



Attribution–NonCommercial–NoDerivs 2.0 KOREA

You are free to :

- **Share** — copy and redistribute the material in any medium or format

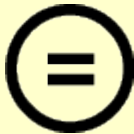
Under the following terms :



Attribution — You must give [appropriate credit](#), provide a link to the license, and [indicate if changes were made](#). You may do so in any reasonable manner, but not in any way that suggests the licensor endorses you or your use.




NonCommercial — You may not use the material for [commercial purposes](#).



NoDerivatives — If you [remix, transform, or build upon](#) the material, you may not distribute the modified material.

You do not have to comply with the license for elements of the material in the public domain or where your use is permitted by an applicable exception or limitation.

This is a human-readable summary of (and not a substitute for) the [license](#).

[Disclaimer](#) 

Master's Thesis

**Perception on Immigration Reflected in
Media in Spain, from March 2015 to
March 2016**

August 2017

**Graduate School of International Studies
Seoul National University
International Areas Studies Major**

An-Na Ban

Perception on Immigration Reflected in Media in Spain, from March 2015 to March 2016

Academic Advisor: Professor EUN Ki-Soo

Submitting a master's thesis of International Studies

August 2017

**Graduate School of International Studies
Seoul National University
International Area Studies Major**

An-Na Ban

Confirming the master's thesis written by An-Na Ban

August 2017

Chair	<u>Han, Jeong Hun</u>	(Seal)
Vice Chair	<u>Song, Jiyeoun</u>	(Seal)
Examiner	<u>Eun, Ki-Soo</u>	(Seal)

Abstract

Perception on Immigration Reflected on Media in Spain, from March 2015 to March 2016

An-Na Ban
International Area Studies
Graduate School of International Studies
Seoul National University

Nationalism is rising in many European countries in response to the refugee crisis. However, Spain does not hold similar position as the mainstream European countries. This paper developed a content analysis of opinion articles from the Spanish two most representative newspapers *El Mundo* and *El País* with the purpose of observing how the image of the immigrant is portrayed in both newspapers which are known to hold a polarized pluralist media system. Drawing from the theoretical framework of framing theory, this paper retrieves the most common images of immigrants and refugees in the Spanish media. Four immigration frames were gathered from the past literatures and the outcomes demonstrated that the two most read newspapers in Spain do not reflect a very different immigrant portrayal despite supporting politically different parties.

Keywords: immigration, refugees, frames, opinion articles, political ideology, Spain

Student Number: 2015-25035

Table of Contents

Abstract	2
Table of Contents	4
List of Figures and Tables	5
List of Abbreviations	6
I. Introduction	7
1.1. Research Motivation.....	7
1.2. Research Questions	10
1.3. Hypothesis	11
1.4. Significance of Thesis	12
1.5. Structure of Thesis.....	13
II. Theoretical Framework	14
2.1. Framing theory	14
2.2. Immigration policy on Party platforms.....	16
2.3. Spanish national newspapers and ideological parallelism	25
2.4. Frames on immigration.....	26
2.5. Hypothesis on Frames	28
III. Methodology	34
3.1. Sample	34
3.2. Time Scope	36
3.3. Coding	36
IV. Data Results and Findings	39
4.1. Frame frequency.....	39
4.2. Frames, news and time	41
V. Discussion and Conclusion	59
Reference	63
Appendix	69
국문초록	73

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 1. An overview of framing research.....	15
Figure 2. Frame frequency in El Mundo and El País before.....	39
Figure 3. Frame frequency in El Mundo and El País after.....	40
Figure 4. Frame 1a: Victim of racism in El Mundo and El País.....	41
Figure 5. Frame 1b: Victim of EU political decisions in El Mundo and El País.....	46
Figure 6. Frame 2: Opportunity frame in El Mundo and El País.....	51
Figure 7. Frame 3: Criminal frame in El Mundo and El País.....	54
Figure 8. Frame 4: Burden frame in El Mundo and El País.....	58
Table 1. Number of daily readers and diffusion for <i>El Mundo</i> and <i>El País</i>	34
Table 2. Frames coding result (Excel).....	69

List of Abbreviations

AEDE	Asociación de Editores de Diarios Españoles
CIE	Centro de Internamiento para Extranjeros
CFSP	Common Foreign Security Policy
EEAS	European External Action Service
EGM	Estudio General de Medios
EU	European Union
PP	Partido Popular
PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español
TFEU	Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union

I. Introduction

1.1. Research Motivation

In this moment of tension produced by the high inflow of immigrants and refugees in the continent of Europe, the rise of far-right parties are more visible in many European countries. Right-wing parties are known to be less receptive to immigrants and take more nationalistic stances in their policies. Countries such as Germany, France, the Netherlands, Greece, and Hungary have been making news for the rise of right wing parties achieving recent electoral success. In the case of France, “the National Front” led by Le Pen in 2011 promotes anti-immigration policies by cutting immigrants’ benefits such as health care and restricting their entrance into the country. Other parties such as “Party for Freedom” in the Netherlands and “Alternative for Germany” in Germany link immigration with particular ethnicity and religion, Middle Easter Muslims, consider them as problematic expressing xenophobic discourses and even proposing measures of closing all Islamic schools or banning on the construction of mosques in their countries. Moreover, in many of these countries, xenophobic and anti-immigration demonstrations have resulted in large scale social movements.

Many studies support the influence of the media in shaping the audiences’ mindsets. Many scholars state that the way politicians influence the public is through

the media (Entman, 2004; Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley, 1997; Scheufele, 1999). The public that cannot directly know what is happening in the world can only rely on the role of the media to inform them. However, they do not “absorb” the messages in the media uncritically (Philo, 2008; Philo, Miller & Happer in press). The media therefore select how to inform a particular issue and shapes public opinion and it can result in making the public bring social changes resulted in actions.

Spain, contrary to the tendency of the main countries in Europe, far-right wing parties have not gained successful votes as their partner countries. On the contrary, Spanish people gathered in social movements blaming the restrictive policies that powerful European countries such as Germany took towards immigrants and refugees. Spanish citizens, not following the mainstream tendency, took actions not to exclude any immigrants from entering to Europe and raised their voices in giving them the right for a better life.

“In Spain there have been no movements against solidarity with refugees. On the contrary, there is a great citizen movement of solidarity, supported by municipalities, autonomous communities and NGOs.”

(El País, 03/09/15)

For instance, in the last survey (CIS, Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas) conducted supports this statement by showing that 77.8% of Spanish people support the reception of refugees in the country.

In order to see public opinion on immigration, only relying on survey data it is difficult to see the actual processes of how the perception of an issue is described and eventually shaped in the minds of the public (Shin, 2010). The nature of survey which only can measure an event which has happened at a certain time makes it difficult to identify the causes that have led to the stated image of immigrants. Therefore this paper proposes conducting a content analysis of Spanish newspapers regarding the ongoing topic of immigration conflict in order to observe how newspapers have “framed” immigration news. Particular frames used by journalists in their news coverage produce significant impacts to the subjects’ responses (Igartua and Cheng, 2009) meaning that the media influences the public how to think about a particular issue in the news (De Vreese and Boomgaarden, 2003; Tewksbury et al., 2000; McLeod and Detenber, 1999; Valkenburg et al., 1999).

The time of analysis was set after a humanitarian conflict took place in the middle of the European immigration crisis. The chosen time scope is six months after and before 2015 September 2nd. On that day, an image in the internet of a dead body from a three-year-old boy called Aylan lying in the Mediterranean Sea framed one of the biggest news stories of year 2015. The story made global headlines and was seen by 20 million people around the world in just 12 hours raising international awareness about the seriousness of the migrant crisis. This paper, taking as a time reference Aylan Kurdi’s incident occurred in the Mediterranean coast in 2015, aims to find out how different each of the Spanish national newspapers covered immigration news in their stories. For this study only the section of opinion will be the focus of analysis as it is

the section where journalists and writers share their own opinion about social issues giving a decentralized coverage of the story.

Taking a deductive approach of content analysis, I will use predefined certain set of frames as content analytic variables in order to observe the extent to which the selected set of frames occur in the chosen news context.

1.2. Research Questions

The main objective of this study is to position Spain in a Europe which is turning more nationalistic. By examining news coverage on immigration in the two national newspapers *El Mundo* and *El País*, this paper aims to find out how Spain is reacting in the current immigration wave in Europe. Therefore, the research questions are the following:

Research question: How do Spanish newspapers cover the image of immigrant and refugee in the current refugee crisis? What are the characteristic frames more prevalent in Spanish most representative newspapers, *El País* and *El Mundo*?

1.3. Hypothesis

By conducting a content analysis of the opinion section in the selected newspapers and utilizing different immigration frames inferred from previous literatures, this paper states the following hypothesis:

H1: Under the last tendencies in Europe, regarding the adoption of more nationalistic political postures, I argue that the Spanish conservative national press *El Mundo* has more negatively covered the image of immigrants in comparison to the liberal press *El País*.

H2: Each of the two press companies will reflect different frame prevalence in their coverage regarding the image of the immigrant because of their different political party support, PP or PSOE and therefore, different views in treating immigrants.

In order to test my hypothesis I will conduct a content analysis of the two national newspapers in Spain within the chosen time scope, identify the previously set frames that are most relevant in each of the newspaper and search for significant differences. Furthermore, I will explore beyond the frames used in past literatures and will hypothesize on the prevalence of the newly selected frames for this paper and give a comparison and interpretation of the results found in each newspaper before and after the stated time scope.

1.4. Significance of Thesis

In the field of theory of framing, little work has been conducted linking the content of media with the central principles of the theory of framing despite the increase in the attention of the relationship between the news and immigration opinion.

By conducting a content analysis of the two most representative presses in Spain I will be able to first of all, collect data that reflects how Spanish mostly read newspapers report on immigration news in the opinion section of the newspaper and how the newspaper influence Spanish population in the way people think about immigrants. Secondly, the current paper will also make a contribution in the study of immigration framing by adding the political ideology factor interpretation (conservative or liberal) of immigration. Thirdly, this study contributes by exploring the relationships between news discourses and public opinion using frames as instruments of analysis. Lastly, this paper only focuses in making a content analysis on the opinion sector. Therefore a decentralized interpretation of the social issue in Spain can be seen reflected through this content analysis.

