and has been very critical of Catalan and Basque nationalism (Gimenez Aleman, 2002). Furthermore, *ABC* has politically allied itself with the PP<sup>4</sup> (Partido Popular –People's Party) since its inception in 1976 as the Popular Alliance Party (Chabran, 2001).

*ABC*'s anti-PSOE inclinations influenced its focus on the government delegate Rafael Gonzalez Tovar's (PSOE) incompetence and the subsequent need for a political apology. In their desire to highlight the mistakes made by the ruling party, information about the police raid is relegated to the last

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<sup>4</sup> The PP is currently Spain's largest opposition party in Congress and it is the main Right political party with a Christian Democratic ideology.

paragraph of the article and serves as mere background information for Gonzalez Tovar's apology. With regards to the police, *ABC* states that they were simply fulfilling their duty. What is central to *ABC*'s article (see appendix A5) is that a recently elected government delegate already has to apologize for his mistakes. *ABC* does not accept Gonzalez Tovar's apology, nor believes his excuses.

*The Cartagena Lighthouse* edited by Prensa del Sureste S.L. (South-Eastern Press) also criticises the PSOE government, but chooses to do so from the point of view of the Moroccan (specifically) immigrant, not the Spanish citizen (as does *ABC*). The article's headline is very telling: *Atime labels the Raid in Torre Pacheco as "Nazi"*. The 'Nazi' label is actually a distortion of a quote by Mohamed Karim, member of the executive board of Atime. Karim states: "*an operation such as this has only been seen in Nazi movies.*" (*Cartagena Lighthouse* June 29, 2008). The comparison of the raid to a movie is a strategy used by Atime which was reported in *El Pais*, *La Verdad* and *The Cartagena Lighthouse*. It is important to note that in Spanish the expression 'it was like a movie' refers to something that is unbelievable, beyond expectation and more importantly unreal. This relates to issues of denial which will be addressed in Chapter Five. With regards to the *Cartagena Lighthouse* article, it mentions the raid as an afterthought, nothing more than background information with which to frame other more important matters. On that note, this article is the only one which explicitly makes the connection between the *Shame Directive* and the events in Torre Pacheco. *El Pais* hints that there is a connection between the raid and the *Directive* but never comes out and states this, in fact a seemingly unrelated picture of Peruvians protesting against the *Directive* is placed next to the article on the raid "allowing" readers to make the connection themselves. The *Cartagena Lighthouse* clearly states that this raid is related to a policy change. The following excerpt demonstrates this:

*For Atime it has become clear that a change has taken place in Zapatero's government policies with regards to immigrants. The person responsible for Atime in Cartagena, Mohamed Karim stated on Friday "we want to know if a veiled version of Berlusconi's or Zarkozy's policies are being applied; despite the fact that the government voted against the*

*directives proposed by these countries.” Karim added later “They make immigrants lives’ bitter so that they will leave because they cannot convince them to do so voluntarily. (Cartagena Lighthouse June 29, 2008)*

*El Pais* (The Nation) was founded in 1976, just six months after the Dictator Francisco Franco died. By filling a void in Spanish journalism that was created by the end of Franco’s regime, *El País* was able to establish itself as the democratic and Europeanist paper both giving voice to ‘anti franquistas’ and building strong ties with the PSOE (Socialist Party) (Wikipedia, El Pais). In its coverage of the Torre Pacheco raid *El Pais*, limited its allusion to the *Shame Directive* to a single sentence: “*The association demanded that Alfredo Pérez Rubacaba, the Minister of Interior, explain if this is going to become a standard procedure.*” This glossing over the alleged policy change issue is thus, hardly surprising. The editorials printed in *El Pais* criticised Italy and France’s position on the Directive but remained mute as to the PSOE’s actions and positions. By emphasizing that France and Italy were the ‘bad guys’, Spain came out as the ‘good guy’. Now that the Spanish government behaves in a manner similar to France and Italy’s governments, *El Pais* tries to avoid pointing fingers.

*La Verdad* was established on March 1<sup>st</sup>, 1903 in the midst of religious turmoil in Murcia. In fact the capital used to set-up *La Verdad* came from the dioceses. However, it was not until it became the voice of the Agrarian Federation of Labour Unions that *La Verdad* was able to find its niche in the Murcian media market. This is why *La Verdad* has chosen to frame the Torre Pacheco events in terms of a problem related to foreigners, given that its readers’ would consider immigrants as a burden on the economy and competition for jobs.

This overview of the political inclinations of the mainstream Spanish printed media which covered the Torre Pacheco raid story and its follow-ups sets the scene for the specific analysis of the content of the media coverage of the events that have already been briefly outlined in the previous two chapters.

## Chapter 4

### The Case of Torre Pacheco: Critical Discourse and Content Analysis

#### 4.1 Introduction: *Discourse and Media Representations*

This chapter presents the results of the analysis of data collected from the 12 articles that compose the Torre Pacheco case study in media coverage. Given that the CDA methodological approach called for a constant back and forth between data collection and its analysis, this chapter analyses how social and political inequalities are manifest and reproduced through discourse while at the same time it collects examples of these inequalities and their manifestations. In this manner analysis of Fairclough's discourse circle- where discourse is created by its social context and simultaneously creates the social context around it-is achieved.

Newspaper articles differ from other narrative forms in that they do not follow an Aristotelian narrative structure<sup>5</sup>. As mentioned in Chapter three, in the interest of attracting audiences, newspaper articles often commence with a story's climax along with an introduction of the main characters. For the purposes of our study, character choice is also an indicator of the nationalist/ racist ideology that informs the discourse on Moroccan immigrants in Spain. Ideological discourse often features four overall strategies which van Dijk calls the 'ideological square.' These strategies are: to emphasize *our* good things; to emphasize *their* bad things; to de-emphasize *our* bad things; and to de-emphasize *their* good things. Character choice in a newspaper article represents the starting point from whence the reader learns who is *us* and who is *them*.

Table 1 (see annex) shows the introduction and character choices made by all four newspapers in articles specifically about the raid which took place on June 27th.

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<sup>5</sup> According to Aristotle dramatic/ narrative action has 8 parts in the following order: Exposition of the problem/situation ; Rising action; foreshadowing; complications; crisis; climax; deus ex machine; denouement.

## **4.2 Brief Analysis by Paper**

This section will briefly explore how each paper reported the Torre Pacheco incident, as an introduction to the themes that arise within the articles: the media's representation of hegemonic or contested understandings of the meanings of national identity, immigration and masculinity.

### **4.2.1 Coverage by *El Pais***

*El Pais* begins its account of the Torre Pacheco incidents by presenting the basic facts of the police operation; the police being the main character of *El Pais*'s narrative. Of all the articles, the one printed by *El Pais* (see appendix A2) about the raid, best approximates the standard newspaper article format, the use of *Atime* as a single source to corroborate information is its notable weakness. This is not surprising since *El Pais* was the first newspaper in Spain to establish and print style guidelines. Moreover *El Pais* has always advocated for the professionalization of journalism in Spain (Wikipedia, *El Pais*). Though a bias exists in this article, it is not immediately identifiable, which is not the case with the *La Verdad*, and *Cartagena Lighthouse* articles. The article alternates between the use of reported speech to present both *Atime* and the Government's positions and presents 'facts' that seemingly add more background information to the incident; all in accordance with responsible journalism. It is upon a closer look at the choice in quotes and 'facts' and the order in which these are presented that one can gauge the underlying bias in this article.

*El Pais* publishes a second article on July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2008 (see appendix A8) about the Government Delegate's public apology. In four sentences this article covers the apology, it provides background information on the raid as a cause for this apology, it includes a token quote made by *Atime* which calls the raid an "immigrant hunt" and finally mentions the fate of 9 out the 58 detainees accused of document forgery and illegal impersonation.

### **4.2.2 Coverage by *ABC***

*ABC* limited its coverage of the Torre Pacheco incidents to a single article titled 'Government Delegate Labels Torre Pacheco Raid as out of Proportion' (see appendix A5). *ABC* did not run an article about the raid. They



did, however, mention the raid as contextual information to explain why the apology was taking place. The article is ten sentences long and emphasizes the negative aspects of Gonzalez Tovar's apology reflecting different political leanings between Gonzalez Tovar and *ABC*. Furthermore, *ABC* de-emphasizes the police's actions with regards to the raid and briefly refers to the people involved in the raid as foreign nationals or foreigners. But at the same time they do apply the indexical strategy of mentioning 'mosque entrances' (plural)<sup>6</sup>. The article also presents a higher figure of detainees 'without papers' than do *El Pais*, *La Verdad* and *the Cartagena Lighthouse*.

#### **4.2.3 Coverage by La Verdad**

*La Verdad* offers the most extensive coverage of all three events that compose the Torre Pacheco case study: demonstration, raid and apology. One article published on June 29<sup>th</sup> is dedicated to the raid (see appendix A1). Next, on July 2<sup>nd</sup> two articles are published on Torre Pacheco-related events, namely, Gonzalez Tovar's apology and the protest demonstrations that were scheduled (see appendix A6 and A7). The following three articles refer to the protest demonstration (before and after the event) and were published on July 5<sup>th</sup>, July 6<sup>th</sup> and July 7<sup>th</sup> (see appendix A9, A10 & A12).

The raid's coverage is a six sentence-long article. The coverage of Gonzalez Tovar's apology is a copy of *ABC*'s report that repeats sentences word for word. To illustrate: "despite being the supreme commander of the State's security forces and corps, the Government Delegate stated yesterday that he was not informed..." It is important to note that *La Verdad*'s online version of the story enhances the meaning of the political apology (interpreted as the Government's mistake) by including a video link to Gonzalez Tovar's press-conference.