1.5. Structure of Thesis

In order to answer the research questions and test the hypothesis this paper starts by developing the theoretical framework of the study in chapter 2. I argue that Spain's reaction to the influx of immigrants is different to the majority of European countries. Moreover, I argue that the media in Spain, in particular the role of national newspapers *El Mundo* and *El País*, have contributed in the shaping of the particular perception. Based on the frame theory I present the frames most commonly used in the coverage of immigration news stories and I further develop hypothesis on the frames. Chapter 3 explains the methodology applied for this thesis specifying the sample, time scope and coding used to test my research. Chapters 4 will list up the found data results. The overall affective attribution will be analyzed according to each newspaper's negative, neutral or positive attribution to immigrants. Frame frequency in both of the newspapers before and after Kurdi's case will be observed. Pearson Chi-2 is tested in order to see the significance between the relationship of frames, news and time variables. Chapter 5 is composed of discussion, conclusion, and final remarks. Limitations and further recommendations will also be proposed at this time.

II. Theoretical Framework

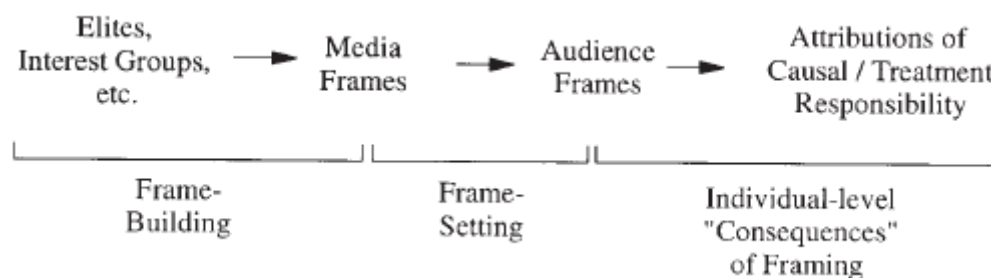
2.1. Framing theory

Framing theory is used in order to explain how the media influences on the public's opinion. *Framing* can be considered an extended part of Agenda-setting theory as it "is the selection of a restricted number of thematically related attributes for inclusion on the media agenda when a particular object is discussed" (McCombs, 1997, p.6). Framing theory resembles the Agenda-setting theory in the sense that is concerned with the salience of the issues; however framing theory (in particular frame-setting) is concerned with the emphasis of issue attributes. This concept of framing explains how giving salience of an issue attributes makes the public define issues or events in a particular way.

According to Nelson et al (1997, p.568), "frames influence opinions by stressing specific values, facts, and other considerations, endowing them with greater apparent relevance to the issue than they might appear to have under an alternative frame." *Framing*, according to Entman (2007) and Gross & D'Ambrosio (2004), refers to how an argument is appeared in a media (e.g. newspaper) in order to facilitate understanding and particular interpretation of a given issue. Framing is therefore understood as a communicative process where they emerge (frame building), have interaction between the audience's predispositions and the media frame (frame setting) and can result in having a social impact mobilizing the individual towards a collective

action in order to provoke a change in the society (individual-level consequence of framing). *Frame building process* is a combination of a complex and dynamic interaction between journalists, media institutions and other political and social actors (Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978; Cooper, 2002; Snow & Benford, 1992). *Frame setting process* is the result of the interaction resulting between the media frames and the knowledge and predisposition the individual previously had. In this context, frames inferred from the news are assumed to affect the readers' learning, their interpretation and the way they evaluate issues and events. *Individual-level consequence of framing* refers to the fact that the frames individuals use to interpret conflicts may result in having an impact on the "mobilization for collective action aimed at social change" (Gamson, 1985, p. 620).

Figure 1. An overview of framing research



Source: "Agenda-Setting, Priming, and Framing Revisited: Another Look at Cognitive Effects of Political Communication" (D. A. Scheufele, 2000)

Therefore, being exposed to a particular frame has a powerful impact in both the attitudes people develop (Bennett, 2001; Domke, 2001; Liu & Sibley, 2004; McLeod & Detenber, 1999; Sibley, Liu, & Kirkwood, 2006) and how they behave on a particular issue (Comstock, Chaffee, Katzman, McCombs, & Roberts, 1978; Iyengar, Kinder, Peters, & Krosnick, 1984) and may influence in shaping social level processes (political socialization, decision-making and collective actions) (de Vreese, 2005).

According to Cachón (2016), there are two types of framing theory studies conducted in the area of communication in Spain: the content analysis on news and experimental studies on the news framing effects. Previous literature authors such as Igartua et al (2004) conducted a content analysis on 4 national newspapers and found out that among 819 news articles regarding immigration news were framed according to their ideological mood. Moreover, in posterior studies Igartua et al (2006) identified 17 types of news frames used in the Spanish newspaper regarding immigration.

2.2. Immigration policy on Party platforms

Scholars such as Celaya (1997), Simon and Lynch (1999), Bauer et al. (2000), Checa, Arjona and Chena (2002), Lahav (2004), and Zapata (2009) have studied the role of political parties in shaping the migratory phenomenon through their party platforms. Messages and discourses spread by the politicians in their party platforms programs meet the fundamental ideological functions that are transmitted to their

citizens. Since political parties present its ideology, values and propose their policies in party platforms, each party's platform's immigration policy needs to be analyzed and compared for the interpretation of the results in the content analysis of this paper.

In 2015 general elections, PP published a 226 pages length long party platform program under the title of "Keep Advancing". In PP's party platform, the topic of immigration has no section on its own, but it appears as a topic to be dealt beneath other categories. The first time the immigration appears in PP's party program is in the subsection titled as "To guarantee security" under the fourth chapter "The Spain that we want". In this subsection, among their commitments, they propose that *"we defend an integral focus for the migratory policy that emphasizes Spain's solidarity and the cooperation with other countries in the control of our frontiers, especially those of the European Union."* In their sixth chapter of their party platform, titled as "Our role in Europe and in the World" starting from page 203, they state a paragraph dedicated for the immigration policy as their commitments (paragraph 5, page 209): *"We must advance in a common migratory policy, with solidarity and responsibility and with vision of future. We will be generous and responsible, paying the utmost attention to Human Rights. The Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and the European External Action Service (EEAS) should lead the existing debates and implement the measures determined with precision and effectiveness, achieving a common European approach; and thus it must therefore be reflected in the available human resources and the budget we use."* In the 19 proposals they share for the projects to be hold in this section, they mention a common policy for immigration

in their third proposal: *“We will promote a common migration and asylum policy in the EU. We want the European Union to achieve to adopt a true Common Policy on Migration and Asylum that responds to this challenge, from solidarity and responsibility, with a global and balanced approach that addresses all aspects of the migration phenomenon: international protection, the fight against criminal trafficking networks, legal migration and cooperation with countries of origin and transit.”* In their fifth proposal they comment about irregular immigration, that they will pursue to hold a policy of sending back those irregular immigrants with the cooperation of countries of origin and transit. Moreover, they mention that greater financial and operational involvement from the EU in the return policy since Spain is the country that controls the external borders and fights against the irregular immigration to the benefit of all European countries. Regarding refugees the party states their support for the work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and mention they will increase the contributions done by the country.

The socialist party PSOE published a party platform program consisting of 274 pages titled as “The change that unifies”. The socialist party frequently touches upon immigration issues by mentioning “immigrant” and specifying their necessities throughout the presentation of different topics in the party program. The word ‘immigrants’ is first mentioned in Chapter 2, “The defense of the public”. In this chapter, under the section of “Sexual and reproductive rights” they claim it is one of the government’s objectives to ensure the sexual and reproductive education of especially sensitive communities such as immigrant women. In the economy section of

their program in Chapter 3 titled as “An economy at the service of citizenship”, the party details immigrants’ labor rights. In their “Modernization and improvement in working inspection and social security” proposal, in paragraph 6, they claim for the protection of immigrants at work by preventing any kind of abuses at workplace. They propose to implement greater material and human resources for the working inspection, in order to improve its performance in sectors where immigrants are mainly employed. In their social section, in chapter 4 (The Social State), they emphasize how immigration plays an important role in this times of low fertility. They state that for Spain’s future demography, immigration plays a crucial role in slowing down the aging population and emphasizes how immigrant population should be sustained and grow in amount. Next, in chapter 5, titled as “Our vision of Spain in the world”, the party proposes the exterior actions destined to people. They criticize the current government’s (PP) failure in granting refugee status to the victims of war and they show their commitment to reestablish fair politics in the borders, to further relax legal immigration channels, reinforce integration policies and protect people fleeing persecution, which altogether constitutes the protection of international law. Throughout their 10 main challenges in terms of foreign policy, immigrants and refugees challenges are covered in their ninth position. Under the current humanitarian crisis, PSOE proposes to cooperate with countries of origin, transit and destination, guarantee full human rights respect to refugees giving them the right to seek for asylum, ensuring effective international protection to those who most need it, withdrawing the concertinas from the borders and rejecting pushbacks. Moreover, they mention how

they will show relentlessness to the human traffickers, their commitment to keep working on the integration of immigrants and refugees including those that are already in the country up to those that will come in the future since immigration is an opportunity for cultural enrichment, mutual respect and social integration which surrounds constitutional and democratic values.

Among the proposals of “Spain in a globalized world” they propose to work along with African continent by promoting a communitarian immigration policy which seeks to solve structural problems in African countries, fights for illegal networks which are tool for human traffickers and channel legal migratory flows.

Following this section, PSOE presents a full subsection of “Immigration Policy” from pages 255 to 261. First of all, the socialist party starts by specifying the importance of the migratory movements in the global world. They mention the consequences of the global economic crisis and the need of resetting the global conditions in order to attract more immigrants in their country for the benefit of their economy and demography. The party blames the current political decisions of restricting immigrants’ rights. For instance, among the current immigration policy, the immigrant faces limitations to resettle in Spain, and their rights to stay in the country are restricted once they leave the country. They criticize the current political authority and they emphasize it is their moral and human obligation to reestablish a civilized and dignified Spain more appropriate as a state with social and democratic rights.

Secondly, the party touches upon the current ongoing refugee crisis resulted by the civil war. The party shows their support to respond by helping those living death

threats. They explain that dealing with humanitarian needs, at the same time involves undertaking strategies to fight against mafias that take advantage of the human despair. Moreover, they continue to criticize current European Union's migratory policies which at present date are not capable of dealing with the problem. Approaching immigration issue as a matter of only labor market, and respond to each countries' working needs it is what ultimately weakens global rights of the workers. This also affects refugees and asylum seekers as well as irregular economic migrants and it results in them becoming victims of repressive treatment. In consequence, strategies dealing with illegal immigration have influenced legal migratory channel management in a way that models of entry and foreigners' permanency conditions have been restricted. The socialist party criticizes how the ruling party has been using the insecurities of "pull effect" of illegal immigration flows in order to further restrict channels of immigration in all of its processes and blames the party for using this strategy to gain votes. They point out that using this method of gaining more votes only provokes more racist, xenophobic drives and benefits the proliferation of social options and non-democratic policies.

Thirdly, they claim on how People's Party's government has insufficient integration policies for immigrants. In addition, the latest Civil Code reform the ruling party made on nationality, which unfairly was adopted by amendment and without debate, has incorporated a language and integration test for those immigrants who want to acquire Spanish nationality. This, the socialist party claims is unfair because it limits the access of people who do not reach cultural levels which are not even a standard for

the Spanish population itself. Plus, they claim that the mentioned standard does not value the true integration process.

Seeking for a policy based on realism, solidarity and unpartisan, they look for a broader consensus which would enclose future Spaniards PSOE builds three main pillars. The first pillar proposes a reformulation of migratory policies which would go in accordance with the principles and demands of the democratic state of law, respecting dignity of every human being and guaranteeing human rights as a priority of all public and immigration policy. The second pillar takes the principle of citizenship responsibility as a basic ingredient of integrative policy. In order to accomplish this, integration and diversity management needs to be brought back in the political agenda. Understanding integration as a bidirectional process of mutual adaptation, it must be transversally incorporated in all of its public policies. Moreover, PSOE mentions the importance of elaborating a special chapter for immigrants of second generation in the integration policies. This, they explain, it is due to the degree of importance that the impact of education has in immigrants. Young immigrants going to school and being part of the national educational system facilitates integration. Giving equal opportunity to immigrants is therefore even more a necessity. The socialist party claim that Spain, as a country built up with immigrants, must clearly recognize their rights to integration, social mobility and this at the same time, must also respect common life principles. The third pillar proposes an immigration policy where programs and initiatives allow proactive and mutually beneficial management in cooperation with countries where immigration flows initiate. The party reinforces this proposal by recalling solidarity

obligations mentioned in article 78 in the Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (TFEU). Lastly, they conclude this section by stating 21 proposals for the immigration policy. Among the long list of proposals, they mention modifications to be made to the current unfair policies: allow full health service to immigrants, modify current administrative and management system of Internment Center for Foreigners, which was internationally criticized for highly violating basic human rights. Moreover, they claim for a common European immigration and asylum policy, practical treatment of migratory flows and integration policies, cooperation with countries where immigrants are originated, give priority to American and African countries where Spain has to carry out cooperation, trilateral cooperation, development and co development measures. Lastly, they also state their will to promote a strategy against racism and xenophobia, as well as tackling necessities refugees are facing in the arrival to the country.

The interest and importance that each party gives to the immigration issue can be seen reflected comparing the length and richness in content of each party platform. People's Party puts special emphasis in defending migratory policies at EU level, mentioning their position to act with solidarity in cooperation with the frontiers, fight for a common migratory policy considering human rights. They give importance to Common Foreign and Security Policy and state that EEAS should lead the existing debates taking into consideration the country's budget and human resources they have available. Protection, fight against criminal trafficking networks; promoting legal migration and cooperation with countries of origin and transit are also mentioned with

no detailed commitment proposals. Lastly, they conclude by adding up policy measures that sends back irregular immigrants with the cooperation of countries of origin and transit.

Contrary to the general immigration policy of the conservative party, we see that the socialist party gives much more detailed measures to help immigrants, considering their necessities as equal citizens. Immigrants are approached as women, as children to be educated, as laborers, and as citizens of their country. Immigrants' role in boosting up country's demography and positively influencing Spain's future is repeatedly emphasized. Contrary to the ruling party's migratory measures, socialist party proposes a more integrative and enclosing measures for immigrants. They propose much more detailed challenges in foreign policy giving special attention in the cooperation with countries of origin, transit and destination. The party does not forget to mention to guarantee full human right protection eliminating pushback measures and combating human traffickers. As a European border country, PSOE mentions Spain's special responsibility in working in cooperation with African countries fostering order and control, since there is a high inflow of immigration coming from the African continent. Listing up current government's limitation on the Spanish immigration policy and refugee crisis the party proposes solutions to unsolved problems. Criticizing insufficient integration policies stated by the government, the socialist party mentions some alternations to be made in the integration policy and further state their commitment to the immigration population.

To sum up, whereas PP lists up general immigration policies, PSOE gives a

much elaborated and detailed solutions touching upon a broader context. At the same time as pointing out the inefficacies of the current policies they propose specific solutions and actions to current government limitations. In other words, it can be observed that the socialist party puts more emphasis and actively involves its attention to the management of immigration issue in many levels, going from illegal immigration and refugees to the integration proposals for those potential subjects of becoming future Spanish citizens.

2.3. Spanish national newspapers and ideological parallelism

Even though the media should cover events and social issues as they occur in reality providing a balanced position of the happenings, the media often provides a particular framing of reality leading to a partial or biased aspect of reality which elicits cognitive effects on the audience. Scholars such as Schattschneider (1960) and Riker (1986) state that political actors selectively emphasize on aspects of particular issues in order to win support for their preferred option. Political actors frame arguments that most well defend their position in order to win votes supporting their policies.

Spain is known to have a “polarized pluralist media system” where there exists a strong political parallelism (Hallin and Mancini, 2004). This means that its media groups have strong relation with political parties. In the case of the newspapers *El País* and *El Mundo*, we can find that members of the Spanish government, political

parties and government actors are those mostly covered in their news stories. Hallin and Mancini also pointed out that political elites in Spain are still exploiting the media.

Therefore it is evident that when the two newspapers companies publish news regarding immigrants the information reflected in the news will be covered in accordance to how their political partisans view the issue. This means that because the left wing representative party (PSOE) and central-right wing party (PP) hold different political ideologies a different interpretation to the immigration issue can be expected from the two newspapers supporting respective (Chaqués-Bonafont and Baumgartner, 2013).

2.4. Frames on immigration

One of the arguments explaining the increase of anti-immigration sentiment among the population is the role of the media. Van Dijk (2006) states that the role of the mass media is responsible for promoting negative images of the minorities. The author explains that the media associates the fact of being a foreigner in a country (the fact of being an immigrant) with negative behaviors or attributes such as crimes, vandalism, riots, fights, terrorism, etc. The consequence of this association leads the public to stereotype immigrants with xenophobic attitudes. This is the result of the news stories putting emphasis on social, economic, or cultural problems caused by them. Other authors who conducted studies on immigration treatment in the media

arrived to the same conclusion that the news appeared in the main media (TV networks and newspapers) presented a marked negative bias (Muñiz, Igartua, Otero, Sánchez 2008). According to Gemi, Ulasiuk and Triantafyllidou (2013) this is because the news stories that question dominant narratives and discourses about migrants are unlikely to be published.

The frames inferred from the media play a very important role in people's perception and opinion of immigration. Their attitudes and perceptions towards immigrations are continually affected by the elites of the country and by how the information is covered in the media (Dunaway, Goidel, Kirzinger, & Wilkinson, 2011; Fetzer, 2013; Freeman et al., 2013; Lahav, 2013; Salwen & Matera, 1997; Schildkraut, 2013).

Regarding immigration related frames, first introduced by Van Gorp (2005), 'victim' and 'intruder' frames are the most common frames described. The immigrant is portrayed as the victim of the ongoing conflict and subject of receiving help. The intruder frame classifies the immigrant as a violent actor often linked with the illegality element. They are portrayed as a negative influence for the host country by taking away job positions and become a threat for the receiving country population.

Among the frames most commonly used in the Spanish media, previously mentioned 'victim' and 'intruder' frames are also enclosed. Igartua et al (2005a), Cheng, Igartua, Palacios, Acosta, and Palito (2010) conducted an inductive preliminary study to explore and find out the set of frames most commonly present in the Spanish newspapers of the largest autonomous community (Castilla and Leon) dealing with

immigration news and found out the following frames: illegal/irregular entry of immigrants by sea; actions taken on young immigrants; economic contribution of immigrants considered workers; document regularization procedure of the immigrants; immigrants as victims of aggressions, abuses or xenophobic behaviors; immigrants as criminals and related to other criminal organizations; joint measures for European Union border management; expulsion and sending back immigrants to their origin countries; political debate on immigration issue in Spain; and description of migratory experience as life planning.

In their study they found out that typical dominant frames for immigration news analyzed in the largest autonomous community in Spain were “crime”, “economic contributions”, “victims of xenophobic aggressions”, “irregular/illegal entry” and “political debate”.

2.5. Hypothesis on Frames

To the frames on immigration, factors of such as political ideology and immigration policies reflected in party platforms can be added.

Some authors who have conducted the image of immigrants in a region or country such as the case of Fryberg, Stephens, Covarrubias, Markus, Carter et al. (2011) have concluded that location and political ideology can affect the framing of arguments supporting and opposing the anti-immigration bill. These authors have shown that

comparing national newspapers (three conservative and two liberal newspapers) with a state newspaper (Arizona newspapers, one conservative and one liberal) resulted that national newspapers used different frames when compared to a state press.

Moreover, Dearing and Rogers (1996) and Scheufele (2000) mention that a social issue is conditioned by the role of party platforms. A party platform is an ideal tool of addressing an existing social reality as well as a way to give a proposal on the issue to the government.

According to Cea D'Ancona (2004; 2007), in politics, the conservative party tends to link immigration to a rise in crime by promoting their image as delinquents and fostering the perception of threat. On the contrary, the liberal party shows the tendency to give the attribution of economic contribution and development to immigrants, therefore showing more positive associations towards immigrants. From the field of moral psychology, scholars such as Graham, Haidt, and Nosek (2009) stated that liberals are based on their moral intuitions relating to “harm/care” and “fairness/reciprocity” whereas conservatives do so in “authority/respect”, “in-group loyalty”, and “purity/sanctity”. Other individual differences can be related to the political ideology.

Authors such as Jost (Jost et al., 2003, 2006) stated that the inclination of the individual towards “equality/inequality” and “social change/tradition” have been demonstrated as the primary components playing in the differentiation of liberalism and conservatism. Other distinctions were made by Hirsh, DeYoung, Xu and Peterson (2010) by stating that compassion side of agreeableness positively correlated with

liberalism, whereas the politeness side positively correlated with conservatism.