The four articles dedicated to the protest demonstration represent the bulk of *La Verdad*'s coverage and are written by two reporters Alicia Rubio and

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<sup>6</sup> Indexicality refers to context-based references that are indicative (rather than descriptive) and symbolically point to some state of affairs, or some social identity (wikipedia, indexicality).

J. P. Parra. Alicia Rubio's July 2<sup>nd</sup> article focuses on Atime as convenors of the protest and the controversial 'mosque incursion.' J.P. Parra writes about NGOs and Immigrant associations as participants and organizers of the protest demonstration. Parra applies the strategy of indexicality to explicitly link the raid to the *Directive of Shame*. He also mentions Spanish immigration laws and addresses the issue of the association of criminality and immigration. Sadly, these instances of exemplary reporting do not prevent Parra from manifesting a bias. By writing the following:

*Atime highlights that this 'police excess' is unprecedented in Spain and calls to mind that it coincides with a hardening of European policies.*

By doing this, Parra is de-emphasizing the plight of Moroccan and all other immigrants in Spain (their marginalization and exclusion did not begin in June of 2008) and he is shifting the blame for what took place away from the national government and towards the European Union, something that fits in well with Vocento's (the media conglomerate that owns both *ABC* and *La Verdad*) nationalist political ideology.

The other *La Verdad*, the other article comes from EFE Spain's national news agency. EFE follows the same line as Alicia Rubio and covers the event specifically from the point of view of Atime. In the last article published by *La Verdad*, J.P.Parra repeated much of what had been written earlier: he mentioned the raid, the apology and collected a Moroccan immigrant- Bodazza Tanji's statement about how he was grabbed and detained on his way to buy medicine for his sick son.

#### **4.2.4 Coverage by the Cartagena Lighthouse**

The Cartagena Lighthouse published two stories. A story about the raid was published on June 29<sup>th</sup> (See appendix A3) and a story about the protest demonstration was published on July 7<sup>th</sup> (See appendix A1). Considering that *The Cartagena Lighthouse* is politically aligned with the PSOE (the same political party Gonzalez Tovar belongs to) it comes as no surprise that they chose not to report on his political apology. Both of the stories published were specifically written from Time's point of view. No effort is made to collect information from another source. The July 7<sup>th</sup> article does mention that

Spanish, Bolivian, Human Rights and other associations were present during the protest march.

These different versions of a single event allow us to highlight the two separate, inter-related ways in which media representation operates. Firstly, newspaper representation can be conceptualised as an attempt by newspapers to act and argue on behalf of their readers much like elected representatives (hence the political positioning of papers). In other words, this representation is the one advocated by public journalists, where journalism is a public service and newspapers should position themselves as advocates for Spaniards (Richardson, 2008). Secondly, representation can be conceptualised as an attempt on the part of newspapers to represent Spain to its Spanish readers; it is through reading the newspapers that Spaniards become 'informed' of what Spain is. This double sense of representation and the power that newspapers have to 'define' and 'speak for' people is exercised through discursive practices that serve the interests of those who hold hegemonic power in Spain.

## **Chapter 5**

### ***Media Representations and Discursive Practices***

#### ***5.1 Introduction***

As one can already begin to see, coverage of the Torre Pacheco case varied extensively. However three archetypal argumentative strategies or Topoi, namely: stereotyping categorization and framing were used to construct a negative orientation against Moroccans within these 12 articles. There are three outcomes and goals behind the application of these strategies within the Torre Pacheco media coverage which will be used to organize the rest of this chapter:

- I. A forging of boundaries of exclusion via "us vs. them" language. The subtle racism of irreconcilable differences.
- II. The acquisition of consent. Language used to secure the consent of the governed
- III. The dilution/denial of responsibility

## ***5.2 Stereotypes and the Forging of the State's Boundaries***

*"In an anthropological spirit, then, I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community - - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign (Anderson, 1991: 5)"*

One of the strategies applied in the newspaper articles representation of Spain is the use of stereotypes. As observed by Stuart Hall, stereotyping is part of the maintenance of social and symbolic order. Stereotyping enables establishment of a symbolic frontier that divides the normal and acceptable from the deviant and pathological (Hall, 2007: 258). By adopting this splitting strategy, stereotyping facilitates the 'binding' or bonding together of those who are 'normal' into one 'imagined community; and sends into exile all of 'the others' who are in some way different (Anderson, 1991). This binding is true regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in a nation; regardless of the structural violence present in a nation, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately, it is this fraternity that has made it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people to willingly die and kill for such 'limited imaginings' (Anderson, 1991). This is also evidenced in the findings of a study carried out by the University of Cadiz on Perceptions of Moroccan Immigrants in Andalusia. The study shows that there is a generalized tendency for Moroccans to be perceived as irreconcilably different, in terms of culture, from Spaniards in addition to their perception as a homogeneous 'other' group, despite the fact that the Moroccan population in Spain consistently presents a socio-demographic profile that is ever more complex (Perez Serrano: 2008).

By constructing people according to a norm and excluding the 'other' stereotyping reinforces gross inequalities of power. Stereotypes function by getting a hold of the few, visible, simple, memorable and easily grasped characteristics of a person or ethnic group, reducing everything about that person or ethnic group to those traits while at the same time exaggerating and simplifying them. The use of stereotyping thus, reduces, essentializes, naturalizes and fixes difference. Stereotyping is the manifestation of the nexus between representation, difference and power (Stuart Hall, 1997: 259). In the

case of Spain, the regime of stereotypical representation of Moroccans is reproduced and maintained through the media as well as other cultural practices of representation (scholarship, literature, painting and so on).

In the story published by *El Pais* on the police raids that took place in Torre Pacheco on Friday ('Police Launches Massive Raid Against Immigrants' published on Sunday June 29<sup>th</sup>) a direct quotation (apparently) captures what Atime's spokesperson (Kamal Rahmouni) said regarding the police raid and provides the reader with further information about the raid fulfilling the what, who, when, where requirements of all news reports. However, it must be noted that although this quote appears to faithfully record what was said, the readers' interpretation of the quotation and the source responsible will invariably be framed by the reporting clause that the reporter chooses to employ (Richardson 2007).

*Kamal Rahmouni, the president of the Association of Moroccan Workers in Spain (Atime) lamented yesterday the treatment dispensed by the agents who "removed foreign-looking people, those who appeared Moroccan, and Blacks and Ecuadorians, from bars, internet cafes and the very mosque to concentrate them in three town squares and ask them for their identification documents." Atime has not hesitated to qualify the operation as an "immigrant hunt".*

The reporter introduces the quote by indicating that Rahmouni is *weak* by using the verb *laments*. Furthermore, since the reader is not privy to the entire conversation between Rahmouni and *El Pais*, the excerpt of the quote is 'edited' and the way that it is edited can actually change the connotation of what was actually said. In this case, it can be argued that Rahmouni's quote serves to, in point of fact, reinforce the stereotypes associated with Moroccans in Spain.

For instance in the quote, *foreign-looking people* refers to essentialist racial categories which allow people to determine difference based on physical characteristics. Although one could potentially argue that people of African descent are easy to distinguish due to the colour of their skin, the same is not the case for Moroccan and Ecuadorians. The historical reality of widespread

miscegenation in both Morocco and Ecuador has made it extremely difficult to determine exactly what a quintessential Moroccan or Ecuadorian looks like.

One of the primary strategic rituals applied by journalists aiming to produce an ‘objective’ piece or writing is the quotation of sources whose credentials and credibility are openly accounted, to verbalize (usually controversial) truth claims (Richardson, 2008). Let us recall that *El País* is one of the principal advocates of the professionalization of journalism in Spain, which is why they would be careful to appear objective and would apply these strategies. Kamal Rahmouni certainly fits the profile of a news source with credentials and this would lead us to believe that the journalist, Toño Calleja, agrees with Rahmouni in believing that racism is the cause of the raid. However, the way Calleja has framed Rahmouni’s quote ‘laments’ and the fact that later on in the article Calleja uses unnamed sources to undermine Rahmouni’s statement would lead us to conclude that Calleja and thereby *El País* do not share Rahmouni’s evaluation. Unnamed sources are generally regarded as the weakest kinds of sources. However Richardson has noted that the central functions that the attribution of unnamed sources can have in news rhetoric actually serve to enhance the credibility of the unnamed source or simply evoke emotions in the reader (Richardson, 2008). This is the case in the *El País* article, where following Rahmouni’s quote an unnamed source is cited claiming that the Torre Pacheco raid was well-received by the town’s residents, due to security concerns. Since this expression contains an evaluation of the event, it opens up several possibilities for its rhetorical construction and actually undermines the factuality and objectivity of the news discourse found in this article (Richardson, 2008).

*[B]ars, internet cafes and the very mosque...* In terms of bars and internet cafes, Brogger and Gilmore best explain the issue of space in rural Southern Spain:

“[i]n the pueblos the sexes are kept strictly apart due to a pervasive sexual double standard. Men are almost always outdoors: in the street, *the bars* [my italics], the plazas, or socializing with friends... [t]he women and girls are expected to stay indoors in the typical sequestering pattern of females in Southern Europe and the Middle East” (Brogger & Gilmore, 1997: 16). The

space issue is salient in the Torre Pacheco case study because, despite the fact that Rahmouni is quoted later on in the *El Pais* article as saying that women were present among the arrested, pictures of the raid published by *La Verdad* show that it was mostly men who were detained. The presence of females influences how the use of force on the part of the police will be received by an audience. As men are perceived to belong to the public space of the street, the police intercepting men in the street is nothing extraordinary, however if this were the case with women being intercepted or accosted in the street, it would reinforce the need to sequester females. Furthermore, the use of force (unnecessary though it was) would not be allowed by any means against women, whereas given that men are supposed to be physically strong and used to using force in their daily lives, it may not be regarded as anything out of the ordinary.