Bringing this justification to the liberal and conservative perspective of interpreting immigration, it can be stated that liberalist will tend to take a positive position towards immigrants because of their moral tendency towards fairness, giving reciprocity to the other, reducing harm and caring the needed. Their position towards the immigrants will be defending equality and support social change. On the contrary, negativity bias can be given to the conservative perspective of immigration because of their moral intuition of in-group loyalty, defending authority and respect and being high supporters of social tradition. Therefore liberal parties tend to perform more integrative immigration policies whereas conservative parties tend to adopt a more restrictive attitudes and policies towards them.

Going through the frames most commonly found in the Spanish media, there are desirable and beneficial measures such as the facilitation of entry and legalization of persons which will help combat racism and xenophobia encouraging social integration. Frames identified in the media such as “actions taken on young immigrants”, “document regularization procedure of the immigrants”, and “immigrants as victims of aggressions, abuses or xenophobic behaviors” can be classified as positive frames which are beneficial for immigrants and therefore fitting into a more liberalistic ideology. On the contrary, frames such as “illegal/irregular entry of immigrants by sea”, “immigrants as criminals and related to other criminal organizations” and “expulsion and sending back immigrants to their origin countries” can be categorized as having clear negative impacts for immigrants because involve

undesirable or harmful consequences for immigrants and therefore be interpreted as more conservative frame.

By reorganizing the previous frames a total of four frames could be narrowed down for this paper. I argue and hypothesize that the four set of frames inferred from the past literatures will be more prevalent in one newspaper or the other according to their positive or negative association to the immigration issue.

On the one hand, among the positive image of immigrants and refugees, the first victim frame can be analyzed. Inside this victim frame I describe that the refugees and immigrants can be portrayed as victim of racism, xenophobic actors or aggressions. This frame goes along with the previously mentioned fifth frame (immigrants as victims of aggressions, abuses or xenophobic behaviors) proposed by Igartua et al.

Another element to add to the victim frame is the refugee and immigrant as the victim of the political decisions and consequences resulted by the powerful country governments in Europe. According to Der Standard (2015), bureaucratic administrative measures such as those resulting from the European states affect the mental health of refugees as much as the traumatic experiences in the country of origin. Because the European continent is the scenery of this worldwide issue, the 27 European countries' decision on how to solve and deal with the refugee crisis is of great importance for the future of the newly arriving people. This frame can be linked to the responsibility frame suggested by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). This frame is also linked with to moral-universal frame stated by Helbling (2014), explaining that refugees and immigrants are people whose moral principles and universal rights need to be taken

into consideration, regardless of their background and country. The absence of action of solidarity to those most needed results to the refugees and immigrants to be portrayed as victims of the violations of moral and universal norms.

A second frame would link the immigrant and refugee as a crucial actor of economic contribution or opportunity to the aging European economy. This frame goes in accordance with the frame proposed by Habermas (1993). Habermans referred the immigrants as actors of economic prosperity specifying that immigrants can bring potential economic wealth and contribute to the European population as new manpower.

On the other hand, a negative portrayal of immigrants and refugees can be attributed. The third frame for this paper would portray the immigrant and refugee as criminals and actors of violence. This image of the immigrant as criminal goes hand in hand with Van Gorp's (2005) intruder frame. Immigrants and refugees under this frame relate them as a threat to the security of the European continent.

Lastly, a last negative frame would refer the immigrant and refugee as a burden (such as economic burden) for the host country. This frame was also stated by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) referring the presence of immigrants in the continent as the cause of economic problems of the country. They are portrayed as the source to blame for being a rival in the job market and welfare system instead of a positive contribution for the economy.

Therefore, by taking all of the elements described above, this paper aims to conduct a content analysis with the two most representative Spanish newspapers in

order to observe how the image of immigrants and refugees are covered and framed in the Spanish media. The following hypothesis can be listed:

- Frame 1, will be more prevalent in the liberal newspaper. The immigrant victimized as a consequence of racism (frame 1a) and the failure of European countries' political decision (frame 1b) reflects the liberal party's identification with the immigrant as deserving better life and it demonstrates their desire to show them sympathy and promote integration.
- Frame 2, which identifies the immigrant as an opportunity for the host country is more suitable to be found in the liberal newspaper due to its positive linkage with immigration. Immigration as an opportunity to the receiving country is often linked with economic contribution.
- Frame 3, immigrant seen as criminal, due to its negative linkage with the immigration will be more commonly found in the conservative newspaper. This third hypothesis argues that the image of the immigrant as a criminal that threatens the European security and population.
- Frame 4, immigrant seen as a burden for the receiving country proposes that the immigrants' arrival to the continent supposes a burden such as an economical for Europe and immigrants are blamed for it. Due to its negativity, this frame will be more prevalent in the conservative newspaper than in the liberal one.

III. Methodology

3.1. Sample

For this study, the two most representative Spanish national daily newspapers, *El Mundo* and *El País*, were chosen for content analysis. Each of the newspapers represents the most read newspapers by the population.

Table 1. Number of daily readers and diffusion for *El Mundo* and *El País*

Newspaper	Number of daily readers*	Diffusion 2016**
El País	1.141	221.390
El Mundo	716	126.369

* Estudio General de Medios (EGM) (April 2016 to March 2017)

** Asociación de Editores de Diarios Españoles (AEDE)

Seymour-Ure (1974) found that readers reading a particular newspaper had association with the ideological background of that newspaper. Authors such as Gunther & Mughan (2000), Bustamante (2002), Jones (2007), Llorens (2010) stated that even today there is a strong association between the politicization of media and readers' ideological fragmentation.

Spain is known for its “polarized pluralist media system” where there exists a

strong political parallelism (Hallin and Mancini, 2004) and its media groups have strong relation with political parties. In the case of the newspapers *El País* and *El Mundo*, members of the Spanish government, political parties and government actors are those mostly covered in their news stories. *El País* is known to be the supporter of the liberal socialist party PSOE as *El Mundo* is for the center-right wing party PP.

Both of the digital newspaper websites provide keyword finder option. In order to gather the articles, the words “immigrants” (*inmigrantes*) and “refugees” (*refugiados*) were submitted separately into each of the newspapers’ online websites keyword finder (*El País*: <http://elpais.com/>; *El Mundo*: <http://www.elmundo.es/>). When searching the articles with the keywords, each newspaper’s website provided a list of articles with the respective searched words matching rate. In the case of *El País* there appeared different matching levels, ranging from 41.00% the lowest to 88.78% the highest. However, in the case of *El Mundo*, when introduced the two key terms, only highly matching articles appeared in the website (only those above 70%). Because of that, in order to make the collected articles more comparable those articles with a matching rate above 70% were selected for both newspapers.

When searched for the key words “immigrants” (*inmigrantes*) and “refugees” (*refugiados*) for the time period of 2nd of March of 2015 to 3rd of March of 2016, and only selecting those articles published in the opinion section, a total of 107 articles were collected. Among 107 articles, taking as a reference the Kurdi’s case to separate the time period into before and after, 22 articles were collected from *El Mundo* and 8 from *El País* and after the incident 29 articles were gathered from *El Mundo* and 48

from *El País*.

It is important to point out the significant of the increase in the publication of the articles in *El País* after Kurdi's case. *El País* published 40 more articles after the incident in 2015 and the main portrayal of the immigrant has been the immigrant seen as the victim of EU political decisions.

3.2. Time Scope

The time scope chosen for this paper ranges from six months before Aylan Kurdi's case (02/09/2015) to six months after the incident. The time lapse was selected accordingly in order to observe whether the two newspapers reflected any differences in the usage of frames and tone in the perception of the immigrant throughout the period. Therefore the time scope for this paper ranges from March 2015 to March 2016.

3.3. Coding

In order to conduct the research, the following variables were taken into account:

- a) The articles obtained by searching the two keywords (immigrants and

refugees) were also coded according to whether they contained one keyword or the other or both. The articles collected when introducing the word “*refugiados*” (refugees) were coded as 0, “*inmigrantes*” (immigrants) as 1 and 2 was coded when the articles were found for both of the keywords.

b) To differentiate the newspapers, ‘0’ was coded for *El Mundo* and ‘1’ for *El País*.

c) In order to obtain the results to analyze the content of the newspapers, previously specified 4 frames were coded accordingly:

Frame 1a: *Victim of discrimination*. This frame was coded when the immigrant was portrayed as clear victim of xenophobic and racist actions resulted by aggressions and words provoked by racist people or group.

Frame 1b: *Victim of European Union's political decisions*. This frame was coded when the immigrant suffered the consequences of the restrictive European politicians' decisions towards the refugee crisis driven by security, economic and political issues involving the European Union. In this frame immigrants are depicted as the victims of European politicians' lack of coordination in the immigration issue.

Frame 2: *Opportunity frame*. Or also *Economic contribution frame*, was coded when the newspaper mentioned the role of the immigrants and refugees as a worker and consequently positively contributing to the receiving country's economy. This frame was also considered present when the article depicted the immigrant as a labor input and a positive contribution for the

country's aging population and overall future situation.

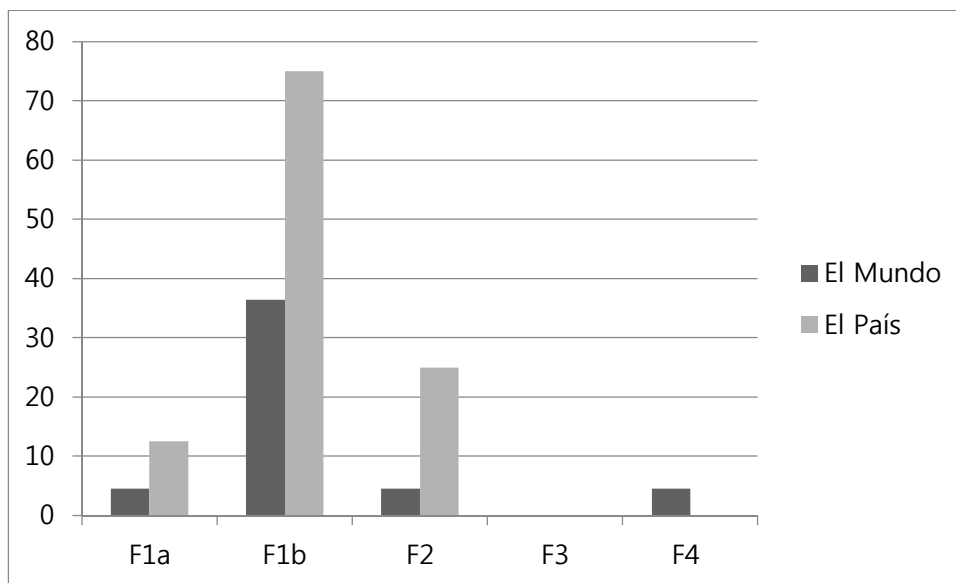
Frame 3: *Criminal frame* was coded when the immigrant was perceived as a threat. It was also coded as present when the immigrant or refugee was depicted as an actor of criminal and violent actions. If the newspaper reported any kind of violent or criminal performance done by an immigrant or refugee causing harm and violence to a group of people in the host country this frame was coded as 1.

Frame 4: *Burden frame*. This frame was coded as present when the news article described the refugee/immigrant as a burden for the continent and blamed them causing economic struggles in their country.

IV. Data Results and Findings

4.1. Frame frequency

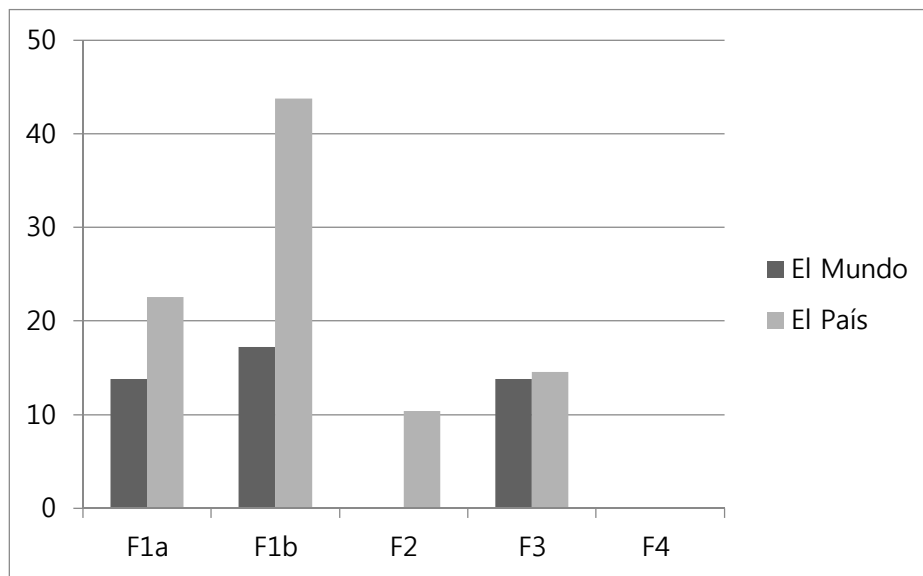
Figure 2. Frame frequency in *El Mundo* and *El País* before



Before Kurdi's case the most frequently found frames in both of the newspapers is Frame 1b, which links the refugees and immigrants as victims of EU's decisions on the issue. *El Mundo* reported 7 opinion articles mentioning this immigrant situation (among a total of 22 articles) whereas *El País* published 6 opinion articles from a total of 8 collected. As observed in the graph, *El País* had more prevalence in Frame 1b (Victims as consequence of EU's decisions, 75%) and Frame 2 (Opportunity

frame, 25%) whereas *El Mundo* reported the rest of the frames (F1a, F2, F3, F4) with the same frequency.

Figure 3. Frame frequency in *El Mundo* and *El País* after



After Kurdi's case, still F1b frame is the most prevalent for El País. After frame F1b, F1a frame follows. 14.58% of the articles published in El País covered the image of the immigrant as a criminal. In the case of El Mundo, no significant frame frequency could be found among the 29 articles collected.

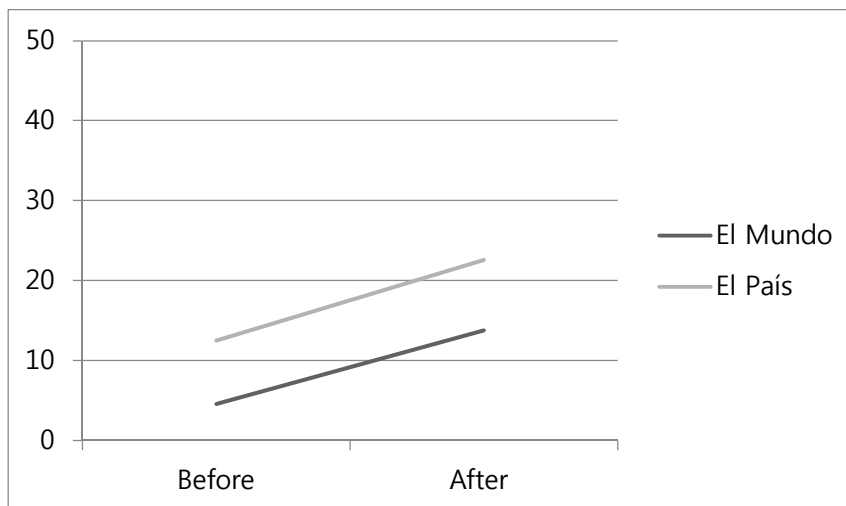
Interestingly, the results show that none of the newspapers covered the image of immigration as a burden for the country.

4.2. Frames, news and time

Frames, news and time variables were considered at the same time in order to see the interaction of the variables.

Frame 1: Victim frame

Figure 4. Frame 1a: Victim of racism in *El Mundo* and *El País*



As seen in Figure 4, both of the newspapers show the same tendency for frame 1a. The increasing positive slope for both newspapers before and after Kurdi's case shows us the increase in the portrayal of the immigrant as the victim of discrimination even more after September 2015. This image of the immigrant is shown in both of the newspapers and no difference from one to another can be seen

statistically (before $P= 0.440$ and after $P=0.775$).

Looking through the content of the articles with this frame, it can be found that before the set time period each of the newspapers published at least one opinion article depicting the immigrant under the frame of victim of discrimination. *El Mundo* stated how immigrants are inhumanly compared as cockroaches:

“When we refuse, as we are doing it now, to share our privileges with anyone who is not our son, our father, our compatriot, our soccer team... when we place a barrier between those we have and those who are lacking, we are tattooing, even if we refuse to admit it, a nice “cockroach” on the forehead of all those who either are drowned or starve or are exposed to any mortal infection to them, and not so for us.”

(El Mundo, 24/04/15).

The author of this article expresses how Europeans show their hypocrisy of proposing to solve the problem but they are merely excuses they use in order not to be shown as they are doing nothing.

El País explains the case of a group of refugees interned in CIE (Internment Center for Foreigners) in Spain are humiliated, suffering bad practices and have seen their human rights violated. The author also states that those immigrants interned in the center are victims of administrative problems rather than authors of crimes and that taking their freedom away by enclosing them in the centers is not right. Moreover, the article describes the case of foreigners being insulted by police agents.

“They emphasize the need for the Spanish authorities to put an end to the “humiliating practice” of calling foreigners by their number of detention rather than by their name.

*They even record that they could hear at Zona Franca how certain police officers
insult the foreigners.”*

(El País, 24/04/2015)

After the set time period in *El Mundo*, the immigrant is publicized as the victim of discrimination by mentioning cases where the immigrant has been compared to wheat and questioned of being “clean wheat” by a religious representative in Spain:

Cardinal and Archbishop Cañizares asks himself questions that it would be more appropriate in any other person’s mouth than in his own: “Is this invasion of emigrants and refugees all clean wheat? Where will Europe be in a few years?”

(El Mundo, 18/10/15)

The newspaper also mentions the refugee being the concept for fashion photo shoot by the Hungarian photographer Norbert Baksa. In November 11th in 2015, *El Mundo* mentions how politicians such as Trump and Le Pen discriminated the immigrants by calling for the closures of mosques and the expulsion of refugees. It also

mentions the case of Beatrix von Storch, deputy leader of her party AfD (Alternative for Germany), of not being the first person in her party to requests armed and lethal border interventions against the avalanche of refugees.

In *El País*, opinion articles' authors describe how immigrants suffer the consequences of actions performed by racist people. The articles describe some racists causing fire in an old hotel prepared to accommodate foreign refugees, how in the town of Clausnitz some other people blocked the streets with cars, insulting and booing foreigners to prevent their arrival to the town. They count that only in 2015 in Germany 500 refugee shelters have been attacked (*El País*, 24/02/16). Similar assaults and fights stories are mentioned in the opinion articles where refugee shelters, facilities and their tenants are attacked and destroyed and they specify that some of them are led by ultra-right-wing groups (*El País*, 01/02/2016). In January 18th 2016, *El País* also state the case of the German newspaper "Spiegel online" being criticized by those who support right wing parties in Germany for giving an overly sweetened view of Syrians or Iraqis and therefore provoking racist and discriminatory disturbance. *El País* also published xenophobic words spread by European politicians:

*Europe must prevent entry to Muslim immigrants, Orban said this fall, "so that
Europe remains Christian."*

To this statement other Christians such as Marine le Pen, leader of the National Front, and Kelvin McKenzie, from the British tabloid The Sun, joined their voices:

McKenzie took advantage of the fallacy of his recent survey of British Muslims to write an article entitled "This outrageous poll means that we must close the way for young

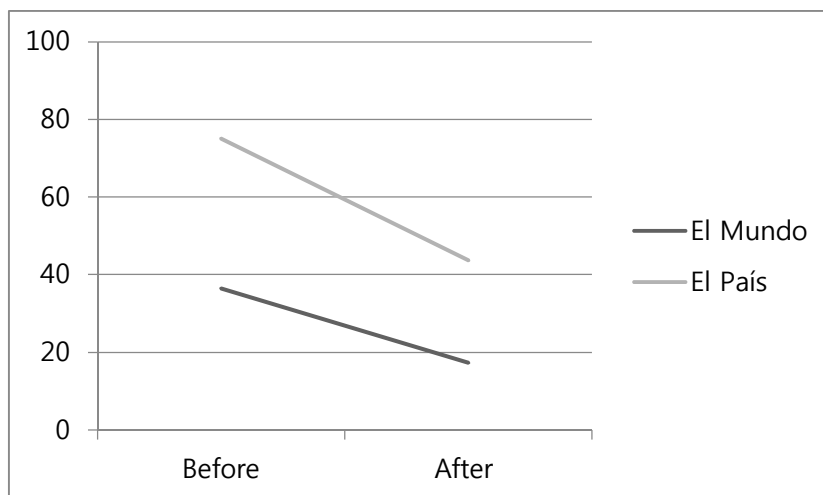
Muslim immigrants"

(El País. 02/12/15)

Lastly, the liberal newspaper mentions how even politicians discriminate immigrants by categorizing them as different and dangerous and contribute to raise suspicion among the crowd by increasing feelings of insecurity. (*El País*, 04/10/15).