As Broggers and Gilmore have noted, the gender segregation in terms of space is similar in Spain and Morocco. However, as noted in the Cadiz University study “characteristics that we (Spaniards) highlight as positive in our own fellow-citizens, such as the attachment to family, take on negative connotations when we refer to Moroccan immigrants”(Perez Serrano, 2008). A reader’s perception of Moroccan men in the streets and bars will not be to regard this as a common element between his/her culture and that of the immigrants, but to regard this piece of information with suspicion.

The reasons for this suspicion are also mentioned in the Cadiz University study which found that one of the most pervasive myths about Moroccan immigrants in Spanish society is the nexus between immigration and delinquency. This link comes first and foremost from communications media and the types of stories related to Moroccans that they print. As a result it has cemented into a stereotype which regards Moroccan as especially prone to delinquency and thus responsible for the increase in crime and violence and overall insecurity. A quote included in the Perez Yruela and Desrués study provides a glimpse of Spanish public opinion about Moroccans:

*Look, in the El Ejido zone is where there are most Moroccans... In this zone there are more Moroccans than here. You can't go for a walk there on a Sunday [...] like, getting off [the car] and going for a walk or entering [the area]! Of course, it is filled with*

*Moroccans. Men only. So, of course the time comes when you can't go out into the street. There are zones where you just can't go. So, it isn't fair either"* (EA 10, Roquetas de Mar in Desrues and Perez Yruela, 2007 quoted in Cadiz University study).

So, if an *El Pais* reader holds views similar to the person interviewed by Perez Yruela and Desrues and he/she reads that the police is entering a 'dangerous immigrant-filled zone' and pulling out hundreds men out of bars, the streets etc. around 5 p.m. in the afternoon. The reader's reaction will be to congratulate the Police for actually doing something to fight crime and they may actually be in favour of the raid. This is an example of a newspaper positioning itself as an advocate for 'the people.' An acknowledgement of the reader's positive reaction is found the *El Pais* article itself which mentions that amongst a fraction of the Torre Pacheco residents the raid was well-received because people believe that it will help to increase security ('Police Launches Massive Raid Against Immigrants,' published on Sunday June 29 *El Pais*).

Thus far we have not mentioned Rahmouni's comment about the mosque. The 'fact' that the police entered the mosque was much contested in the Torre Pacheco news coverage. When the government delegate for Murcia, Rafael Gonzalez Tovar, publicly apologized for the raid he was careful to deny that the police ever entered the mosque. Rahmouni chose to include this piece of information, perhaps to diffuse the negative impact that comes from the association of Moroccan immigrants and bars, perhaps, as he says 'the very mosque,' he sought the audience's sympathy for the alleged police violation of a sacred place. Whatever his reasoning, the mentioning of a mosque in a story about irregular immigration in Spain may not have the effect that Rahmouni or even Atime would desire.

The University of Cadiz study concludes that the difference in religion is one of the most salient issues which hinders Moroccan immigrants' acceptance into Spanish society. Religion is perceived to be an insurmountable barrier which, according to Spaniard's perception, impedes Moroccans' 'openness' to Spanish culture and norms. The study found that Islam is considered to be the identity core of all Moroccans as it is believed that it is through their religion that all of the 'threats' to Spanish culture come from: religious fanaticism, Islamic terrorism, misogyny, polygamy, women's oppression and finally (in the



case of the Autonomous Region of Andalusia) the re-conquest of Al-Andalus<sup>7</sup>(Perez Serrano: 2008).

The issue of Mosques polarizes public opinion and can never be discussed, in Spain, without arousing strong emotions, as past and present fears of Islam are joined in present-day conversations about Mosques (Perez Serrano, 2008). Perhaps this is why the media were so reluctant to touch on the issue of the mosque. The June 29, 2008 *El Pais* article includes information about the police entering the local mosque as a part of Rahmouni's quote. However, the story then notes that the government delegation's office denied that the police ever entered the local Mosque. *ABC*'s July 2<sup>nd</sup> raid story is also careful to note that "Over 300 foreign nationals were taken out of bars and cafés, detained at mosque *entrances* or intercepted in the street by over 70 agents." (My italics). Most news reports in national papers completely circumvent the issue by not mentioning the mosque at all.

Let us recall that the Cadiz University study found that Islam is generally regarded as a major impediment to Moroccan assimilation into Spanish culture. Leaving aside the debate as to whether immigrants should completely assimilate into their host culture, or whether both cultures should make an effort to adapt to each other, the issue remains that Islam and its symbolic embodiment in mosques will not be regarded as a sacred issue by Spanish nationals, as Rahmouni intended it to be. Therefore by singling out Moroccans from the 19 different nationalities that were represented in the raid and choosing to mention the mosque issue; thereby eliciting a (most likely) negative response on the part of its readers, *El Pais* is depicting a Moroccan threat to Spain to its 'Spanish' readers.

Kamal Rahmouni mentioned another sacred symbol in the June 29, 2008 *El Pais* article. Even if one is not familiar with the importance that the mother holds for both Maghreb and Southern Spanish culture, the comment indicates

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<sup>7</sup> Al-Andalus refers to was the Arabic name given to those parts of the [Iberian Peninsula](#) governed by [Muslims](#), or [Moors](#), at various times in the period between 711

to the reader that Rahmouni perceived that some sacred code had been violated. Rahmouni's comment is as follows:

*They have detained hundreds of people for hours, without providing them neither food nor water in the middle of summer, knowing that there were grandparents and even mothers who had gone out to buy food for their children.*

The structure of this sentence can be compared to the sentence used when Rahmouni mentioned the mosques: "removed foreign-looking people ... from bars, internet cafes and the very mosque" (*El Pais*, Sunday June 29 'Police Launches Massive Raid against Immigrants'). Rahmouni saves his mention of sacred symbols for last, to add impact to his words and make them more memorable.

The mentioning of mothers is central to this forging of boundaries, not only because women and the elderly are already 'Othered' and marginalized, but because in terms of national boundaries the nation is often presented as feminine: a mother country (la Madre Patria) bound by citizens speaking a mother tongue (Weiss, 2001). For this reason it is not surprising that according to the University of Cadiz study's findings Moroccan women and their ill-treatment on the part of Moroccan men is an issue that Spaniards select as particularly problematic. Moroccan women and their bodies represent one of the battle fields on which the forging of boundaries and exclusion from Spain is fought. According to the Cadiz Study, public opinion regards Moroccan women as submissive and oppressed by both their religion and male whims (Perez Serrano, 2008). In one of the first major studies of manhood in anthropology in 1981, Brandes looked at the development of male identities in Andalucía (Southern Spain) and found that even if women were not physically present with men while working or drinking and even if they were not present in their conscious thoughts, women's presence was and remains a significant factor in men's own subjective understanding of what it means to be men (Gutman, 1997). On the same note, Broggers and Gilmore note that southern

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and 1492. (Andalus, al-" *Oxford Dictionary of Islam*. John L. Esposito, Ed. Oxford University Press. 2003. Oxford Reference Online. Oxford University Press)

Spain is *mother-centred and father-ruled* (Broogers and Gilmore, 1997:14). In short, these allegedly docile, weak, and abused women represent the perfect ‘damsels in distress’ that require saving by a strong man. This representation of women is vital not only to understand how male identities, both Spanish and Moroccan, are constructed, but to justify attacking certain kinds of masculinities which are perceived as a threat to these women.

It may appear that by including Rahmouni’s quote the *El Pais* article is turning the xenophobic assumption that Moroccans mistreat their women on its head by showing that in the Torre Pacheco raid it is the Spanish police who actually mistreat women. Sadly this is not the case. First of all, security from crime is a current concern in all of Spain. The context of the raid in terms of time and space must not be overlooked. For many an audience member, a woman alone in the street who is harassed by the police will not be regarded as a victim of police harassment, a woman who is found in the street on a Friday evening will be considered to be asking for trouble. Expressions in Spanish like *mujer de la calle* – ‘woman of the street’ continue to hold water and be used as synonymous with prostitution; moreover, that Rahmouni was careful to use the term *mother* instead of woman proves that this continues to be the case in Spain. What is more important is that the mentioning of a sacred symbol such as the mother is a double-edged sword that actually serves to discredit Rahmouni as a credible source. ‘Allowing’ a mother to go shopping in the street, alone and unprotected will only be used to show how Moroccans disregard and mistreat women. Furthermore, hiding behind one’s mother (or taking a sacred symbol in vain) is hardly laudable in a macho context and as Calleja has already indicated, Rahmouni is described as weak and limited to lamenting and complaining. His symbolic emasculation as a leader of the Moroccan community, by the article, is completed with the mentioning of the ‘unnamed sources’ that actually support the raid and ‘officially’ open up the possibility of doubting Rahmouni’s statements about mothers and the mosque. Considering that Calleja mentions the association between immigration and crime, we can safely assume that the article’s author has chosen not to believe Rahmouni’s assertions.

### 5.3 Securing Consent

*The fear of crime generates alienation, promotes the creation of noxious stereotypes and ruptures informal social control networks* (Conklin, 1975 cited in Medina, 2003).