The same proportion of the in the usage of the frame in both of the newspapers indicates that both give importance in reflecting the immigrant as the victim of xenophobia. *El Mundo*, not because it supports the conservative party portrays in lesser proportion the image of the immigrant as the victim of racism.

Figure 5. Frame 1b: Victim of EU political decisions in *El Mundo* and *El País*



Frame 1b, immigrants' portrait as victims of the European Union's decisions showed statistical significance after Kurdi's case (0.017). In the results, *El País* had published more opinion articles portraying this image to immigrants when compared to *El Mundo*. This accentuation in statistical significance between the portrayals of the immigrant as victim of European politicians' decisions before and after the set time period signifies that the opinion articles published about immigration attributed more responsibility to the European states' governments and related immigrants as the victims of the European Union's political cooperation failures.

After Kurdi's case, *El Mundo* reports how immigrants are the individuals with rights to be helped in this situation of crisis and how European countries are not doing anything to assist them. The conservative newspaper gives special attention to children's death as a consequence:

“Ephemeral flashes in the darkness of a planet where thousands of innocent children die every day, tens of thousands suffer the war and millions of people live in a misery created by man”.

(El Mundo, 05/09/15)

Among the European countries, United Kingdom, Denmark, Hungary and Holland are countries which are most criticized for showing a restrictive policy towards refugees. In particular, the authorities of Hungary are highly criticized for provoking diplomatic conflicts with their neighboring countries for trying to stop the arrival of refugees in their country by violating Schengen commitments which includes intra-communitarian cooperation. On the contrary, Germany is mostly described as the country which is more generous to the asylum seekers.

“Countries such as Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, France or Spain refuse to accept the mandatory nature of these quotas whereas Germany and other northern countries do, warning of the possible consequences of ‘pull effect’.”

(El Mundo, 13/05/15)

France and Italy are especially mentioned for not cooperating with integrative measures:

“There were about 200 and they had been waiting for days, like barges stranded on the sand, in an improvised camp near the seaport of Ventimiglia waiting to be able to go to France and from there, try to reach Germany or Sweden. But they were repelled uncontrollably by France and evicted by the Italian police. It was useless for some to display documents attesting to their origin and refugee status, such as the young Abhim Sindi, 21, from Darfur.”

(El País, 18/06/15)

The reason behind the restrictive immigration policies of most of the European countries are their fears of economic and political insecurities. These fears increase xenophobic nationalism which results in closing frontiers, rising walls and expelling foreigners. Moreover, the fears built due to the possible linkage of refugees with terrorist activity results in the countries changing their integrative decisions. The consequence of the possible infiltration of terrorists among the refugees and immigrants provoked massive fear among the European population affecting even to the political level:

“The failure to manage this crisis, together with the doubts of the agreements reached, is being translated, as was feared, in a further weakening of the European Union. Without a joint response to the emergency and with recent images of incident taken place in Paris, even the countries that were most open to the right of asylum such as Sweden and Germany, are retreating. The Swedish Social-Democratic Government has

warned that it cannot continue to assume more asylums. Sweden is the country with the largest number of refugees in relation to its population, and Germany assumes the largest contingent in absolute numbers”
(*El País*, 16/11/15)

“Some European governments, in order not to accept the quotas attributed, have not failed to relate this tragedy to the terrorist threat”. (El País, 09/01/16)

European governments are blamed for many times taking superficial integrative decisions towards immigrants only to calm down the public opinion after dramatic humanitarian catastrophes takes place in the continent. They are blamed for only saying statements such as “We need to go to the root of the problem” but do nothing in particular. Their political decisions are criticized for being insufficient and disappointing for not showing solidarity or reflecting democratic values and principles. The absence of measures tackling the humanitarian crisis taking into consideration immigrants’ and refugees’ human rights from the powerful European countries are depicted of being highly irresponsible. Many European countries are criticized for only letting the problem on the hands of the directly affecting countries which are near the Mediterranean coast, such as Italy and Greece. They are described as passing the responsibility to the southern countries only because of their geographical location.

Overall, both of the newspapers take the same position when criticizing current European governments’ decisions. However, articles in *El País*, differently to

El Mundo, are found to suggest suitable and practical actions that the states should take. Also, the liberal newspaper recalls that it is Europeans' moral duty to help refugees and it is their debt to the history and an obligation to their own dignity.

“More than 2,600 people died this year on their way to Europe as a result of our political decisions. Humanitarian visas or "travel documents for refugees" could solve this problem. They would be distributed among refugees at embassies or transit points in countries of origin, allowing them to travel safely and then receive "temporary protection" in a particular European country.”

(El País, 09/09/15)

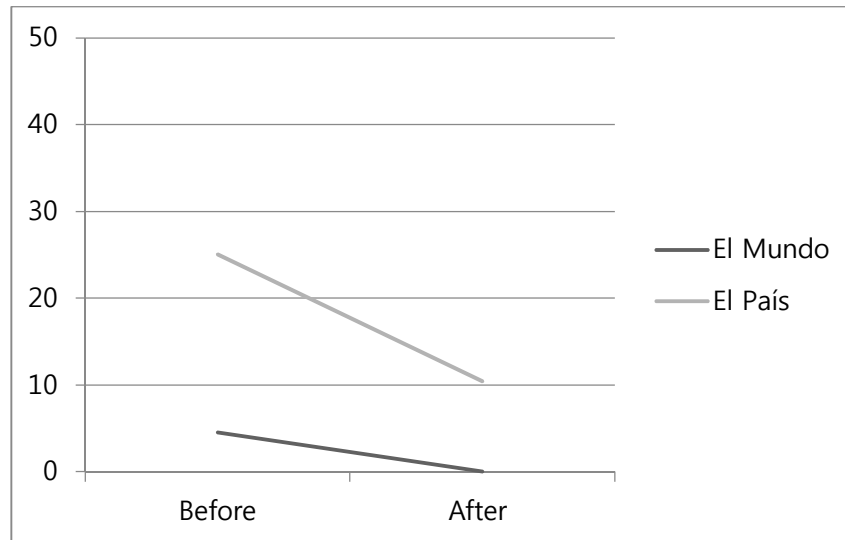
“Today Europe has an opportunity to regain dignity. Citizenship has understood this very well by welcoming the refugees. Now it's up to the politicians to move tab. It is not only a legal obligation but a moral duty. During World War II, the Europeans fled from the wars and we requested the protection that today we have to offer. It is our debt to history and to our own dignity”.

(El País, 28/11/15)

Also, the decrease in the frequency of publishing immigration opinion articles under this frame reflects that the crisis has been happening for so long period and that as time passes criticism to EU politicians results in losing strength.

Frame 2: Opportunity Frame

Figure 6. Frame 2: Opportunity in *El Mundo* and *El País*



The results show *El País* statistically gives more importance in relating immigrants as an opportunity for Europe's future than the conservative newspaper *El Mundo* ($P=0.099$ before, $P=0.072$ after). The content analysis shows that the conservative newspaper only once frames immigration as an opportunity:

"No one argues that in Spain, one of the countries with the lowest birth rate in the world needs immigrants. And so does Europe."

(El Mundo, 26/04/15)

El País gives us a more detailed and more supportive arguments framing immigrant as an opportunity. They emphasize that refugees are more an opportunity than a problem and that only through immigration a society can be enriched. The newspaper details that although welcoming refugees demands an initial investment of public funds, they are essential and crucial when it comes to stimulate the stagnant European economy because they are potential labor for the aging European demography.

“...it can be beneficial as soon as newcomers begin to work. An aging continent needs dynamic young people to take over the jobs that local people reject ... to cover the expenses of the elderly and to care for them, to create businesses and to implement new ideas capable of boosting economic growth.”

(El País, 24/10/15)

“His demographics are not buoyant. With 507 million inhabitants, it will need in the short and medium term migratory contingents with which to shore up its economy. The refugees who now call at their doors can contribute to that future, as the Spanish exiles contributed to that of Mexico and other countries that welcomed them.”

(El País, 04/09/15)

Especially, it mentions some countries' interest in welcoming refugees, giving the example case of Germany:

“The German demography predicts a very uncertain future if millions of immigrants do not arrive and integrate in the next years. But the same thing happens, in different degrees, throughout Europe. The European continent, if it wants to maintain its values and its levels of well-being, must become a land of immigration. Providing asylum and integrating millions of people fleeing from Syria can therefore be an opportunity for Europeans that matches our interests, but also for the preservation of our principles and values.”

(El País, 02/09/15)

Furthermore, *El País* points out that Europe must continue being loyal to their principles. It emphasizes that today’s Europe must show generosity and provide shelter to the refugees not only by humanitarian reasons because refugees will enrich European continent.

Even after a negative incident happened relating the immigrant (the Cologne incidence in Germany), the liberal newspaper claims the importance of immigration influence in the continent:

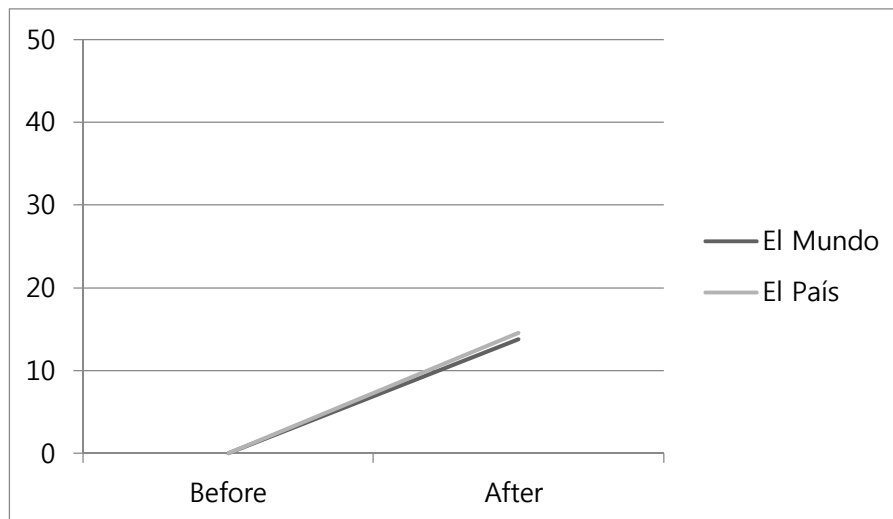
“Other governments, such as Germany, see the arrival of refugees both as a threat and an economic and demographic opportunity.”

(El País, 09/01/16)

However, immigrants and refugees relation with criminal activity after Kurdi's case affects in the prevalence of immigrants as opportunity frame. Both newspapers have decreased publishing articles identifying immigrants as an opportunity for their country.

Frame 3: Criminal frame

Figure 7. Frame 3: Criminal frame in *El Mundo* and *El País*



The prevalence of frame 3, identifying the immigrant as the criminal, did not show significant difference from one newspaper to another. Before the set time period none of the newspapers framed the immigrant as a criminal (0% for both of the newspapers). However, after Kurdi's case, the frequency of this frame increased in both newspapers. *El Mundo* and *El País* both publish articles linking immigrant with terrorism by referring refugees and immigrants as actors of a terrorist attack that took

place in Paris, France (Charlie Hebdo's case).

Greek police sources confirmed yesterday that one of the alleged terrorists who perpetrated the Paris massacre may have entered Greece as a refugee from Turkey.

(El Mundo, 15/11/15)

“In addition, there is a fear that ISIS and other groups are infiltrating terrorists in this human tide and even provide them with stolen or falsified documents, a fear that has intensified after the November 13 attacks in Paris, which killed 130 people. Two of the authors, it seems, arrived in Europe mixed with groups of immigrants arriving through Greece.”

(El País, 19/12/15)

Another case that took place during the New Year's celebrations in 2016 was also a repeatedly commented case in the articles. A group of women were raped by men described as from “Arab or North African” origin in the city of Cologne. Since this incident took place in Germany, journalists increased their coverage of the immigrants as criminals in both of the newspapers:

“Wolfgang Albers, the ceased head of the Local Police, concealed the involvement of refugees in the assaults, despite the fact that their agents had gathered evidence of the involvement of Syrian asylum seekers.”

(El Mundo 10/01/16)

“It began with the denunciations of dozens of women who were assaulted by a thousand men - identified as some refugees - in the vicinity of the Cologne train station and humiliated with groping and stealing.”

(El Mundo, 01/09/16)

“Hundreds of complaints from the victims were collected and according to the battered women, several witnesses and the first police investigations results agreed to identify the perpetrators of the attacks as ‘originating in North Africa and Arab countries’. Social alarm has put the German government and others of Central European countries on guard.”

(El Mundo, 19/02/16)

Regarding the incidents that took place in the city of Cologne, contrary to a factual description that journalists give in *El Mundo*, journalists in *El País* include writers’ personal opinions and feelings such as the disappointment that the case brings their worries about how the incidents will negatively affect the population and how those groups who does not support immigration will gain power in raising their voices:

Throughout the day news from Germany confirms that, indeed, among the sex offenders to women on New Year's Eve in Cologne there are refugees newly arrived in the country and disappointment invades me like many other people...

(El País, 11/01/16)

The implications of this crisis is becoming a breeding ground for disquieting xenophobic outbreaks, such as the one that these days sprinkles Germany after the sexual assaults to women during the celebrations of New Year's Eve. (El País 10/01/16)

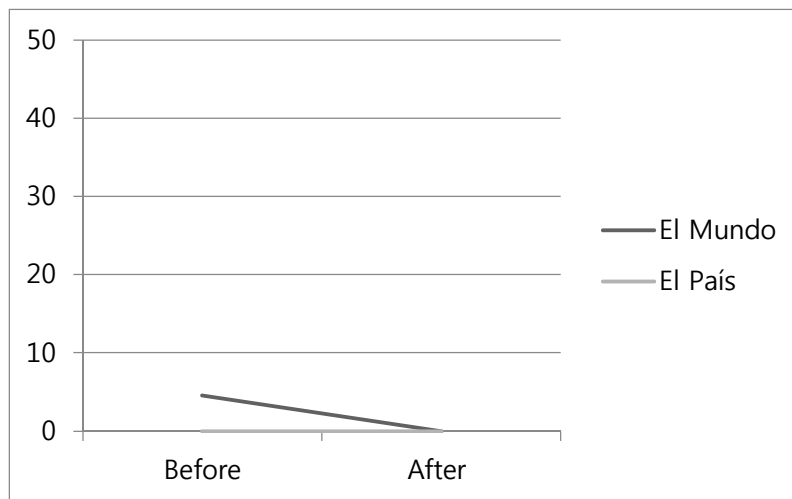
It was known that there were going to sneak a few rogues, thugs and provocateurs, if not more dangerous, terrorists seeking to expand the war in Europe among the refugees arrived in this city. On New Year's Eve, serial attacks have been carried out against civilians and rape of women. Unexpected opportunity for those who do not want to receive but coerced and forced, and a welcome "justification" for the German, Islamophobic and ultra-right Pegida movement, in the pure Nazi tradition.

(El País, 22/01/16)

This incident raised Europeans' feelings of insecurity and fear towards the new comers. Unfortunately, this happening contributed in increasing security measures in the continent and promoted the start of some restrictive measures such as building up walls in their borders.

Frame 4: Burden Frame

Figure 8. Frame 4: Economic burden in *El Mundo* and *El País*



Frame 4 linking immigrants as a burden for the host country, such as economic burden only appeared in the conservative newspaper.

This frame only appeared once in all content analysis. The only time it appeared was before Kurdi's case and was reported in the conservative newspaper. The writer of this article blames the current political situation in Spain and expresses its ambiguous position of hosting refugees in the country:

“There is one positive thing: Spain will host thousands of refugees; however, when it comes to deal with Europe's high rate of unemployment.

Now we will be many more to play in the Ring around the Rosy.”

(El Mundo, 30/05/15)

V. Discussion and Conclusion

The purpose of this paper aimed to conduct a content analysis of the two most representative newspapers in Spain *El Mundo* and *El País*. The portrayal of the immigrant in media was questioned in Spain due to Spanish population's different understanding of immigrant and refugee compared to the mainstream European countries. Because Spain's media is known to be highly partisan to the main powerful parties in the country (PP and PSOE) the respective ideology of the two most read newspapers was considered. The four frames selected for this paper were at the same time hypothesized as being more from the conservative ideology or liberal ideology.

On the one hand, frames that covered immigrant as the victim (victim of racism and victim of EU political decisions) and as the opportunity for the country (such as economic contribution) were assumed to be more prevalent for the liberal ideology. On the other hand, the portrayal of the immigrant as the criminal and being a burden for the country's economic situation was hypothesized of being more frequently reported for conservative ideology. Only selecting the opinion section articles for both of the newspapers, the content analysis was conducted through before and after Aylan Kurdi's case in order to see any differences in the frequency of the frames through the variation in time.

Addressing to our research question, "How do Spanish newspapers cover the image of immigrant and refugee in the current refugee crisis? What are the characteristic frames more prevalent in Spanish most representative newspapers, *El*

País and *El Mundo*?", the results in this study show that the outcomes obtained through the content analysis of the two Spanish newspapers reflect few differences regarding the image covered by prevalence of some frames.

The results of the current study demonstrate that the first hypothesis which argued that *El Mundo* would have portrayed a more negative image of the immigrant does not hold true. Throughout the analysis on the content retrieved from the opinion section of the selected newspapers and utilizing different immigration frames inferred from previous literatures, the negative portrayal of the immigrant in the conservative newspaper cannot be observed through this analysis. *El Mundo*, as a supporter of the conservative party PP did not have prevalence in portraying the immigrant as criminal or as a burden for the host country.

The second hypothesis which stated that different frame prevalence was expected to be found among the newspapers holds partially true. This hypothesis holds true only for frames 1b and 2 which categorizes the immigrant as the victim of EU political decisions and attributes them as an opportunity for the European future. These frames which were assumed to be more prevalent for *El País*, because of its liberal ideology endorsing moral intuitions such as "harm/care" and "fairness/reciprocity", was indeed found more prevalent in the liberal newspaper. Immigrants were victimized due to the EU states' failure to coordinate the going crisis and to find a common solution to solve the humanitarian crisis. Frame 1a was found prevalent in both of the newspapers without significant difference and the outcomes for other negative frames (3 and 4) were neither found statistically significant.

Based on the outcome it can be concluded that the absence of very negative frames in neither the conservative or liberal newspaper contributes in the stronger linkage of positivity to the image of immigrants and refugees. Liberal newspapers tend to accentuate more their integrative ideologies such as attributing positive arguments with immigration. This consequently affects Spanish public's opinion in adopting more positive perception of immigrants decreasing the chances for far-right wing parties to gain support.

The majority of the frames studied in this paper show negative slope after the set time period. However only two frames, frame 1a (victim of racism frame) and frame 3 (criminal frame) show a positive slope after Kurdi's case. This increase in frame frequency can be explained by the increase of news stories linking immigrants and refugees with criminal activity (Paris and Cologne case). This consequently, empowered more xenophobic movements and activities in Europe and more immigrants and refugees were depicted as victims of racism.

Some of the limitations of this study could be mentioned. First of all, even though the chosen newspapers were the newspapers with the highest diffusion number in the country, representing the whole country's perception on immigration is seen limited by only analyzing two newspapers. Bigger and larger sample of newspapers including other minor national conservative and liberal newspapers should be further considered. Secondly, for data precision and more accurate interpretation of results, a more sophisticated methodology would be needed which would allow measuring the intensity and degree of the frames that are covered in the articles. Thirdly, the role of

the visual attributes in the articles could also be taken into consideration and analyze how pictures, images, graphs and/or videos influence readers perception along with the perceived existing frames. Lastly, more longitudinal analysis of the media in Spain could be addressed so as to better understand the immigration perception in Spanish population throughout the years.