As both the *La Verdad* and the *El Pais* articles acknowledge, there is a segment of the population in Torre Pacheco who welcomes both the police's presence and conduct. Both papers acknowledge that Spanish nationals are concerned about a perceived security problem. The *La Verdad* article uses a direct quotation to express people's approval of the police raid. In the ambiguous last sentence, the article hints that support for the raid is plentiful "not few." For Teun van Dijk when sources are actually being quoted in a newspaper article, *evidentiality* is linked to *intertextuality* (van Dijk, 2004). This link serves to make controversial claims more plausible (van Dijk, 2004). The quotations below are examples of how intertextuality is used as a political strategy to create consensus for the negative discourse of the threat of immigration (van Dijk, 2004).

*Thank God that the police did what they had to do because in our town there is more and more violence and insecurity and with this raid that will come to an end once and for all* (*La Verdad* – 06/29/08).

*However amongst a fraction of the Torre Pacheco residents the raid was well-received people claim that it will help to increase security* (*El Pais* - 06/29/08).

In post-industrial societies, danger is no longer embodied by exterior beasts or natural disasters but within society by other citizens (Naredo Molero, 2001). The informal social control mechanisms of the pre-industrial era have been substituted by agencies of formal control: the police, the courts and the prison. Today, security has been stripped of its former allies: liberty, solidarity or mutual trust and has been reduced to signify citizen's protection against crime (Naredo, Molero, 2001). Fear of crime, defined as an emotional response of nervousness or anxiety either towards crime or symbols that a person associates with crime, is unlike real delinquency in that it affects a greater spectrum of citizens and its consequences are prevalent and severe (Medina, 2003). The fear of potential danger can be a more severe problem than

delinquency itself, because this fear effectively forces individuals to change their lifestyles.

In 2000 the Belloch Plan (named after the Mayor of Zaragoza) was put into place in Spain. This plan was geared towards increasing police presence in the streets to increase citizen's security. Evaluations of the plan's effectiveness found that it did not have a noticeable effect on reducing feelings of insecurity but it had a slight effect in improving citizen's perception of the police (Medina, 2003). The statement: *it is a relief that the police do this*, from the *La Verdad* article, echoes these findings.

The direct quote included in the *El Pais* article is a confirmation that a raid such as the one that took place in Torre Pacheco "gives people more security." This is an example of the use of presupposition in text which in this case, can be linked to the hegemonic construction of national identity and masculinity. This statement is motivated by two assumptions: the first that people in Torre Pacheco are in an insecure state at present and the second is that immigration (irregular or not) is linked to insecurity. With regards to the first assumption, it is not the intention of this paper to enter into a debate as to whether Spanish society is more insecure today than it was in the past, when immigration was not considered to be a problem. It is sufficient that Spanish people, as they are represented in the press, *perceive* that they are more insecure today than they have been in the past. This link between migration and insecurity creates boundaries that establish the relationship between the police and the Spanish citizen which normalize the protective/law-enforcing role of the police and thereby secure consent for what under other circumstances would be considered (by Spanish citizens) police brutality against those who transgress. This is how increasing repressive action on the part of the State is legitimised (Del Caz et al, 2004).

Table 2 (see appendix) is a lexical-choice table that indicates the number of times value-laden words such as: *immigrant*, *Moroccan*, *illegal* and so on, appear within the twelve articles covering the Torre Pacheco raid and its aftermath. Lexicalization or the choice of more or less polite pronouns is contextually variable, and thus provides evidence of the discursive strategy of

‘negative other-presentation’ (van Dijk, 2004). Table 1 shows that the word *immigrant* is the most commonly used word within these articles. However, what is not evident from this table is that *immigrant* is seldom used alone. The adjectives, *illegal* and *irregular*, whenever they appear in the texts, are used to modify the noun. Given that the eleven newspaper articles that covered the Torre Pacheco events give little information about the ethnic and demographic profiles of the detainees (the ‘immigrants’ could have been Spanish citizens of Moroccan descent), yet are careful to mention that most of the people who were detained were released because ‘they had their papers in order’ (a highly ambiguous statement), it becomes evident that the association between illegality and immigration serves a purpose other than informing an audience about current events.

Equally important, the term ‘*without papers*’ is also used to refer to foreign nationals residing in Spain, as is the word *foreigners*. What is interesting about this word choice is that all of the nouns used to refer to foreign nationals residing in Spain emphasize their *otherness*. *Foreign* literally means ‘one who is situated outside’ and *immigrant* means ‘one who becomes established in an area where one was previously unknown’ (Merriam Webster, 1993). Moreover the pairing of these nouns which emphasize otherness with adjectives that highlight exclusion and/or give negative connotations to already negative terms is nothing short of overkill. By stressing the ‘illegality’ of these people’s situation journalists are sending their readers the message that these ‘outsiders’ are even more at fault than ‘regular outsiders’ because they are also *outside* the law. This word- choice results in a double marginalization for immigrants- they are excluded because they are foreign and they are excluded because they are ‘outside’ the legal framework.

The association of immigration with criminality is reinforced by news articles that link security concerns with crime. The following excerpt from the *El Pais* June 29 article best illustrates this:

*However, amongst a fraction of the Torre Pacheco residents, the raid was well-received as people allege that it will help to increase security. Four out of the 58 detainees are accused of the crime of impersonation because they used forged documents and another*

*five violated the five-year ban on return, after their deportation, reason for which they will appear before the judge on Monday.*

This strange excerpt demonstrates the illogical association made between crime, referred to as a decrease in security, and immigration. The reason why I refer to this association as illogical is because the NGO Cohabitation without Racism as quoted in one article published by *La Verdad* on July 5, emphasized that Spanish “laws consider irregular migration to be an administrative error not a criminal offence.” In theory the Spanish Constitution is very open to and welcoming of immigration. Furthermore the Return Directive’s 5 year no-return ban is extremely controversial and has been denounced as inhumane by human rights organizations and advocates. Finally, by finding two examples of questionable acts committed by immigrants and placing this right under a quote that states citizen’s security concerns serves to justify these concerns. Needless to say, this is hardly objective reporting.

Not only are immigrants regarded as synonymous with criminals, but some of the quotes included in the articles published about the Torre Pacheco incident go as far as to suggest that immigrants are also to be confused with Moroccans. It would appear at first glance that in these articles both *foreigner* and *immigrant* refer to all foreign nationals. However, the extensive use of the adjective *Moroccan* as well as the allusions to Islam (namely by mentioning mosques) and even the names of sources quoted, give the audience a very clear idea about who these *immigrants* really are. Local papers *La Verdad* and the *Cartagena Lighthouse*, state that mostly Moroccans, or that hundreds of Moroccans were detained, as if *Moroccan* is synonymous with immigration. This would hardly attract anyone’s attention- given that Moroccans are the most numerous foreign nationality residing in Murcia- if not for the fact that *ABC* and *El Pais* report that roughly 20 different nationalities were represented amongst the detainees. Moreover, it must be noted that the emphasis on the “Moroccan-ness” of immigrants was not limited to the regional papers. Although the *El Pais* Sunday June 29<sup>th</sup> article notes once that more nationalities were involved, it continues to focus on Moroccans. For instance, this article mentions the word *Moroccan* six times, *Ecuadorians* twice, *Blacks* once, *Algerians*

once and *Peru* once. With a 6 to 1 ratio (with the exception of Ecuadorians 2:6 ratio) there is little room for the audience but to conclude that most immigrants are Moroccans. Furthermore, this article mentions the word *mosque* twice (which alludes to the ethnicity and religious composition of the immigrants involved) and includes quotes belonging only to Atime representatives. All in all, it is *The Cartagena Lighthouse* that explicitly makes the association between immigrants and Moroccans. In their coverage of the raid *The Cartagena Lighthouse* states: *a hundred police officers carried out a massive raid in which hundreds of Moroccans were detained, without distinguishing between those who reside legally in the country and those who do not* (*The Cartagena Lighthouse*, 7/7/08 'Hundreds of Immigrants request that the Torre Pacheco Raids not be repeated'). The use of hyperbole such as *massive* and *hundreds* is made for the rhetorical effect of attracting the audiences' attention by exaggerating the 'immigration problem' and alluding to a latent sense of insecurity that is present in Spanish society.

In post-industrial Spain, for Maria Naredo Molero, citizen insecurity comes from overwhelming situations such as the impossibility of planning the future, the crisis of the welfare state characterized by increasing job precariousness and an elimination of social protection at a time when decisions that are fundamental to people are made in ever-distant spheres (Naredo, Molero, 2001). Therefore defining 'the enemy' or 'the criminal', giving it a face and making it 'tangible' serves to return a sense of security (however false this may be) in the same way that building a wall around a city secured medieval towns. Still, defining the source of insecurity does more than just calm people. By representing immigrants as criminals, the use of force against them is normalized and consented to. Since the media have chosen to give criminals a Moroccan face- as Moroccans are already excluded due to the difference from Spaniards constructed in terms of religion and masculinity- the media is clearly defining the Spanish nation's Other as Moroccan and justifying their exclusion from Spanish society by any means necessary.



#### ***5.4 Denial of Responsibility: The Public Apology***

Despite the fact that ‘the apology’ has become a form of political speech with increasing significance and power, political apologies have also come to exemplify what is seen as the failure of a number of leading politicians to accept accountability (Harris, Grainger & Mullany, 2006: 730). As a consequence of their location in the public domain, political apologies are highly mediated. This high degree of mediation by sections of the mass media and the presence of an audience have a great influence in the form that political apologies take and in the degree to which politicians are willing to make these apologies. More often than not, political apologies are made in response to a demand from a victim or group offended rather than a spontaneous offering on the part of the politician as was the case in Torre Pacheco (Harris, Grainger & Mullany, 2006). Not only do political apologies stem from conflict and controversy, they often generate further conflict and controversy, because what constitutes a valid apology in terms of language used is likely to prove contentious both from the point of view of the apologizer and the recipient/s of the apology (Harris, Grainger & Mullany, 2006: 721).

In the Torre Pacheco case, *La Verdad*, *El Pais* and *ABC* all reported on Rafael Gonzalez Tovar, the Government Delegate’s (Governor’s) apology. As mentioned earlier, on its online version, *La Verdad* included a video link to a portion of Gonzalez Tovar’s press conference where the apology was made. At first glance, what is remarkable is that all papers note that Gonzalez Tovar’s statement with regards to the Torre Pacheco police raid actually constitutes an apology. Given the highly contentious nature surrounding an apology, it is extremely hard to come across a consensus on whether apologies were made, and carried out appropriately. The ambiguities surrounding the words ‘sorry’ and ‘apologize’ centre on the question of speaker responsibility/blame (Harris, Grainger & Mullany, 2006: 722). It is, then, surprising that papers who hold different political views all agree that Gonzalez Tovar’s statement was a valid apology. Headlines for the articles confirm this: *La Verdad*- ‘Tovar labels the massive Torre Pacheco raid as <<out of proportion>> and apologizes’; *ABC*-

‘Government Delegate labels the Torre Pacheco raid as out of proportion’; *El Pais*- ‘The Government Apologizes for the Immigrant Raid in Murcia’.

This media consensus is especially noteworthy because upon a closer look one can see that Gonzalez Tovar was very careful to clearly state that he ‘apologized’ for the *excessive time during which the immigrants were held* and not for the raid itself, nor the treatment which the detainees received. Here it is important to note that at no moment does Gonzalez Tovar utter the words “I apologize.” All of the three articles mentioned above clearly write the word *apologized* outside of quotation marks. What is more, as can be seen on the video link that is found in the online *La Verdad* article Gonzalez Tovar says the following:

*Had I known the operative in minute detail I would not have authorised it. There were specific inconveniences that immigrants who were detained suffered; due to their number they were retained longer than was desirable. It is true that those emigrants should excuse us for this detention, in terms of time that was wasted, but it is also true that I am assured that in any case the treatment that they received was acceptable.* (*La Verdad* July 2<sup>nd</sup> 2008 obtained from: <http://www.laverdad.es/murcia/20080702/region/tovar-tacha-desmedida-redada-20080702.html>)

It becomes clear that, at least in terms of accepting responsibility for what took place, Gonzalez Tovar fails. A politician makes a public apology because there is a need (from the point of view of the public) for him/her to answer for his/her responsibility in polemic situations. Thus a public apology serves to communicate awareness and acceptance of moral responsibility for offensive behaviour and more importantly, it initiates the process of negotiating absolution or redress. *The Cartagena Lighthouse* acknowledges this denial of moral responsibility when it reports on Mohamed K. Mrabet of Atime’s response to the apology.

*Mrabet qualified the apologies made by the government delegate Rafael Gonzalez Tovar as ‘insufficient and unclear’ and criticized Gonzalez’s initial stance towards the raid, since he initially qualified it as a ‘routine control’* (*The Cartagena Lighthouse*, 7/7/08 ‘Hundreds of Immigrants request that the Torre Pacheco Raids not be repeated’).

The assignment of blame in Tovar’s statement is very generalized at best, as there is no explicit reference to a specific cause of injustice. Due to the use of passive voice, the audience does not know who/what caused the

‘inconveniences’ Gonzalez Tovar does not allude to nor why he did not know the full details of the operation. Furthermore, by stating that the inconveniences that immigrants were subjected to arose due to the excessive number of immigrants, Tovar is implying that the immigrants brought this ‘excessive detention’ (note that it is excessive only in terms of time) upon themselves. In other words, they forced the government to behave the way it did, because there are just so many of them.

By mentioning the sheer number of the immigrants in Spain and playing the number game, Gonzalez Tovar is playing upon a latent fear that is prevalent in most post- industrial societies, namely the fear of crowds and masses. This is his overall interaction strategy: to turn the public apology into an opportunity for positive self-presentation and negative Other presentation where he blames the negative situation of the raid on others, in this case the immigrants. The crowd has become a potential danger that needs to be disciplined or overcome and is associated with terms such as ‘mass hysteria’ (Naredo, Molero, 2001). The fact that during the Torre Pacheco raid, the police set out to detain unsuspecting people on a mid-summer’s Friday afternoon, in full anti-riot gear; demonstrates that Spain is no exception when it comes to fearing crowd.

This fear of masses is echoed in way that *El Pais* represents Atime. The June 29th *El Pais* article covering the raid, uses negative adjectives that weaken the speaker (such as *lamented* and *complained*) when introducing reported speech made by Kamal Rahmouni the president of Atime. On the contrary, when the article refers to Atime alone, they use powerful phrases such as: *Atime has not hesitated to qualify* or *Atime considers*. The first phrase grants Atime the power to qualify or define the raid and recognizes its agency and right to act and the second phrase is an acknowledgement of Atime’s legitimacy as an interlocutor. Ironically, the Association of Moroccan Workers in Spain (the collectivity) receives more respect and consideration and is essentially considered more of a force to be reckoned with, than the individual who is its president.

In any case, Gonzalez Tovar’s indirectness comes across as evasion and shiftiness. This was noted by the *La Verdad* July 2nd article which states:

*Despite being the supreme commander of the State's security forces and corps, the Government's Delegate stated yesterday that he was not informed of the magnitude of the operation when his authorization was sought prior to setting it in motion.*

The use of irony in the statement above is more effective than a direct accusation. Granted that Gonzalez Tovar belongs to the PSOE and *La Verdad* supports the conservative Partido Popular, but the newspaper still makes a valid point. Either Gonzalez Tovar is admitting that he is not doing his work properly as commander in chief of the state's police by signing authorizations without reading them, or he is lying and trying to shift the blame onto the police for a decision which ultimately resides in his hands. By claiming that the police agents withheld information from him Gonzalez Tovar is implicitly attempting to come across as a victim of having been provided with faulty intelligence. It may appear strange to equate Gonzalez Tovar's actions with those of the Spanish Government, yet as a delegate of the government Gonzalez Tovar is nothing more than a regional representative of the federal government. This fact is acknowledged by the headline for the *El Pais* article that reported on Gonzalez Tovar's apology which replaced 'Gonzalez Tovar' with 'The Government' apologizes for immigrant raid. Thus one can safely conclude that Gonzalez Tovar's failure to accept blame is synonymous with the Government failing to do so. This failure to accept the government's role in this whole matter could explain, ultimately, why his apology was not accepted and the protest marches against the raid ensued.

To conclude, this public apology is important, because it is a clear reflection of the discursive strategies of denial of responsibility at play. The fact that it is highly mediated also serves to flesh out the role that the media play in the dissemination of this discourse. Gonzalez Tovar consistently uses *us vs. them* language and the entire apology is an attempt to induce consent for the raid. However, what is most salient about this apology is the open acknowledgement that the power to define 'the truth' rests with the Government and its embodiment Gonzalez Tovar. Twice in his press conference statement Gonzalez Tovar mentions the word 'true'. He says it is true that the immigrants should excuse them (the government) for the detention and it is true that he is assured (by official sources, people who can

define what is acceptable or not) that the treatment they (the emigrants<sup>8</sup>) received was acceptable. Here we see the productive nature of power. Power as applied by the Government via Gonzalez Tovar shifts from coercion (the raid) to a more seductive and productive role in the sense that new discourses and frames for what took place are being put out there for audience consumption thanks for the media. Again, by mentioning the ‘massive’ amount of immigrants and playing on latent fears of masses and criminals, Gonzalez Tovar is creating consent for the police’s actions and effectively dodges the state’s responsibility by re-framing the event so that it appears that the police was forced to respond to threat, instead of pre-emptively striking.

## ***Chapter 6***

### ***Conclusions***

This study shows that hegemonic anti-Moroccan discourses present in Spanish media legitimize and (re)produce social and political inequalities. Given that Spain has not fully consolidated itself as an ‘imagined community’ or ‘shared understanding’, there is a constant need to assert nationalist identity through representation. This study has attempted to prove that the negative manner in which newspapers report on Moroccan immigrants is fundamental to cementing Spanish national identity. Even in the best of cases the nationalist ideology that serves as a foundation for a shared national identity is vague. Citizens are more aware of what they *are not* than of what they *are*. Thus, it is through this use of negative representation that one’s own understanding of one’s identity comes to be.

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<sup>8</sup> Gonzalez Tovar uses both *immigrants* and *emigrants* in his statement. As mentioned earlier an immigrant is defined by Merriam Webster’s dictionary as a person who comes to a country or place where they were previously unknown to take up residence; whereas an emigrant is a person who departs from a place to settle elsewhere. Leaving one’s place is very significant when we deal with conflictive semantic issues because it could be interpreted that these people who do not belong, have no place because they left (agency lies with them) the place they previously had. So, not only are these people ‘placeless’ they have no place because of their own volition.

Here is where the media's role comes into play. As mentioned throughout this study, newspaper representation plays a dual role. Firstly, newspapers engage in self-representation or a production of the self, when they reflect life in Spain to their Spanish readers. This is done in the way that current events are framed, through what is regarded as newsworthy and fit to be printed. Secondly, newspapers function as advocates for their 'imaginary community' of readers. This representation is carried out through editorials, using 'common' people as sources for stories and through advertising.