Reference

- El País (Consulted during: 2017, April 3-20) <http://www.elpais.com>
- El Mundo (Consulted during: 2017, April 3-20) <http://www.elmundo.es>
- AEDE (Consulted during April 2017) <http://www.aede.es/asociados/>
- AIMC, (Abril 2016 a Marzo 2017) Resumen General EGM
- Arango, J. (2013). Exceptional in Europe? Spain's Experience with Immigration and Integration. Migration Policy Institute
- Baumgartner F. and Chaques L. (2015). All News is Bad News: Newspaper Coverage of Political Parties in Spain. *Political Communication*, 32: 268-291.
- Bennett, W. L., & Entman, R. M. (2001). *Mediated politics: Communication in the future of democracy*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Bustamante, E. (Ed.). (2002). *Comunicación y cultura en la era digital: industrias, mercados y diversidad en España [Communication and culture in the digital era: Industries, markets and diversity in Spain]*. Barcelona, Spain: Gedisa
- Cachón, D. R. (2016). Noticias sobre inmigración con enfoque narrativo: efectos actitudinales y procesos explicativos. [News about Immigration with Narrative Format: Attitudinal Effects and Explanatory Processes] *Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico* 22(2) 2016: 661-680
- Cea D'Ancona, M. A. (2007). Inmigración, racismo y xenofobia en la España del nuevo contexto europeo [Immigration, racism and xenophobia in Spain in

- the new European context]. Madrid, Spain: Ministerio de Trabajo y Asuntos Sociales, Observatorio Español de Racismo y Xenofobia.
- Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS), Various dates. Barómetros de Opinión.
- Chaqués Bonafont, L., & Baumgartner, F. R. (2013). Newspaper attention and policy activities in Spain. *Journal of Public Policy*, 13(1), 1–24.
- Chaqués Bonafont, L., Palau, A. M., & Baumgartner, F. R. (2015). Agenda dynamics in Spain. London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Checa, F., Checa J., Arjona A. and Lirola, M. (2013). Discourses on Immigration in times of Economic Crisis: A perspective. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing
- Cheng, L., Igarra, J., Palacios, E., Acosta, T., and Palito, S. (2010). Framing Immigration News in Spanish Regional Press. *International Migration*
- Choma, B., Hafer, C., Dywan, J., Segalowitz, S., and Busseri, M. (2012). Political liberalism and political conservatism: Functionally independent= Personality and Individual Differences 53 (431-436)
- de Vreese, C. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology. *Information Design Journal + Document Design* 13 (1), 51-62
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58.
- Entman, R.M. (2007). Framing Bias: Media in the Distribution of Power. *Journal of Communication*, March 2007. Vol 47(1), pp. 163-173

- Fryberg, S., Stephens, N., Covarrubias, R., Markus, H., Carter, E., Laiduc, G., and Salido, A. (2011). How the Media Frames the Immigration Debate: The Critical Role of Location and Politics. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy, Vol. 00, No. 0, 2011, pp. 1–17*
- Gamson, W. (1985). Theory and Society. Vol. 14, No. 5 (Sep., 1985), pp. 605-622
- Gans, H. (1979). Deciding what's news. New York: Pantheon
- Goga, C. (2011). Policy of the Spanish state regarding immigration. Free movement of Romanian workers restricted in Spain. *Revista de Științe Politice. Revue des Sciences Politiques, No. 32*
- Gorp, B. V. (2005). Where is the Frame?: Victims and Intruders in the Belgian Press Coverage of the Asylum Issue. *European Journal of Communication, 20(4), 484-507.*
- Gross, Kimberly & D'ambrosio, Lisa (2004): "Framing emotional response". *Political Psychology, 25(1), 1-29.* <http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-221.2004.00354.x>
- Gunther, R., & Mughan, A. (2000). *Democracy and the media*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Hallin, C.D. and Mancini, P. (2004) *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Happer, C., and Philo, G (2013). The Role of the Media in the Construction of Public Belief and Social Change. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology, 2013, Vol. 1(1), (321–336)*

- Igartua, J. J., Muñiz, C., & Cheng, L. (2005). La inmigración en la prensa española. Aportaciones empíricas y metodológicas desde la teoría del encuadre noticioso [Immigration in the Spanish press: Empirical and methodological contributions from news framing theory]. *Migraciones*, 17, 143–181.
- Iyengar, S., & Kinder, D. R. (1987). *News that matters: Television and American opinion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Iyengar, S., & Simon, A. (1993). News coverage of the Gulf crisis and public opinion: A study of agenda-setting, priming and framing. *Communication Research*, 20, 365–383.
- López, A. (2014). The Immigration and the Political Parties in Spain. BARATARIA. *Revista Castellano-Manchega de Ciencias Sociales*, N° 17, (203-213)
- McCombs, M. F. (1997, August). *New frontiers in agenda-setting: Agendas of attributes and frames*. Paper presented at the annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Chicago.
- Muñiz, C., Igartua J., Otero J. and Sánchez, C. (2008). The Informative Treatment of the Immigration in Spanish Mass Media a Comparative Study of the Press and Television. *Perspectivas de la Comunicación*. Vol. 1 N° 1, (97-112)
- Nelson, T. E., Clawson, R. A., & Oxley, Z. M. (1997). Media framing of a civil liberties conflict and its effect on tolerance. *American Political Science Review*, 91, 567–583.

- Palau, A. and Davesa F. (2013). The Impact of Media Coverage of Corruption on Spanish Public Opinion. *Reis. Rev.Esp.Investig.Sociol.* ISSN-L: 0210-5233. N° 144, October-December 2013, pp.97-124
- Programa Electoral para las Elecciones Generales de 2015. “Seguir Avanzando” (PP)
- Programa Electoral para las Elecciones Generales 2015. “El Cambio que Une” (PSOE)
- Sánchez, B. (2011). La Política Migratoria en España. Un análisis de largo plazo. *Revista Internacional de Sociología (RIS)*, La inmigración en España: perspectivas innovadoras. Monográfico nº 1, (243-268)
- Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication*, 49, 101–120.
- Semetko, H., and Valkenburg, P. (2000). Framing European Politics: A Content Analysis of Press and Television News. *International Communication Association*
- Shin , G. (2010). One Alliance, Two Lenses: U.S.-Korea Relations in a New Era. Stanford University.
- Thorbjørnsrud, K. (2015) Framing Irregular Immigration in Western Media. *American Behavioral Scientist*. Vol. 59(7) (771-782)
- Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making news: A study in the construction of reality*. New York: Free Press.
- Xambó, R. (2010). La Inmigración en los medios de comunicación tendencias discursivas. Núm. 23, Diciembre 2010 (161-171)
- Zapata-Barrero R (2009) *Immigration and Self-Government of Minority Nations*.

Diversitas 3. Bruxelles: Peter Lang.

Appendix

Table 2. Frames coding result (Excel)

id	keyword	date	time	news	F1a	F1b	F2	F3	F4
1	2	29/04/15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	2	20/04/15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	30/05/15	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
4	0	27/05/15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	2	13/05/15	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
6	2	28/06/15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
7	2	21/06/15	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
8	0	21/07/15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	2	18/08/15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	1	26/04/15	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
11	1	26/04/15	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
12	1	25/04/15	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
13	1	5/4/2015	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	1	3/4/2015	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	1	23/05/15	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
16	1	12/5/2015	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	1	6/5/2015	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	1	29/07/15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
19	1	29/08/15	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
20	1	28/08/15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	1	26/08/15	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
22	1	1/9/2015	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
23	0	2/9/2015	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
24	0	1/8/2015	0	1	0	1	1	0	0
25	0	6/7/2015	0	1	0	1	0	0	0

26	0	18/06/15	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
27	0	29/05/15	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
28	0	29/05/15	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
29	1	22/08/15	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
30	1	24/04/15	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
31	0	30/09/15	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
32	0	22/09/15	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
33	0	18/09/15	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
34	0	11/9/2015	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
35	0	9/9/2015	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
36	0	8/9/2015	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
37	0	8/9/2015	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
38	0	6/9/2015	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
39	0	5/9/2015	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
40	0	5/9/2015	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
41	0	31/10/15	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
42	0	18/10/15	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
43	0	18/10/15	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
44	0	17/10/15	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
45	0	8/10/2015	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
46	0	22/11/2015	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
47	0	17/11/15	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
48	0	15/11/15	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
49	0	15/11/15	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
50	0	6/11/2015	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
51	0	24/12/15	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
52	0	14/01/16	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
53	0	10/1/2016	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
54	0	9/1/2016	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
55	0	9/1/2016	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
56	0	3/1/2016	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
57	2	19/02/16	1	0	1	1	0	1	0

58	1	31/10/15	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
59	1	31/1/16	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
60	1	19-12-15	1	1	0	0	0	1	0
61	0	28-02-16	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
62	0	26-2-16	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
63	0	24-02-16	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
64	0	21-02-16	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
65	0	14-02-16	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
66	0	12/2/2016	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
67	0	7/2/2016	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
68	0	3/2/2016	1	1	0	0	0	1	0
69	0	2/2/2016	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
70	0	1/2/2016	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
71	0	27-01-16	1	1	0	0	0	1	0
72	0	24-1-16	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
73	0	22-01-16	1	1	0	0	0	1	0
74	0	18-01-16	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
75	0	11/1/2016	1	1	0	0	0	1	0
76	0	10/1/2016	1	1	0	1	0	1	0
77	0	9/1/2016	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
78	0	8/1/2016	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
79	0	29-12-15	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
80	0	24-12-15	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
81	0	17-12-15	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
82	0	18-12-15	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
83	0	2/12/2015	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
84	0	28-11-15	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
85	0	16-11-15	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
86	0	13-11-15	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
87	0	5/11/2015	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
88	0	4/11/2015	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
89	0	30-10-15	1	1	0	1	1	0	0

90	0	24-10-15	1	1	0	1	1	0	0
91	0	23-10-15	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
92	0	16-10-15	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
93	0	15-10-15	1	1	0	0	1	0	0
94	0	12/10/2015	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
95	0	9/10/2015	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
96	0	6/10/2015	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
97	0	4/10/2015	1	1	1	0	0	1	0
98	0	18-09-15	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
99	0	16-09-15	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
100	0	15-09-15	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
101	0	14-09-15	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
102	0	14-09-15	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
103	0	13-09-15	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
104	0	12/9/2015	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
105	0	9/9/2015	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
106	0	9/9/2015	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
107	0	4/9/2015	1	1	0	0	1	0	0

국문초록

스페인 미디어에 반영된 이민 인식: 2015년 3월부터 2016년 3월까지

난민 위기에 대응하여 많은 유럽 국가들에서 민족주의가 부상하고 있는 가운데 스페인에서는 주류 유럽 국가와는 달리 민족주의가 인기를 얻고 있지 않다. 본 연구는 양극화 된 다원주의 미디어 시스템을 보유하고 있는 것으로 알려진 스페인의 대표적인 신문 *El Mundo* 와 *El País* 에서 이민자의 이미지가 어떻게 묘사되는지를 분석하고자 한다. 의견 기사 내용 분석을 통해 이민 인식을 관찰하였으며 프레임 이론 (틀짓기 이론)을 이론적 틀로 삼아 본 연구는 문헌 조사를 통해 이민자와 난민의 가장 흔한 이미지를 회수하였다. 그 결과, 네 가지의 이민자 프레임을 정하였으며 결론적으로 본 연구는 스페인에서 가장 많이 읽히는 두 신문은 정치적으로 다른 사상을 지지하고 있음에도 불구하고 두 신문사에서 볼 수 있는 이민자의 이미지가 서로 다르지 않다는 결과를 입증한다.

주요어: 이민, 난민, 프레임, 의견 기사, 정치 사상, 스페인

학번: 2015-25035