The analysis carried out of the twelve articles that compose the Torre Pacheco Case Study reveals that Spain's self-representation, as it is carried out through the media, is defined for Spaniards through what Spain is not. To clarify, through the use of negative representation Spaniards learn that Spain is not: Muslim, sexist, violent, crime-prone, dishonest, weak, and black, an oppressed woman, or simply Moroccan. Equally important, Spain is represented as invaded by these enemies within and because it is at risk it must defend itself by any means available- the use of force in the form of police brutality not being ruled out. Moreover, newspaper representations are forgiving of Spanish men and women who perpetrate racist or xenophobic acts because they are represented as victims, as people who feared for their security and were motivated to commit these acts out of sheer desperation. The media's role as advocate for its readers' is manifest when other Spanish nationals are alluded to in news reports. This is done to claim their consensus in a political strategy that enlists readers' compliance for controversial actions against the threat the immigration presents. This consensus could also be for the 'official view' of what Spain (as ambiguous as this notion is) is. In this case, Spanish nationals who act in self-defence against the foreign threat are presented as examples that should be followed.

Lastly, journalists and newspapers do not operate in a political vacuum. Due to the fact that they are considered to be 'legitimate news sources' they are agents that play a key role in engendering political and social legitimacy. The media is a social institution and as such, it is produced by and simultaneously produces social structures. The mediated Torre Pacheco incidents received

attention because the issue of the *Shame Directive* was publicly debated in Spain and the rest of Europe at that time (the European Commission voted on this issue on June 18<sup>th</sup>). Throughout these debates the Spanish government was careful to distinguish Spanish immigration policy from that of Italy and France when it publicly promised that it would not adhere to the 18-month detention clause. However, the Torre Pacheco incidents and the media's focus on the immigrants' themselves as the root of the problem, provide a clear indication that the media's role, in this particular case, is to convince its audience that police presence and brutality against immigrants in the streets of Spain is different from police presence and brutality in Italy and France. Indeed in this case discursive strategies, which are nothing more than linguistic practices, systematically work to authorise and naturalise social arrangements such as hegemonic power and repressive or xenophobic policies that have nothing to do with language. More research is needed to uncover the results of these xenophobic anti-immigration policies, particularly with respect to an increase in anti-immigrant violence.

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## Appendix

### *Appendix Newspaper Articles (In chronological order)*

**A1:** La Verdad - June 28, 2008 – Alicia Rubio

#### **National Police detains dozens of irregular immigrants during a great raid in Torre Pacheco**

*Hundreds of foreigners, mostly Maghrebs, were identified in three zones of the urban area to verify if they had their papers in order*

No, a movie was not being filmed about the adventures of the police's Special Forces. It was pure reality. Yesterday afternoon Torre Pacheco did not appear to be a city ruled by law, but a city ruled by every law in the world. What happened was that a special operation of the Alien Affairs Special Force concluded with hundreds of immigrants identified and over a hundred of these, according to early estimates, were lead to police buildings because their documentation was not in order. Close to 60 agents of the National Police pertaining to the Citizen's security and Alien Affairs Brigade, aided by local police officers, were distributed throughout the municipality's streets to carry out this important operation.

#### *An avenue is blocked*

Everything started mid-afternoon. Without a prior warning, a police car blocked Station Avenue, the principle access line to the town and through one of the adjacent streets, a large bus with police symbols on its side, arrived. Police officers descended from the bus and burst into the Mosque which is located on this avenue.

In a few seconds, and as if a volcano had erupted all of its [the mosque's] occupants began to leave in a downpour. <<Your papers>> the police demanded, joined by the imperative << don't move from there!>> the command left those who received it frozen on the sidewalk. This was an image which soon began to be contemplated by dozens of neighbours who astonished could hardly believe what they were witnessing.

<<It's like a television series>> commented a neighbour as she witnessed such a commotion. Meanwhile in an internet café in the Calvo Sotelo Square a similar scene was taking place: the police suddenly arrived and evacuated all of those who were inside, to then proceed to demand the documentation of any foreigner they saw passing by.

#### *Sombre Expressions*

The police officers' expressions were serious. But more serious than that, and above all more worrying, was that there were hundreds of immigrants waiting in the different streets surrounded by cops without properly understanding what was going to happen to them. Some who had all their

documentation in order, regarded the agents without fear; many others, without papers to show had a less promising future.

Two bus trips were necessary in order to take over a hundred undocumented immigrants, mostly of Moroccan origin, to official offices. Their first destination was the Sovereignty building which is located next to City Hall. That entire street was blocked against traffic as well.

There a long process of paperwork and statement-taking, awaited, so that the immigrants could then be taken to police facilities. After everything, a dark promise for a future with a more than likely repatriation order awaited them.

The main streets of Torre Pacheco remained closed by the National Police throughout the entire operation, which lasted four hours and created great expectations amongst the neighbours.<< It is a relief that the police do this, because it gives us more security>> commented a neighbour from Station Avenue. There were not few who thought like this.

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**A2:** El País Sunday June 29, 2008

### **Police Launches Massive Raid Against Immigrants in Murcia**

*60 Alien Affairs agents take Torre Pacheco in search of the "without papers"*

Tono Calleja – Torre Pacheco

The Murcian town of Torre Pacheco (29,000 inhabitants) in the field of Cartagena remained blockaded for over four hours on Friday by some 60 agents of the Citizen's Security and Alien Affairs Brigade. The police travelled to the town to identify those *without* municipal *papers* and hand them a deportation order. A total of 301 immigrants were identified and 58 from roughly 19 different nationalities, were detained for residing in Spain in an irregular situation.

Kamal Rahmouni, the president of the Association of Moroccan Workers in Spain (ATIME) lamented yesterday the treatment dispensed by the agents who "removed foreign-looking people, those who appeared Moroccan, and Blacks and Ecuadorians, from bars, internet cafes and the very mosque to concentrate them in three town squares and ask them for their identification documents." Atime has not hesitated to qualify the operation as an "immigrant hunt".

Several immigrants confirmed that towards five in the afternoon on Friday two agent-filled buses "took over" the town, cutting-off one of its main avenues and aided by local police officers they began gathering hundreds of people in three centrally-located squares of the Murcian locality.

Nine out of the 58 undocumented who were detained, already had a deportation file, according to the Government Delegation. The remaining 49 will also be expelled and, according to ATIME, 35 of these already spent Friday night in the Confinement Centre for Foreigners in Malaga.

The Government Delegation has insisted that all of the guarantees offered under the law were observed. Two translators accompanied the agents and professional legal assistance was offered to the detainees. The delegation's office also denied that the police entered the local mosque.

Of the 29,187 inhabitants included in the census for Torre Pacheco, 6,060 are foreigners. Approximately 3,000 of these are Moroccans, a thousand Ecuadorians; the rest Algerian and natives of diverse Latin American nations among these Peru. ATIME considers that the real number of Moroccans overtakes 5,000 inhabitants.

In an assembly held by the Moroccan organization yesterday afternoon, its leaders lamented that police harassment could be a sign of the government's new immigration policy. The association demanded that Alfredo Perez Rubacaba, the Minister of Interior explain if this is going to become a standard procedure. It also asked Morocco to position itself in defense of its citizen's.

Many of those affected announced their intentions of pressing charges against the agents. "It's unworthy of a country like Spain. It was like a bad Hollywood movie," lamented Rahmouni. "They have held hundreds of people for hours, without providing them neither food nor water in the middle of summer, knowing that there were grandparents and even mothers who had gone out to buy food for their children," he complained. Notwithstanding, amongst a fraction of the Torre Pacheco residents the raid was well-received, as they claim that it will help to increase security. Four out of the 58 detainees are accused of the crime of impersonation because they forged documents and another five had already been deported from Spain and were in violation of the period of no-return, reason why they will appear before a judge on Monday.

The operation was developed days after the new delegate for the Murcia region, Rafael Gonzalez, decided to close the Detention Centre for Foreigners in Sangonera la Verde "due to the progressive deterioration of its facilities that resulted from the suspension of the remodelling which was taking place." Hydraulic Constructions, the contractors who were in charge of the project ceased their remodelling activities after they filed a complaint for payment suspension.

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**A3:** The Cartagena Lighthouse – June 29

**Atime labels the raid in Torre Pacheco as 'Nazi'**

Mohamed Karim denies that it was a simple routine operation to search for illegal immigrants.

Torre Pacheco. The Association of Moroccan Immigrant Workers in Spain, Atime severely criticised the raid executed on Friday by the Provincial Alien Affairs Brigade of the National Police in Murcia in collaboration with the local police of Torre Pacheco. According to Mohamed Karim, member of the executive board and responsible for Atime's branch in Cartagena, "an operation such as this has only been seen in Nazi movies."

Karim was in Torre Pacheco on Friday, preparing an Atime meeting in this town and informing immigrants about this event. "It was about seven thirty in the afternoon [sic] when they called to inform me that a police raid was being held. We thought that it was a routine raid, but this was not the case. It was a great concentration of police cars and vans." The representative of Atime added that "the agents entered stores, bars and internet cafes, they even went into the Mosque and took all of the immigrants who were praying and put them all in the vans whether they had papers or not and they identified them whenever they felt like it."

Karim said that after several attempts he finally managed to get in touch with the government delegation and from this government entity he was assured that it was nothing more than a routine raid. He could observe, however, "a lot of police agents and an immigrant hunt where people were treated worse than animals. "

The Atime representative declared that he did not comprehend the police's behaviour, who entered into several establishments and the local mosque without any warrant or court order. For this reason he underscored his outrage "if their intentions are to make immigrants' life a living hell, then let them declare it publicly and we will think about what we are going to do in the future."

### **Policy Change**

For Atime it has become clear that a change has taken place in Zapatero's government policies with regards to immigrants. The person responsible for Atime in Cartagena, Mohamed Karim stated on Friday "we want to know if a veiled version of Berlusconi's or Zarkozy's policies are being applied; despite the fact that the government voted against the directives proposed by these countries." An added later "They make immigrants' lives bitter so that they will leave because they cannot convince them to do so voluntarily."

### **The Operation Concludes with 56 detainees**

Sources from Torre Pacheco's City Council indicated that 90 police agents from the Alien Affairs Provincial Brigade intervened in the raid. They were joined by 35 local police officers. There were 30 police vehicles involved, then of these belonging to the local police, in addition to a bus and several vans. The raid commenced at 8 in the afternoon and ended past midnight, although

the identifications ended at 23:30. 500 immigrants were retained, 301 of these were identified and 56 of these were detained. The identifications took place in the Soberania Building next to City Hall.

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**A4:** La Verdad –June 29<sup>th</sup> 2008 Alicia Rubio

### **The Massive Raid Against Illegal Immigration in Torre Pacheco**

The great police raid against illegal immigration which took place for four hours on Friday in the city centre of Torre Pacheco, concluded with a total of 58 detainees. Sources close to the operation confirmed that the detainees had remained in Spain illegally. The number of people who were formally identified throughout the afternoon exceeded 300, which provides an idea of the magnitude of the security force's intervention. This has caused a profound impression amongst the local residents of Torre Pacheco due to the startling nature of the development.

The foreigners, in their most part originating from the Maghreb, were led to various city squares where they remained clustered and closely guarded by agents wearing anti-riot gear, until they were required to show their identification documents. If everything was in order they were allowed to leave, but if they lacked papers they were transferred to police branches to transact their deportation paperwork. Five of the detainees were wanted by the Spanish Courts, since they already had an immediate repatriation order back to their countries of origin. Their expulsion will be terminated in hours. Another four detainees used false identifications.

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**A5:** ABC July 2, 2008

### **Government Delegate labels Torre Pacheco Raid as out of proportion**

F. Carreras

Murcia. The government delegation admitted yesterday that the raid against illegal immigration deployed by the Police last Friday in Torre Pacheco was <<disproportionate and out of measure>>, and announced that an investigation has been opened to analyse the operation's development, which has been characterised by immigrant associations as a <<brutal hunt>>.

Despite being the head of the region's security forces and corps, the government delegate avowed yesterday that he was not informed of the magnitude of the operation when his authorization was sought prior to the operation. <<I was the first to be surprised by the proceeding's dimension, which does not correspond with this Government Delegation's line of action>>, stated Gonzales Tovar four days after the operation took place. As he explained yesterday, the police requested his authorization to carry out a <<routine>> operation against illegal immigration.



Apologies to those affected.

<Had I known, I would not have authorized the operation>>, affirmed Gonzales Tovar who wanted to apologize to all those who were affected <for the excessive time>> during which the agents retained them, since according to his judgement the treatment that they received <<was acceptable>>.

Over 300 foreign nationals were taken out of bars and cafés, detained at mosque entrances or intercepted in the street by over 70 agents. The foreigners were held during over four hours in a park while the identification duties were carried out. Sixty citizens from twenty nationalities were detained for not having their residence papers in order. A deportation order weighs over nine of them and the rest have been transported to the Confinement Centre in Malaga.

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**A6:** La Verdad July 2, 2008

**Tovar labels the massive Torre Pacheco raid <<as out of proportion>> and apologizes.**

*The Government delegate claims that the Police did not inform him of the magnitude of the operation against illegal immigration and had he known of it he <<would not have authorised it>>*

F. Carreres

The government delegation admitted yesterday that the raid against illegal immigration deployed by the police on Friday in Torre Pacheco was <<disproportionate and out of measure>>, and announced that an investigation has been initiated to analyse the operation's development. Said development has been characterised by immigrant associations as a << brutal hunt>>.

Despite being the supreme commander of the State's security forces and corps, The Government's Delegate stated yesterday that he was not informed of the magnitude of the operation when his authorization was sought prior to setting it in motion. << I was the first person to be shocked by the performance's dimension, which does not correspond to this Government delegation's line of action>>. Avowed Gonzales Tovar four days after the operation took place. As he explained yesterday, the Police requested his authorization to carry out a <<routine>> operation against illegal immigration. The raid's magnitude, nor the number of agents who would participate in it were specified in this petition.

<<Had I known, I would not have authorised the operation>>, forcefully avowed Gonzales Tovar, who wanted to apologise to all those affected << for the excessive time>> during which they were held by the agents, since, according to his judgement, the treatment they received was <<acceptable>>. The police intervention, according to some sources was recorded on video, which will allow the circumstances that surrounded the police's action to be known.

The <<routine control>> on Friday afternoon, for which the government-delegation's authorization was sought, did not correspond to a quotidian operation of the sort that are carried out in the region periodically. Over 300 foreign nationals were removed from bars and cafés, detained at mosque entrances or intercepted in the middle of the street by over 70 agents, who took over City Hall cutting off one of its avenues and they began to gather hundred of people in three centrally-located squares in town.

The foreigners were held for over four hours in a park surrounded by the Police, while agents carried out identification duties. Sixty citizens coming from twenty nationalities were detained for not having their residence papers in order. A deportation order weighs over nine of them and the rest are home, their deportation files opened.

The raid, images of which were recorded by several national communications media, has been qualified as << an immigrant hunt>> and a <<shameful>> intervention by immigrant associations who have expressed their indignation.

The government delegation does not consider this issue to be concluded, since, according to Gonzales Tovar, << an investigation is being carried out as to how the situation developed and possible mistakes and errors within this specific situation will be analysed>>. Reports on the police's performance have begun to come to the delegation despite the fact that Gonzales Tovar did not want to comment on them yesterday until he hopes to have all the information in his power. The procedure followed before Friday's operative according to the delegation is the habitual one. << The police informs that it will carry out an operation, but not the number of agents who will participate in it>> Affirmed Gonzales Tovar.

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**A7:** La Verdad July 2, 2008 (Regional Paper)

### **A Protest Demonstration before the Delegation is Summoned for Sunday**

By Alicia Rubio

In Torre Pacheco malaise can be felt amongst the immigrants after the police's crackdown last Friday to detect irregular immigrants. << They have treated my brothers like animals>>, commented Hassane Ben Ali, a Moroccan

resident of Torre Pacheco who witnessed the raid. Hassane was able to show the agents his identity papers and had no problem, but <<friends of mine were waiting, for the police to tell them what they had to do, on the street for many hours, just because they didn't carry any identification documents>>.

The outrage is so great amongst the immigrants that the Association of Moroccan Immigrant Workers in Spain (Atime) has summoned a demonstration in front of the Government Delegation in Murcia on Sunday at 12 p.m. The representative of this association, Mustafa Zine explained that they have convened and informed all of the associations and unions: << We want it to be multitudinous, because the way the police behaved is not fair>>. According to Zine, the protest will also be held in Morocco in Rabat in front of the Spanish Consulate.

To get the demonstration going, they have had to request an authorization from the Government Delegation. << On Monday we send a letter of request. The problem is that you have to do it 10 days in advance and since there is not enough time we are going to go ahead and hold the demonstration anyway>> added Zine. The Government Delegation confirmed that they had received the written notice and despite it being carried out less than 10 days before the date set for the demonstration to be held, it was considered valid and authorized.

What bothered the immigrants the most was the police's incursion into the mosque during prayer. << You cannot barge in on prayer the way they did>> commented Abdel Kader. << They went in to the mosque, without respecting the service and they took everybody who was praying whether they had papers or not and left them in the street waiting there for as long as they felt like it>> he added.

All the same, among the people of Torre Pacheco what happened on Friday << should happen more often. Thank God that the police did what they had to do because in our town there is more and more violence and insecurity and with this raid that will come to an end once and for all.>> contended Jose Ruiz a resident. A neighbour from Roldan evaluated the police's action as << excellent and should be repeated on more occasions, because more and more illegal immigrants arrive.>>

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**A8:** El País July 3, 2008

### **The Government Apologizes for the Immigrant Raid in Murcia**

Tono Calleja – Murcia

The Government delegate in Murcia, Rafael Gonzales Tovar, apologized yesterday for the police raid that took place this past Friday in Torre Pacheco. Agents of the Alien Affairs Brigade detained 58 immigrants without papers

after a control operation in which 301 people from 19 nationalities were identified. Gonzales stated that if he had been aware of the “magnitude” of the operation he would not have authorised it and added that the operation “did not follow the government’s new line of action in terms of immigration issues in the very least.”

Leaders of the Moroccan Workers and Immigrants Association in Spain (Atime), who were holding a meeting the very same day at the same place where the raid took place, defined what took place as an “immigrant hunt, characterized by brutality, aggression, verbal and physical violence”.

Four of the 58 detainees are accused of attempting to impersonate another person by forging documents and another five will be brought before a judge next Monday.

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**A9:** La Verdad July 5 2008

**NGO and Social Platforms will Demonstrate Tomorrow in Murcia against Police <<violations>**

They demand that the Government Delegate assign responsibilities for the raid in Torre Pacheco, <<an unprecedented outrageousness>>

NGOs and immigrant associations will assemble tomorrow as of twelve noon in Saint Augustine Square in Murcia, in front of the Salzillo Museum to display their repulsion for the recent raid against foreigners without papers in Torre Pacheco. The initiative comes from the Association of Moroccan Workers in Spain (Atime) and relies on the Regional Youth Council, The Board of Non Governmental Organizations for Development and platforms like the Social Forum and Cohabitation without Racism’s backing. The convenors encourage all citizens who wish to << defend the dignity and respect of human rights with their presence>> to join the protest.

Under the slogan of: “Equal Duties, Equal Rights. No more violations”, the protesters will demand responsibilities for the massive raid of Torre Pacheco, in which 58 without papers were detained after an impressive deployment in the town’s city centre. Atime highlights that this << police excess>> is unprecedented in Spain and calls to mind that it coincides with <<a hardening of European Policies>>. The << directive of shame>>, recently approved by the European Parliament, allows for the detention of foreigners in an irregular situation for 18 months.

In that sense, Cohabitation without Racism emphasized yesterday that << our laws consider irregular migration to be an administrative error>> and not a criminal offense, as a result massive raids such as the one in Torre Pacheco

are <<illicit>> and contribute to the criminalization of immigrants without papers. The NGO demanded that the government delegate << assign responsibilities for this matter, so that the damage inflicted on the people detained can, in some measure, be repaired>>.

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**A10:** July 6, 2008- EFE (printed in La Verdad)

**Atime Gathers 200 People in a Concentration against the Torre Pacheco Raid**

The Association of Moroccan Immigrant Workers gathered 200 people this noon in Saint Augustine Square, according to local police, in an act of protest against the raid in which 58 immigrants coming from 19 nations were detained this past 28<sup>th</sup> of June in Torre Pacheco.

In this occasion, by sheer coincidence, Moroccan immigrants, who are a majority in the Murcian town, had been called together by Atime's National Director Kamal Rahmouni and Founder Abdelhamid Beyuki, which is why this organization has taken the incident as an affront and aggression against them.

Atime's incumbent for the Murcia region, Mohamed Karim Mrabet, told EFE that he is not against identifying immigrants, but he brought to notice that what took place on June 28 was something more than a mere identification exercise, since people without papers were held against their will, " this violates human rights".

The people who gathered in Saint Augustine Square where thermometers marked 37 degrees centigrade, on this day, carried Atime's large banner in which the following could be read: "Equal Duties, Equal Rights. No more violations." Anti- government chants could be heard as well as chants to motivate the rest of the town's residents to join the protest, the town being a place where a significant Maghreb community resides.

The protest against the National Police raid that was carried out on June 28<sup>th</sup> in Torre Pacheco included, besides ATIME, the attendance of NGOs like: Cohabitation without Racism who carried a banner which stated " No person is illegal" in addition the Social Forum of Murcia, Raices Bolivianas (Bolivian Roots) and the Board of Development NGOs as well as the IU, PCE and HOAC.

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**A11:** The Cartagena Lighthouse (El Faro de Cartagena) July 7, 2008  
Region

## **Hundreds of Immigrants request that the Torre Pacheco Raids not be repeated**

Some 300 people demanded an enquiry to establish the responsibilities for the 'massive raid'

(photo caption) those who attended Atime's rally demanded their rights in Spanish and Arabic)

Under the slogan "Equal Duties, Equal Rights", and promoted by Atime, between 250 and 350 people (according to police or the organization's estimates) gathered yesterday in the San Augustin (Saint Augustine) Plaza of the San Andres (Saint Andrew) neighbourhood in Murcia.

The reason behind the protest: to ask that the events which took place in Torre Pacheco this past June 28, when a hundred police officers carried out a massive raid in which hundreds of Moroccans were detained, without distinguishing between those who reside legally in the country and those who do not, are never repeated. They also demanded an enquiry to establish precisely the facts of the case and assign responsibilities.

Among the chants heard in Arabic one could hear "Rights are in the blood, I will never forget, until death" and "We live here and want to stay here".

The bulk of the demonstrators was made up of males of the Arabic race, but some members of other immigrant collectives who reside in Murcia came as well. Such as: the sub Saharans, or South Americans and some Spaniards belonging mostly to organizations such as "Coexisting without Racism," Social Forum, IU, PCE and HOAC.

Mohamed K. Mrabet, spokesperson for Atime, who was present during the events that took place in Torre Pacheco and guarantees that he has never seen anything similar in his life: "It was an immigrant hunt". Mrabet qualified the apologies made by government delegate Rafael Gonzalez Tovar as "insufficient and unclear" and criticized Gonzalez's initial stance towards the raid, since initially he qualified it as "routine control".

Other groups, this time Spaniards, are not satisfied with the Government's attitude: "it was announced on Thursday that the Immigrant detention centre would be closed down and on Friday the raid was carried out" voiced Francisco Morote, belonging to the Social Forum. Fernando Orenes of the Citizens Platform for the Republic, affirms that "this is a political regression," and fears "the turn towards the Centre that the PSOE is taking", he sentences that "this is not only the immigrant's problem: it is process that starts with

them and will end up extending itself to the reduction of the fundamental rights of the entire working class.”

Yamen Flores, president of the association “Bolivian Roots,” coincides with the point that this problem does not only affect a reduced number of immigrants, but must involve all of society, “because we are talking about Human Rights.” In the same manner she affirms that her group has been suffering from a special kind of harassment for the last six months, and that many of her fellow countrymen did not dare to go to the rally for fear of retribution on the part of the police: “they live in fear, without leaving their homes not even to go and buy food. This is not a dignified way of living.” Yamen’s organization, like the rest of the immigrant groups present do not oppose that there be residence paper controls, but they object to the way in which these are carried out; often “humiliating immigrants verbally and physically.”

Mustafa Zine, another one of Atime’s spokespersons hopes that the Government fulfills the commitments it acquired during the elections and he thanks the Spanish people for the hospitality they have given to immigrants, especially in situations like 11-M, where Spaniards showed that “they can distinguish between a terrorist and an Arab who comes to work honestly.”

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*A12*: La Verdad July 7, 2008 – J.P. Parra

### **Several Hundred Immigrants Protest Against the Torre Pacheco Raid and Call for Responsibility**

More than two hundred people – according to local police figures- protested yesterday in Saint Augustine Square in Murcia against the massive raid that took place this past June 28 in Torre Pacheco in which hundreds of people were held in the city centre. This incident gave rise to unpublished images which both immigrants and NGOs have considered to be <<humiliating>> and very harmful to peaceful cohabitation.

A significant group of Moroccans joined by immigrants from other nationalities coming from Torre Pacheco as well as NGOs and Social Movements from Murcia attended the demonstration, convened by the Association of Moroccan Workers in Spain (Atime). Amongst the NGOs and Social Movements were Cohabitation without Racism, The Social Forum, Regional Youth Council, Development NGOs Board, United Left and PCE.

Protestors gave thanks for the apology presented by the Government Delegate, but they demanded that responsibilities be assigned and that there be some << guarantees>> that this would not happen again. << We are not against the police carrying out identifications, but we are against the

humiliating and disproportionate way in which this was carried out>> explained Mohamed Karim, president of Atime in Cartagena. << They blocked streets, accumulated people in the town's squares. There were thousands of people. That became an immigrant hunt>>. The control operation concluded with 58 detentions. << Eight were expelled, the rest spent 72 hours in the precinct, because Malaga's detention centre was full and they could not be transported there>>, stated Karim.

**<< They Grabbed me>>**

Some of the central figures in the police's crackdown told their story. Bodazza Tanji, shopkeeper in Torre Pacheco, left the emergency room with his son who had a high fever. After he dropped his son off at home, he went to the drugstore. He stopped at the ATM for money and that is when he was detained. << They grabbed me from behind and took me to a town square. I showed them my residence card and told them that I had to go and get medicine for my son, but they didn't care. They told me that I had to wait. Others had to wait more than 4 hours>>.

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*Table 1 Character Choice*

<b>Paper</b>	<b>Main character</b>	<b>Other Characters</b>	<b>First Sentence</b>
La Verdad	National Police	Immigrants/Foreigners, Torre Pacheco residents	Hundreds of foreigners, mostly Maghrebs, were identified in three zones of the urban area to verify if their papers were in order.
ABC	The Government Delegation of Murcia (Gonzalez Tovar)	Immigrant associations, Police, Rafael Gonzalez Tovar; Foreigners	The government delegation admitted yesterday that the raid against illegal immigration deployed by the police last Friday in Torre Pacheco was disproportionate and out of measure.
The Cartagena Lighthouse	Atime	Alien Affairs Brigade, Mohamed Karim, Government Delegation, Zapatero's Government	The Association of Moroccan Immigrant workers in Spain, Atime severely criticised the raid executed on Friday by the Provincial Alien Affairs Brigade of the National Police in Murcia.



El Pais	60 Alien Affairs Agents	301 immigrants; 58 detainees; Kamal Rahmouni; Atime Government Delegation; Inhabitants of Torre Pacheco; Rafael Gonzalez Tovar, Hydraulic Constructions	The Murcian Town of Torre Pacheco (29,000 inhabitants) in the field of Cartagena remained enclosed for over four hours by 60 agents of the citizen's security and Alien Affairs brigade on Friday.
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Table 2: Lexical choice

Word/Text	# times mentioned	# articles	Newspapers
immigrant	45	12	El Pais, ABC, La Verdad, The Cartagena Lighthouse
illegal	11	8	ABC, La Verdad
Foreign/foreigners	10	5	El Pais, La Verdad
irregular	4	4	La Verdad, El Pais
Moroccan	18	7	La Verdad, El Pais, The Cartagena Lighthouse
Maghreb	3	3	La Verdad
Arabic	4	1	The Cartagena Lighthouse
Mosque	10	6	La Verdad, ABC, The Cartagena Lighthouse
Without papers	7	5	El Pais
Undocumented	1	1	El Pais
Atime	16	4	The Cartagena Lighthouse El Pais
Spaniards	2	1	The Cartagena Lighthouse
Sub Saharans	1	1	The Cartagena Lighthouse
Blacks	1	1	El Pais
South Americans	1	1	The Cartagena Lighthouse
Ecuadorians	2	1	El Pais
Latin Americans	1	1	El Pais
Peru	1	1	El Pais

